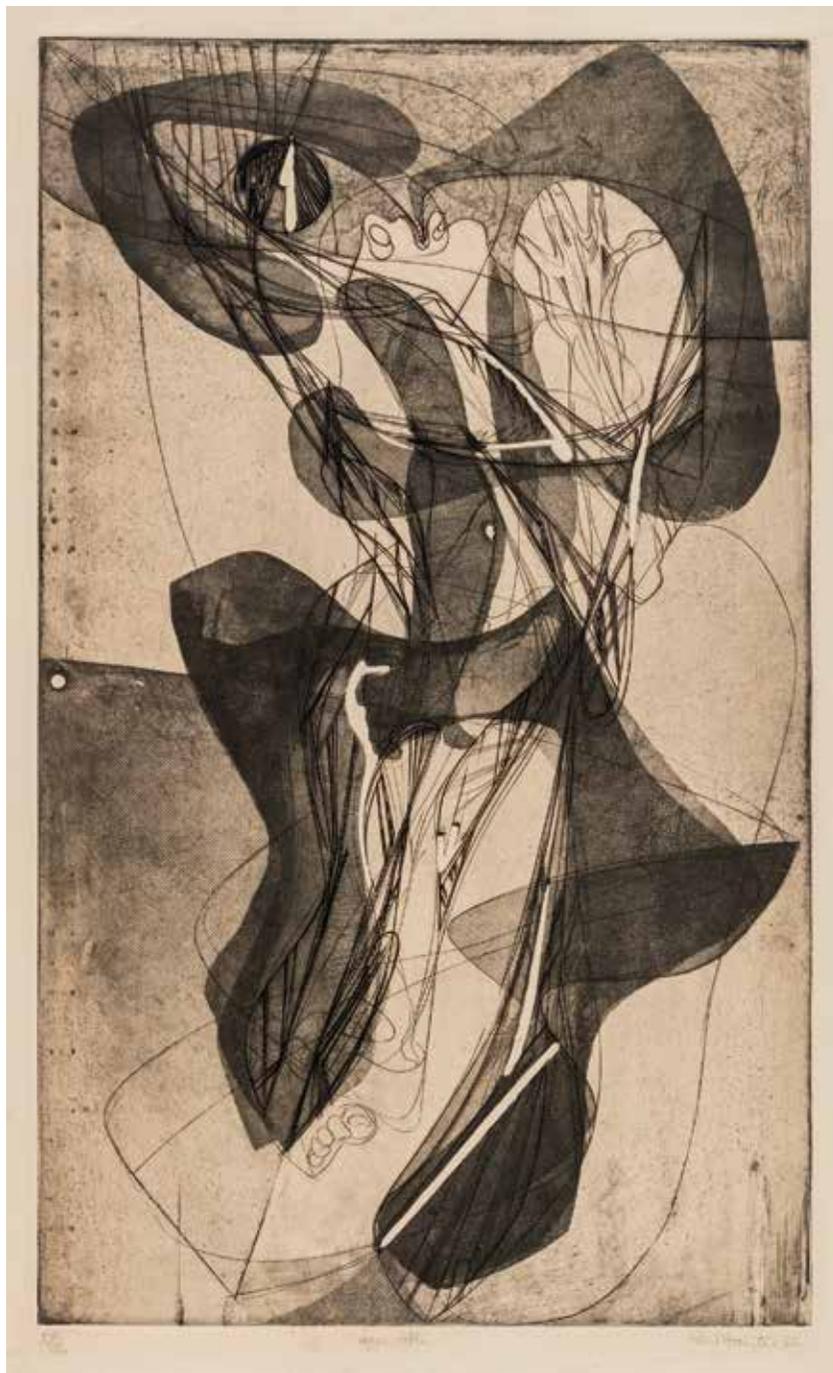




ATELIER 17

and Modern Printmaking in the Americas



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Organization

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Carlos Roberto Ferreira Brandão

Director, MAC USP

In an unprecedented partnership, Terra Foundation for American Art and the Museum of Contemporary Art of the University of São Paulo (MAC USP) come together to introduce the exhibition *Atelier 17 and Modern Printmaking in the Americas*, along with an international conference and a minicourse. The show brings together 53 works in printmaking from both MAC USP and US institutions, with Terra Foundation granting the resources that made possible the exhibition and the catalog, including the loan of works from its own collection and from two other museums: the Brooklyn Museum and the Art Institute of Chicago. MAC USP, FAPESP and CAPES took the charge of providing the funds for the conference and bringing to São Paulo art historian Christina Weyl, the minicourse lecturer at the museum.

The exhibition has its origins in the research by Carolina Rossetti de Toledo for her Master thesis on the Nelson Rockefeller (1908-1979) donations to encourage the creation of modern art museums in Brazil. The research has found that the engravings now gathered in the MAC USP collection here exhibited were donated to the Museum of Modern Art of São Paulo (MAM) by Rockefeller in 1951.

The experiments made by *Atelier 17* go far beyond the borders of the United States of America and Europe, with echoes on the production of Brazilian artists at the time, such as Geraldo de Barros and Lívio Abramo (these names having large presence in the MAC USP collection). In summary, the research that supports the exhibition and its developments sheds light on a significant chapter in the Brazilian art and the exchanges that have made possible the putting together of the MAC USP collection.

Elizabeth Glassman

President & CEO
Terra Foundation for American Art

Businessman and art collector Daniel J. Terra (1911-1996) only began collecting prints during the final years of his life. In a very short time, however, he was able to assemble a small but representative collection of important impressions by some of the United States' greatest printmakers. The holdings include, among others, Mary Cassatt, James Abbott McNeill Whistler, Arthur Wesley Dow, John Marin, and, of course, Stanley William Hayter. Dan Terra, a man committed to international conversation, would certainly be pleased to see prints from his collection exhibited in dialogue with their counterparts from Brazil. In this regard, Nelson Rockefeller's 1951 gift of U.S. prints to the Museum of Modern Art of São Paulo has provided a marvelous opportunity to assess key trends in mid-twentieth century printmaking as these ideas percolated throughout the Americas, partly a result of Hayter's influence, which this exhibition also seeks to examine in greater depth.

We are particularly enthusiastic to present these rarely seen works from the Terra Foundation collection, especially in conversation with prints by Brazilian artists from the same period. In addition we thank the Art Institute of Chicago and the Brooklyn Museum for their generous loans. Furthermore, we welcome the opportunity to work again in the cosmopolitan art milieu of São Paulo, where in the 2015-2016 season we partnered to present the award-winning exhibition, *Paisagem nas Américas: Pinturas da Terra do Fogo ao Ártico*, co-organized by the Pinacoteca of State of São Paulo, the Art Gallery of Ontario, and the Terra Foundation. In fact, it was during the opening of that exhibition that this current project was first discussed between the exhibition's curators. Since that time, our connections with Brazilian colleagues and institutions have only grown. It is especially gratifying that through projects such as this, colleagues from across the Americas engage deeply in ways that will surely lead to future conversations in Brazil and across the continents.

This exhibition has been a close collaboration between curators, registrars, designers, and educators at MAC USP and the Terra Foundation for American Art. With its bilingual publication, an international conference, and related mini-course, the exhibition also fulfills our goal to align the use of our collection with teaching at the undergraduate and graduate levels. Thus, we thank our partners at the MAC USP for this rich partnership, so expertly layered with lectures, classroom teaching, and the close study of objects.

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Atelier 17 in the Tropic of Capricorn.
The Museum of Modern Art (MAM),
São Paulo Biennial, and American
Printmaking as Viewed from Brazil¹

Ana Magalhães

This publication is a record of both the exhibition and the international conference, organized in partnership between the Museum of Contemporary Art of the University of São Paulo (MAC USP) and the Terra Foundation for American Art, which takes as its theme Atelier 17 as a hub of modern printmaking between the United States and Brazil in the 1950s. It was made possible by two elements: scholarly research and the resources to support the loans, not only from the Terra Foundation, but from two other institutions in the United States: The Brooklyn Museum and the Art Institute of Chicago. Support from the Terra Foundation was also given to provide all the resources to the preparation of the exhibition and respective publication, whereas MAC USP, as a counterpart, searched for resources to the conference and to bring art historian, Christina Weyl, to give a minicourse at the Museum, between April 15 and 18, 2019.

Through this partnership, São Paulo will see for the first time the impressive collection of American prints gathered by the Museum of Modern Art (MAM) through important donations, in comparison to a group of works that give the Brazilian audience a panorama of the making of American print collections, in those years, and their impact on the Brazilian artistic milieu. The exhibition shows 56 works in printmaking, by Stanley William Hayter (the creator and founder of Atelier 17) and his followers between Brazil and the United States – among them, Minna Citron, Jackson Pollock, Sue Fuller, Geraldo de Barros, and Lívio Abramo.

The concept of the project has its origins in the Master thesis of Carolina Rossetti de Toledo, presented in 2015 (TOLEDO, 2015). Toledo's thesis aimed at studying the donations Nelson Rockefeller made to Brazil, in 1946, to foster the foundation of

¹ The Tropic of Capricorn cuts the State of São Paulo practically in half. A reference to it was first used in the selected writings Aracy Amaral published in the early 2000. See Amaral, 2002. It is interesting that she avoids using the term "tropic" alone, which may not only point to the fact that she is making a statement about her precise locality (the city of São Paulo, which is actually also cut in half by the Tropic of Capricorn), but also that she wants to refrain from suggesting any approach to exoticism.

museums of modern art in São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, taking MoMA as a model.² Despite the fact that Rockefeller's act has always been mentioned in the historiography concerned with the creation of the two museums, the works donated have never been studied nor exhibited together in Brazil. Toledo's research first focused on understanding their selection, the issue of them having never been distributed between the two MAMs (São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro), and to propose their interpretation in the light of new evidence that our research group had been working on, and which concerned the making of the collection of the São Paulo MAM (MAGALHÃES, 2016).³

As the research in the group advanced, our attention was driven mainly by two things. The first one was the fact that when Rockefeller arrived in Brazil, in November 1946, and despite the engagement of the American consul in São Paulo and René d'Harnoncourt as MoMA's artistic director in the discussions and the committee that would prepare the creation of MAM, the Museum's chairman, industrialist Francisco Matarazzo Sobrinho (alias *Ciccillo* Matarazzo)⁴ was already on an acquisition campaign in Italy and France, so as to bring representative works to start the first nucleus of the Museum's collections. The second was the fact that though the American representatives played a key role in the conception of the institution, the presence of American artists did not correspond to that influence. One important aspect to be considered here is that in the second half of the 1940s, American art had not yet come to be the paradigm of modernism, and was still struggling to make itself be seen in Paris (GUILBAUD, 1983). The United States foreign cultural policies were not always driven to Brazil, and when Rockefeller came to the country in 1946, he was having a hard time at home, to give continuation to President Roosevelt's "Good Neighbor Policy" (TOTA, 2014). Roosevelt's successor, President Dwight D. Eisenhower was totally taken by the creation of NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) and the implantation of the Marshall Plan in Europe.

2 The São Paulo MAM was founded in 1948, and MAMRJ was created in 1949. See LOURENÇO (1999), BARROS (2002), NASCIMENTO (2003), and OSÓRIO & FABRIS (2008), among other studies.

3 MAC USP was founded in April, 1963, at the University of São Paulo, upon receiving the collections that the São Paulo MAM had gathered in its first decade of existence. In the negotiations between Matarazzo and USP, the idea was, at first, to transfer MAM's administration to the University. Dissident members of the Museum's Board of Trustees contested this decision, and fought with the University along the 1960s, to have the collections back. MAC USP and the Fundação Bienal de São Paulo (São Paulo Biennial Foundation) are institutions that were created out of the São Paulo MAM, between 1962 and 1963, when the Museum had entered a financial crisis.

4 Francisco Matarazzo Sobrinho (São Paulo, SP, 1898-1977) was born into an Italian immigrant family of entrepreneurs, who had made their fortune in the first two decades of the 20th-century, in São Paulo. Building a conglomerate of dozens of industries, *Ciccillo*'s uncle, Count Francesco Matarazzo, was considered the richest millionaire of Latin America. *Ciccillo* followed the steps of his uncle, creating his own group of industries, of which the Matarazzo Metallurgy was the most important. By the mid-1940s, he was engaged in presenting himself as a public figure to the São Paulo elite, so as to be both the image of the modernization of Brazil and the representative of that elite. In 1943, he married Yolanda Penteadó (Leme, SP, 1903 – Stanford, CA, EUA, 1983). Coming from a traditional family of coffee farmers and negotiators, Yolanda was by then a dame in the field of the arts. The alliance between *Ciccillo* and Yolanda is key to understanding the social relations that the São Paulo elite established to project itself as the beacon of the Brazilian new phase of the Republican period in the 1950s. See MAGALHÃES (2015).

The 1950s were somehow a consequence of such policies, where the US Foreign Affairs (especially through its cultural policies) would keep an interest in Latin America, mainly in Brazil and the São Paulo Biennial, but on a second instance, due to the major strength required to the policies of foreign affairs in Europe in the same period. In this sense, the museums of modern art in São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro seemed to be less effective as the place of promotion of American art. In addition to this, one must not forget the long-term cultural relations Brazilian artistic milieu already had with Europe, mainly with France and Italy – the latter partially due to the fact that the country had the third largest community of Italian immigrants in the period. This might be why Brazil never had a representative collection of United States artists, despite their continuous and strong presence in the São Paulo Biennial ever since.

Going back to Toledo's research, its major contribution for the revaluation of the history of the São Paulo MAM collection was to have identified a second batch of donation made by Rockefeller that led to the unfolding of the history of the relations between Brazil and the United States in the field of printmaking in the postwar period. The 25 American prints that Rockefeller donated to the São Paulo MAM in 1951 had never been studied by Brazilian researchers, nor mentioned as part of his donations to the museum. As Toledo explains further in her essay in this book, these prints came to Brazil in a touring exhibition that would have promoted the new procedures and techniques of gravure disseminated in the United States context through Hayter's Atelier 17.⁵ Moreover, this promotion of American printmaking was made in the early years of the creation of the Department of Prints and Drawings of MoMA, to which Nelson Rockefeller's mother, and founder of the museum, Abby Rockefeller, was the patron and first major donor.

It is interesting to compare these 25 prints with what the United States Delegation sent to the I Bienal do Museu de Arte Moderna de São Paulo (I São Paulo Biennial) that same year. As d'Harnoncourt reminds us in his presentation text, the São Paulo MAM had just signed a cooperation agreement with MoMA, the year before. The New York museum was from then on in charge of organizing the American delegation in the editions of the São Paulo Biennial during the 1950s.⁶ Their way of working was to call in curators and experts of various museums and institutions in the United States for the selection of works. In this specific case, MoMA seems to have made a pool of curators from the major museums in the East Coast, with a strong presence of New York institutions (I Bienal do Museu de Arte Moderna de São Paulo, 1951, p. 74-86). Among the 124

⁵ See also the importance of the dissemination of Hayter's book, **New Ways of Gravure**, launched in 1949, in various territories, Brazil included.

⁶ With one exception. In the III Bienal do Museu de Arte Moderna de São Paulo (as it was first titled), it was a pool of institutions in the West Coast, coordinated by the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, which were in charge of organizing the United States Delegation. This participation is now the object of Toledo's PhD dissertation.

works selected for it, 30 were prints.⁷ Some artists in this selection were again present in the Rockefeller donation. They were Sue Fuller, Misch Kohn, Armin Landeck, Boris Mago, and Louis Schanker, trained in Atelier 17. They represented half the number of artists exhibited as printmakers in the United States Delegation.

From d’Harnoncourt’s presentation text on the delegation, we learn that four curators from the departments of prints and drawings, respectively, of the Philadelphia Museum of Art, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, MoMA, and the Brooklyn Museum, were invited to select the printmakers that took part in it. Our attention goes especially to curator Una Johnson, whose curatorial input into the Brooklyn Museum collection of prints and drawings from the 1940s on has been most influential in the choices made for the core of the Rockefeller donation to the São Paulo MAM, as Toledo’s research demonstrated.

Another element that calls one’s attention is the fact that d’Harnoncourt speaks not of “printmaking”, but of “graphic arts” in his text:

At the request of the Biennial organization, our “Museum” with the assistance of a jury of experts, selected a group of significant works in the field of painting, sculpture and the **graphic arts** of the United States, to send it to the exhibition (I Bienal do Museu de Arte Moderna de São Paulo, 1951, p. 111) [my highlight].

So, the combination of expertise (in the field of curatorship) and the notion of graphic arts, rather than printmaking, suggests that the latter had been expanded to new techniques in the precedent decade, and that this was an important landmark to modern printmaking in the 1950s. In fact, when we look into the selection of works on this category for the United States delegation, there has been an attempt, not only to fulfill the idea of the panoramic program proposed by the organization as a whole, but mostly and more importantly, a search to present various techniques of printmaking. There are works on the more traditional techniques, such as woodcut and etching, and on the more new ones, emerging from the development of the graphic industries along the first half of the 20th century – such is the case of silkscreen, or in the case of Boris Margo’s works, which are described as being produced by “*Cellocut*” technique of printmaking.

United States delegation was alone in highlighting the variety of printmaking techniques and their interaction with the graphic arts and industry, while the major European centers of the modern art seemed to have selected more traditional techniques of printmaking

⁷ It is important at this point to observe that along the 1950s, and due to the regulation of the awards given at the editions of the São Paulo Biennial (which also contemplated a regulation of acquisition awards), the delegations invited would always make a fair distribution of works on painting, sculpture, and paper. In Portuguese, the latter category might be simply called “gravura” (print), or with more precision “gravura” and “desenho” (drawing). It corresponds to the concept of prints and drawings in English, and to what the Italians in the context of the Venice Biennale called “*bianco nero*”. However, such category sometimes involved awarding other kinds of works on paper. For instance, in the case of the acquisition of Kurt Schwitters’ collage in the VI Bienal de São Paulo, in 1961. See the exhibition “Um outro acervo do MAC USP: prêmios-aquisição da Bienal de São Paulo, 1951-1963”, curated by myself in 2012, and which corresponding catalog is under preparation for publication.

(I Bienal do Museu de Arte Moderna de São Paulo, 1951, p. 111)⁸. If on the one hand, this might be due to the fact that modern printmaking had been experimenting again with traditional techniques, on the other, the development of the graphic industry had had already a major impact in modern printmaking. From the 1920s on, we can already see major transformations in the field. First, the spreading of the use of rotogravure and its possibilities of printing in color.⁹ Second, the rise of experimentation with the dissemination of modern art by way of mechanical printing procedures, which federal policies of the United States in the 1930s had fostered, first through the activities of the so-called Associated American Artists (WASHINGTON, 2013).

Another American initiative that would be, as it seems, very successful in Brazil in the aftermath of World War II is the touring of various of the so-called “exhibition of multiples”.¹⁰ These exhibitions were produced by MoMA, the Metropolitan Museum, and other museums in the United States, which in the case of the former actually organized a department to take care of their making. This was not something in which only United States institutions would engage, but also European institutions, mainly in the case of Great Britain and France, having as its background André Malraux’s ideas on the imaginary museum (MALRAUX, 1951).

In the context of Brazil, the arrival of these exhibitions coincided with the turning point of the arrival of advertisement and publicity companies in the country, estimating even more the growth and improvement of the graphic arts and graphic design among us (SIMÕES, 2006). Although these developments might not have been considered in the history of modern printmaking, it is high time these phenomena be articulated to our main subject here, as the historiographical research produced in the last decade, in the United States, Brazil and Europe in general, has proved that we might get new interpretation of modern art while reviewing the relationship that the modernists had with mass communication and industry.

The 56 works selected for this exhibition were meant to show this turning point — when gravure expanded into high experimentation. There is a group of 14 prints that present the rise of printmaking in the United States in the beginning of the 20th

8 See the case of Italy. Great Britain took part mainly with prints, due to the engagement of British national collections with the Festival of Great Britain that same year. They were all described as “litographs”. France had also a very important selection of prints - as for instance the large series of etchings by Henri-Georges Adam that was incorporated to the São Paulo MAM as acquisition award. However, there was no precision on the part of the French organization to describing their techniques.

9 In the case of Brazil, the emergence of rotogravure resulted, for instance, in a special supplement of one of the biggest newspapers in the country, **O Estado de S. Paulo**, during the 1930s. In it, the most important modernist critic of the period, Mário de Andrade, contributed to an essay on the artist Jorge de Lima’s photomontage book *A pintura em pânico*. See Mário de Andrade, *Fantasia de um poeta*, **Suplemento em rotogravura de O Estado de S. Paulo**, São Paulo, n° 146, November 1939.

10 For a deeper analysis of these exhibitions, including MoMA’s *What is Modern Painting?*, see COSTA (2014). The terminology to describe this kind of exhibition making use of color reproductions seems to have at least three possibilities: “multiple circulating exhibitions”, “educational exhibitions”, and “color reproductions”.

century. They show both the connections between American printmaking with the European avant-gardes, and the rise of new techniques in the context. For this, it is interesting to point out to the work by Arthur Wesley Dow, where the artist explores the possibilities of very subtle color layers in woodcut on Japanese paper (**cat. 14**). The introduction of the graphic arts *per se* is the subject of Paul Landacre's work, *The Press* (1934), in contrast with Armin Landeck's *Studio Interior n° 1* (1935) (**cat. 34**), where he depicts a printing machine with precision.

42 works in the exhibition are concentrated around Hayter's work and Atelier 17, making his oeuvre converse with both American and Brazilian printmakers, who either took training with him or were well versed in the dissemination of his "new ways of gravure". They are the core of the show and were key in the understanding of the outstanding American print collection MAC USP now holds, as well as for us to go further in the investigation of American and Brazilian artistic milieus relations along the 1950s.

The essays presented here were written by experts who have been working in different aspects of this story, and are records of their participation in the international conference organized in the context of the exhibition. With this project, we have thus hoped to, first, show works of art that neither the Brazilians nor the Americans were aware of the existence in our collections. Finally, we have searched to throw new light on such works and help their interpretation in the context in which they ended up in a Brazilian collection.

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Print Diplomacy:
Prints in the Collection of the Terra
Foundation for American Art

Peter John Brownlee

Though Daniel J. Terra (1911-1996) began collecting American art during the 1970s, it was not until the mid-1990s that he began to acquire prints in earnest. During the last few years of his life, he purchased more than 150 prints; they were, in fact, some of the last works he purchased before passing away in 1996¹. This closing chapter to Terra's collecting career has long raised the question: why prints, then? Throughout the 1980s, Mr. Terra had assembled deep holdings of work by Maurice Prendergast (1858-1924), a trove that included oil paintings, watercolors, and, eventually, 60 of the artist's experimental monotypes. Collecting these works on paper in such great numbers led Mr. Terra to eventually set his sights on other important prints of this period, especially the famed dry-point aquatints of Mary Cassatt (1844-1926) and the etchings of James McNeil Whistler (1834-1903), artists already represented in the collection by major paintings.

Inspired by Japanese woodblock ukiyo-e prints, the graphic works of Cassatt and Whistler established a course for advancing printmaking in the 1870s and 80s that American artists followed in the ensuing decades. One of the earliest Whistler prints Mr. Terra acquired, the etching *The Riva n° 1* (**Figure 1**), which Whistler originally published in the 1880 portfolio *Twelve Etchings* also known as the *First Venice Set*, appears to have whetted an appetite for more works by this master and his many followers. To this end, Terra engaged New York print dealer Margo Schab in the early 1990s to advise and help him build a respectable print collection, a project that would, unfortunately, remain incomplete at the time of his death. With Schab's help, however, Terra purchased a number of works very quickly over a relatively short period of time, amassing over 275 prints, or about one third of his overall collection.

¹ For more on Daniel J. Terra, his collection, and his three museums, see Elizabeth Kennedy, *A Patriotic Muse: A History of the Daniel J. Terra Collection and the Terra Museum of American Art*, in **An American Point of View: The Daniel J. Terra Collection**. Chicago: Terra Museum of American Art, distributed by Hudson Hills Press, New York, 2002, p. 17-27.



Fig. 1 • James Abbott McNeill Whistler

The Riva n° 1, 1879-1880

etching and dry-point on ivory laid paper, 20,0 x 29,2 cm

Terra Foundation for American Art, Daniel J. Terra Collection, 1992.156

As someone deeply involved in the printing industry — Terra was the son of a lithographer and made his fortune from innovations in the manufacture of quick drying printing inks — he took particular interest in the materials and technical processes involved in making prints. As a collector, Terra wished to compile as comprehensive collection of prints as possible, gathering key images and the best obtainable impressions².

The subjects of the prints Terra acquired ranged from nature scenes and urban views to social realist images of laborers and works of abstraction. Arthur Wesley Dow's serene woodcut *Moonrise* (**cat. 14**), made around the turn of the twentieth century, contrasts sharply with the visual overload of William Zorach's *Mountain Stream* (**cat. 53**) of 1915, though both involve natural forms. The elemental starkness of Rockwell Kent's *Flame* (**cat. 31**) ignites probing questions of the fundamental nature of humankind, while the darting lines of John Marin's *Brooklyn Bridge n° 6* (**cat. 39**) demonstrate an organic approach to the depiction of machine-made reality. In fact, the first two works by John Marin that Mr. Terra owned were etchings, later joined by the exquisite watercolor, *Brooklyn Bridge, on the Bridge* (1930) in 1999 and the oil, *Sailboat, Brooklyn Bridge, New York Skyline* (1934) in 2006. Marin, like other artists of his generation, were deeply influenced by Whistler's etchings. The slashing lines that animate Marin's masterful *Brooklyn Bridge n° 6* (**cat. 39**) and the streamlined swirls of Louis Lozowick's lithograph *New York* of 1925 (**cat. 37**), capture the vibrancy of the city. The static linearity of Harry Brodsky's 1941 lithograph *Under the Boardwalk*, a progenitor of 1960s Op Art, depicts urban structures at rest.

Terra also collected the work of printmakers such as Armin Landeck, Boris Gorelick, and Benton Spruance, who dedicated their efforts in the medium to visualizing the life and times of working people. Emblematic of the *labor* of printmaking, which was important to Mr. Terra, their works embed elements of social realism within complexly constructed prints that demonstrate artisanal finesse and mastery of media as well as inventive, even surrealist, concepts and compositions. Prints by Dow, Blanche Lazzell, John Ferren, and Stanley William Hayter neatly illustrate a trajectory of innovation in the application of color, yet demonstrate great diversity in artistic approaches to abstraction.

The works selected for this exhibition illustrate a spectrum of printmaking aesthetics, techniques, and materials prevalent in the United States and elsewhere during the first half of the twentieth century: etching, linocut, woodcut, lithography, silk screen. Each nod to Hayter and his practice in particular ways. Like Hayter, Dow was an innovative

2 The author would like to thank Margo Schab for sharing her recollections of working with Mr. Terra during the mid-1990s. Phone conversation with author, September 12, 2018. For more on Terra's life and career, see his obituary in the **Washington Post**, July 1, 1996, https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/local/1996/07/01/cultural-ambassador-daniel-terra-dies/07feb50d-f4bd-486c-a288-1a80f17f69d2/?utm_term=.d7fb6405fed7. Accessed Sept. 19, 2018.

and influential educator. His attentiveness to the subtleties of color is evidenced most beautifully in his woodcut *Moonrise* (**cat. 14**). The fluid, darting lines of John Marin's *Brooklyn Bridge n° 6* (**cat. 39**) find echo in Hayter's major works of the mid-1940s. John Ferren's 1937 woodcut, *Sea Forms* (**cat. 16**), printed in Hayter's studio, exemplifies Atelier 17's strong interest in biomorphism and the fluidity and dynamism of natural, organic forms. The layered abstraction of Spruance and Gorelick share Hayter's predilection for overlapping shapes and intersecting lines.

As a collector, Terra was interested in gathering representative examples to illustrate how printmaking fit into the larger story of American art, a story he was eager to share with audiences around the globe. He recognized that he could do this with prints in a way that was already by the mid-1980s becoming increasingly difficult to do exclusively with paintings. Thus, prints, it seems, merged Terra's interest in the mechanics of art with the story of its thematic and aesthetic evolution in the United States. As Ambassador-at-Large for Cultural Affairs, a position he held under President Ronald Reagan from 1981 to 1989, Mr. Terra strongly felt that art had the capacity to both unite and distinguish cultures. Emphasizing the importance of experiencing works of art first hand, surely, he would have been pleased to see prints from his collection placed into direct dialogue with works made by Brazil printmakers from the first half of the twentieth century, artists who also found inspiration in the works of Whistler, Hayter, and many others both north and south of the equator.

American Prints at MAC USP: Itinerary of a Collection

Carolina Rossetti de Toledo

There is no other collection of modern American prints in Brazil as significant as the one currently housed at the Museum of Contemporary Art of the University of São Paulo (MAC USP). This graphic nucleus is formed of more than 40 works, mostly of artists who worked or collaborated, to some extent, with Atelier 17. Founded by British artist Stanley William Hayter, Atelier 17 was an experimental center for innovative printmaking. Originally inaugurated in 1927 in Paris, the atelier was reinstalled in New York in 1940, because of the increased hostilities during World War II. Initially located in an independent studio in an apartment in Paris, Atelier 17 was frequented by important European avant-garde artists, among Marc Chagall, Joan Miró, André Masson and Pablo Picasso (KAINEN, 1992). In the United States, the studio took on new characteristics and was formalized, occupying an official space at New School of Social Research — “perhaps the most liberal atmosphere to be found at that time in New York” (HAYTER, 1964, p. 100) — and being actively promoted by major museums and collectors.¹

Abstract Expressionist artists such as Jackson Pollock, Mark Rothko, Adolph Gottlieb and Louise Nevelson (WYE, 2004), also worked in the studio at different periods and capacities, although the most significant impact for the development of the field was through artists who became important teachers of printmaking in schools and universities across the United States, such as Gabor Peterdi, Louis Schanker and Fred Becker. These artists influenced an entire generation in printmaking methods and technical innovations encouraged and often discovered or developed at Atelier 17. “Their teaching in the academic environment ensured the continuation of Hayter’s precepts as the new orthodoxy; it came to dominate the practice of printmaking in America during the 1950s”, wrote art historian Stephen Coppel (2008, p. 33-34).

¹ Hayter returned to Paris in 1950, when Atelier was reinaugurated at the French capital, while artists Leo Katz, Peter Grippe e Karl Schrag kept the studio open and operational in New York until 1955. For more information about the Atelier 17 in New York, after Hayter left the United States, see: (HAYTER, 1964, p. 100).

The Atelier 17 is often described as an environment that favored the development of a new technicity, through experimentation of different printmaking methods, creation of new color printing techniques and incorporation of unconventional materials into the production of the image, such as textiles, fibers and plastics.² This spirit of constant technical innovation was also allied to a modernist aesthetic discourse, more specifically, of surrealist inclination as a direct influence of Hayter's encouragement of the practice of automatism and the importance of the subconscious as an expressive force.

The point that distinguishes this workshop from nearly all other institutions in which printmaking is done or taught is the shared conviction that a technique is an action in which the imagination of the user is excited, whereby an order of image otherwise latent becomes visible; and not merely a series of mechanical devices to produce or repeat a previously formulated image on paper. (HAYTER, 1964, p. 94).

The movement led by Atelier 17 and other active printmaking studios across the United States was described as a "renaissance of modern American printmaking",³ a heroic narrative promoted by art critics and curators with the purpose of valuing the graphic production developed in the United States during the World War II and later in the postwar years. This moment also coincides with the formation of specialized collections of modern prints and the creation of the first curatorial departments exclusively dedicated to the acquisition, study and promotion of modern graphic arts and works on paper in American museums⁴, that until that time had less appreciation and institutional attention than more prestigious art mediums, such as painting or sculpture.

In a text for MoMA's magazine in 1944, curator James Johnson Sweeney attributed the success of Hayter and the artists associated with his studio as the ability to revitalize a centuries-old image-making method and recover its creative potential, making it relevant to the modern art discourse.

What is probably the greatest achievement of Hayter and his Studio 17 is the freshness with which they have revived Mantegna's technique in burin engraving and the vitality with which they have exploited it and various etching procedures in step with the most venturesome plastic research of today. We cannot fail to be struck by the independence with which various members have worked together under Hayter's technical guidance without conceding the individuality which has marked their work

2 See text by Hayter (1944) about engraving techniques.

3 See interview with MoMA curator William Lieberman for the exhibition **American Prints for the 20th Century**, 8 set. 1954, available at: https://www.moma.org/documents/moma_press-release_325957.pdf. Accessed Nov, 18, 2018.

4 The Brooklyn Museum inaugurated its Prints & Drawings Department in 1937 under the leadership of curator Una Johnson; the Philadelphia Museum of Art hired Carl Zigrosser as the first Curator of Prints, Drawing and Rare Books in 1941 and its department was founded through a large donation made by the Print Club in Philadelphia; MoMA opened the Abby Rockefeller Print Room in 1949 led by William Lieberman to mark the donation of 1,600 prints received by the Museum's co-founder. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, however, had established its Department of Prints much earlier in 1916, under the guidance of its first curator, William M. Ivins, Jr. The second curator to lead the department at the MET from 1946 to 1966 was A. Hyatt Mayor, also an important supporter of the Atelier 17 group.

in other media. For them, as for Hayter, the work of Studio 17, like all the greatest contemporary pictorial expression, is primarily research toward expanding the frontiers of expression. And through their concerted efforts under Hayter's leadership a wide, overgrown field is being reclaimed (SWEENEY, 1944, p. 5).

Artists associated with this historical context whose works are currently part of MAC USP's collections include: Stanley William Hayter, Louis Schanker, Fred Becker, Gabor Peterdi, Adja Yunkers, Karl Schrag, Boris Margo, Seong Moy, as well as an important presence of women engravers, such as Minna Citron, Sue Fuller, Anne Ryan, and Marjean Kettunen. The relevance of this group is not only due to the relationship of this collective with one of the most important centers of graphic production in the United States in the mid-twentieth century and the prominence of the prints, but also because of the system of international circulation in which their works were inserted. Artists represented in this exhibition at MAC USP had their prints included in a diplomatic effort to promote American art on the global stage, specifically through circulating exhibitions organized by MoMA and government cultural agencies that traveled to Brazil and other countries in Latin America⁵.

In this sense, different donations and acquisitions resulted in the formation of the print collection at MAC USP. This group of prints arrived in Brazil in the 1950s through successive private donations of American businessmen and political leaders. The most important donation was made by Nelson Rockefeller in 1951, consisting of a total of 25 works. In addition, Lessing Rosenwald, a Chicago-based entrepreneur and a major print collector, made another significant donation of nine prints in 1956, including Walter Rogalski's *Fiddlers* (**cat. 45**) and Adja Yunkers' *Composition* (**cat. 52**), both included in this exhibition. A third and smaller donation by Henry Ford, founder of Ford Motor Company, added a print by Seattle-based artist Morris Graves to the collection in 1953.⁶

Among all these donations, that of Nelson Rockefeller appears to be the most relevant and needs to be understood in a broader context, as part of a cultural and political understanding between the United States and Brazil that began to be established in the 1940s. Nelson Rockefeller was an important personality in the arts and politics of the United States, former governor of the state of New York (1959-1973) and vice-president of the country during the mandate of Gerald Ford (1974-1977).

5 A traveling exhibition that marked this production was *Hayter and Studio 17: New Directions in Gravure*, which circulated in Latin American countries, under the management of the National Gallery of Art through the Inter-American Office between 1944-45. Department of Circulating Exhibitions Records, [II.1.86.2.1]. The Museum of Modern Art Archives, New York.

6 The Lessing Rosenwald donation is referenced in Amaral (2006, p. 267). The Lessing Rosenwald donation of 1956 includes nine prints from Leonard Baskin, Ben Shan, Richard Florsheim, Peter Hoag, Sidney Jack Hurwitz, Hans Jelinek, Walter Rogalski, Peter Takal and Adja Yunkers. The Ford donation of 1953 added a second work by Morris Grave to MAC USP's collection, since Nelson Rockefeller had also donated a painting by this artist in 1946. See (TOLEDO, 2015)

The Rockefeller family was also a major source of funding for arts and philanthropic organizations in the United States; Nelson's mother, Abby Rockefeller, famously co-founded the Museum of Modern Art of New York.

Nelson Rockefeller's interest in Brazil had started when he directed the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, an agency created with the mission of building alliances between the United States and Latin America during the war. In his capacity as director of this institution, Rockefeller came to Brazil on different occasions and his travels often mixed political and economic agendas with private efforts in the field of arts and culture, which were interconnected and highly aligned with the "politics of attraction" described by scholar Daria Jaremtchuk.

"Politics of attraction" defines a set of actions that seek to reverse the negative image and rejection to the United States present in Latin America. To reverse this negative scenario, US agencies proposed specific projects and activities, including the exchange of intellectuals, scientists, teachers and artists with the United States, the organization of literary, artistic and cultural events and the circulation of exhibitions with works of American artists by Latin America, as it also occurred in Europe (JAREMTCHUK, 2017).

In 1946, during a trip to Brazil, Rockefeller donated an important collection of paintings and sculptures, with works by American artists (Alexander Calder, Jacob Lawrence, Morris Graves, Robert Gwathmey), as well as the European artists living in exile in the United States (Marc Chagall, André Masson, Fernand Léger, Max Ernst).⁷ This donation, according to an interview he gave to the press, was intended to be a first step in the formation of a modern art museum in São Paulo "marking a new era in Brazilian artistic life".⁸ This first donation was the foundation that solidified the alliances between leaders of the cultural sector of both countries and, as a consequence, enabled the second donation of engravings, in 1951, which is the main focus of the current exhibition. Rockefeller also made a third donation in 1952, this time to Museum of Modern Art of Rio de Janeiro with paintings by Jackson Pollock and Robert Motherwell. This brief panorama seeks to better situate the trajectory of this collection of prints and to reflect more broadly on how the processes of formation of the MAC USP collection were directly related to political and cultural interests established between the United States and Brazil in the postwar period.⁹

7 Since São Paulo still did not have a museum of modern art at the moment of the donation, the works were initially housed at the headquarters of Institute of Architects of Brazil, later being transferred to the Municipal Library. The works were finally donated to the Museum of Modern Art of São Paulo in 1949. See TOLEDO (2015).

8 Interview by Nelson Rockefeller to the newspaper **O Globo**, Homenagem ao sr. Nelson Rockefeller, 19 Nov. 1946, p. 4.

9 For more detail about the formation of the MAC USP collection, see article by Ana Gonçalves Magalhães in this book.

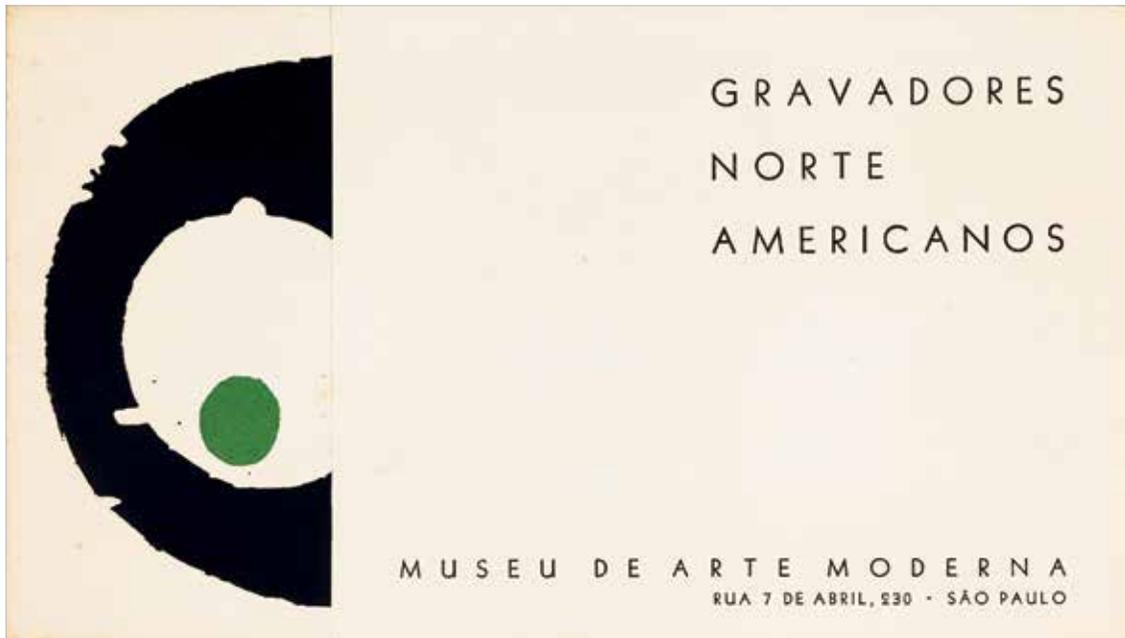


Fig.1 • *Exposição Gravadores Norte-Americanos, 1951*

Brochure. Production and Distribution of the
Informational Material

Museu de Arte Moderna de São Paulo.

Arquivo Histórico Wanda Svevo/Fundação Bienal
de São Paulo



**Figs. 2 a 4 • Gravadores Norte-
Americanos, 1951**

Register of Event: Alice Brill.
Arquivo Histórico Wanda
Svevo/Fundação Bienal
de São Paulo.

In 1951, a few months after the arrival of the works to Brazil, the print collection was first shown in São Paulo in the panoramic exhibition *North American Engravers (Figures 1 to 4)*, from April to May 1951 at MAM SP, temporarily located in the commercial building of the newspaper **Diário Associados**.

In the forward of the exhibition, the curator wrote:

To our public, which begins to give evident signs of an interest for the art of engraving, the works exhibited will present many original solutions and innovative techniques, as well as document an activity, in one of the most attractive fields of art, that is now in development in the United States. For those who, going further, wish to become engravers, the exhibition will certainly be a useful object of study. But these technical aspects, however important they may be, represent only the means of achievement put at the service of artists that wish, first of all, to convey an aesthetic vision of a new world.¹⁰

With the exception of this first exhibition at MAM SP in 1951, these prints were rarely exhibited to the public since their donation to Brazil.

A first analysis of this collection indicates the high correspondence of this group of prints at MAC USP with the curatorial work being developed by print departments at MoMA and the Brooklyn Museum. This collection reflected, to a large extent, a wide range of engraving techniques and experiments that were popular at the Atelier 17; with works by well-known artists and, in some cases, composed of award-winning prints that were also acquired by important American museums for their own collections. The selection of prints sent to Brazil was organized during the time William Lieberman was chief-curator of prints and drawings at MoMA, a museum that inaugurated a specialized department for works on paper in 1949, with the opening of the Abby Rockefeller Print Room, created in honor of the co-founder of the museum.¹¹ The collection that arrived in Brazil two years later reflects a selection of works that was closely aligned to the curatorial choices and acquisition priorities made by the MoMA's print department at that time.

In 1944, MoMA organized *Hayter and Studio 17: New Directions in Gravure*. This important exhibition presented, for the first time, a significant set of works produced by artists who collaborated with Hayter. The exhibition portrays Atelier 17 as a center for experimentation and graphic innovation that fostered a revived interest for engraving

¹⁰ Folder of the exhibition *Gravadores Norte-Americanos*, Museu de Arte de São Paulo, 1951. Rockefeller Archive Center.

¹¹ Abby Rockefeller had an impressive collection of prints that she started to acquire in the 1920s. In 1940, she donated over 1,600 prints to MoMA, an institution that created a specialized department for the study of engraving in 1940. The inauguration of this Print Room was marked by the exhibition *Master Prints*, a show that has many similarities with the selections of prints donated to MAC USP. For more information about the Abby Rockefeller Print Room, see Abby Aldrich Rockefeller and print collecting: an early mission for MoMA: June 24-September 21, 1999, available at: https://www.moma.org/documents/moma_catalogue_191_300104271.pdf. Accessed Nov, 18, 2018.

by modern artists. Atelier 17 is described as a catalyst of a larger movement of increased appreciation for engravings, making this medium noteworthy of art critics and propelling it to the center of the modern art debate at the time.

The 1944 exhibition was a traveling show. A smaller version of 50 works circulated in Latin America between 1944 and 1945, under the management of Nelson Rockefeller at the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs. The traveling section of the exhibition also incorporated works by Latin American artists, including Brazilian artists Teresa D'Amico and Maria Martins¹². It is important to note that prints were a low-cost reproducible medium, systematically used by governmental agencies and cultural institutions as an effective tool for circulating American art in countries of strategic interest to the United States during the 1940s and 1950s¹³.

Among the engravings currently at MAC USP that were included in the 1944 MoMA exhibition is Hayter's *Tarantelle* (1943) (**cat. 22**). This print is one of the best-known and prestigious works in the Museum's collection of prints; it also included in another important MoMA exhibition called *Master Prints* in 1949. This exhibition, curated by William Lieberman in collaboration with Alfred Barr, shows even greater correspondence with the collection donated to Brazil. In all, nine works of MAC USP were present in *Master Prints*, including: *Marine* (1948) (**cat. 09**) by Minna Citron, *Hen* (1945) (**cat. 17**) by Sue Fuller, *Synthesis* (1948) (**cat. 30**) by Raymond Jordan, *Attack on Marshall Gilbert* (1948) (**cat. 33**) by Kenneth Kilstrom, *Alleyway* (1948) (**cat. 35**) by Armin Landeck, *The Sea* (1949) (**cat. 38**) by Boris Margo, *Pastorale* (1947) by Alton Pickens, *Dead Bird* (1947) (**cat. 51**) by Adja Yunkers. A third exhibition of *American Woodcuts* (1952) also presented works currently at MAC USP, such as Louise Krueger's *The Boater* (1948), Anne Ryan's *The Captive* (1946) (**cat. 46**), Louise Schanker's *Carnival* (1945) (**cat. 48**) and Frank Wallace's *Pompei I* (1949).¹⁴

In addition to the direct relationship between the MAC USP collection and the MoMA exhibitions mentioned above, the collection also reflects award-winning works that participated in print exhibitions organized by the Brooklyn Museum, also a central institution in the process of promoting and disseminating modern printmaking at that time. The Brooklyn Museum formed a print department in 1937, more than a decade before MoMA, and its collection had become a rich repository of the most innovative expressions of modern engraving.

¹² See Christina Weyl's essay in this book.

¹³ Other traveling print shows that circulated throughout Latin America include: *Silk Screen Print* (1944); *The American Woodcut Today* (1954), *Contemporary Printmaking in U.S.A* (1954), *Thirty American Printmakers* (1954), *Twenty Five American Prints* (1954), *Young American Printmakers* (1954). See: Circulating Exhibitions 1931-1954. **The Bulletin of the Museum of Modern Art**, vol. 21, n° 3/4, 1954, p. 3-30. JSTOR, JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/4058235. Accessed Nov, 18, 2018.

¹⁴ **Master Prints** (1949) complete checklist is available at: https://www.moma.org/documents/moma_master-checklist_325664.pdf. Accessed Nov, 18, 2018.

Brooklyn Museum inaugurated a major series of annual exhibitions in 1947 to present a broad overview of contemporary prints called the *National Print Annual Exhibitions*. Many of the works at MAC USP participated in these group shows, organized by curator Una Johnson, for whom “in the United States, some of the most original and creative statements in the field of art are to be found in the medium of fine printmaking” (JOHNSON, 1956, p.14). Among the works shown at these print annuals, four received acquisition prizes: *Rain and Sea* (1946) (**cat. 49**) by Karl Schrag, *Heavy Bird* (1950) (**cat. 32**) by Marjean Kettunen, *Self-Analysis* (1947) by James Louis Steg, and *Catwalk* (1949) by Max Kahn. Two other prints were also exhibited but did not receive prizes, including *Alleyway* (**cat. 35**) by Armin Landeck (1948) and *Eternal Wanderer* by Henry Mark (1947). It is clear that the work being done by Una Johnson at the Brooklyn Museum also influenced, albeit indirectly, the selection of prints that arrived in Brazil.

Besides the aforementioned Rockefeller, Ford and Rosenwald donations that form the main nucleus of American engravings at MAC USP, a few acquisitions by Brazilian collector Francisco Matarazzo Sobrinho – founder of MAM SP and the São Paulo Art Biennial – enriched the museum’s print holdings through targeted additions made during purchases at the Biennials.

In 1959, the V São Paulo Art Biennial presented a special gallery with a retrospective of Stanley William Hayter’s works, organized by Great Britain, included not only prints but also lesser-known examples of his abstract paintings. The prints *Mérou* (1958) (**cat. 28**) and *Varèche* (1958) (**cat. 29**) were exhibited and purchased on this occasion. These two prints show a definite change in Hayter’s approach to printmaking. At that time, he had abandoned the use of the burin and started to explore with dripping processes.

About these works, the English curator Robert Erskine wrote:

Until recently, Hayter’s style of engraving was characterized by the long traces of a burin. In the new engravings here displayed, Hayter left the burin and returned with great success to the chemical process, instead of the mechanic. The images of the new engravings mark the copper at different levels, so that paints of different colors can lie simultaneously on the plate, prevented by their [different] consistencies that they mix together. The plates go to the press with all the paints and colors added, obtaining from one single impression the complete engraving. This method assures an entirely organic character that highlights Hayter’s intentions as creator of images (ERSKINE, 1959, p. 22-23).

The two engravings presented at the V Biennale and acquired by Matarazzo thus show a very different aspect of Hayter’s work than can be seen in the earlier print *Tarantelle* (1943) (**cat. 22**), providing another example of the artist’s expressive trajectory and giving greater depth to MAC USP’s collection.

Matarazzo also acquired three works by Minna Citron, including *Squid Under Pier* (1948) (**cat. 10**), presented at the II São Paulo Biennial in the independent artists gallery; *Deac* (1948) and *Way Through the Woods* (1950). Minna Citron is an outstanding case because of the high level of exposure that her work received in Brazil. She had already exhibited *Marine* (1948) (**cat. 09**) in the I São Paulo Biennial, and in 1952 the Museum of Modern Art of São Paulo organized a large monographic exhibition of her prints and paintings¹⁵. Citron is definitely the artist associated with Atelier 17 whose work received greater exposure and interest in Brazilian art scene. This is also why MAC USP has four prints by Citron, the largest number of prints by any of Atelier 17 artist represented in the collection.

The beginning of the 1950s saw the circulation, through São Paulo's most relevant institutions in the field of modern art (the former Museum of Modern Art and the Art Biennials) of prints made from different typologies, styles and techniques that provided a rich overview of the spirit of innovation and experimentation that this field enjoyed in the United States. Atelier 17 appears at the forefront of this narrative, acting as the topical center for the diffusion of new ideas and technical possibilities of modern engraving. Atelier 17 had important local reverberations in Brazil, as well as in other Latin American countries, that are still not properly documented or well understood in the traditional narratives of the history of art¹⁶. As direct result of this process, MAC USP holds today the most important record of modern American prints available for exhibition, study and research in Brazil, due to a series private donations from national and foreign collectors, partly motivated by the politics of the understanding established between Brazil and the United States in the postwar period, and subsequently fostered by the international system of circulation of modern art operated both by the traveling exhibition program at MoMA and the São Paulo Art Biennials.

¹⁵ See exhibition *Pinturas e Gravuras de Minna Citron*, from 14 May – 31 May, 1949. Museum of Modern Art of São Paulo. Source: Arquivo Wanda Svevo. Fundação Bienal.

¹⁶ See articles by Silvia Dolinko, Heloisa Espada and Priscila Sachettin in this book.

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Art is Something You Pass On ¹

Ruth Fine

In the early decades of the twentieth century through the start of World War II, the art of the print in the United States encompassed myriad new ideas. The focus here is on the most forward looking manifestations of this, those that also reflect events in other of the visual arts. However, there are some ideas that are specific to the unique characteristics of prints and the processes of their making. These distinctive print-related developments took place throughout the country; but observations here primarily address New York, where artists from many regions assembled, owing to the numerous possibilities in that city which can function as a microcosm for activities also happening elsewhere.

Starting in the previous century, artists of all stripes, conservative and cutting-edge, were traveling back and forth across the Atlantic to study. Works of art likewise took transatlantic journeys for purposes of exhibition and sale. For a majority of the artists Europe meant France, particularly Paris. However, some traveled to Italy, especially Venice, known to many art aficionados via etchings, especially two groups published in 1880 and 1886 by James A. McNeill Whistler (1834-1903), a bright star in the world of printmaking that continues to shine in the United States more than a century after his death. Artists also journeyed to Germany (Otto Bacher, 1856-1909, an Ohio-born associate of Whistler who likewise depicted Venice), Scandinavia (William H. Johnson, 1901-1970), and elsewhere.

¹ This title has its source in a conversation between Robert Blackburn and Curlee Raven Holton, BLACKBURN, Robert. A Modernist: My Personal Story in **Robert Blackburn: Passages** (exh. cat.), The David C. Driskell Center at the University, of Maryland, 1993, which is the source for the extended quotation from Blackburn on page 65 of this essay. It includes Deborah Cullen's cogent account of Harlem-based workshops in the early twentieth-century. Jessica Todd Smith exhibition *American Modernism: Highlights from the Philadelphia Museum of Art*, 2018 was on view at the time of writing this present essay, Walking with Smith through the show was helpful in thinking about this essay as were conversations with Shelley Langdale, Associate Curator of the Museum's department of prints, drawings, and photographs at the Museum. I thank them both.

This extensive momentum brought back to the United States an international range of ideas that became important to the understanding of new art, including (to be cursory) the brilliant colors of Fauvism; the fractured forms in layered space developed by Cézanne that were furthered by Cubism; the rhythmic overlapping actions of Futurism; and the psychological emphasis of Surrealism that followed. With this influx of ideas from Europe, however, came a simultaneous commitment to forging a uniquely “American” aesthetic (during this period and up to relatively recent times “America” was generally used in to address matters specific to the United States).

Additional art-centered factors that contributed to developments in the U.S. were: 1) European immigrant artists, from both Eastern and Western Europe (for example, Russian-born Louis Lozowick (1892-1973) (**cat. 37**), who brought a wide range of cultural knowledge; 2) the influence of *Japonism* — a craze for all things Japanese that were imported soon after Japan opened to foreign travelers in the late 19th century, particularly the relatively inexpensive *ukiyo-e* woodcuts that were brought to both Europe and the United States in large numbers. Whistler and the influential artist/teacher Arthur Wesley Dow (1857-1922) were among many artists who were strongly impacted by this art from the East; 3) the formation of artists’ communities, often seasonal, committed to education and the practice of sharing ideas (Dow founded one school in Ipswich, MA; 4) Gallery 291 which opened in Manhattan in 1905, under the aegis of photographer Alfred Stieglitz. Originally called The Little Galleries of the Photo Secession and focused on photography as a fine art, the space was renamed in 1908 and was among the first places to exhibit contemporary work by both European and American artists. These included August Rodin (1840-1917) and John Marin (1870-1953) (**cat. 39**); 5) the 1913 *International Exhibition of Modern Art* (known also as *The Armory Show*), on view in New York, Chicago, and (in a smaller version) Boston. It included more than 1300 works by some 300 artists from the United States, France, England, Germany, Switzerland, and elsewhere; 6) the activities of Mexican mural painters in the United States, and the power of aesthetic and political messages from Jose Clemente Orozco (1883-1949), Diego Rivera (1886-1957) and David Alfaro Siqueiros (1896-1974).

Socio-political contributions to modernist ideas working parallel to those that were art-based included 1) a shift from an agricultural to an urban society; 2) radical changes in the country’s racial structures, reflecting the Great Migration of African Americans from South to North; 3) the advent of World War I and its aftermath; 4) the Great Depression. Attendant changes in the nature of artistic practice were especially important to those involved with prints, whose impetus for experimentation ran parallel to the rapidly developing technologies in the industrial world, spurred by innovations in factories, transport, and warfare.

Subjects these artists addressed were extremely diverse, and the media they employed ranged widely as well (see technical data in glossary). The processes they most commonly used were 1) relief printing the potential of which is from the bold to the elegantly detailed, as seen in the contrast between William Zorach's woodcut, *Mountain Stream* (**cat. 53**), and John Ferren's wood engraving *Sea Forms*, (**cat. 16**); 2) *Intaglio* — an umbrella term for a group of processes that later were favored at Atelier 17. An example is Armin Landeck's *Studio Interior n° 1* (**cat. 34**); 3) lithography, for which the varying richness of line and tone may be gleaned by comparing Arshile Gorky's *Mannikin* and Stuart Davis's *Rue des Rats* (**cat. 11**); 4) screenprint — a process credited as having been brought into the fine art realm by Guy Maccoy (1904-1981), who learned the technique while working commercially, in which type of print establishments it was first explored. Maccoy's *Woman with Cat*, 1932 (**Figure 1**) is considered among the first screenprints to be printed in a limited edition by a fine artist.

Artists have practiced many of these processes for centuries; but modern forms, both figurative and abstract, added impetus to explore new combinations of techniques during the decades addressed here. Moreover, modern offshoots employing photographic processes, starting in the second half of the nineteenth-century in both fine- and commercial-art contexts made boundaries between them porous, increasingly so as time moved forward. Printmaking has long been considered a democratic art, in part because as multiple originals the works may be marketed at a cost that permits them to be widely distributed, a way of generating interest in art among diverse populations. One way this was exemplified in the 1930s, during the Great Depression, was through the lithographs published by Associated American Artists galleries, often in editions of 250 to be sold for \$5 apiece. Many of these images have been categorized as “regionalist” in overviews of this period; but our less categorically tight approach to art history today allows for a wider understanding of what is accepted as modernist practice.

Quotidian subject matter and dramatic compositional devices that embrace premises of abstraction are evident in many Associated American Artists editions, which include works by Thomas Hart Benton (1889-1975), an influential teacher of Jackson Pollock (1912-1956) (**cat. 44**). At its height, Associated American Artists maintained galleries in three cities (New York, Chicago, Los Angeles), and in addition to prints had ventures involving textiles and ceramics as well, suggesting the variety of work that was being championed for collecting by persons of relatively modest means.

A division is made between painter-printmakers and printmaker-printmakers, which often actually references the kind(s) of work for which an artist is best known rather than the whole of his or her corpus. For example, Hayter made an extensive body of



Fig. 1 • Guy Maccoby

Woman with Cat, 1932

screenprint, 31,4 x 23,5 cm

Image courtesy Philadelphia Museum of Art,

Purchased with the Thomas Skelton Harrison Fund,

1941-53-171. www.guymaccoby.com

paintings as well as his far better-known prints. Early twentieth-century practitioners, for example, George Bellows (1882-1925), Marin, and Max Weber (1881-1961) are admired for their work in both painting and printmaking, as are those two practitioners so essential to early twentieth century modernist prints, Whistler and Dow; and in the case of Dow, for his photographs as well.

Although Whistler spent most of his adult life abroad, his influence in the U.S. was pervasive, owing to exhibitions, especially of prints, which were recorded in several comprehensive catalogues during and immediately after his lifetime. Starting in the late 1870s especially, Whistler's spare drawing style, his painterly — monoprint — method of wiping the surface of etching plates, the qualities of abstraction that mark his forms, and the framing and fragmenting within his subject and compositional selection — windows and doorways, underpasses and passageways — private places instead of tourist vistas and romantic landscapes that were more dominant in other artists' work.

Artists moving in such different directions as Marin and Joseph Pennell (1857-1926), were profoundly impacted by Whistler. Unlike Marin who was admired for his paintings, drawings, and watercolors as well as his prints, Pennell was essentially an etcher, lithographer, and illustrator, celebrated for drawings and prints of architectural subjects, from skyscrapers to the Panama Canal. Pennell knew Whistler. Marin did not. But Whistler's art was referenced frequently in the ground-breaking journal **Camera Work**, published from 1903-1917 by Stieglitz, Marin's supportive gallerist, who's own work as a photographer was likewise influential in the expansive art world of his time.

Thus Whistler was immensely important to the atmospheric approaches of contemporary pictorial photography, functioning as a conduit with the pervasive embrace of *Japonism* that was critical also to Dow. As a young artist Dow had discovered Katsushika Hokusai (1760-1849) and through him embraced *Japoniste* interests. In his **Composition: A Series of Exercises in Art Structure for the use of Students and Teachers**, first published in 1899, Dow set out principles that crossed boundaries unapologetically, "putting together" culturally and aesthetically, and aspiring to create harmony through the three elements he saw as essential: Line, *Notan* (tonal harmonics of dark and light), and Color.

Dow's sublime color woodcuts such as *Moonrise* (**cat. 14**), inspired by Hokusai's *ukiyo-e* prints, reflect the younger artist's understanding of the extraordinary subtlety of the Japanese process. Dow's prints became well known virtually immediately when they were exhibited at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts in 1895, with a publication written by Ernest Francisco Fenollosa (1853-1908), the Museum's curator of Japanese art. An exhibition of them in San Francisco soon followed, thereby introducing artists on both coasts to a Western use of *ukiyo-e* techniques.

Dow editioned his prints in variant colors, making each a unique monoprint woodcut. This practice bears a kinship with the monotype, which was popular at the time, practiced in depth by Maurice Prendergast (1859-1924), but also by John Sloan (1871-1951) and Abraham Walkowitz (1878-1965) among others. Moreover, in Dow's *Composition*, the section on "picture printing" discusses the stencil method, bringing a relationship between his woodcut concerns and those of screen printing. Dow's ideas were shared through his writings and art production as well as with students at the Ipswich Summer School of Art, which he founded and ran in various iterations from approximately 1890 to 1907; at Pratt Institute; and at Columbia University Teachers' College where he taught from 1904 through 1922.

While Dow's prints, like Whistler's, have their origins in the visible world, the methods both artist's prints employ and their concern with central elements of abstract picture-making — line, tone, and color (this last more with Dow than Whistler, although he did make elegantly poignant color lithographs) — led them both to advance modernist printmaking. Dow's woodcuts, rooted in Japanese techniques with their tendency to build strong forms through both subtle *and* dramatic shifts of tone and color have a sense of modernity embedded in them.

Japanese woodcuts were on the minds of others as well: an exhibition of them was on view at the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C., in 1892, organized by the Institution's first curator of prints, Sylvester Rosa Koehler, previously a print curator in Boston. The show would undoubtedly have drawn the attention and fascination of many artists, including as it did both works of art and the tools used for their making.

Some 20 years later, a quarter of the 1300 works in the 1913 *Armory Show* were on paper. Many were prints, including some of the most forward-looking essays that recently had been produced abroad: lithographs by Paul Cezanne (1839-1906) and Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec (1864-1901), the latter including his influential posters; and woodcuts by Paul Gauguin (1848-1903) and Edward Munch (1863-1944). Thus, this landmark show was of prominent importance in fostering developments in printmaking as well as for the more commonly discussed wider context of paintings, drawings, and sculpture.

Marin's 1912 watercolors depicting the recently completed Woolworth Building were in the *Armory Show*, and he also completed several etchings of that subject in 1913. But it was a few years later that Marin did his most spare and abstract work in etching, inspired by the bulky grain elevators in Weehawken, not far from his New Jersey home. He enhanced his delicate lines with broad monoprint tone-shapes that are unique in etchings of that time. Marin's absorption and translation of Whistlerian strategies engaged a different kind of selectivity than Whistler's, one that integrated form and

space in motion as he detailed modern city views, clearly responding to Cubist and Futurist principles with images specific to the United States. The revolutionary ideas of Cubism also appealed to Max Weber, a student of Dow's at Pratt Institute. Both Marin and Weber were associated with Alfred Stieglitz and his Gallery 291, where Marin first showed in 1909 and Weber in 1911. Weber's art was shown two years later in 1913, at the Newark Museum, New Jersey, possibly the first modernist exhibition in a U.S. museum; and in 1931 he was given the first solo exhibition of an American artist at New York's MoMA. Another bond between these two towering figures in printmaking is that in 1948, Marin was given the top vote in *Look Magazine's* survey of experts to name the greatest living American artists (again, meaning United States) and Weber came in second.

The Stieglitz connection undoubtedly forged close relationships between painters and photographers and the atmospheric character of many Pictorialist images reflects their knowledge of Whistler's etchings and probably Marin's as well. Additionally, Weber's 1914 book of his own poems, *Cubist Poems*, was dedicated to photographer Alvin Langdon Coburn (1882-1966) and was written while Weber was teaching at the Clarence H. White School for Photography. A later book of Weber's poems, *Primitives: Poems and Woodcuts* (1926) is illustrated with eleven small images that reflect the artist's concern both with African sculpture and the Cubist style it helped to generate.

In the 1920s, Mexican muralists Orozco, Rivera, and Siqueiros were particularly active across the United States (including New York, New Hampshire, Michigan, and California). While they are dubbed "social realists", in fact they constructed imagined forms not necessarily based on what they saw, and thus are likewise credited with expanding the canon in the U.S. by addressing in their art modern industrial life (Rivera's *Detroit Industry*, 1933, Detroit Institute of Arts) (**Figure 2**), revolutionary political ideology with Communist leanings (Siqueiros, *Tropical America: Oppressed and Destroyed by Imperialism*, Olvera Street, Los Angeles, recently restored) and visually exaggerated forms that evolved from the visual history of Mexico's indigenous cultures (Jose Clemente Orozco *The Epic of American Civilization*, Baker Memorial Library, Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire). The three muralists also were making prints, the earliest of which were woodcuts and linocuts primarily, with lithography coming later and intaglio processes playing a marginal role. Many of their lithographs depicted New York motifs, for example Orozco's *Vaudeville in Harlem*, 1928, and were accomplished with contract printers in the United States, such as George C. Miller.

There was strong interest in all things Mexican, and extensive travel south into Mexico by artists at this time. Prints by Rivera (the most prolific printmaker of the three), Orozco, and Siqueiros were immediately embraced, particularly through the championship of the Weyhe Gallery in New York, which also actively lent works elsewhere. However,



Fig. 2 • Frank Stewart

Romare Bearden at the Detroit Institute of Arts,
c. 1978

Photo courtesy Frank Stewart. © Frank Stewart

these exchanges were vastly diminished in the early 1930s, owing to the Great Depression. Essential to the popularity and knowledge of prints moving forward was Weyhe's gallery director, Carl Zigrosser, who in 1941 became the first curator of prints, drawings, and photographs at the Philadelphia Museum of Art, one of few institutional proponents in the U. S. of modern and contemporary prints at the time.

The Mexican painters' popularity inspired mural commissions for numerous public buildings, providing work for artists during the Great Depression. And the Works Progress Administration, Federal Art Project printmaking workshops simultaneously generated the production of hundreds of thousands of impressions. Facilities were opened in cities across the country including New York, Philadelphia, Detroit, Los Angeles. In terms of important technical advances, the project expanded activity in screenprint as a fine-art, and introduced "carborundum" prints, associated with the Philadelphia workshop and a group that included Philadelphia-based Dox Thrash (1893-1965), one of the first African American printmaking participants in the WPA program.

Another African American participant in the program, in Providence, Rhode Island, north of the important shops in Philadelphia and New York, was Wilmer Jennings (1910-1990). Jennings also enrolled at the Rhode Island School of Design, following courses in mathematics, his initial interest, and studies in art with Hale Woodruff (1900-1980) at Morehouse College in Atlanta, where Jennings was born. After moving north he made extraordinary wood-engravings, primarily, but also linoleum cuts, lithographs, and intaglio prints, particularly etchings and mezzotints, this last unusual for its use at the time. Featuring quotidian subjects, including still-life images with references to African sculpture, Jennings' prints were rarely exhibited, and are still under-known, because of on-going exclusionary practices experienced by African American artists across the country, outside of the WPA projects.

As the shift took place in the U.S., from an agricultural to an industrial society, the density and diversity of architectural forms and human activities in cities played a decisive role in the images artists were creating. This is evinced in dramatic black and white lithographs such as Lozowick's *New York*, 1925, and *Arrangement for Drums*, 1941, by Benton Murdoch Spruance (1904-1967), (**cat. 37 and 50**). Lozowick, like Charles Sheeler (1883-1965), who made few prints, but important ones, is associated with the Precisionist style that highlighted the modern city through carefully defined geometric forms.

The Great Migration brought African American citizens north, fleeing southern Jim Crow laws that enforced "separate but equal" facilities — these laws dated from the late 1860s and survived into the 1960s. They determined where Black citizens could live, what shops and restaurants they could frequent, how they could travel, where they could practice their art, indeed, impacting virtually all facets of daily life, including

exhibition practices for their art, as indicated above in relation to the work of Jennings. As would be expected, art by African Americans reflected these conditions, for example *The Soup Kitchen*, c. 1937 (**Figure 3**), by Norman Lewis (1909-1979). The composition also shows the artist's commitment to highly structured representation, before he shifted to the distinctive style for which he is best known, in which abstraction and figuration maintain a tautly balanced tension.

The de facto segregation caused African Americans and other African Diasporic immigrants to New York and elsewhere to establish community centers in their new home cities, including places to participate in cultural activities. Important centers for art in African American neighborhoods included the Harlem Art Workshop, where Robert Blackburn (1920-2003), who became central to the New York printmaking scene mid-century, first encountered these art forms; as well as the Uptown Art Laboratory run by Augusta Savage (1892-1962) which morphed from Savage's Studio of Arts and Crafts and subsequently morphed into the Harlem Community Arts Center where Blackburn, Lewis, and Jacob Lawrence (1917-2000) were among the many artists who were introduced to printmaking.

In the 1940s, Blackburn opened a facility in New York that would become important, not only nationally but internationally. Originally called the Bob Blackburn Workshop and the Creative Graphic Workshop, it evolved from Blackburn's home lithography shop, with intaglio added in the 1950s. The artist-printer was committed to diversity both in his invitations to artists to work in his shop and in its experimental approach to making prints. Romare Bearden (1911-1988) was among the international roster of practitioners who contributed to the Printmaking Workshop's legendary status as a welcoming place of inclusion to all who wished to work at its sequential locations. Blackburn remained at its helm into the 21st century, and after his death it was absorbed as a program of New York's Elizabeth Foundation for the Arts.

In a 1993 interview with artist Curlee Raven Holton, Blackburn said that his values had been established in the Harlem workshops where artists worked together, where Black artists were given a place:

“[...] my way is the way of all people. The way that I was treated by others who did things for me early on without regard to my difference but because they believed it was the thing to do. It was about humanity, about relationships. People forget that [...] To demonstrate how much we had in common and the primary relationship the artist has to his community [...] Artists have been learning from each other. It goes back to the guild system in the fifteenth century. It is part of what learning is about, exchange and growth. No one person owns art; it is something you pass on. If only we could teach that about politics, maybe we could save the world.” (BLACKBURN in Holton, 1993)

In early 1937, about the same time the Harlem workshops were encouraging new printmakers, the American Abstract Artists group was established. Developing from loose affiliations that sought to maintain a sense of artistic community during the Depression, the group included practitioners whose uncompromising commitment to abstraction distinguished them from other forward-looking colleagues. Efforts to get their work known generated the association's commitment to an active exhibition program. To mark their first show in 1937, they produced a portfolio of lithographs, all of them *Untitled*, including a composition by Alice Trumbull Mason (**Figure 4**), one of several women in the group. The portfolio both advertised the show and brought in a meager sum: thirty prints plus frontispiece sold for fifty cents. The portfolio effort was spearheaded by Vaclav Vytlacil, who taught at the Arts Students League, among other places, and introduced many of his students and colleagues to abstraction. Among them were artists he influenced during his Saturday teaching sessions at Savage's Uptown Art Laboratory/Harlem Community Art Center in the late 1930s. Yearbooks with text as well as images followed the American Abstract Artists 1937 portfolio, but by 1941 the group's activities were diminished for various reasons, including greater acceptance of abstraction and, the onset of war.

The smaller size of prints when compared with paintings, and the indirect processes of making them have often been heralded as the reason the abstract expressionist generation did not make immense numbers of them during the Hayter period when etching was most prominent. There are exceptions such as Richard Pousette-Dart, whose etchings have received recent attention. Jackson Pollock (**cat. 44**), made fewer etchings than Pousette-Dart, but who knows what this illustrious student of Benton might have done if his life had not been cut short. Pollock offers a reasonable closing to this exhibition overview of a very complicated period in printmaking in the United States. But he also suggests an opening to what followed, calling to mind others of his generation, whose gestures depended more on the action of the arm (closer to Pollock) than that of the hand (to Pousette-Dart).

Some of this group, for example Willem de Kooning (1904-1997) and Philip Guston (1913-1980) during his abstract expressionist period, found the directly drawn potential of lithography to be more in keeping with their impulses, employing processes in which the bones and tones of an image are visible as they are created, albeit backwards in orientation from what will be seen when printed. Both of them created significant bodies of printed work after 1955, when workshops, particularly those focused on lithography at first, came to play a critical role in the printmaking landscape of the United States. This landscape was marked by the tension between international concerns and that of the "American-ness" that went back to artists in the Stieglitz circle, like Marin (whose art was essential to the development of de Kooning).

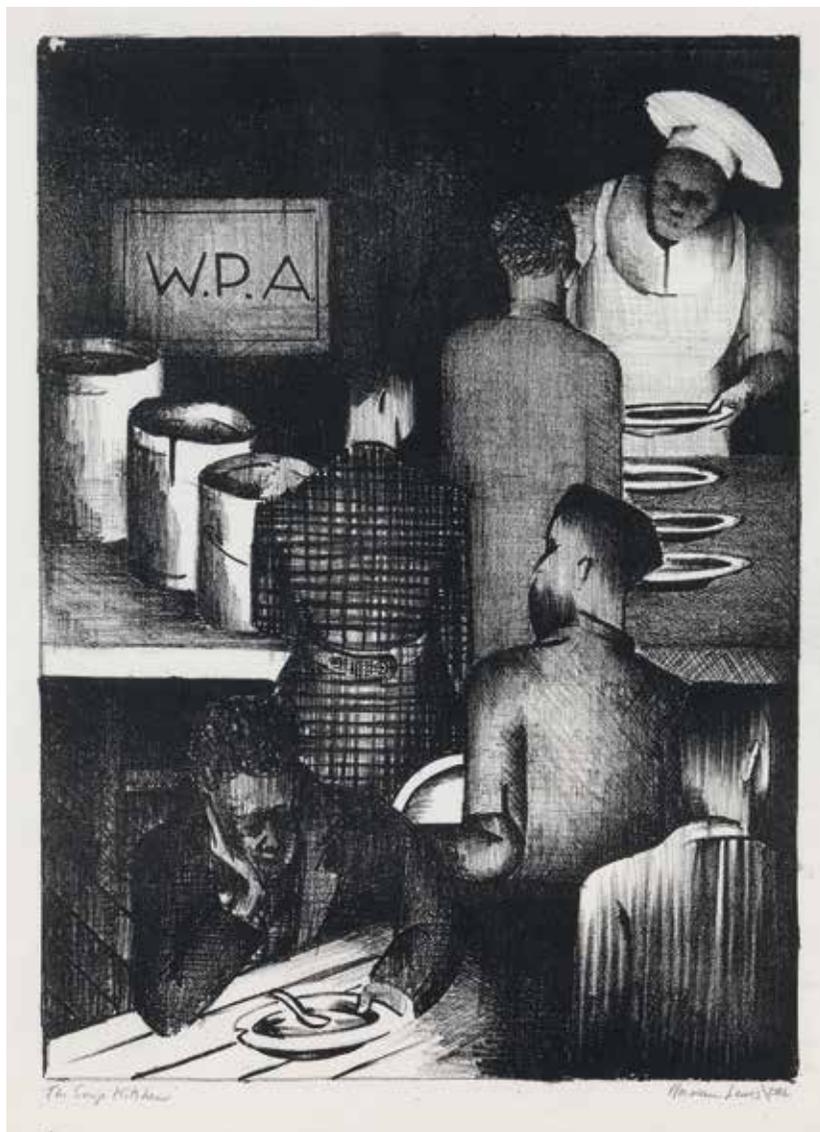


Fig. 3 • Norman Lewis

The Soup Kitchen, c. 1937

lithograph, 54,6 x 44,1 cm (39,4 x 28,6 cm)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art

Photograph courtesy Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts

Philadelphia. © Estate of Norman Lewis, courtesy of

Michael Rosenfeld Gallery LCC, New York.



Fig. 4 • Alice Trumbell Mason

Untitled, from the portfolio
American Abstract Artists, 1937

one from a portfolio of thirty-one lithographs, composition,
30,4 x 23,5 cm (21,5 x 15 cm).

Publisher: Squibb Galleries, New York. Printer: Cane Press,
New York. Edition 500. Gift of Stephen B. Browne in honor
of Byron and Rosalind Browne. Digital Image © The Museum
of Modern Art/Licensed by Scala/Art Resource, NY.

This is seen in the work of Hayter's generation, and the expansive culture that resulted from the explosion of post-1955 printmaking workshops across the United States, that have nurtured diverse artistic collaborations and print publishing on a grand scale. But as we have seen, this was true as well for generations that preceded Hayter, for the many artists who were influenced by Whistler, Dow, and Savage to embrace ideas encountered through their travels and equally or perhaps more importantly, through art from other places that they saw near home, by visiting exhibitions in museums and galleries; by reading art books and periodicals; through encounters with other artists in printmaking workshops. Such collaborative studios continue to have a strong presence, reflecting ideas rooted in earlier art as well and being impacted by psychological, political, social, intellectual, and technical matters. All of this plays a role in the complexities of printmaking as it is impacted by parameters of time and place.

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Atelier 17 and its Founder, Stanley William Hayter

Ann Shafer

The history of Western art habitually emphasizes painting and sculpture, but other media are often just as important to an artist's production, and indeed to the trajectory of art and ideas. In the twentieth-century art capitals of Paris and New York, painters and sculptors commonly also worked in printmaking, Henri Matisse, Marc Chagall, Joan Miró, and Alexander Calder among them. Pablo Picasso made more than 3,000 prints over the course of his career — some in professional printing establishments, some in his own studios with master printers he hired directly, and some with the experimental, collaborative print workshop Atelier 17 (GILMOUR, 1982, p. 13)¹. Founded by English artist Stanley William Hayter in Paris in 1928, Atelier 17 moved to New York in 1940, and then returned in 1950 to Paris, where it remains today (WEYL, 2018)². The printmaking production of a group of painters, sculptors, and printmakers who were among the hundreds of artists who worked in Hayter's Atelier over the course of five decades is an overlooked area of art history (SHAFER, 2012)³.

The story of Atelier 17 is inextricably linked with that of its founder, a man of legendary dynamism — the writer Anaïs Nin described Hayter as “a stretched bow or a coiled spring every minute, witty, swift, ebullient, sarcastic” (NIN, 1969, p. 125-26). Trained as a chemist and geologist, Hayter was a polymath whose art was informed by mathematics, Jungian psychology, and the natural world. His writings expound on technique, but also on the meanings that arise from particular tools and approaches. His two books, **New Ways of Gravure** (1949, revised and expanded in 1966 and 1981) and **About Prints** (1962), remain important references for working artists and historians alike⁴.

1 Picasso was a friend of Hayter's, who reported: “We didn't do anything together until 1934. But we did some of the burin plates together. He came to my place, I made tools for him, and then I worked at his place, and so on” (GILMOUR, 1982, p. 13).

2 Though 1927 is most the frequently cited date of the studio's founding, there is good evidence to suggest that 1928 is the correct date (WEYL, 2018).

3 Portions of this essay were previously published by the author (SHAFER, 2012).

4 The first edition of **New Ways of Gravure** was published in 1949 by Pantheon Books, New York, and Routledge & Kegan Paul, Ltd, London. The second edition was published in 1966 by Oxford University Press, London. Since Hayter added substantial content to each iteration, we have used the third edition throughout (New York: Watson-Guption Publications, 1981).

For Hayter, the tools and materials an artist used — whether cutting into a copper plate or splashing paint across a canvas — were not simply means to an end, but instruments of discovery. While his books and technical innovations have ensured his reputation as a master of his craft, for Hayter the mechanical piece was inseparable from the development of ideas. One led to the other in a Möbius strip of cause and effect.

The innovations in making that arose from Atelier 17 were the byproduct of this search for ideas. While the experimentation was constant, the workshop is most frequently associated with three important material developments that enabled new kinds of images, and new ways of approaching manual control and visual imagination. First, beginning in 1928, Hayter was critical to the revival of engraving, a technique he believed was uniquely suited to the aims of modern art, despite his generation's view of it as the fusty medium of nineteenth-century reproductions.⁵

Second, Hayter revolutionized the use of softground etching, which allows impressions to be taken directly from found objects — textiles, paper, string, netting — to create an astonishing variety of textures on the plate. This method relies on a soft, sticky, acid-resistant ground covering the metal plate; when materials are pressed into it and pulled up, they take bits of the ground with them, leaving a visible pattern of exposed metal that can be bitten by acid. In the early-twentieth century, both engraving and softground etching were departures from common practice. Etching, rather than engraving, had been the medium of expressive intaglio line work for centuries, and aquatint (a means of dusting the plate with acid-resistant specks), rather than softground, was usually used for tone.

The Atelier's third critical invention was a new process of printing multiple colors from a single plate. For centuries, artists had struggled to find ways of making prints with the same intuitive mixing of colors that avails in painting, yet almost all printing methods continued to rely on color separations in which the image had to be broken apart, with separate plates made for each color, and then recomposed via multiple passes on the press. The workshop's experimentation with simultaneous color printing reportedly began in 1931 but was first used successfully by Hayter in 1943 (HAYTER, 1981, p. 200)⁶. The method perfected at Atelier 17 was demanding, but in an era when personal, autographic expression was essential to the content of art, it put printmaking on the same plane as painting.

⁵ Engraving and etching are both intaglio techniques in which ink is held by lines incised in the printing plate, but etching had long enjoyed a more "artistic" reputation because of the ease and spontaneity with which artists could draw through the waxy coating of the etching plate. Atelier 17 was set up mainly for intaglio printmaking, but artists were free to experiment with other techniques as well.

⁶ Hayter considered his first successful simultaneous color print to be *Centauresse*, 1943–1944 (B/M 157). B/M refers to the Hayter catalogue raisonné numbers (HAYTER, 1981, p. 200).

Perhaps because of the singularity of these achievements, scholarship on Atelier 17 has tended to focus on techniques, rather than on what artists used them to say.⁷ Hayter, however, was as eloquent about the content of art as he was about its means. Its purpose, he wrote, was “to lead man to a fuller understanding of his terms of existence” (HAYTER, 1974, unpaginated).

In 1926, after several years in Abadan, Iran, working as a chemist for the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, Hayter arrived in Paris with the aim of pursuing art as a profession (DANIEL, 1980, unpaginated). He rented a studio at 51 Rue du Moulin Vert and continued etching and painting, two interests he had pursued while in the Middle East. Hayter threw himself into the city’s dynamic art scene — his studio adjoined that of Alberto Giacometti, and Alexander Calder, who was beginning the wire sculptures that would become *Calder’s Circus*, 1926–1931, had a studio nearby. Both became good friends⁸ (GILMOUR, 1982, p. 16, and BLACK, 1992, p. 36). While enrolled in classes at the Académie Julien (whose alumni include Henri Matisse, Emil Nolde, Käthe Kollwitz, and John Singer Sargent), Hayter met the engraver Joseph Hecht, one of the very few modern artists using copper plate engraving to make original images (WILKER, 1991, p. 128). Hayter went on to study with Hecht for several years and they became lifelong friends (MALONEY-ROSE, 1981, p. 11).

Engraving had fallen out of favor with modern artists in part because it was associated with commercial reproduction rather than individual expression, but also because of its inherent physical difficulty. While in etching the artist’s needle glides through the acid-resistant ground, the engraved line is carved in the copper directly, using refined brute force. Because the human arm cannot exert force equally in all directions, lines are directed not by moving the engraving tool (the burin) but by holding the burin steady and moving the plate below it. Counter-intuitive and tricky to master, engraving is less accurate than photography, less responsive to personal touch than etching, and less pragmatic and colorful than lithography. Hayter, however, was drawn to the crisp elegance evinced in Hecht’s work. Furthermore, he recognized that in its very complexity and intransigence, engraving offered a route to the subconscious. It was in this struggle between mind, hand, and metal that Hayter found his *métier*.

Hayter’s early prints incorporate the intaglio methods of engraving, etching, and dry-point (lines scratched into the metal, producing rough burrs that hold the ink irregularly). His subjects were straightforward city scenes and still lifes until he embraced Surrealism and began to seek out Jungian archetypes and images embedded in the irrational mind.

⁷ Even the tag line for the title of *New Ways of Gravure* (1981) states “Innovative techniques of printmaking taken from the studio of a master **craftsman**” (emphasis mine).

⁸ According to Peter Black, Calder’s wire sculptures inspired Hayter to experiment with transparency to evoke three dimensions in his prints (BLACK, 1992, p. 36).

In 1933, the workshop moved to the address that gave it its name: 17 Rue Campagne-Première, where it remained until the outbreak of World War II in 1939. That the organization was unnamed for its first five years suggests its informality. In Paris, artists of all skill levels came to work alongside Hayter: his former neighbors Calder and Giacometti; the Surrealists Joan Miró, André Masson, and Max Ernst; the American sculptor David Smith; the Argentinian abstractionist Nina Negri; the Canadian artist Dalla Husband; and dozens of others. Many of these artists were breaking with traditional representation, using abstraction to explore the Freudian and Jungian subconscious, as well as the metaphysical implications of form and expression.

For all their interest in the internal life of the mind, however, these artists were living in Europe in the 1930s as the threats of Fascism and war rolled across the continent. At Atelier 17, as elsewhere, the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939) galvanized artists into political action. The workshop published two portfolios of prints for the benefit of Spanish refugee children, *Solidarité*, 1938, and *Fraternity*, 1939, and Hayter took a position with the Office International pour l'Enfance, coordinating donations from artists (HAYTER, 1938). More dramatically, Hayter also made a covert trip over the Spanish border and the workshop illegally sheltered Spanish refugees (FROST, 1941, p. 31). As Anaïs Nin recalled:

Refugees from Spain began to slip into Paris. The laws were rigid: if one sheltered or fed them there would be a punishment of jail and a fine. These were the fighters, the wounded, the sick. Everybody was afraid to help them. William Hayter hid them in his studio. (...) I was busy cooking gallons of soup, which had to be brought in small containers to Hayter's studio (NIN, 1967, p. 332).

Just as the artists joined together in support of Spaniards in need of shelter, so too did they join forces in addressing the technical and conceptual challenges of making art. Hayter hoped that the artists' shared experiences would expand the expressive frontiers of printmaking (SWEENEY, 1944, p. 3). Artists working collaboratively, in the same space, spontaneously sharing ideas both technical and philosophical, had never been the norm.

The workshop was abuzz with activity until September 3, 1939, when France and Britain declared war on Germany in response to its invasion of Poland. Hayter left for England the following day (WATROUS, 1984, p. 127). Although Peggy Guggenheim managed to pack up his remaining prints and ship them to him, most of the plates were lost or destroyed (HAYTER, 2015). By the summer of 1940, Hayter was in the United States teaching at the California School of Fine Arts in San Francisco, and that fall he offered a course at New York's New School for Social Research called *Atelier 17*, effectively establishing the studio in Manhattan.

In New York, the workshop became a meeting place for both European émigrés and adventurous Americans: Le Corbusier, Marc Chagall, Salvador Dalí, Jacques Lipchitz, André Masson, and Yves Tanguy were among the well-known Europeans; Isabel Bishop, Louise Bourgeois, Louise Nevelson, and Jackson Pollock were some of the Americans who joined them. The effects of Hayter's pedagogy were mixed. Bishop and Reginald Marsh, who were both devoted to the realist depiction of the social world around them, seem to have been unaffected by Hayter's methods, as well as the abstract painters Mark Rothko and William Baziotés, who quickly moved on from working there (ALBERT, 2011, p. 28). If these artists gained anything from their time at the Atelier it was an unremarkable chapter in their careers. Robert Motherwell may not have adopted Hayter's methods, but he later remarked on the essential nature of print shop camaraderie (COLSMAN-FREYBERGER, 1974, p. 24). Some artists found Hayter's famously energetic presence stifling: Nevelson commented, "every time I took a breath he was there taking one" (MOSER, 1978, p. 2).

For others, however, Atelier 17 in New York was transformative — a place where ideas, themes and even shapes were common currency, where new methods and philosophies of art-making were excitedly exchanged. A core group absorbed not just Hayter's processes but its pedagogic potential. Some of these artists went on to transform the role of printmaking in American education, establishing workshops and university departments across the country. Gabor Peterdi, who worked with Hayter in both Paris and New York, taught at Brooklyn Art School and Hunter College before moving to Yale University in 1960, where he remained for twenty-six years as its graduate School of Art became one of the most influential in the nation. At the University of Iowa, Mauricio Lasansky created the country's most powerful printmaking department, strongly emphasizing Hayter's techniques during his tenure from 1945 to 1985; Misch Kohn spread the word at the Institute of Design in Chicago, and California State University in Hayward from 1949 until 1986; Krishna Reddy was a director of Atelier 17 between 1957 and 1976, followed by many years at New York University; and Ruth Weisberg has taught at the University of Southern California since 1970. Through these pioneers and their descendants, subsequent generations have carried on the legacy of Atelier 17 — its belief in *making* as a source of ideas, not just an expression of them; its pursuit of formal and technical innovation; and its communal ideal.⁹ In the decades after 1960, however, Hayter's emphasis on personal, emotional expression was out of step with contemporary art's new fascination with the external world. In academe, the dominance of his *ethos*, style, and pedagogy prompted something of a backlash. Only in recent years have artists and historians begun to reassess his work and its impact.

⁹ A list of Atelier 17 artists was compiled by Joann Moser for her 1976 dissertation, though it is impossible to say it is complete. The same list is available on the Atelier Contrepoint website.

By the end of the war in 1945 the workshop was enjoying increased prominence in the United States, but Hayter had always intended to return to Paris. An initial trip to France in 1946 revealed that nothing remained of the workshop's supplies and equipment. Hayter returned to New York, but he did not find America conducive to creativity (MOSER, 1976, p. 32). Atelier artist Robert Broner recalled Hayter's later dismay at the anti-Communist witch hunts sparked by Senator Joe McCarthy: "He felt that all his friends were being hounded and kicked out of the country, etcetera. He felt that it was not a receptive kind of atmosphere for someone who was basically committed to innovation in printmaking, but really to the whole sense of innovation in ideas of the various arts" (BARRIE, 1974). Finally, in 1950, Hayter moved back to France and reestablished Atelier 17 in Paris, where he continued his own practice and worked with artists until his death in 1988. The New York Atelier remained open until 1955 under a sequence of directors: Karl Schrag, Terry Haass and Harry Hoehn (co-directors), James Kleege, Peter Grippe, and Leo Katz (JOHNSON, 1980, p. 77).

In Paris, the workshop continued to draw artists from Europe, the Americas, and, increasingly, from Asia (GILMOUR, 1982, p. 12). Hayter claimed that in the 1970s one might hear twenty-six different languages spoken in the studio on a particular day (HAYTER, 1981, p. 207). This cosmopolitanism was not always welcome and the workshop was forced to move several times in response to complaints from neighbors about the number of foreigners coming and going (HAYTER, 2015). After Hayter's death, the Paris Atelier 17 was renamed Atelier Contrepoint; Hector Saunier assumed the directorship and remains in charge along with Juan Valladares. It is still populated with artists from every corner of the globe.

Atelier 17 changed printmaking in the twentieth century. It trained hundreds of artists across five decades and made technical advances that spread around the globe through books by Hayter and other Atelier artists, such as John Buckland-Wright, Gabor Peterdi, Julian Trevelyan, Ruth Leaf, and Krishna Reddy.¹⁰ The impact of the work these artists produced affects the way all of us — artists and viewers — think about and understand works of art.

Although Hayter remains synonymous with the workshop, he always maintained his own studio in which he created a substantial body of paintings. Hayter believed that idea and technique are inseparable. Writing in 1949, he argued "that the separation frequently made between content and means of expression in graphic media is arbitrary and can lead to error, that when the separation is complete the idea remains without

¹⁰ BUCKLAND-WRIGHT, John, **Etching and Engraving: Techniques and the Modern Trend**, London: The Studio Limited, 1953; PETERDI, Gabor, **Printmaking: Methods Old and New**, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1959; TREVELYAN, Julian, **Etching: Modern Methods of Intaglio Printmaking**, London: Studio Books, 1963; LEAF, Ruth, **Etching, Engraving and Other Intaglio Printmaking Techniques**, New York: Dover Publications, 1976; and REDDY, Krishna, **Intaglio Simultaneous Color Printmaking: Significance of Materials and Processes**, Albany, New York: State University of New York Press, 1988.

expression and the technique a sterile exercise” (HAYTER, *TIGER’S EYE*, 1949, p. 41). In books, essays, speeches, and articles, he contended that art helps us understand our place in the world, and that the workshop was a perfect place of inquiry:

The heart of the Atelier: It is more visual expression, questioning, discovering, understanding how images work on human beings, how what we see affects what we feel. All the innovative techniques are devised so as better to explore what really matters (LODGE, 1988, p. 55).

In life, Hayter was an arresting figure: “a vividly eccentric individual,” the artist David Barthold recalls, “the modernist equivalent of a biblical patriarch, laden with theory and burning with aesthetic conviction” (BARTHOLD, 2016). There was no higher goal than exploring the imagination, but he believed it could only be reached through mastery of materials and processes: “there are two elements in the making of a work of art — the unconscious element from which the inspiration comes, and extremely rational control of the methods of execution” (ANDERSON, 1990, p. 24).

Hayter, the Artist

In 1929, Hayter began exhibiting with the Surrealists, and his prints of this time give precise form to the dichotomy between that “unconscious element” and “rational control.” He adopted the automatist practice in which sessions of mindless drawing — letting the hand guide itself without direction from the conscious mind — were followed by assessment: which subjects repeated themselves; which ones seemed rife with latent psychic content? (HAYTER, 1981, p. 230)¹¹. Like many of his peers, Hayter was drawn to Carl Jung’s theory of the collective unconscious, which posited the existence of archetypal forms that carry uniform connotations for all people (JUNG, 1917)¹². The Jungian view dovetailed with his own instinct that his private imagery could resonate with the viewer’s imagination. Hayter made drawings on very thin or translucent paper (he preferred airmail paper); holding these sheets up to light, he could superimpose their designs, experimenting with composition and developing new, unexpected forms and prompts for the mind (HAYTER, 1981, p. 213)¹³.

¹¹ Hayter disliked the term “doodle” and disparaged it in *New Ways of Gravure* as “a contemptuous diminutive.” (HAYTER, 1981, p. 230)

¹² Jung first spoke of the collective unconscious in a 1916 talk given in Zurich. A French translation of the talk was published that same year in *Archives de Psychologie*, as well as in an English volume of Jung’s collected works in 1917, as *The Conception of the Unconscious* in *Collected Papers of Psychoanalytic Psychology* (London, 1917, and New York, 1921).

¹³ Hayter remarked on the use of airmail paper in *New Ways of Gravure* (HAYTER, 1981, p. 213). It is intriguing to consider whether Hayter was familiar with the superimposition pictures being made between 1928 and 1930 by Francis Picabia, who had a similar approach to image-making, though no relationship has yet been identified.

Inspired by the wire sculptures of his friend and neighbor, Calder, Hayter opened up his drawn forms, delineating their contours rather than describing their interior volume with shading (BLACK, 1992, p. 36). These transparent solids are an essential feature of the six prints that comprise his portfolio *Paysages Urbains*, 1930. Each image depicts a Parisian street scene and a superimposed, conflicting dreamscape (HAYTER, 1949, p. 87)¹⁴. The locations Hayter chose are largely unchanged today, so we can see that he has shown some buildings in reverse and some correctly oriented. Because a printed image is the mirror of the plate, the artist must work in reverse when engraving it if it is to appear in the proper direction on paper. Hayter has done that only some of the time, and the inconsistency is curious.

One might also wonder about the reasons behind his choice of locations. One site, Place Falguière, was a block from the studio of Hayter's friend and mentor Hecht (WILKER, 1991, p. 127). Two of the prints are views of the same spot: the restaurant shown in *Rue de Repos* (**Figures 1 and 2**) is across the street from the cemetery wall shown in the print *Père Lachaise* (**Figures 3 and 4**). Curiously, *Rue de Repos* reads correctly, while *Père Lachaise* is reversed left to right. Similarly, *Rue de la Villette* and *La Villette* offer slightly different views of the same intersection. This street has changed substantially since 1930; the road that Hayter shows heading up the hill is now a pedestrian stairway. It is worth noting that the corner depicted, which can be identified by the overpass that extends off the edge of both images, does not lie on the Rue de la Villette, but on the nearby Rue de Crimée. (Since Hayter assigned titles for the six prints long after they were made, this is perhaps understandable).

Atop and through these real places, Hayter has placed otherworldly visions drawn from his imagination. The artist distinguished these two overlapping worlds through the physical nature of his lines: the concrete reality of Paris is rendered in dry-point, while the imaginary figures are completed in engraving. Dry-point lines, which are simply scratched into the plate, are shallow; in print the ink barely rises above the paper and the edge of the line is soft and warm. The ink of engraved lines, by contrast, forms crisp ridges that are dark and, in Hayter's opinion, cold (HAYTER, 1981, p. 37).

In *Père Lachaise*, dry-point lines describe a dead body lying in the street just outside the cemetery wall. The engraved contour of a hand floats in front of the corpse as if plucking its spirit. In *La Villette*, the desolate dry-point street is visited by a transparent, engraved horse. The slaughterhouses of La Villette were a prominent feature of the neighborhood until the 1970s and one might imagine the animal as a ghost returning from the *abattoir*; like the floating hand in *Père Lachaise*, it belongs to the dream world. It may seem counterintuitive that the "real" cityscape takes form in the ethereal, feathery

¹⁴ *Paysages Urbains* was printed by Paul Haasen and published by Editions Quatre Chemins. HAYTER (1949, p. 87).



Fig. 1 • Rue de Repos, Paris
Photograph by Benjamin Louis Levy



Fig. 2 • Stanley William Hayter

Rue de Repos, from the portfolio *Paysages Urbains*, 1930.

dry-point on ivory wove paper, 20,6 x 23,9 cm.

Baltimore Museum of Art: John Dorsey and Robert W. Armacost Bequest Funds.

Restricted Gift of the Charles Levy Circulation Company;

Purchased from Graphics International Ltd., Washington D.C.

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Fig. 3 • Père Lachaise, Paris

Photograph by Benjamin Louis Levy



Fig. 4 • Stanley William Hayter

Père Lachaise, from the portfolio *Paysages Urbains*, 1930.

dry-point on ivory wove paper, 20,7 x 26,7 cm.

Baltimore Museum of Art: John Dorsey and Robert W. Armacost Bequest Funds.

Restricted Gift of the Charles Levy Circulation Company;
Purchased from Graphics International Ltd., Washington D.C.

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lines of dry-point, while the imaginary occurs in the bright surety of engraving, so often used to enhance structure and render solids. This inversion of expectation served Hayter's expressive aim: he exploited the visual character and cultural associations of these techniques to make a point about the vital presence of subconscious forces in a world that may be less substantial than we think.

The tension between material reality and psychic interpretation that runs through the *Paysages urbains* was further developed in Hayter's six untitled plates for the portfolio *The Apocalypse*, 1930–1932. Here cityscapes are replaced by overtly surrealist structures and the whole is accompanied by verses written by Georges Hugnet in response to the images. It is a less cohesive group than the earlier set: the plate sizes vary and the techniques and design sense shift throughout. The sixth plate in *The Apocalypse* (**cat. 20**) pulls together many of Hayter's concerns. Dry-point lines articulate a vertical totem whose indentations reveal it as the negative space within a clenched fist; looping lines of engraving around it suggest the forming hand. Hugnet wrote: "when the hand withdraws, nothing is left but this monument erected to its memory, and to the void which has become a statue"¹⁵ (REYNOLDS, 1967, p. 5). Superimposing two realities, Hayter depicts a visual impossibility. As in the *Paysages urbains*, distinct techniques indicate separate states of mind, and different modes of interaction with the world: objective and subjective; rational and irrational; passive and active.

Physically Hayter's lines were meaty, substantial things. He exploited the physical relief of printed lines to make images that were tangible as well as pictorial. The pressure of printing an intaglio plate compresses the paper at the same time it squeezes the stiff ink out of the grooves in ridges. Hayter also took to cutting deep grooves in his plates with a scorper, a technique known in French as *gauffrage*. Too deep and wide to hold ink, these incisions produce dramatic white paper embossments that rise above the inked and printed surfaces around them.¹⁶ Such dimensionality was not a pictorial illusion, but a physical truth. Hayter wanted his prints to be *objects*. He said: "my first view of any work of art is: Is it a thing? Is it a thing of itself? Is it real? Because unless you are convinced of that, you have got nothing" (HIRSCHL & ADLER, 1998, p. 12).

Hayter's prints from the 1940s and 1950s mark his serious engagement with the problem of simultaneous color printing. For artists who paint, it is natural to want to use color intuitively, rather than through the strategic mapping demanded by most printing methods (REYNOLDS, 1967, p. 7-8). Previously, prints might be hand colored after printing; or the plate might be inked à la *poupée* with adjacent daubs of different

¹⁵ "Quand la main se retira, il ne demeura plus que ce monument dressé à la mémoire du poing fermé et du vide devenu statue." The English translation is offered in REYNOLDS, 1967, p. 5.

¹⁶ Hayter employed the scorper in many works, the first of which was *Woman in Net*, 1934 (B/M 81). Its use is very clearly displayed in *Witches' Sabbath*, 1957–1958 (B/M 239).

colors; or, most commonly, colors were broken out onto separate plates, then printed one over the other in multiple passes through the press. Hayter experimented with several means of getting multiple colors onto a single plate prior to printing, including rolling inks through stencils and screenprinting ink onto the plate. The pinnacle of simultaneous color printing, however, was the technique developed at Atelier 17 by Krishna Reddy and Kaiko Moti that came to be known colloquially as “viscosity printing,” though Hayter preferred the term “simultaneous color printing” since all inks have viscosity. This method enabled artists to play with the fluid interaction of colors (or prevent their interaction) in unprecedented ways.

Hayter embraced these inking methods in a large body of color prints focused on mythology and physical conflict. The disruption and carnage of World War II and the horrific revelations of the Holocaust raised profound metaphysical and moral questions for numerous artists, Hayter among them. Many of his color prints from this time address human conflict and despair, and in one case, personal tragedy. *Cinq personnages*, 1946 (**cat. 25 and 26**), is considered Hayter’s most important composition, as well as a landmark in the history of printmaking. Featuring boomerang shapes, radiant webs of color, and tangled lines in an off-kilter, dynamic arrangement, it represents Hayter’s iconic style at its peak and makes use of his most celebrated techniques: automatist engraving, softground etching for tones and textures, uninked embossings, and the first successful large-scale use of simultaneous color printing with multiple inks rolled onto the plate through screens. *Cinq personnages* is also Hayter’s most intimate work. It is a memorial to his son, David, who died of tuberculosis at age sixteen. Following his parents’ divorce in 1929, David had been raised by his mother, Edith Fletcher Hayter, and had only come to stay with Hayter in the final months of his life (HAYTER, 2016).

In *Cinq personnages*, the supine body at right represents David and was inspired by the Christ figure in an early Renaissance painting of the *Pietà* by Enguerrand Quarton (ESPOSITO, 1990, p. 48-49). The remaining four figures are difficult to decipher. One hovers over the dead body and two others are entwined to the left, one right side up and the other upside down. In the upper center is a totemic outline of a child, executed in scorper and free of ink so it floats on a plane in front of the rest of the composition. At far left, the orange beak of a bird nearly breaks through the edge of the image. Abstract shapes swirl around these figures, heightening the sense of unease.

Having mastered the techniques manifest in *Cinq personnages*, Hayter changed tack in the 1950s to pursue a very different set of processes and subjects. *Varèche*, 1958 (**cat. 29**), is one of a group of colorful prints with all-over compositions that appear completely abstract; seemingly random drips and gestures cover the plate. Hayter, however, never accepted pure abstraction as a meaningful subject — even when his

subjects defy conventional representation, his titles anchor them in the world of places and things. *Varèche* (**cat. 29**) is one of many works inspired by the appearance of moving water, fish, and underwater vegetation. The direct autographic drawing that had been essential to Hayter's work since he began engraving has disappeared, replaced by a variety of devices that could be set in motion by his hand, but whose outcomes were far more open to chance: leaking cans of liquid ground suspended as pendulums, and marker pens that could dribble and spray showers of ink that acted to resist the acid bite leaving their marks on the plate as they fell. These systems recorded, rather than depicted, the behavior of liquids in motion.

As before, Hayter was exploiting physical forces and material properties, actively creating — not just embodying — content. One can see him searching for a balance between physics (to which humans are irrelevant), psyche (deeply human, but largely beyond our conscious direction), and technical mastery (our limited apex of total control). For Hayter, the uncontrollable force of water was not just a pretty effect of nature, but an emblem of humankind's inability to stop time (KAINEN, 1992, p. 16).

Formally, *Varèche* (**cat. 29**) shares qualities with the drip paintings of Jackson Pollock, who worked with Hayter in New York in 1944 and 1945. Pollock began his tenure at Atelier 17 as everyone did, creating an experimental plate of burin studies and learning to hold the tool steady in the hand while turning the plate to create curves. Working this way, an artist is constantly looking at the plate from all sides (while imagining the left-right reverse of how the printed image will appear). Hayter encouraged *nouveaux* in the studio to create all-over designs on their experimental plates and he advocated working with one's arm extended rather than resting on an elbow (HAYTER, 1981, p. 65). These were habits that Pollock translated to paint and canvas, as did Hayter — both painted with the support turned at odd angles, as well as flat on the floor — but the difference between the two was profound (ALBERT, 2011, p. 122). For Pollock, the triad of artist, action, and object formed a coherent and self-sufficient entity. External content, such as pictorial allusion to the natural world, was excluded. Hayter, on the other hand, never abandoned representation, even when portraying subconscious forms. His art was predicated on bridging the interior perceptions of the mind and the physical presence of the world — a bridge he built through constant experimentation.

While prints such as *Varèche* (**cat. 29**) bypassed engraving, Hayter picked up the burin again in the late 1960s and continued to use it in combination with other techniques for the remainder of his life. In *Torso*, 1986 (**Figure 5**), Hayter used stripes with inverted color variants, inking the central intaglio composition in green, red, and fluorescent orange. The shape of the torso is defined by a mask that was laid down on the inked plate, blocking the rollers from depositing the blue and yellow inks on



Fig. 5 • Stanley William Hayter

Torso, 1986, printed (impressão) 2015
engraving and softground etching; printed in green
(intaglio), fluorescent orange (intaglio), dark red (intaglio),
blue-yellow-green gradient (relief), with mask.
Baltimore Museum of Art. Gift of Désirée Hayter, Paris.
© HAYTER, Stanley William/AUTVIS, Brasil, 2019.

the paper, and producing an area of white across the background. The positive shape of the torso, described by an absence, echoes the conundrum of plate six from *The Apocalypse*, in which the negative space of a clenched fist is described by a positive volume. In this late print, the cognitive inquiries and accumulated techniques of four decades have come together.

Hayter and Atelier 17 have long been acknowledged as critical forces in the revitalization of printmaking in Europe and the United States in the mid-twentieth century. Through his influence on Pollock and other painters, Hayter has further been recognized as an agent of change in modern and contemporary art more broadly. His belief in the fearless confrontation between artist and material — whether an inked copper plate or oil paint on canvas — was fundamental to Abstract Expressionism, and his fostering of a collaborative working environment, and of indirect and counterintuitive processes, created a space of nonintentionality that many subsequent artists have chosen to occupy.

The prints and other works that came from Hayter's hand, however, have not always received their due. His allegiance to representation made him seem less adventurous than the New York painters who learned from him, and his lifelong fascination with technical challenges and with harvesting the imagery of the subconscious, put him out of step with later movements from Pop to Postmodernism. But if we take the time to look, slowly and carefully, at Hayter's prints, we cannot help but see an artist who did what great artists must do: wed technique and content in the pursuit of something that has never been said quite that way before¹⁷.

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Shifting Focus:
Women Printmakers
of Atelier 17

Christina Weyl

In 1938 and 1939 Atelier 17 published two portfolios, *Solidarité and Fraternity*, for the benefit of children displaced by the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939).¹ The list of artists' names reads like a Who's Who of influential modernists: Pablo Picasso, Joan Miró, André Masson, John Buckland-Wright, Yves Tanguy, Joseph Hecht, Wassily Kandinsky, Roderick Mead, Dolf Reiser, Luis Vargas, Stanley William Hayter, and Dalla Husband. Wait. Rewind. Who was Dalla Husband? And how did she find her way into this eminent group?

Husband (1899–1943) is the odd man out – pun intended – as the lone female artist. Even within the available scholarship on Atelier 17, her name is seldom mentioned, yet she was central to the workshop's earliest years. She was one of the two women who first approached Hayter about printmaking instruction, leading to the founding of the studio. She produced and exhibited prints in Paris in the 1920s and 1930s, and she and Hayter were romantically involved during the latter part of that time.² A committed supporter of the Spanish Republic in its fight against the fascist forces of general Francisco Franco, Husband likely insisted on participating in these portfolios. Though her contribution to *Solidarité* was an abstraction, many of her editions depicted the trauma and human suffering of war. In *Fraternity*, two menacing airplanes survey a line of abstract figures – innocents who walk amid rubble and destruction (**Figure 1**).

1 This essay has been revised from its initial publication in the *Woman's Art Journal* 39, n° 1, Spring/Summer 2018, p. 12-22 and is reprinted with permission. Thank you to Susan Tallman, Ann Shafer, Peggy Barlow, and Joan Marter, who read and commented on previous versions of this essay. This research stems from my book **The Women of Atelier 17: Modernist Printmaking in Midcentury New York** (Yale University Press, forthcoming 2019).

By the end of 1938, Hayter was working at the Office Internationale pour l'Enfance as the "secretary in charge of exhibitions and donations from artists." Stanley William Hayter, letter to Julian Trevelyan, December 23, 1938, JOT 16_28, Papers of Julian Otto Trevelyan, Trinity College Library Cambridge [henceforth cited as PJOT]. In July 1938, the organization had established a relief fund, the fonds de la Commission d'aide aux enfants espagnols réfugiés en France, which presumably received the proceeds from *Solidarité and Fraternity*.

2 Although Husband and Hayter met in the late 1920s, their romantic relationship seems to have begun in the early 1930s, lasting through 1937 or 1938. Annual exhibition catalogues for the Surindépendants reveal she lived near Hayter's studio for much of her time in Paris (at 23 Rue Moulin Vert and 2 Villa Chauvelot). In 1935 she was a resident of the same building that housed the Atelier, 17 Rue Campagne-Première, but Gary Essar, an independent scholar who has researched Husband's life, believes she lived on a different floor.

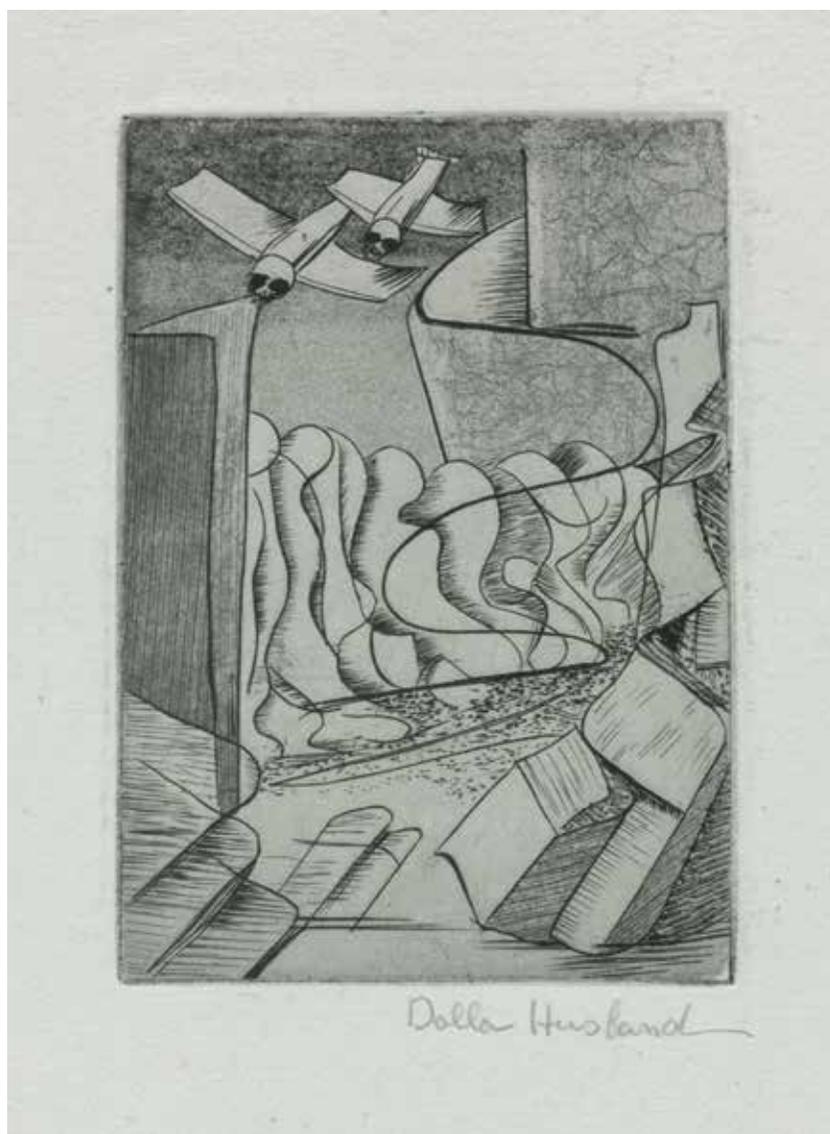


Fig. 1 • Dalla Husband

Untitled, 1939, from the portfolio
Fraternity

engraving and aquatint; printed in black
(intaglio). 12,4 x 7,3 cm

The Baltimore Museum of Art: Gift of Sidney
Hollander, Baltimore, BMA 1996.8.5

Photography by: Mitro Hood

Husband's involvement in these portfolios alongside the giants of interwar Paris offers an introduction to the overlooked history of women artists at Atelier 17. These early female workshop members have been consistently marginalized in published accounts of Atelier 17. For a 1977 exhibition honoring the workshop's fiftieth anniversary, curator Joann Moser assembled a list of hundreds of participants drawn from archives, exhibition catalogues, reviews, Hayter's own Rolodex, and prints in his collection, but all too often there was no information beyond a name (MOSER, 1977, p. 83-87). Who are these artists and where did they come from? What ambitions drew them to the workshop, and how did experimenting with modernist printmaking shape their careers? And, most importantly, what was the character of the art they made afterwards? This essay examines many of these women and their connections to Atelier 17, while suggesting some common threads that bind them together. It will also suggest the extent of Atelier 17's global reach, especially among women artists of Latin America. Some of these individuals, such as Nina Negri (1909–81) and Sue Fuller (1914–2006), were key contributors to the studio's technical developments; for countless others, Atelier 17 played a significant role in their professional or personal lives long after their official affiliation ended.

The causes of these women's disappearance from the historical record are diverse. Hayter was not a fastidious record-keeper and maintained no central archive, so it can be hard to locate the prints of particular Atelier 17 participants and the information pertaining to their association with the workshop. Also, given the limited demand for modernist prints and the Atelier's vision of printmaking as a vehicle of self-discovery, Atelier 17 artists rarely pulled complete editions, preferring to pursue variant effects in successive proofs by changing the marks, inkings, and papers. Many prints, furthermore, were lost when artists fled Paris during World War II. Finally, there are the social and economic pressures that have always weighed more heavily on women and have truncated many artistic careers: lack of resources, lack of support, family responsibilities, and critical indifference or hostility.

Though Husband's name may have been lost in the telling, the general story of Atelier 17's founding is repeated in many histories of twentieth-century art: sometime around 1927, two women approached Hayter about purchasing his prints and were so impressed they returned a few days later to inquire about formal instruction. The details given about these women are fuzzy and often contradictory — sometimes it's "two Canadian women", or "two American women", or "a couple of young artists"; usually they are nameless, though sometimes Alice Carr de Creeft is mentioned, as her decade-long marriage to the Spanish sculptor José de Creeft (1884–1982) guaranteed some name

recognition.³ To improve the historical record about Atelier 17's founding, the two young artists were Gladys Dalla Husband, a Canadian, and Alice Robertson Carr (later Carr de Creeft, 1899–1996), an American.

They were contemporaries, born exactly seven months apart. Although Husband was a native of Winnipeg, Manitoba, and Carr de Creeft originated in Roanoke, Virginia, they lived only 350 miles apart in Vernon, British Columbia, and Seattle, Washington, respectively, before colliding in Paris. Both had some prior artistic training: Carr de Creeft had studied sculpture at the Art Students League with A. Stirling Calder and at the School of the Art Institute of Chicago with Albin Polasek; Husband had worked locally with Jennifer Topham Brown.⁴ After receiving a substantial inheritance from her paternal grandmother, Husband arrived in Paris in October 1924; Carr de Creeft followed two years later.⁵ It is not known how they came to meet, but their paths may have crossed at one of the many art academies in Paris. Carr de Creeft worked with Antoine Bourdelle at the Académie de la Grande Chaumière and also pursued private study with Édouard Navellier, an *animalier* (specialist in animal sculpture), and with her eventual husband from whom she learned direct carving. Husband's early years in Paris are hazier: Hayter later suggested she had trained with Fernand Léger at his Académie Moderne, but this is unconfirmed by archival sources.⁶ As English speakers abroad, Husband and Carr de Creeft could also have met through mutual friends or a chance encounter in Montparnasse, near where they both lived, and bonded over their shared background in the Pacific Northwest.⁷

3 See references in FROST, Rosamund. The Chemically Pure in Art: W. Hayter, B. Sc., Surrealist, *Art News* 40 (May 15, 1941): 13; Désirée Moorhead, The Prints of Stanley William Hayter, in *The Prints of Stanley William Hayter: A Complete Catalogue*, ed. Désirée Moorhead and Peter Black (Mount Kisco, NY: Moyer Bell, 1992), 19; An Atelier Comes to America: Engravers' Workshop Set Up Here by Hayter, *New York Post*, October 2, 1940; and MOSER (1977, p. 2).

4 I would like to thank Nina Ward de Creeft for sharing biographical information about her mother. For Husband's training, see DWYER, Maggie and MARK, Lisa Gabrielle. *Dalla Husband (Winnipeg)*, MB: WAG Press, 1995). Although sources state Jennifer Topham Brown studied at the Slade School of Fine Art in London, the school's records do not confirm her attendance.

5 It has been reported that Husband inherited £10,000 (the equivalent roughly \$525,000 today) when her grandmother, Mary Jane Husband, died on July 18, 1921. According to the will (accessed through "Find a Will" on Gov.uk), Husband did not receive an outright bequest. She and her siblings shared one-third of proceeds from sale of her grandmother's real estate, investments, and bank accounts, the values of which are unknown. Inflation-adjusted values courtesy of Lawrence H. Officer and Samuel H. Williamson, Computing 'Real Value Over Time With a Conversion Between U.K. Pounds and U.S. Dollars, 1774 to Present,' *MeasuringWorth*, 2016.

6 Hayter briefly sketched Husband's life to the print dealer Jan Johnson, who sold a large group of Husband's work to the Winnipeg Art Gallery in 1986, and recalled that she had studied with Léger. Unfortunately, a complete list of students from Académie Moderne has not been compiled. Gladys Fabre offers a partial list (which does not include Husband) in "Petite histoire illustrée de l'académie moderne; liste des élèves de Léger entre 1924 et 1931," in *Léger et l'esprit moderne* (Paris: Le Musée d'Art moderne de la Ville de Paris, 1982), p. 479–97.

7 Before her marriage, Carr de Creeft's address was listed as 147 Rue Broca in the 1927 Salon d'Automne catalogue. Nina Ward de Creeft says her mother did not speak much about Atelier 17. She recalled, "my father felt that the group working at the atelier was 'not a good influence' on my mother. Probably a Bohemian group." Nina Ward de Creeft to author, March 31, 2016. Gary Essar also said Carr de Creeft was reticent to say anything about Atelier 17 when he interviewed her in the 1990s. Gary Essar phone interview with the author, July 11, 2016.

We assume that Husband and Carr de Creeft learned about Hayter through a public exhibition. He had been in Paris since the spring of 1926, and after a brief stint at the Académie Julian augmented by private study with the American printmaker Mary Huntoon (1896–1970) and Polish engraver Joseph Hecht, he exhibited two prints and a painting at the Salon d’Automne in November (BLACK and MOORHEAD, cat. n^{rs} 2, 6).⁸ In December of that year he married Edith Fletcher (1900-1974), a New Yorker who had come to Paris the previous January, and with her exhibited again at the Salon d’Automne in 1927 — she showed two prints and a painting, and he two paintings and two prints (Black and Moorhead, cat. n^{rs} 17, 21).⁹ The following year was a fruitful one for them: each exhibited two paintings at the Société des Artistes Indépendants in January, and in June they held a joint show at the Sacre du Printemps gallery.¹⁰ Fletcher Hayter’s portion of the exhibition included 23 etchings of animals — deer, elephants, lions, bears and more — making it clear that she, too, had studied with Hecht, a masterful animal engraver (*animalier-buriniste*). In fact, both artists exhibited prints of bison, his standing (B/M 25) and hers lying down. Hecht had made a number of bison prints in 1927, and it is likely he assigned the subject as a teaching exercise.¹¹

Given her ambitions as an *animalier*, Carr de Creeft was probably attracted to the *Sacre du Printemps* exhibition because of this focus. In his introductory essay for the exhibition catalogue, the noted French critic André Salmon stressed the connection between Fletcher Hayter’s animal etchings and French naturalists, praising the plasticity of her etched lines and her ability to convey the character of her subjects.¹² Carr de Creeft’s focus on animals carried through to the prints she made under Hayter’s tutelage. One of the only known prints from this period features a young boy attempting to halt an unmanageable goat. Its linear, realistic style echoes Hayter, Fletcher Hayter, and of course their teacher, Hecht.

8 For Hayter’s chronology, see Black and Moorhead, **The Prints of Stanley William Hayter**, 391.

9 For Fletcher’s travel on the *Ascania*, see *New Yorkers Going to Mediterranean*, **New York Times**, January 23, 1926, 5. Fletcher was the youngest of four children born to Arthur Fletcher, an architect, and his wife Adeline in Pelham, New York. After her divorce from Hayter in September 1929, Fletcher Hayter lived with her mother in Larchmont, New York, and wrote a book about fashion merchandising (1939). After the death of her and Hayter’s son David in December 1945, she moved to upstate New York where she was involved in hospital administration and eventually became a professor of business at Skidmore College in Saratoga Springs.

10 See catalogue for **Exposition de gravure et quelques peintures de Edith Fletcher et Stanley William Hayter**, June 16-30, 1928, Sacre du Printemps, Paris.

11 For more on Hecht, see J. Michael Armentrout, **Joseph Hecht** (Philadelphia, PA: Dolan/Maxwell Gallery, 1985); Jenny Squires Wilker, Joseph Hecht: Animalier-Buriniste, **The Print Collector’s Newsletter** 22, n^o 4 (September 1991): p. 126–31. For Hecht’s bison prints see n^{rs} 144-147 in Dominique Tonneau-Ryckelynck and Roland Plumart, **Joseph Hecht, 1891-1951: catalogue raisonné de l’œuvre gravé** (Gravelines: Editions du Musée de Gravelines, 1992).

12 According to Helen Phillips, Fletcher Hayter’s work received more attention and sold better from the *Sacre du Printemps Show*, a fact that “left a mark on [Hayter].” See handwritten document, Before Me, Helen Phillips papers, Paris, [henceforth cited as HPP]. Thank you to Carla Esposito Hayter for opening these archives to me.

Though 1927 is often listed as the founding date of Atelier 17, the timing of the June 1928 exhibition and its probable role in prompting the inquiry from Carr de Creeft and Husband suggest it actually happened later. The earlier date was repeated by Hayter in interviews and appeared on promotional materials as well as on the studio's official letterhead (though most of this material was printed after the studio's move to New York City in 1940). Hayter, however, was notoriously bad with dates, and another version of the studio's letterhead, used roughly from 1945 to 1950, gives 1928 as the founding year. Further, a letter Hayter wrote in 1939 to the director of the Brooklyn Museum also cites 1928, and Helen Phillips, Hayter's second wife, reported that Atelier 17's press had never been located in the apartment-studio on Rue de Moulin Vert where he lived in 1927, rather was first installed in his home and studio at 23 Villa Chauvelot, to which he moved in 1928.¹³

Husband exhibited regularly in Paris throughout the 1930s, but in late 1939 she left to join a group of Canadian artists working in Mexico and died there, unexpectedly, in 1943. Carr de Creeft continued to focus on sculpture but, as a realist working in an era of abstraction, her reputation was limited. Other women who attended Atelier 17 during these years achieved greater prominence: Hedda Sterne (1910–2011), famous as the only woman in a 1951 photo of the “Irascibles” (the avant-garde artists who protested the Metropolitan Museum's juried 1950 exhibition *American Painting Today* as regressive), appears on Moser's list of Paris participants and was sporadically in Paris in the 1930s. Though no prints dating to that time have been found, Sterne was fascinated with printmaking and created monotypes in the late 1940s in New York.¹⁴ Leonor Fini (1907–1996) came to the workshop shortly after arriving in Paris in 1931, likely at the encouragement of Max Ernst, then her lover, or one of her other Surrealist acquaintances, such as Salvador Dalí or Paul Éluard, both of whom were friendly with Hayter. She produced about ten plates, all stylistically similar to the cartoonish, automatic drawings and paintings she was making during this period, combining animals and humans in enigmatic situations.¹⁵

¹³ For an example of the letterhead, see Hayter to Trevelyan, January 2, 1949, JOT 16_39, PJOT. For Hayter's reference to 1928, see Hayter to Laurence Page Roberts, June 3, 1940, Brooklyn Museum archives, Records of the Department of Prints, Drawings, and Photographs. For Phillips's comments, see typeset document, Bill's early life, HPP.

¹⁴ These monotypes were on view at Greenberg Van Doren gallery in the exhibition, *Hedda Sterne: Machines, 1947-51*, March 10 - May 7, 2016. Sterne left much of her work behind when she fled Europe in 1941. She kept photographs, but none show her prints. See two folders marked “Proto U.S. (1941)” and “Sculptures + Paper Collages drings [sic] proto NY” in the Hedda Sterne Foundation archive. Thank you to Shaina Laviree for sharing these files with me.

¹⁵ Thanks to Richard Overstreet, the rights holder (*ayant droit*) of Leonor Fini, for sharing his collection of her Atelier 17 prints. For examples of her drawings and paintings conceived concurrently, see **Leonor Fini: l'italienne de Paris** (Trieste: MR, Museo Revoltella, 2009), 207; WEBB Peter, **Sphinx: The Life and Art of Leonor Fini** (New York: Vendome Press, 2009), 28–36. Hayter invited Fini to exhibit with Atelier 17 at the Galerie Pierre in May 1936. See Hayter to Trevelyan, 7 March 1935, JOT 16_19, PJOT.

Helen Phillips, who would become Hayter's second wife, was introduced to the workshop by Dickson Reeder and Flora Blanc, two Americans working in Paris. A native of Northern California, Phillips arrived in Paris in the summer of 1936, having received the prestigious Phelan Traveling Fellowship from the School of Fine Arts in San Francisco. She befriended several Americans and often dined with Reeder and Blanc. One day, while at Chez Rosalie, a café down the street from 17 Rue Campagne-Première, they were joined by Hayter, taking a break between classes.¹⁶ Phillips agreed to attend the next night's class and found herself attracted to the sculptural qualities of engraving (she had studied direct carving in San Francisco with Robert Stackpole). The experience of incising copper with the burin sharpened her understanding of positive and negative spaces, and altered the way she dealt with sculptural volume. Looking at the trajectory of her sculpture, it would appear that engraving altered her sensibility, leading her to open up the forms of her early, blocky direct carvings and to develop sinuous, twisting limbs in her later cast and polished bronze works. One of her first intaglio plates features a headless stick figure (**Figure 2**) — a recurring form that she described as “two joined wishbones” — amid swirling dry-point lines that suggest motion and even dance, which was a motif that would occupy her when she returned to printmaking in the 1950s after a decade-long child-raising hiatus. (Phillips regretted not having had more time to devote to printmaking and sculpture during the years she and Hayter lived in New York).¹⁷

In 1934, Atelier 17 began to hold regular group exhibitions through which the activities of women members can be traced. Five of the eight shows held between 1934 and 1939 had printed catalogues with object checklists or lists of participating artists, and we can glean the rosters of the remaining three from Hayter's letters and newspaper reviews.¹⁸ (Artists active in the Atelier also showed in the city's annual salons in the late 1920s and early 1930s, though the works appearing there were usually paintings, sculptures, and drawings rather than prints.) To participate in the Atelier 17 shows, artists paid a small fee to the hosting gallery — for example, participating in the 1935 exhibition at the Galerie Pierre cost each artist 100 francs (roughly \$85 today) — which would hopefully be offset by sales.¹⁹ The number of

¹⁶ Handwritten document, “30's,” HPP.

¹⁷ Phillips remembered hosting New York studio members for coffee at her and Hayter's brownstone on Waverly Place: “I knew much of what was happening in the workshop, although I hadn't the time and baby-sitters necessary to work there regularly.” Helen Phillips, undated letter to Fred [Becker], HPP.

¹⁸ For a list of Atelier 17's eight shows during its early years in Paris, see my chronology: <http://www.christinaweyl.com/atelier-17-group-exhibition-chronology>

¹⁹ For Galerie Pierre entry fee see Hayter letters to Trevelyan, March 7 [1935], JOT 16_19 and April 23 [1935], JOT 16_11, PJOT. This financial arrangement was typical of interwar Paris where artists rented gallery space. See chapter 5 in GREET, Michele. **Transatlantic Encounters: Latin American Artists in Paris between the Wars** (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2018). The conversion is based on historic inflation rates found at <http://fxtop.com/en/inflation-calculator.php>.

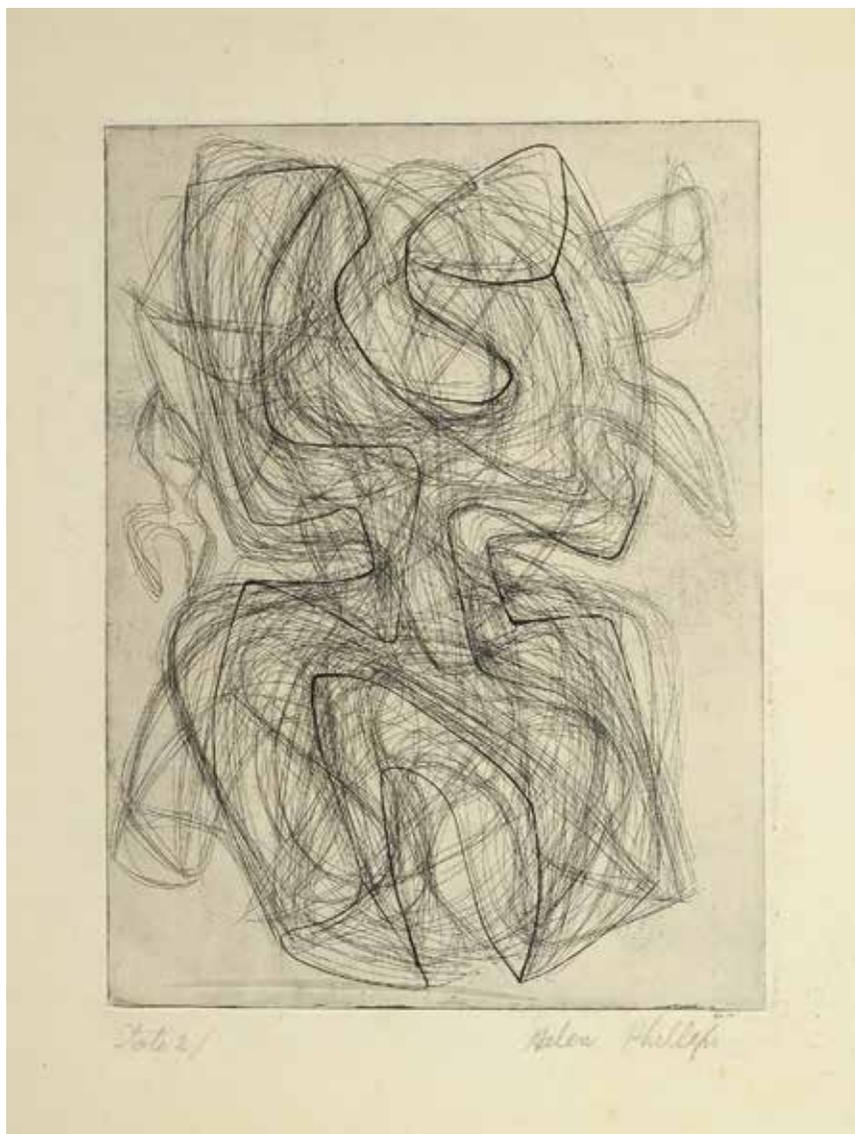


Fig. 2 • Helen Phillips

Study, 1936

dry-point and engraving, 19,5 x 14,7 cm

Collection of Carla and Hayter Esposito

Image courtesy Carla Esposito Hayter

Rights courtesy of Dolan/Maxwell and

The estate of Helen Phillips

artists in these shows, and the proportion of women, increased over time, from just one in nine (Dalla Husband) at the Leicester Galleries in 1934, to ten out of twenty-six at Guggenheim Jeune in 1939.

As a group, these women reflected the stylistic diversity of the workshop as a whole. Hayter consistently stated that he was not a professor and the workshop was not a place for novices to learn elementary principles. Rather, he was offering an introduction to advanced printmaking techniques that could stimulate an individual's innate expressive tendencies, regardless of subject matter (MOSER, 1977, p. 13; New School for Social Research, 1940, p. 77). The involvement of the Dutch realist Jeanne Bieruma Oosting (1898–1994) is indicative of the stylistic range Hayter's approach embraced. Her work was almost always figurative — in 1970 she established the Jeanne Oosting Stichting (Jeanne Oosting Foundation) to recognize excellence by figurative artists — with a concentration on animals, insects and reptiles.²⁰ Nonetheless she exhibited consistently in Atelier 17 group shows, beginning with a 1936 exhibition at the Kunstzaal De Gulden Roos in Maastricht.

Despite the active presence of realists such as Oosting, it is clear that Surrealism and abstraction were dominant among both men and women working with Hayter. Like Husband, the Swedish Siri Rathsman (1895–1974) and Argentinian-born Nina Negri (1909–1981) followed the principles of automatism. Rathsman's prints are very rare, but a group recently located with a New York art dealer demonstrate her skillful handling of the engraver's burin and her curiosity with color printing.²¹ Apparently, Hayter and Negri were some of the first members to test new methods for achieving color printmaking, well before his perfection of simultaneous color printmaking in the mid 1940s.²² Negri, Rathsman, and Husband exhibited their prints regularly with Atelier 17 in the 1930s and also in other forums such as the Association Artistique les Surindépendants. Negri was the only artist other than Hayter to show prints in the *Exposition Internationale du Surréalisme* (1938). Negri and Rathsman were quite active in Paris's avant-garde community in other — and yet unexplored — ways. Both were signors of the Hungarian artist Charles Sirato's *Manifeste Dimensioniste* (1936), which urged visual artists to draw from recent discoveries in the fields of mathematics and physics surrounding time and space, most notably Einstein's Theory of General Relativity. The careers and innovative prints of Negri, Rathsman, and Husband merit further scholarly attention.

²⁰ Oosting donated 752 of her prints to the Rijksmuseum before her death. For more on Oosting's career and the Jeanne Oosting Stichting, see <http://www.jeanneoostingstichting.nl/jeanne> and LOON, Maud van. **Jeanne Bieruma Oosting als Grafisch Kunstenaar** (Rotterdam: A. Donker, 1946).

²¹ Thank you to Anders Wahlstedt for bringing these prints by Rathsman to my attention.

²² Helen Phillips, undated letter to Peter [Black?], HPP.

The declaration of war between France and Germany in September 1939 spelled the temporary end of the Paris-based Atelier 17. (Hayter revived it in New York in 1940 and returned to Paris in 1950). Many of its artists left Paris, and a number moved on from printmaking altogether, yet their experience with Hayter often remained an important touchstone. The American Buffie Johnson (1912–2006), who later became known for her proto-feminist research on the Great Goddess, was in Paris from the spring of 1937 until October 1939, and made prints at Atelier 17 sometime before the workshop's exhibition at the Galerie de Beaune (the show's catalogue illustrated one of her etchings).²³ Johnson maintained friendships with many of the artists she met at Atelier 17 in Paris — she received holiday cards from Julian Trevelyan, Roger Vieillard, and Anita de Caro — and her brief return to printmaking in the late 1940s reveals an awareness of what was happening at Atelier 17's New York workshop.²⁴ Her solo show at Betty Parsons Gallery in the spring of 1950 featured several woodblock monotypes, thickly inked and printed on black paper, which bear a striking resemblance to the black paper woodcuts that Atelier 17 member Anne Ryan (1889–1954) had been showing in New York since 1946 (**Figure 3**). Though their works differed in subject and character — Ryan's ranged from portraits to circus imagery in bright hues, while Johnson's are muted and abstract — Johnson's use of black paper seems an unmistakable nod to Ryan. The two artists met most likely through their mutual friend, the artist Tony Smith (1912–1980), or possibly by association with Betty Parsons Gallery, where Ryan would have a major exhibition of her collages in September 1950. Johnson also owned a small semi-abstract etching of a dancing figure by Ryan, which she likely sent as a holiday greeting.

Ryan was among the first women artists to pursue instruction at Atelier 17 in New York when Hayter reestablished the workshop at the New School for Social Research in the fall of 1940. (After five years at the New School, the workshop relocated to the first floor of an aging brownstone at 41 East Eighth Street.)²⁵ Among the small group of women who found their way into his classroom, Ryan, Sue Fuller (1914–2006), and Worden Day (1912–1986) all continued to be active as printmakers for years. Others attended only briefly, including the urban scene artist Isabel Bishop (1902–1988), abstract expressionist Perle Fine (1908–1988), and surrealists Catherine Yarrow (1904–1990) and Hope Manchester (1907–1976). Of several other women, whose

23 For biographical information, see <http://www.buffiejohnson.com> and Alexandra de Lallier, Buffie Johnson: Icons and Altarpieces to the Goddess, *Woman's Art Journal* 3, n° 1 (Spring 1982) p. 29-34. In 1988, Johnson published her book on goddess imagery called **Lady of the Beasts: Ancient Images of the Goddess and Her Sacred Animals** (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1988).

24 Thank you to Tracy Boyd, former studio assistant for Johnson, for showing me these prints.

25 On Atelier 17's relationship with the New School, see chapter 1 in my book, **The Women of Atelier 17**.

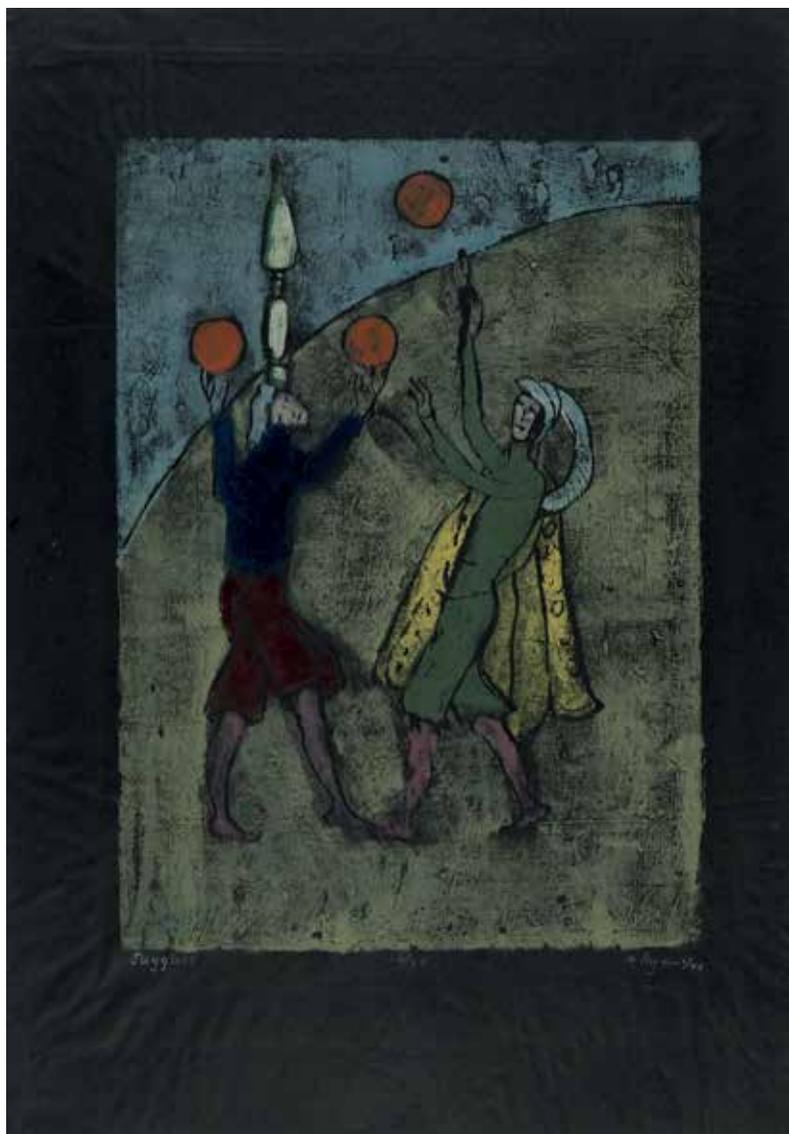


Fig. 3 • Anne Ryan

Jugglers, 1946

woodcut, 60,6 x 42,9 cm

Yale University Art Gallery Anonymous
Purchase Fund, 1977.10.2

Courtesy Washburn Gallery, New York

names appear on grade rosters at the New School or in related documents, we know little: Mary Jean Beird, Margaret E. Reinhart, Bess Schuyler, Alda Ortley, and a student known only as “Joan”.²⁶

In 1944 the Museum of Modern Art organized the exhibition *New Directions in Gravure: Hayter and Studio 17*, which traveled for two years throughout the United States. Concurrently, MoMA shipped a version of the show to the federal government’s Inter-American Office, which circulated to cities in Latin America between 1944 and 1946.²⁷ For this second version, four additional women artists of Latin American heritage were added to the checklist: Victoria Lucía Quintero (born 1919), Teresa d’Amico Fourpome (1914–1965), Lily Garafulic (1914–2012), and Maria Martins (1894–1973). (Nina Negri was already represented in the original version shown at MoMA with a print loaned from Hayter’s personal collection.) During the 1930s and 1940s, the United States government’s Good Neighbor policy increased the diplomatic and cultural dialogue with countries in Central and South America, and the influence of this transnational exchange has been documented within *Atelier 17* (FRASER, 2012). Among the best known Latin American artists to work with Hayter were the Argentine émigré Mauricio Lasansky (1914–2012), who went on to establish the influential printmaking program at the University of Iowa, and the Chileans Nemesio Antúñez (1918–1993) and Roberto Matta (1911–2002).

The four women added to the Latin American tour of *New Directions in Gravure* were in the United States for completely different reasons, all of which show the increasing fluidity of Pan-American relations. Puerto Rican-born Quintero was raised in New York City and continued her artistic studies at the Art Students League and at *Atelier 17* after graduating from Barnard College in 1941. Garafulic, a Chilean, had won a Guggenheim Fellowship to pursue study of sculpture in New York City with José de Creeft at the Art Students League and, like so many female sculptors, found herself drawn to *Atelier 17* for Hayter’s intense focus on understanding engraving’s relationship to volume and space (**Figure 4**). Fourpome, who similarly focused on sculpture, came to New York from Brazil and studied with William Zorach and Ossip Zadakine at the Art Students League.²⁸ Maria Martins (or Maria, as she preferred to be known), who hailed from

²⁶ The first three names are found on the grade rosters in the Registrar’s Office at the New School. The last two were part of Anne Ryan’s former collection given to the Metropolitan Museum of Art (see accession n^os 1983.1155.4, 1983.1156.9). The New School only kept course enrollment records for matriculated students. The vast majority of members during this period were, therefore, unmatriculated.

²⁷ For a list of venues within the United States, see my chronology: <http://www.christinaweyl.com/atelier-17-group-exhibition-chronology>. A full itinerary of the show’s tour in Latin American has not yet been found.

²⁸ Online biographies for Fourpome often state she had support from the Rockefeller Foundation, but the Rockefeller Archive Center has not yet found a direct connection. Mary Ann Quinn to Christina Weyl, March 24, 2017.

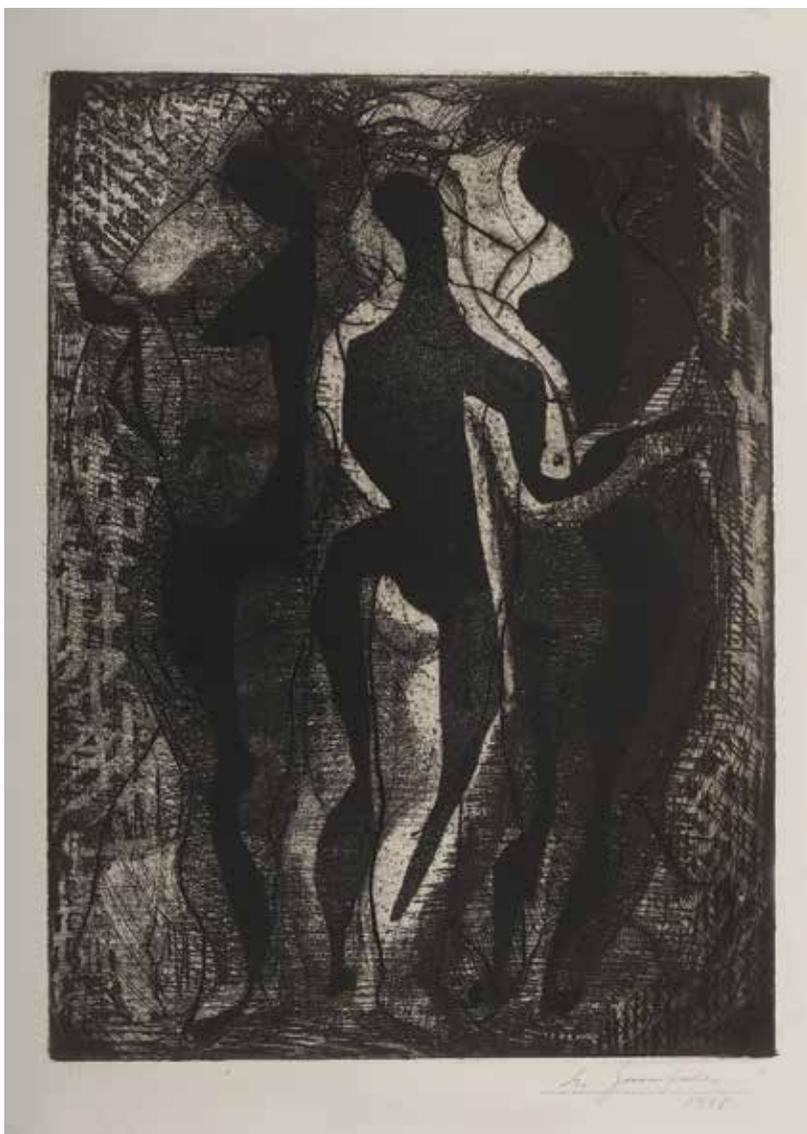


Fig. 4 • Lily Garafulic

Untitled, 1945

print on paper, 50.8 x 39.4 cm

Image printed with authorization
of the Garafulic Family

Brazil, also gained prominence as a sculptress — not to mention the notoriety of being Marcel Duchamp’s longtime lover and model for his last major work, *Étant Donnés*, 1946–1966.

Still other Latin American women practiced at Atelier 17. Fayga Ostrower (1920–2001), who had been born in Poland to a Jewish family that relocated to Brazil in the 1930s, worked at Atelier 17 in 1955 while on a Fulbright Scholarship.²⁹ Anna Rosa Marcos de Ycaza (1915–2013), who is almost completely unknown today, came to the United States from Ecuador and produced approximately twenty surrealist-inspired intaglio plates at Atelier 17. Hayter, who was never overgenerous with praise, wrote that de Ycaza “had something promising, really important” and was “one of the most talented people we had.”³⁰ De Ycaza, like Maria, was in the United States as a result of her husband’s diplomatic positions (Ramon de Ycaza was the Consul-General of Ecuador in San Francisco, and Carlos Martins was the Brazilian ambassador). While the Martins returned to Brazil in 1949, de Ycaza’s trajectory after Atelier 17 is unclear.

Met with wide acclaim, *New Directions in Gravure* prompted a swell of demand for access to the workshop. With the end of World War II in 1945, international travel became easier and international exchange more attractive, and artists came from around the globe to learn modernist printmaking. This global constituency complicates research on studio members of both sexes, as many artists returned home with their prints, and the polyglot documentation of their careers — French, Spanish, Portuguese, Armenian, Dutch, Czech, Japanese, Hindi — creates a daunting research task. Yet documenting them and their exchange is important to the increasingly globalized study of art history.

In contrast to the small number of women who made prints at the New School, the list of female printmakers who came to the Eighth Street workshop beginning in 1945 is too extensive to cover in this essay. This surge can be seen in the workshop’s tenth group show, held at the Willard Gallery in 1945, where eleven women exhibited alongside twenty-four men. In New York, as in Paris, the workshop was important not just for the skills it taught, but also for the professional networking it facilitated (Weyl, 2019, chapter 5). For women artists in particular, affiliation with the newly expanded and increasingly renowned Atelier 17 opened doors. Two of the most important sculptors of the postwar period, Louise Nevelson (1899–1988) and Louise Bourgeois (1911–2010), found that their innovative Atelier 17 prints helped launch their careers. Bourgeois, who began working at Atelier 17 in 1946, spoke of the catalyzing importance of participating in

²⁹ I wish to thank Silvia Dolinko for bringing Ostrower to my attention.

³⁰ William Stanley Hayter, letters to Peter Grippe, October 3 and November 27, 1952, Allentown Art Museum, The Grippe Collection.

the Brooklyn Museum's annual print shows, which started in 1947: "I was able to enter the art field through the prints, because the Brooklyn Museum organized this show of prints every year. So it was an easy beginning, to have your name printed... I did it for exposure" (KATZ, 1995, p. 88).

But the vast majority of Atelier 17's female membership during its New York years did not achieve the level of fame and success that Nevelson and Bourgeois did. In the United States, many obstacles — from family obligations and financial practicalities to critical neglect — derailed many promising careers. Postwar America was in many ways a difficult environment for women artists, with its resurgence of social values emphasizing marriage and children over professional aspirations. Several women who were active and successful as young artists at Atelier 17 later left the art world, only to return in some capacity later in life.

Though women artists were essential to Atelier 17 from its very inception, they have largely disappeared from its legend. Dalla Husband was being "forgotten" even as the ink was drying on her prints: writing to Julian Trevelyan about the Spanish Civil War portfolio *Solidarité* one month before its publication, Hayter managed to omit Husband's name from the list of artists, though Trevelyan knew her quite well.³¹ Socially, institutionally and often personally, women artists had the decks stacked against them, but it is important to recognize that for Husband and so many other adventurous, ambitious women, interwar Paris and postwar New York were essential centers of opportunity — even if those opportunities were more limited than they were for their male peers. Atelier 17 represented a place where they could learn and contribute to the development of modern art, where they could establish networks both personal and professional, and where they might make their achievements known, at least to a small community and for a brief period of time. Atelier 17 should be remembered as a major touchstone of modernism for many women.

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³¹ Stanley William Hayter, letter to Trevelyan, March 10 [1938], JOT 16_24, PJOT.

Lívio Abramo: Learning and Teaching

Priscila Sacchettin

Lívio Abramo left São Paulo for Europe in 1951, thanks to the foreign travel award granted the previous year by the Salão Nacional de Belas Artes, in which he showed woodcuts for the illustrated edition of Afonso Arinos' **Pelo Sertão**. In Paris, Abramo attended Atelier 17, run by the English printmaker Stanley William Hayter. When we look at Hayter's prints and his circle and compare them to those of Abramo's, we note a significant difference in language and propositions. If, on one hand, the research on color engraving was strongly pursued in the Atelier, on the other hand, Abramo continued to work the way he was doing before traveling: black and white woodcuts. The divergency was manifest on a statement he made:

"When I won the award and went to Europe — to see and not to work —, while visiting the numerous museums there, I felt the need to improve my knowledge about metal engraving. I have started to attend Stanley William Hayter's Atelier 17, the best engraving studio in Europe and the United States. [...] I have learned the technique, but I did not want to do anything that he did" (TÁVORA and FERREIRA, 1997, p.76).

Therefore, we could question the relevance of his training in Atelier 17 and how to place it in Abramo's trajectory. In this essay, I start from the hypothesis that the significance of Atelier 17 to the Brazilian printmaker can be found in the modern artistic-pedagogical proposal found there. In other words, the artist's interest would be focused on the formative and disseminating character of Hayter's work. Maybe it is not by chance that, when coming back home, Abramo has started his teaching career, which would extend throughout his life, starting with engraving classes at the MAM SP Craft School between 1953 and 1959. His experience as a teacher and studio coordinator developed in the Gravura Studio between 1960 and 1964 and later in the activities in Asunción, Paraguay, where he directed the Engraving Workshop Julián de la Herrería from 1962

until his death in 1992. I would, therefore, like to consider Abramo's trajectory through the teaching and learning bias of art since his first contact with engraving, passing through the stages that transformed the self-taught apprentice into a master of many.

Self-taught

Lívio Abramo was born in Araraquara, in the hinterland of São Paulo state, in 1903. His family origins, from both parents, can be traced back to the Italian middle class. Although there was no artist among the Abramos by then, they had a great interest in literature, theater, visual arts and the themes of the intellectual and political life of their time. After the family moved to São Paulo, the young Lívio and his brothers took advantage of the cultural scene of the city, attending debates, conferences and shows. Books were always present in the house, and literary and political matters were discussed after dinner. Abramo's initial contact with engraving came directly from the reading of an Italian author:

"At that time, Gabriel D'Annunzio made a revival of his poems by having them illustrated with woodcuts in his books. I was crazy about them and wanted to make prints, but I did not know how; it was the moment I had my first notion of woodcut. Since then, engraving has become a passion, I was around 14, 15 years old" (FERREIRA, 1983, p.21).

At the same time he began to take drawing classes, as a student at the Colégio Dante Alighieri, then the main São Paulo teaching institution for the children of Italian immigrants. Abramo was a student under the painter Enrico Vio,¹ who taught him elementary notions of drawing. But Abramo's recollections and the important role he assigns to Vio in his artistic education are based less on the content of his teaching than on the attitude of his teacher:

I always remember him, because he was the first person to glimpse an artistic potential in me, even though I was never capable of making a geometric drawing, with square and compasses. But since I was good in drawing indians, cowboys, combat scenes, human faces and everything, he said, "I should give you a zero, but I will let you pass your grade because you're the only artist in this class". I was impressed for the rest of my life by what he said and up to this day I do not forget that fact (BECCARI, 1990, s.p.).

The keynote in his recollection is the respect and appreciation of individuality, an attitude that will recur in his artistic and pedagogical trajectory. Economic setbacks in the family business prevented Abramo from continuing formal education, leading him to pursue all sorts of jobs and to live by his wits: "I was a chronic, permanently

¹ Enrico Vio (1874-1960), a Venice-born painter, had his training from the Reggio Istituto di Belle Arti. He moved to Brazil in 1911, living in São Paulo, where he taught drawing at the Liceu de Artes e Ofícios, and later at the Escola Politécnica.

unemployed job seeker. It was looking for a job that I entered into this exhibition, perhaps without knowing what it meant, without knowing that it would give me the meaning of engraving “(TÁVORA and FERREIRA, 1997, 44). The exhibition which the artist refers to is the *Exposição de Livros e Artes Gráficas*, held in São Paulo in 1930²:

There, I revealed myself, the exhibition was my inspiration. I had often seen Oswaldo Goeldi's prints, which were published every Sunday in **O Jornal**, of the Diários Associados group. Of course the Goeldi engravings had, in a way, inspired me, but Goeldi himself and this great exhibition were the real sources. (TÁVORA and FERREIRA, 1997, p.41)

The encounter with the graphic arts, fortuitous as it was, could not have occurred. The informality of Abramo's self-learning³ contrasts with his future institutional performance; the recollection of the first time he made an engraving is a mixture of simplicity and precariousness: “After this exhibition I decided — ‘That's what I want to do!’ [...] I went home, got a razor and a piece of wood, and I made my first engraving, then I got a gouge, then two, and that's how I started to engrave” (Beccari, 1990, s.p.).

Although mostly self-taught, there were sporadic occasions in Abramo's education in which he received guidance from more experienced artists. One of these occasions was the visit he paid to Lasar Segall, then an already consecrated artist, taking some of his drawings for the artist's appreciation:

We went to his house and he showed me exactly the virtues and defects of several of my drawings, and he mostly described to me the relevance of this or that trace, how I had interpreted such a thing, and I appreciated that very much. He did not give me a rule, but a general idea, and got me rid of a lot of formal prejudices (BECCARI, 1990, s.p.).

The development of an artistic language based on one's own criteria and not imposed from outside — “he did not give me a norm” — appears once again as a fundamental point. When asked about the influence from Segall, Abramo's answer shows the valorization of the artist's independence: “... [Segall's influence] I think I rather suffered in one or two prints. But I have immediately reacted, because I saw that it was an influence that bound me to an already preconceived form, rather than to one I myself have conceived” (BECCARI, 1990, s.p.). The style of the expressionist graphics was the

2 The exhibition was in the National Library of Rio de Janeiro and later in São Paulo, where, according to Abramo's testimony, it was held at the German Commercial Office in Rua José Bonifácio; following afterwards to Montevideo and Buenos Aires. The organization is credited to Theodor Heuberger. Among the works on display were watercolors, drawings and engravings by renowned German artists such as Max Beckmann, Lovis Corinth, Otto Dix, Lionel Feininger, Georg Grosz, Oskar Kokoschka, Käthe Kollwitz, among others. For more information on this and other exhibitions organized by Heuberger, see AMARAL, 1981, p. 6.

3 Ilsa Ferreira distinguishes Abramo from other printmakers of the first generation, all of which had an European training: Carlos Oswald in Florence, Goeldi in Geneva e Segall in Dresden and Berlin. Cf. FERREIRA, 1983, p. 19-22.

keynote of Abramo's production during the 1930s. It came from the discoveries the artist has made until then – Käthe Kollwitz, Goeldi, Segall. During the next decade, another encounter will take Abramo to abandon expressionism and change the direction of his graphics.

Kohler

In an interview with Vera d'Horta, Abramo reinforces – as he did on other occasions – the independence of his artistic training:

“I can say that I was an autodidact because even the books about engraving I only read after having already a very long activity as an engraver. That's when I began to buy some books on metal engraving, since I already had, on woodcuts, discovered their secrets by myself” (BECCARI, 1990, s.p.).

The statement should be qualified, because it shows some ambiguity of the artist in relation to a fundamental person in his training, the German xylographer Adolf Kohler.⁴ It is not that the artist denies the importance of Kohler in his learning – in fact, the German engraver is mentioned by Abramo in testimonies, always with much respect and even affection. However, the range of Kohler's teachings has a dimension that the São Paulo engraver is not always willing to acknowledge. Abramo recalls the occasion when he met him:

The German appeared in the **Diário da Noite** newsroom;⁵ he had seen the news of one of my exhibitions and came and brought me some burins. He worked in the Forest Garden and earned little; this was in the early 1940s. He was commissioned to make prints reproducing the Garden's plants and animals.⁶ He went to see a fine arts exhibition and saw prints made by me. He decided to look for me to say that this was not the way engraving should be done, that “... everything was wrong”. He worked in the manner of nineteenth-century book illustrators. (FERREIRA, 1983, p. 66.)

Kohler had been recording his working process and teaching method in a book that, when he passed away, remained unfinished. Rosita Gouveia reports that the book was almost ready for publication, but was lost after the teacher's death (GOUVEIA,

4 Adolf Kohler (Stuttgart, 1882 – São Paulo, 1950). In Germany, he began his apprenticeship in the xylographic tradition, with advanced training courses in France and Hungary. In 1913 he established in Berlin a studio that provided xylographic services to commerce and graphic applications in general. Years later, upon clashes with members of the National Socialist Party who were pushing him to join, Kohler was led to emigrate. He decides to come to São Paulo, where he arrived on May 1, 1927. He settled himself down in the center of the city, where he started an atelier on Rua Boa Vista and attended orders from commercial stores. In February 1940, Kohler was hired by Horto Florestal to hold a position as a professor of woodcutting. Cf. GOUVEIA, 1986, p. 17.

5 Abramo has worked in that newspaper as a title-editor, a job he has held until 1962.

6 Horto Florestal woodcutting school was opened in 1939 on the initiative of director José Camargo Cabral. The vocational course was aimed at young people interested in the career of xylograph printer. Museu Florestal Otávio Vecchi (Museu do Horto) holds 415 matrices, their respective prints (a posteriori) and 133 other projects not engraved (only drawn blocks). Cf. GOUVEIA, 1986, p. 7 and 16.

1986, p.28). Thus, we do not have his account of the course of xylography, but the collection of the institution maintains matrices that reveal how the teaching was done.⁷ In the Escola do Horto, Kohler applied the rigorous criteria of his own training in Europe. “What we could call a didactic method,” observes Gouveia, “was a technical system based on models of reproductive engraving, which involves the thorough and exhaustive training the trace of the burin on top of the wood” (GOUVEIA 1986: 18). Repetition, copying, thematic and formal control: the principles of the teaching of engraving understood as reproduction were maintained. Perhaps it is Kohler’s conservative stance that is the reason for Abramo’s reservations about the German teacher,⁸ because the methods of the latter excluded the freedom of research, a value so dear to Abramo. In Kohler’s terms, the way the engraver was asked to perform determined the way one engraves and also how that ability was conveyed from master to apprentice. Costella points out: “That didactic approach worshipped the repetition and, within it, the minutiae, the precision of the cut, the faithfulness to the veracious drawing; and the students were unrelentingly led in this direction, without freedom to create. Uniformity, rather than individuality, was sought” (COSTELLA, 2005, p.20). Thus, it is not by chance that signatures or authorship marks are absent from the vast majority of the matrices in the Horto collection, as the anonymity of reproduction and the uniformity in engraving were valued, “a basic requirement for interpreting information without large deviations from style” (GOUVEIA, 1986, p.23).

Livio Abramo, however, was never a Horto School student: the instructive interaction with Kohler occurred in a freer and friendlier way, at an informal level. Their meetings lasted over several years, when Abramo’s issues were addressed and clarified by the teacher:

[Kohler] came to visit **Diário da Noite** almost every day. [...] He brought two or three burins, with which one could make more delicate cuts. That was very important to me. They were grooved burins, which at one stroke cut the wood with several very delicate parallel cuts: they were German burins (FERREIRA, 1983, p. 66).

7 In the exercises for beginners, one of the faces of the matrix was divided into smaller areas, used to open several kinds of parallel lines. The wood, after being sandpapered, received a layer of zinc oxide and gum arabic in order it became white and smooth, allowing the pencil to draw the design to be engraved. Always in the same dimensions and with identical designs (advertising for a sewing machine, for example), several matrices hold different stages of the process: from those that only show the first carvings up to others with the engraving stage finished, complete with images and text Kohler brought books, newspapers, catalogs and photographs for the students to copy — they also did copy from life of pieces and objects. The image to be engraved was chosen by the teacher according to the student dexterity level. Cf. COSTELLA, 2005, p. 17-18 and GOUVEIA, 1986, p. 19 e 21.

8 “He was a printmaker of the old German school of reproduction, who had deep knowledge of art but was an academic artist. He taught several things to me, which were very useful to make work easier, but not to engrave, because in fact he wanted me to engrave like him”. Abramo *apud* BECCARI, 1990, s.p.

The learned refinement would appear in the São Paulo engraver's work when the Sociedade dos Cem Bibliófilos do Brazil⁹ gave him a commission to make illustrations for Afonso Arinos' book **Pelo Sertão**.¹⁰ The new tools had allowed the technical improvement that, in turn, opened up new possibilities in Abramo's graphic making, who could now control tracing better than ever. With the techniques and tools Kohler had provided him, he would apply new features to the treatment of the wood, working with subtle incisions that, when reticulated, would provide a range of gray hues. The illustrations for Arinos' book are the culmination of a gradual process towards a graphics capable of conciliating power and refinement, a process that would not have occurred without the guidance of the German xylographer.

Atelier 17

In the late 1940s, Abramo's creative processes had reached a boiling point. It was a period of strong interest in technical experimentation. For the prints for **Pelo Sertão**, for example, he devised a manual printing process which, instead of the wooden spatula, used a piece of celluloid "that slipped and did not tear the paper, since he had to print large amounts in a short time" (FERREIRA, 1983, p. 68). Ilsa Ferreira also reports on the incursions with sandblasting engravings on wood (FERREIRA, 1983, p. 73). Also during that time were his first attempts with metal engraving: "... we went to work – Fayga Ostrower, Marcelo Grassman and me – in a studio in Santo Amaro neighborhood... and I have done an engraving on metal, an aquatint. This was the first time I did metal engraving. Later, I came back to work on metal, when I went to Europe to enjoy the travel prize" (BECCARI, 1990, s.p.). Abramo refers here to the award he received from the 1950's Salão Nacional de Belas Artes,¹¹ which enabled him to stay in Paris, during which he attended Stanley William Hayter's Atelier 17. It appears that the wish to improve his knowledge on chalcography was the more immediate motivation

9 Sociedade dos Cem Bibliófilos do Brazil, whose membership included intellectuals, entrepreneurs and public figures, was founded in 1943 by the industrialist and patron Raymundo Ottoni de Castro Maya (1894-1968). Its purpose was to produce and publish annually masterpieces of Brazilian literature, illustrated by national visual artists.

10 The 1946 commission has resulted in 119 copies of the book, containing 27 woodcuts printed by Marcelo Grassmann on rice paper, in addition to capitulars and vignettes in linocuts. Gouveia points out that "this work was almost entirely made on top wood prepared by Kohler" (GOUVEIA, 1986, 24). The book was launched at the headquarters of the Rio de Janeiro Jockey Club on July 1948. At the time Castro Maya presided over the Society, which had already commissioned illustrations to Portinari for Machado de Assis' **Dom Casmurro**.

11 The Salão Nacional de Belas-Artes was held annually between 1934 and 1990. Its origins date back to the Exposições Gerais de Belas-Artes organized since 1840 by the Academia Imperial de Belas-Artes – AIBA and, after the proclamation of the Republic (1889), by the Escola Nacional de Belas-Artes – ENBA. Anyone interested to participate could submit their works to the jury, which was responsible for selecting, awarding and acquiring works, as well as granting scholarships and (national and international) travel awards.

for Abramo to look for Hayter's workshop, and it is equally noteworthy that this search was already present in a context of enthusiasm for technical experimentation and for the research of languages.¹² In a testimony, the artist reports:

I attended Stanley William Hayter's studio — Atelier 17 — in Paris for almost a year. There, they only were making metal engraving and it was here that I learned the technique, doing exercises and helping to print a book illustrated by all the great artists living at that time, 1952 — Picasso, Miró and others. In Hayter's studio we printed the engraving plates that would be inserted into a book of poetry, I think they were poems by Paul Valéry. I helped to print a few pages, but it was a team effort, my job there was the one of a helper (BECCARI, 1990, s.p.).

Abramo's recollection agrees with what Carla Esposito reports about the general procedure in Atelier 17: starting with the burin before arriving at the acids, each participant was asked to get involved with all phases of the work, from the moment of creating the image up to the printing (ESPOSITO, 1990, p.13). During the time the Atelier had been in operation (from 1927 until Hayter's death in 1988), the atmosphere of artistic freedom and intellectual diversity engendered by the meeting of engravers, painters and sculptors had given rise to a strong place for graphic experimentation. Those arriving there showed a wide variety of profiles and prospects: men and women of different nationalities, from young twenties to seventy. In some cases, they had no experience; in others, they had accumulated decades of art education at the university level (HAYTER 1981: 204). Unlike other places, Atelier 17 was not defined by fixed location, permanent group of collaborators, or uniform application of consolidated techniques, but rather by an artistic guideline, given by Hayter's "experimental, unsystematic, non-formalistic and anti-academic attitude towards creativity" (ESPOSITO, 1990, p. 18). Hayter said about the uniqueness of the place he operated:

The point that distinguishes this workshop from nearly all other institutions in which printmaking is done or taught is the shared conviction that a technique is an action in which the imagination of the user is excited, whereby an order of image otherwise latent becomes visible; and not merely a series of mechanical devices to produce or repeat a previously formulated image on paper (HAYTER, 1964, p.94).

There were no disciplines or strict rules to follow, only the principle of constant research, designed to discover the operations that made engraving a means of exploring personal experiences and languages. The apprentice was encouraged to engrave directly on the metal, even though the use of preparatory drawings was also practiced. Direct creation

¹² We do not know if Abramo knew Atelier 17 before traveling. Esposito informs that in 1944 there was an exhibition of Atelier 17 at MoMA. The American Federation of Arts promoted the circulation of the show for two years in the United States and later the State Department took it to South America, in a version with a greater presence of South American artists (ESPOSITO, 1990, p. 21. See also the article by Toledo in this catalog, p. 41). However, there are no records of the coming of this show to Brazil. Nor do we know whether Abramo already knew Hayter's first book, **New Ways of Gravure**, published in 1949.

on the plate accounted for the defense of artistic autonomy of the engraving and the assertion of its independence relative to other expressions. For Herbert Read, who has prefaced Hayter's first book, the aim of the British engraver "was to explore the technical possibilities of the medium and to show how they could be applied to the specific problems of modern art" (Herbert Read, *apud* ESPOSITO, 1990, p. 250).

The option of engraving directly on the matrix was in line with Abramo's procedures, and would be a constant in the didactics he developed. The Brazilian engraver, by the way, would hardly find a didactic-artistic conception more opposed to that of Kohler than that of Hayter. In the case of the German xylographer, engraving was seen as the reproduction of previously given images and of an alien authorship for commercial or scientific purposes, excluding any evidence of subjectivity, strictness, tradition or planning. For the English engraver, the principles of individuality, uniqueness, research, experimentation, process unpredictability, and engraving as an autonomous work were important. Though so distant, however, Kohler and Hayter found themselves in a lifetime commitment to engraving in the fervent dedication to the craft they embraced — a lesson that Abramo has learned.

Lívio Abramo, Teacher

When he returned from Europe, Abramo took engraving classes at the Craft School of the Museu de Arte Moderna de São Paulo, at Roosevelt Square, 227. The School was founded in June 1952, at the initiative of the MAM SP, with support of São Paulo City Hall and under the direction of Nelson Nóbrega.¹³ Among the courses being offered¹⁴ there was one of engraving, initially coordinated by the Rio de Janeiro engraver and photographer Yllen Kerr, who was replaced in March 1953 by Mario Gruber, and, according to Ilsa Ferreira, taught metal engraving (FERREIRA, 1983, p.113). In August of the same year, after Gruber had left, Abramo, who taught wood engraving, took responsibility of the engraving class. In the course, the work of each student was monitored and analyzed by Abramo, whose comments were not restricted only to technical issues, but also addressed artistic aspects. He tried to leave each student's expressive path open, taking care not to impose on the class any pre-established aesthetic model. In an essay celebrating the ten years of MAM SP, the artist describes the School of Craftmanship as "[...] an art-craftmanship school in modern form in our Capital" (ABRAMO, ca. 1958, p. 16).

13 Nelson Nóbrega (1900-1997) was a painter, draftsman, printmaker and teacher. He graduated in Rio de Janeiro, at the Escola Nacional de Belas-Artes — ENBA, where he had as teachers the painters Eliseu Visconti, Henrique Bernardelli and Rodolfo Amoedo. In 1926 he moved to São Paulo and, in the late 1930s, he joined the Família Artística Paulista. Nóbrega also dedicated himself to the teaching of drawing and painting — besides the classes he taught in his own atelier and in several educational establishments, he stands out as the founder and director of the Escola de Artesanato of MAM SP, between 1952 and 1959, and as director of the free courses at the Fundação Armando Álvares Penteado — FAAP, from 1960 to 1972.

14 The Escola de Artesanato also offered courses in Art History (Wolfgang Pfeiffer), Draftsmanship (Nasturel), and Pottery (de Marchis, Helou Motta and João Rossi). Cf. ABRAMO, ca. 1958, p. 16.

At first, the conception of the School was a cooperation between art, crafts and industry,¹⁵ with the additional intent of providing vocational courses. However, financial troubles prevented the full implementation of the project: “born with the goal of becoming a complete school of artistic craftsmanship, and even professional development, the School of Craftsmanship found itself forced to pursue only the first of those intents”.

The relocation of MAM SP from the center of the city to Parque Ibirapuera precipitated the end of the activities of the School of Craftsmanship. The students protested against moving to the new address, because this increased the difficulty of accessing their classes, since the transportation system to Ibirapuera was deficient. Thus, the decision to close the School came in 1959.

It was not long before Abramo was back to teaching. In March 1960, Estúdio Gravura started its activities at Alameda Gleite:

We have founded, me and Maria Bonomi, the studio for wood engraving. Later, João Luís Chaves has also started to teach metal engraving, with the purpose of taking the engraving out of that teaching then in place and putting the subject of creation in engraving on a more coherent form, questioning its own nature. Our teaching was entirely different from everything that had so far been done in São Paulo. We have practiced a renewal not only in technique, but in the way of focusing the creation on engraving. We wanted to restore engraving to its real values, without doing an academic engraving, focusing it in an updated way, able to reveal a reality that in the Brazilian engraving, at least in São Paulo, it had not so far been noticed, and which was its authenticity as an autonomous art (TÁVORA and FERREIRA, 1997, p. 88).

The teaching of engraving was conducted in two stages: familiarization with the material used (matrices, tools, acids, paints, papers, etc.) through practice and experimentation and, in addition, analysis and appreciation of engraving and practice through art history studies. There was, moreover, the will to form the artistic taste of a wider public, informing it educationally about the universe of the graphics. Abramo was quite fastidious about the technical issue at all stages. The students were trained primarily with cutting exercises and wood texture. The teacher discouraged drawing on the matrix, which would prevent the student from discovering the effects due to the material itself. Besides the practical part, other activities were promoted in the Studio: the collector Ernesto Wolf¹⁶ was invited to present rare books from his private

¹⁵ “The Escola de Artesanato, as its name implies, is not a school for amateurs; it is creating technicians. [...] they will contribute for the standardized industrialization of today losing much of its cold inventive capacity, ennobling it with the creative heat” (NÓBREGA, 1953, s.p.).

¹⁶ Ernesto Wolf (1918-2003) used to collect especially modern art and old books. Born to a family of German Jewish merchants, he moved to Argentina in 1938 fleeing the Nazi threat. He moved to Brazil in 1950.

collection, Professor Wolfgang Pfeiffer¹⁷ lectured on art history, Abramo himself also taught history of art and engraving. For Maria Bonomi, the Studio “had a very large public acceptance¹⁸ because it was different, it was a place where people would have an experience and not really a course, they would experience their own limits, perception of materials, time, etc.”¹⁹ The printmaker also mentioned the coordinators’ interest in the internationalization of the studio: “everyone went through the studio, we had Mexican scholars, people coming to the Biennial, the Studio was a living organ. [Abramo] had the ideal of collective teaching, and engraving is a collective art”²⁰.

According to Ferreira, as time went on, there was a worsening of the problems of organization and administration of the Studio, whose maintenance was becoming more and more expensive, which would have led to the end of activities in 1964. Maria Bonomi, however, offers another version involving the political events of the time. According to the artist, that year, already in the context of the military dictatorship, the studio was stormed and plundered by the police, suspected of holding clandestine political meetings.

The experiences of Lívio Abramo as an instructor of the School of Craftsmanship and then in the Engraving Studio have formed the bases for his artistic-pedagogical work in Paraguay, beginning in the mid-1950s:

I first went to Paraguay in 1956 invited for a solo exhibition of my work. There I proposed to give a course in engraving that lasted a month with more or less 60 students. It was the first course of modern engraving to take place in Paraguay (FERREIRA, 1983, p. 117).

The abovementioned solo exhibition occurred at the invitation of the Brazilian Cultural Mission, a project coordinated by the Brazilian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.²¹ During the same stay in Asunción, and as a result of the engraving workshops he taught at the headquarters of the Paraguay-Brazil Cultural Institute, Abramo has taken part in the creation of the Engraving Workshop Julián de la Herrería (later called Yapari and Tilcara Engraving Workshop). The Paraguayan artists Maria Adela Solano Lopez, Olga Blinder and Lotte Schultz were also involved in the founding of the Taller, the inauguration

17 Wolfgang Pfeiffer (1912-2003) was a museologist and art historian. Born in Germany, he moved to Brazil in 1948, after his doctorate in art history at the University of Munich. He was a professor at the USP and worked closely with several museums in the city: MASP, MAB FAAP, MAM SP. Pfeiffer was director of MAC USP between 1978 and 1982.

18 Students in the Estúdio Gravura included: Moacyr Rocha, Zita Viana, Miriam Chiaverini, Pedro Seman, Anésia Pacheco e Chaves, Ely Bueno, Hans Grudzinski, Camila Cerqueira César, Sheila Branigan, Clélia Cotrim Alvez, Savério Castellano, Edith Jimenez and Hanna Brandt.

19 Maria Bonomi, interview to the Author on November, 29, 2013.

20 *Idem*.

21 For a detailed study on the Brazilian Cultural Mission, cf. NEPOMUCENO, 2010.

minutes of which are dated September 21, 1956 (NEPOMUCENO, 2010, 157). Leaving the Engraving Studio to Bonomi's care, Abramo moved definitively to Asunción in 1962, living there until his death in 1992, leading the Engraving Workshop for three decades. The art critic Javier Alcalá recalls the work of Abramo during the first engraving workshops: “[Abramo] expone los principios básicos de la técnica xilográfica (las propiedades intrínsecas del material soporte, las diferentes modalidades de incisión en fibra horizontal y taco, estampación, etc.), a más de complementación teórica relativa a su personal concepción del grabado y el arte modernos” (Alcalá *apud* NEPOMUCENO, 2010, p. 156). The contribution brought by Abramo, as Margarida Nepomuceno points out, was the practice of xylography as an autonomous artistic expression, for it had already been present in Paraguay, as a technique of reproduction of images, since the seventeenth century, introduced by the Jesuits of the Missions, and, as illustration of texts, since the beginning of the twentieth century (NEPOMUCENO, 2010, p. 155).

Over the course of four decades of teaching, it seems that the artist wanted to fix the lack that he had felt of wider opportunities for learning and personal growth. In retrospect, the Brazilian engraver summarizes his teaching work:

My teaching method is as follows: I develop the possibilities of this or that guy; then each of them will develop a completely independent style. I do not teach a way, I develop the possibilities for each student. So, in my studio at the Museu de Arte Moderna, at the studio Gravura or at Asunción, I can say, with some satisfaction, that there are not two similar students. Each of them has developed their own style. [...] I had to create, for myself, a teaching method (TÁVORA and FERREIRA, 1997, p. 89).

The background that Lívio Abramo has provided to others bears the marks of his experience: the valorization of independence in self-learning, the importance of technical mastery learned from Kohler, and the stimulus to experimentation exemplified by Hayter.

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The Collection of Prints by Geraldo de Barros at MAC USP and some Hypotheses about his Passing Through Atelier 17

Heloisa Espada

Brazilian artist Geraldo de Barros (1927-1998) is best known for his work as a painter associated with Concrete art, as a furniture designer, and for his photographic work. Less widely commented is his production of drawings, monotypes and engravings made during a period of formation between 1946 and 1951. Most of this work was donated by the artist to the Museum of Contemporary Art of the University of São Paulo on two occasions: in 1979 and 1992. The collection draws attention to the variety of techniques and experimental character, consisting of ink and graphite drawings, monotypes and engravings in wood, linoleum, stone, dry-point, etching and aquatint. On the other hand, the material reveals a diffuse interest in modern movements such as Futurism and Expressionism and, above all, a gradual process of simplifying the drawing in the sense of abstracting details, giving more and more emphasis to the expressive character of the line itself and conferring a geometric structure to the forms observed in nature (**Figure 1**). The reference to Paul Klee's work emerges as a central presence in Barros's career.

The MAC USP collection, therefore, is a body of work essential to the understanding of his development as an artist in those first years of his production, when his practice experienced successive changes, going from an expressionist painting to the Concrete painting showed in December 1952 at the inaugural show of the Ruptura group at the Museu de Arte Moderna de São Paulo. But what in a first moment could be seen as a linear route, "From Figurativism to Abstractionism"¹, or from gestural subjectivity to the

1 I am referring here to the teleological nature of the MAM SP's vernissage, organized by León Degand, in 1949, under the title of *From Figurativism to Abstractionism*..



Fig. 1 • Geraldo de Barros

Sem título, 1947

ink on paper, 20,5 x 27 cm

Donation by Artist

MAC USP Collection

Photographic Record: Ding Musa

Concrete art rationalism, reveal itself as a creative process that does not easily fit in the words of the manifestos signed by Barros. Among the data that help to understand the complexity of this specific route is the passage of Barros through Atelier 17, in 1951, when the artist lived for a year in Paris on a scholarship from French government to study engraving at *École National Supérieur de Beaux-Arts* .

The documentation on Geraldo de Barros indicates that his interest in engraving became real around 1948 when he began to attend the workshop of Lívio Abramo, with whom he learned technical principles and knew the graphic work of Paul Klee through books (VASCONCELOS, 1979; ZANINI, 1953). Probably in the second half of 1950, Barros was a student in the first engraving studio of the São Paulo Museum of Art (MASP), then coordinated by Poty Lazarotto².

The engravings, monotypes and photographs made in 1949 and 1950 made explicit the Barros's interest in the Gestalt theory, to which he was introduced by Mario Pedrosa. In certain works, he draws figures from shapes that are suggested to him by spots (**Figure 2**), as he pays attention to the perceptual "laws" identified by the Gestalt. His works in those years also reveal his interest in geometry and the simplification of figures, to the point that his drawings approach a childlike appearance, like Paul Klee's works (**Figure 3**). One can also note the recurrence of experimentation of textures and various methods in the application of paints, as well as lines traced quickly and spontaneously (**Figure 4**).

This moment of his graphic production coincides with the development of the photographic series *Fotoformas*, in which Barros often worked the same figures and the same techniques he did when engraving (ESPADA, 2014, p. 12-35). In one of the few testimonies where he comments on his photographs, he says "photography for me is an engraving process" (BARROS, 1994, w/p.) Probably he was referring to the scraping and drawings he made with engraving tools on photographic negatives. The output of these practices was presented along with other experiments in the *Fotoformas* solo exhibition in January 1951 at MASP. He has showed a hybrid set of photographs that were in line with both the exact geometry of Concrete art and the free drawings and childlike feature that appeared in his graphic works. A few days after the exhibition closed, in February, Barros left the country for his stay in Paris, where he would remain throughout 1951.

² There is no way to be sure about that date. In a testimony for the book **Unilabor. Desenho Industrial, Arte Moderna e Autogestão Operária**, Professor Carlos Lemos states that he has met Geraldo de Barros by 1948 in the engraving workshop coordinated by Poty Lazarotto at MASP. However, that workshop was opened in the second semestre of 1950 and, in the next year, Barros was living in Europe with a scholarship granted by the French government. Since many prints by the artist are dated as being done in 1950, I suppose he has attended the classes at MASP that year. In the Museum documentation center, there are no records about the students who have attended the engraving classes.



Fig. 2 • Geraldo de Barros

O Rabino, 1950

monotype on paper, 27 x 20,6 cm

Donation by Artist, MAC USP Collection

Photographic Record: Ding Musa



Fig. 3 • Geraldo de Barros

Cenas da Batalha Lacustre, 1950
monotype color on paper, 29,8 x 24,8 cm
Donation by Artist, MAC USP Collection

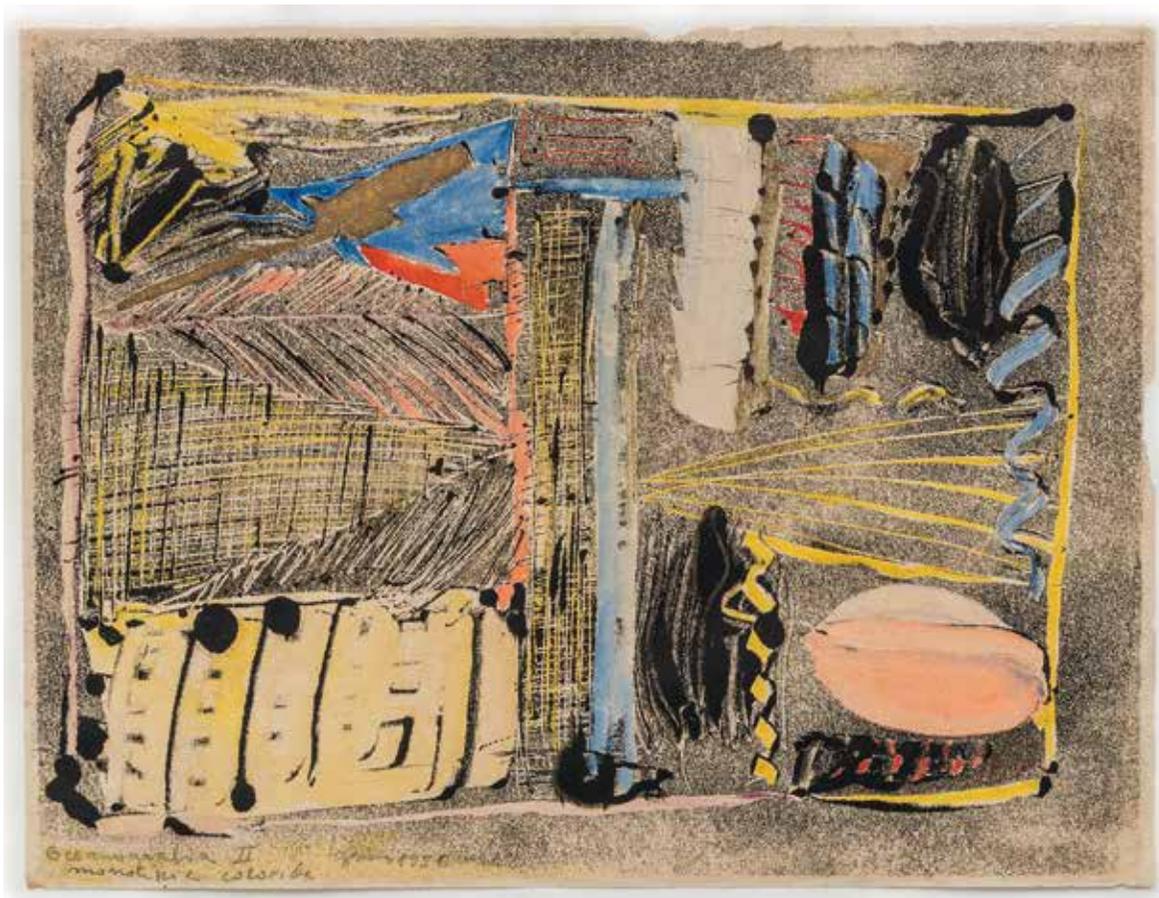


Fig. 4 • Geraldo de Barros

Oceanografia II, 1950

monotype color on paper, 20,5 x 27 cm

Donation by Artist, MAC USP Collection

There is little information on Geraldo de Barros attending the École National Supérieur de Beaux-Arts in Paris, or on the Atelier 17 and his meeting with Stanley William Hayter. Apart from mentions to this meeting, there are no information on that matter in Geneve-based Geraldo de Barros Archive, under the care of Fabiana de Barros and Michel Favre³. Thus, the main testimony on Barros's experiences at Atelier 17 are the monotypes and engravings made by the artist in Paris.⁴

Many of the stone and metal engravings from this period revolve around the exploration of abstract motifs and mostly denote the fascination with the discovery of the visual effects proper to each technique. Note the predominance of black-and-white and abstract motifs performed with little calculation and planning, showing irregular lines and shapes drawn by the free hand (**Figure 6**). In particular, two engravings — *Abstração*, 1951 (**Figure 5**) and *Formas*, 1951 — seem to converge with some of the goals proposed by Stanley William Hayter in his book **New Ways of Gravure**, 1949. Since the 1930s, at the studio, the British engraver took his newly arrived students through a process of successive etchings on the same plate in acid, resulting in a series of overlapping shapes and textures that would lead the beginner to commit him or herself to the relations established between these elements. At first, the student should act without a definite design, because the goal was to launch him or her into an experimental process with unpredictable outputs, in order to provide a unique and somehow non-transferable learning. According to Hayter:

It is often necessary in the first place to present the idea of an action undertaken experimentally without any intention of producing a work of art, as many of our associates have had no previous experience of such action. (...) It is sometimes difficult to present the idea of a more or less anonymous operation without a plan and having no end except to expose the subject to the possibility of discovery (HAYTER, 1966, p. 219).

The beginner was then asked to draw a “line structure” over the entire zinc plate so as to experience traces of different shapes, directions and sizes without, however, creating closed shapes:

‘Structure’, for our purpose, means strictly a line system, extending from edge to edge of the plate so that all of the available space is involved, in which the lines, of two different thicknesses, may represent rods, beams, cables, but never outlines, closed spaces, objects, textures, or light and shade. The object of this is to set up a skeleton or scaffolding which appears to extend beyond the plate (...) (HAYTER, 1966, p. 219).

³ Geneve's Geraldo de Barros Archive is the main depository of documents on the artist's career. My thanks to Michel Favre for searching information about the encounter between Barros and Stanley W. Hayter in that archive, on July 2018.

⁴ An analysis on the MAC USP collection suggests, for example, that the Brazilian artist began to make lithographs in that city, since no previously dated works in this technique were found.

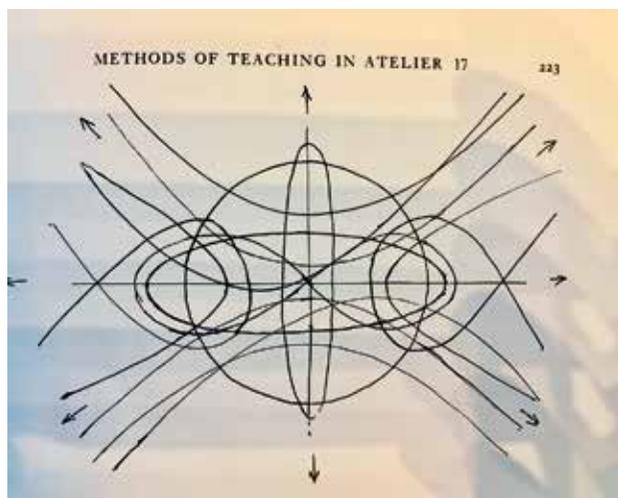
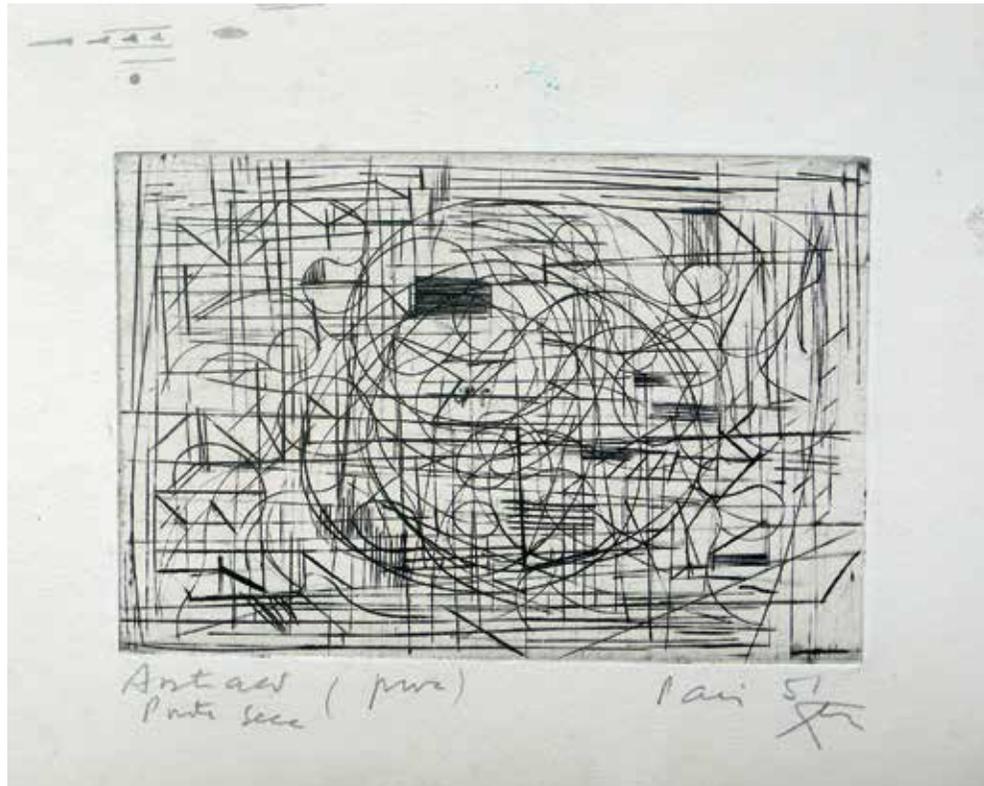


Fig. 5 • Geraldo de Barros

Abstração, 1951
dry-point on paper,
23,2 x 27,9 cm
Donation by Artist
MAC USP Collection

**Fig. 6 • Teaching Methodo at
Atelier 17**

[HAYTER, 1996, p. 223]

Although the technique used by Geraldo de Barros in *Abstração* (**Figure 5**) was the dry-point, while the method referred to by Hayter was that of etching, the Brazilian artist's goal in this work seems more focused on the process than on a design with specific purposes. Barros seems more concerned with trying out lines of different directions and shapes over the whole metal plate surface than closely following a certain artistic idea. Moreover, Barros's engraving seems to have reached the system of overlapping forms that Hayter called the "counterpoint". According to the British artist, at a certain stage of the proposed exercise, the beginner would have before him or herself a series of intertwined lines that would create new spatial relations between figure and background:

If one observes a simple object, its own form is first seen. Almost simultaneously one becomes conscious of the form of the background and through the object. Whenever two such counterpoint forms are superimposed a third image is seen which is not present in either one of the original forms (HAYTER, 1966, p. 219).

The line entanglement in *Abstração* creates a number of "counterpoints," that is, varying perceptions of figure and background that build up and dissolve in accordance with the changes in the viewer's focus. For Hayter, in the "counterpoint" system, perception of figure and background depends on the relations established between the parts, as described in Gestalt theory.

In the aquatint engraving *Formas*, 1951, of an equally experimental and processual nature, the superimposing of forms occur through layers, as if the plate had been engraved in stages. On the background, one sees traces of geometric shapes marked with ruler and compass – an isosceles triangle, a polyhedron, perpendicular lines, and circles. These forms seem to vanish, intercepted by subtle textures and light spots made by *a posteriori* strokes. The black is like a mist overlapping the straight lines and creating an atmosphere interrupted by the light spots. Generally speaking, the dark parts behave as a background for the light spots, but the thick lines on the left also end up forming an ellipse, a triangle, and a square, all in black, that invert the figure and background relation.

In 1952, back in Brazil, Geraldo de Barros had made two exhibitions at the Museum of Modern Art of São Paulo. In August, he had a solo exhibition of drawings, prints and paintings produced between 1950 and 1951. In December, he participated in the vernissage exhibition of Grupo Ruptura, also at MAM. In the booklet promoting the solo exhibition, the transcription of a quotation from Paul Klee's *Diaries* stresses the procedural and experimental character of the works exhibited, as well as the appreciation the Swiss artist (and, consequently, Barros) had for the graphic and spontaneous expressiveness, typical of children's drawing, as directly opposed to academicism:

(...) I will be like a newborn child, knowing nothing about Europe, nothing at all. To be ignorant of poets, wholly without verve, almost primordial. then I will do something very modest, think of something very, very small, totally formal. My pencil will be able to put it down, without any technique, all that is needed is an auspicious moment; the concise is easily represented. And soon it is done. It was a tiny, but real act, and from the repetition of acts that are small, but my own, eventually a work will come, on which I can build (KLEE, 1952).⁵

In the same graphic material, a text, probably by Wolfgang Pfeiffer, then MAM's director, comments:

it is the living aspect of the true creative fantasy that seduces us in the works of geraldo and constitutes a basic value whose absence we feel in the works of so many contemporaries. i believe that one finds in these drawings the ornamental texture that is organized as the basis for any graphic work of definitive value. the works of geraldo are not presented as definitive values, which is confirmed by the words of paul klee to which he refers. however, to a certain path he undoubtedly leads us, bringing us to an affectionate appreciation through the infinite fantasy that the artist uses to achieve the work of art by which he knows how to express himself in the world of forms. (PFEIFFER, 1952).⁶

Both texts, arranged side by side, suggest that, in this solo exhibition, Barros presented the output of experimental works carried out without the goal of creating “works of art”, as Hayter would say. But for Pfeiffer, the works of Barros, made at first without pretense, reached a “definitive value”.

A brief biographic text about Barros, published in the same booklet, quotes titles of the works then exhibited. Some of them coincide with titles of works that belong to the MAC USP collection, such as *Cenas da batalha lacustre*, 1950 (**Figure 3**).⁷ *Oceanografia*, 1951, *Play-ground*, 1950, *Entre Acte*, 1950/51 (**cat. 05**) and *O Pássaro Noturno*, 1951: (**cat. 03**)

[Geraldo de Barros] exhibits this time, in the small room of the museum of modern art, drawing, engravings and paintings of 1950, and also the series of scenes of the lake battle, the cities, oceanography, ships, scenery for a play in 4 acts , counterpoint, study for “play-ground”, the small red square happily hunting, entr’act II, sleeping animal, nocturnal birds, the modern city landscape, view of a harbor (PFEIFER, 1952).

Four months after this solo exhibition, Barros participated in the vernissage of the group Ruptura in MAM SP with paintings made throughout 1952. Above all, the group took side against figurative art and of a nationalist kind that had been in place in Brazilian

5 Citation in accordance with the original.

6 Citation in accordance with the original.

7 Há outra gravura homônima na coleção do MAC USP, cujo número de tomo é 1963.3.404.

modernism until then. At the vernissage, they signed and distributed the *Manifesto Ruptura* written by Waldemar Cordeiro, which echoed Theo Van Doesburg's precepts on Concrete Art and proposed a definitive distinction between what the members of Ruptura supposedly understood as "the new" and "the old" in art:

the old is: — all varieties and hybrids of naturalism; — the mere negation of naturalism, that is, the 'wrong' naturalism of children, of the insane, the "primitive", the expressionists, the surrealists etc; — the hedonistic non-figurativism spawned by gratuitous taste that seeks the mere excitement of pleasure or displeasure.

the new is: all expressions based on the new art principles; all experiences that tend to renovation of the essential values of visual art (space-time, movement, and matter); the artistic intuition endowed with clear and intelligent principles, and great possibilities of practical development; to give art a defined place within the scope of contemporary spiritual work, while considering it as a means of knowledge deducible from concepts, situating it above opinion and demanding, for its assessment, a previous knowledge (AMARAL, 1977, p. 69).

But if the manifesto set out objective principles on what should not be done in art and on the practical becoming of Concrete Art, the group of works exhibited did not show the same unity. While Geraldo de Barros, Waldemar Cordeiro, and Luiz Sacilotto showed flat-color paintings made with precision instruments (compass, ruler, and ruling-pens) from ideas rooted in the mathematics, Anatol Wladyslaw and Lothar Charoux presented tonal geometric abstractions with no link to algorithms. The geometric forms in the works of Wladyslaw are bordered by clearly hand-drawn colored lines.

Moreover, in the case of Barros, it is striking to see his signature on a manifesto condemning the "'wrong' naturalism of the children, the insane, the primitives, the expressionists, the surrealists, etc; the hedonistic non-figurativism", since he revered Paul Klee, whose work was inspired by the drawings of children and the mentally ill, and had attended Stanley W. Hayter's studio, who connected to abstract expressionism. It is also very important to mention that between 1949 and 1951, Barros frequently visited the occupational therapy workshop coordinated by Nise da Silveira at the Centro Psiquiátrico Nacional D. Pedro II, in the district of Engenho de Dentro, Rio de Janeiro. In certain aspects, the statement also conflicts with Barros' own production shown a few months earlier at the same museum.

More than explicitly explaining the internal contradictions of a specific creative process, this article aims to shed light on the differences between discourses and practices that permeate the trajectory of Concrete Art in São Paulo. Geraldo de Barros' graphic works in the 1950s underline and clarify the diversity of sources that underpinned the creative process of Barros toward Concrete Art.

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ZANINI, Walter. Geraldo de Barros: Jovem Pesquisador, Corpo e Alma Integrados na Formulação da Arte Viva: de Klee à Pintura Concreta. Impressões Ligeiras de sua Viagem à Europa. **Jornal O Tempo**, São Paulo, March, 8, 1953.

Hayter with Airs of Tango.
Presence and Impact of Atelier
17 on Argentine Printmaking
in Mid-20th Century

Silvia Dolinko

Tango (**Figure 1**), a work by the Argentine Fernando López Anaya made in 1953, presents a theme of obvious localism: a trio of performers of this typical musical genre of Buenos Aires, including the self-portrait of the artist as a guitar-player next to the well-known Paquita Bernardo playing the bandoneon. The composition is constructed by fragmented planes, textures and textile wefts through the technique of soft-ground and white lines in relief. While the image alluded to a clear Buenos Aires cultural tradition, its resolution resorted to modernist means that until that moment had not been considered by the artists who were active in Argentina. Clearly, even from a figurative approach, in this *Tango*, one could find many of the proposals of Stanley William Hayter's method. In his transfiguration to a Buenos Aires iconography, López Anaya highlighted the Hayterian explorations as an exceptional experimental route in Buenos Aires, distant from the current modes at that time in the local graphics art scene.

The artist knew Hayter's work through the copy he had of **New Ways of Gravure**, the handbook edited by the English engraver in 1949; surely he had also attended the 1947 exhibition of Atelier 17's works at the Galeria Viau in Buenos Aires. However, it was not until 1955 that he was able to visit the Parisian workshop: the Buenos Aires press reported that during his travel to Europe, López Anaya "has stopped at the workshop of the famous modern engraver Stanley Hayter, founder of the remarkable Atelier 17, one of the most extraordinary experimental schools of the modern engraving technique" (BENARÓS, 1956, p. 54).¹

1 Fernando López Anaya (Buenos Aires, 1903-1987) was a renewer of metal engraving, known in the 1960s for his inkless embossings. Besides his art production, he developed an intensive teaching at the Escuelas de Bellas-Artes de Buenos Aires and La Plata, where he led the searching of many generations of Argentine printmakers. López Anaya has traveled to Europe in January 1955 along with the artists Ana María Moncalvo and Beatriz Juárez. From his stay in Paris between 15 February and 5 March, the engraver recorded in his notebook the museums he visited, but did not include mention to Atelier 17. Fernando López Anaya, manuscrito, 1951, archive familia López Anaya. Referring himself to the visit to Atelier 17, Moncalvo noted that "we knew what we were going to see, we knew Hayter's name and his work". Interview with the author, 6 April, 2005.



Fig. 1 • Fernando López Anaya

Tango, 1953

etching, aquatint and soft ground,
62 x 47 cm

MNBA Collection, Buenos Aires

The impact of Hayter's proposal is evident in *Tango*, and the fact that this work was the winner of the main prize in the Salon Nacional de Grabado y Dibujo, that took place in Buenos Aires in 1953, could be an indicator of the attraction that the circulation of images by the English artist had in Argentina in the mid-twentieth century. While the art critics who were central to the process of modernization of the local artistic field, such as Jorge Romero Brest, Julio E. Payró or Aldo Pellegrini, knew and appreciated Hayter's work, some artists turned directly to the novelty of his graphic proposals. From this conjunction, his name and that of Atelier 17 were getting an increasing recognition within the Argentine cultural scene.

The Hayterian approach was very different from the printmaking that, as part of a process of increasing institutional recognition, had been consolidated in the Argentine cultural field, with particular focus on the city of Buenos Aires, during the first half of the 20th century. While the privileged graphic production had been one of figurative and resolute bias in the conventional uses of etching, lithography and xylography, from the 1950s on the novelty of modernist printmaking was introduced into Salons, museums and academies (DOLINKO, 2012).

By taking examples and significant names of the Argentine cultural context of the mid-twentieth century, this essay presents a reading on the links between the Atelier 17 and the local artistic field, including some links with the South American scene, and with Brazil in particular. Starting from some particularly outstanding events, we propose to investigate how the name of Hayter was established in Argentina as a reference for modern printmaking and as a key figure in the process of renewing the local art.

Buenos Aires-New York-Buenos Aires

One of the first references that circulated in Buenos Aires about Hayter and the Atelier 17, a decade before the creation of *Tango*, is found in **Sesenta y cinco grabados en madera. La xilografía en el Río de la Plata**, book of woodcuts printed with original matrix. The images have captions in Spanish and English, at the same time that the biographies of the artists are also bilingual: evidently the editors, Oscar Pécora and Ulises Barranco, projected an international circulation for this set of local woodcuts (PÉCORA and BARRANCO, 1943).² Most of the artists included in the book had participated in the exhibition *El grabado en la Argentina 1705-1942* (Museo Municipal de Bellas Artes Juan B. Castagnino, Rosario, 1942), which was the maker of a national printmaking canon. Both the exhibition and the book included the work of Hilda Ainscough, and among the brief biographical references in the publication it was stated that "the artistic centers of Paris and London made a timely contribution to her aesthetic culture,

² The editors have consigned the exhibition of the woodcuts in the Pan-American Union of Washington in March of 1945. Cf. *Anuario Plástica*, 1945, Buenos Aires, 1946, p. 186.

extended in the woodcut technique by W. S. Hayter of the French capital.”³ Her prints *Trópico* (**Figure 2**) and *Composición* were biomorphic images from a clear modernist bias and synthetic resolution, formally distant from most of the works that made up the publication. In relation to this peculiarity, the presentation of the book said that “at present, the work of this printmaker is oriented towards the balance and valorization of big areas not too much constricted by the real forms” (PÉCORA and BARRANCO, 1943, p. 6), thus outlining her modernist approach.

In that moment, the young artist Mauricio Lasansky expressed his desire to expand his knowledge and practice of printmaking by transcending the national borders.⁴ In April 1943 he wrote to Jorge Romero Brest⁵ to thank him for his endorsement for the Guggenheim Fellowship, emphasizing that in order to achieve his goal of “making printmaking a major art”

I know I have to acquire a technique; this technique is not detached from my aesthetic concept.[...] To be able to do a work, this trip [to the United States] would materialize my dream of studying the old masters of engraving, and all that is nice which the museums of that country have; If this comes true, I believe the Argentines will have an printmaker.⁶

Evidently, in Argentina there were already printmakers; the teaching of this discipline was offered in the academic institutions, there were printmaking sections in the official Salons — in fact, Lasansky himself had won the Acquisition Prize at the 1939 Salon Nacional — and there were some engraving exhibitions in art galleries, such

3 In the book she was mentioned with the name Hildur. Born in Buenos Aires in 1900, Hilda Beatriz Ainscough trained at the Royal Academy of Arts in London between 1923 and 1927 and in Paris with Antoine Bourdelle. Her work was developed across graphics, watercolor and sculpture. Ainscough has participated in some exhibitions in Buenos Aires — among them, her solo exhibition in 1937 in the Asociación Amigos del Arte, a prominent cultural space of those years — and she was part of some Argentinean shipments abroad; for example, in the group of national artworks that circulated in some cities of the United States in 1940 (*Anuario Plástica*, 1940, Buenos Aires, Ediciones Plástica, 1941, p. 147). However, after her participation in the late 1930's and early 1940's, Ainscough's works was no more present in the local art field.

4 Mauricio Lasansky (Buenos Aires, 1914-Iowa, 2012) studied engraving at the Escuela Nacional de Bellas Artes Ernesto de la Cárcova, the principal artistic education establishment in Argentina; in the 1930s, he directed the Museo de Villa María, in the Argentine province of Córdoba. With some exhibitions and an important recognition in the local artistic field, Lasansky traveled in 1943 to the United States thanks to a Guggenheim scholarship; he has lived in that country ever since, developing in Iowa most of his production and teaching career. *The Nazi drawings* (1961-1966) are one of his most well-known series.

5 Jorge Romero Brest (1905-1989), was one of the greatest art critics in Argentina. For more than sixty years, he has developed a vast and sustained intellectual work in the national and international cultural field; his intense activity as a critic and cultural manager made him one of the central figures in the shopping and diffusion of the discourse on artistic modernity in Argentina. While during the early years of Peronism he maintained a strong opposition stance, he had an excellent institutional performance in the mid-1950s as director of the Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes and then, in the 1960s, at the head of the Centro de Artes Visuales del Instituto Torcuato Di Tella.

6 Letter of Mauricio Lasansky a Jorge Romero Brest, Buenos Aires, April, 28, 1943. Archivo Jorge Romero Brest, Instituto de Teoría e Historia del Arte “Julio E. Payró”, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Universidad de Buenos Aires, c23-s6-597. According to Alan Fern (1975), the application for the Guggenheim Fellowship and the travel Lasansky did to the United States was due to the support of Francis Taylor, director of the Metropolitan Museum of New York, whose knowledge and interest in the production of the engraver was showed during the trip the latter had done to South America in 1940.



Fig. 2 • Hilda Ainscough
Trópico, ca. 1940
woodcut, 18,2 x 11,3 cm

as the solo exhibition of this artist at the Galería Müller in Buenos Aires in 1943. Lasansky's work was already then an outstanding example of the careful and orthodox production that prevailed within the local printmaking; while Luis Waismann pointed out the "untimeliness" of his work due to its classicist iconographic anchoring, Romero Brest highlighted him in 1941 as "the most promising figure of current Argentine art in printmaking".

In a time when the European way to "study the old masters of engraving" was restricted by the events of World War II, access to the reservoirs of New York was for Lasansky a possible goal to deepen his artistic training. However, once arrived in that city, his initial goal of studying the works of the "masters" of the Metropolitan Museum collection deviated a few kilometers and a many centuries: Lasansky made contact with contemporary engraving through the workshop in the Atelier 17 and that took him to a radical turnaround in his work. From that moment on, the Argentine artist was recognized as one of the main followers of that school of graphic renovation with global impact. Called by the University of Iowa in 1945 to start his Graphic Arts program, from there on Lasansky consolidated what the press celebrated as the "Hayter-Lasansky style".⁷

Also in Buenos Aires, this close relationship was noticed: in the catalog of the Lasansky exhibition in 1948, the renowned Argentine art critic Julio E. Payró pointed out that

Hayter had a considerable influence on his Argentine disciple, whose art was transformed from that moment on, turning itself towards abstraction without losing its fundamental superrealistic tone. Hayter's teaching is one of the most fruitful for a modern artist (...). One of the most admirable achievements of Hayter's group, Atelier 17, has been the color engraving, in whose technique Lasansky has become a master.⁸

However, in parallel to its projection in the North American sphere, the presence of Lasansky in the Argentine artistic field began to be gradually reduced; if, at the end of the 1940s, he was still presenting his work in the art gallery circuit of Buenos Aires, by the beginning of the following decade he was part of the North American printmaking shipment to the First Biennial of São Paulo, an edition in which Argentina was not represented.

⁷ Northwest Printmakers Star the Experimental, *Art Digest*, vol. 24, n° 12, March 15, 1950, p. 22.

⁸ PAYRÓ, Julio E. Sobre la obra de Lasansky, **Lasansky. Exposición de Grabados** (catalog), Buenos Aires, Galería Sintonía, August, 11 to 31, 1948. This exhibition, in which the artist presented works produced in the last five years, had an important reception of the local art critic: CARIDE, Vicente. Consideraciones sobre los Grabados de Mauricio Lasansky, **Ars**, a. VII, n° 41-42, 1948, s/p; BREST, Jorge Romero. Mauricio Lasansky, **Ver y Estimar**, vol. II, n° 6, Set 1948, p. 51-52; PAYRÓ, Julio E. Mauricio Lasansky, **Sur**, n° 167, Sept, 1948, p. 81-82.

One of the first indicators of the strong link between Lasansky and Atelier 17 was its prominent place in *Hayter and Studio 17: New Directions in Gravure (Figura 3)*, the exhibition at the MoMA in New York in 1944, made less than a year after the arrival of the Argentine artist to the United States and his joining the circle of the workshop. The relevance of this exhibition that brought modern engraving to a prominent place in the contemporary scene is well-known: an indication of this is that the August issue of the MoMA publication was entirely devoted to the exhibition, reinforcing its visibility and legitimacy. Those were the times around the Liberation in Paris, when the *Museum notes* in the back cover of the MoMA **Bulletin** called to “buy more war bonds”. In this context of “defense of culture”, this exhibition highlighted the North American links with the Parisian avant garde, presenting what could be considered a graphic subsidiary of the École de Paris continued in exile. As mentioned in the publication, the exhibition included prints by artists of different nationalities: “14 Americans, 4 French, 3 Hungarian, Spanish, Argentine, Chilean, Belgian, German, Austrian, Egyptian and Roumanian”.⁹

In this **Bulletin** issue, the biomorphic images of Joan Miró, Ian Hugo, André Masson and Jacques Lipchitz were reproduced together with the *Horse (Figure 4)* made in New York by Lasansky, the artist then with less experience among those whose works were included in this important dossier. The Argentine artist thus gained a remarkable visibility within the New York dynamic world art, a visibility that spread to other parts of the country when, after his season at MoMA, this work on paper circulated for two years in different cities of the United States in a traveling exhibition organized by the Museum’s Department of Circulating Exhibitions. Afterwards, the exhibition was sent to Latin America.

In Argentina, it was in the Galería Viau in Buenos Aires, between August 31 and September 13, 1947, where the set of prints by artists from the Atelier 17 was exhibited. The show, which featured Payró’s presentation, included works from the National Gallery of Art in Washington and was sponsored by the Instituto Cultural Argentino Norteamericano.¹⁰ Some time before, its trans-Andean peer, the Instituto Cultural Chileno Norteamericano, had taken this set to the capital of the country: *Nuevas Orientaciones en el Arte de Grabar. Hayter y el Estudio 17* had been presented in Santiago de Chile from November 19 to 25, 1946.¹¹ It is possible to relate these

9 Nina Negri, one of the artists in the exhibition, was born in Argentina, but her whole career was developed in France and she had no participation in the Argentine artistic field.

10 Cf. HAYTER, S.W. Grabados del Atelier 17, **La Prensa**, August, 1, 1947, p. 15. Grabados del Atelier 17 de Hayter, **La Nación**, Sept, 3, 1947, p. 6. This was not the first exhibition of engravings from the United States organized by the Instituto Cultural Argentino Norte Americano: in July of that year it had already presented another exhibition of original engravings by contemporary American artists. **La Nación**, July, 1, 1947, p. 4.

11 Archivo Nemesio Antúnez, Santiago de Chile. Hayter’s method was introduced in Chile by the action of Antunez who, in honor to his teacher, called his studio in Santiago de Chile with the name Taller 99, a clear reference to Atelier 17.

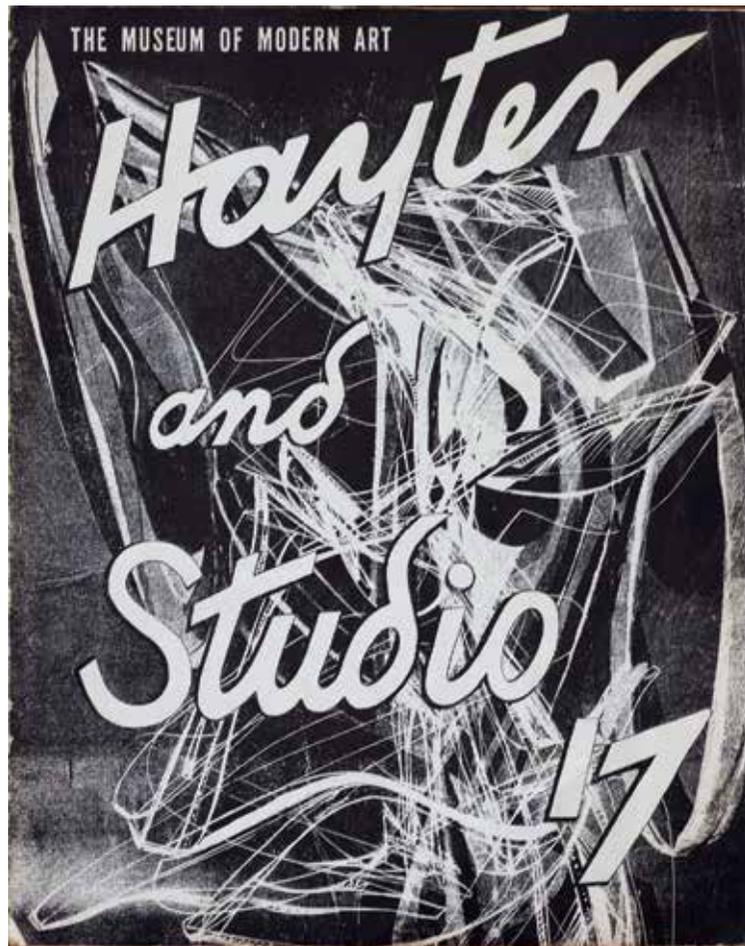


Fig. 3 • Hayter and Studio 17

Nova York, The Museum of Modern Art Bulletin,
vol. XII, n° 3, August, 1944



Fig. 4 • Mauricio Lasansky

Horse, 1944

etching, 34 x 14 cm

The Museum of Modern
Arte Bulletin, vol XIII, n° 3,
August, 1944, p.12



to other exhibitions shipped to South America and then organized by official North American entities. The ease of transporting the prints made them privileged objects for the circulation of the new discourses of artistic modernity in times of cultural cold war (GIUNTA, 2001, p. 52-53).

New Ways of Gravure in the Salon

From its beginnings in 1911, the Salon Nacional had been the main space of visibility, recognition, and consecration for Argentine artists. While the section devoted to printmaking was historically a specific section within the contest, between 1951 and 1955, during the government of Juan Domingo Perón, the discipline gained autonomy, developing five editions of the Salon Nacional specifically for Printmaking and Drawing (GIUNTA, 1999, p. 153-190). Most of the works presented there were labeled as figurative depictions resolved in etchings, xylographs, and lithographs of orthodox bias; Adolfo Bellocq, one of the most respected artists in the tradition of Argentine printmaking, listed the thematic repertoire for the print as “landscapes, aspects of our cities and their customs, reflections of the spirit and provincial life” (BELLOCQ, 1935). These same subjects were recurrently exposed in the Salon Nacional, or their provincial and municipal counterparties.¹²

Faced with this recurrence of conventional proposals, the Grand Prize awarded in the 1953 Salon to Fernando López Anaya’s *Tango* was an exception; the jury remarked on this engraving “the quality of its technical achievement, which reveals a great mastery, and the high plastic concept with which the subject has been conceived”.¹³ As it has already been pointed out, although the figurative image alluded to a very recognizable local subject, its synthetic visual resolution and its technique were unprecedented with respect to the practices of the artists then active in Argentina: although works had been seen with these particularities associated to Atelier 17, they had not been made on local site.

At that Salon, López Anaya and Ana María Moncalvo held a public workshop on printmaking; that experience of didactic nature was reiterated, also in charge of both artists, in the Salon Nacional of 1955.¹⁴ For that occasion, there was the publishing of **Historia y Técnica del Grabado (Figure 5)**, a historical-practical booklet with images

¹² Regarding the third edition of the Salon, it was mentioned that “although specialization contributes to exalting the hierarchy of drawings and engravings, it also gravitates in the monotony of the whole”. El Tercer Salon de Grabado y Dibujo, **La Nación**, August, 24, p. 2.

¹³ Catalog of the **Tercer Salon Nacional de Grabado y Dibujo**, Buenos Aires, 1953, p. 18.

¹⁴ Ana María Moncalvo (Buenos Aires, 1921-2008) was an engraver specialized in metal printing techniques, developing a vast graphic production and sustained teaching work at the Escuela Superior de Bellas-Artes Ernesto de la Cárcova in collaboration with López Anaya. From her production, it should be highlighted the series of engravings *Cafés of Buenos Aires*, published in 1979.

**Fig. 5 • El Grabado. Su Técnica,
Su Historia**
(with woodcut by Ana María
Moncalto, untitled, 1955)

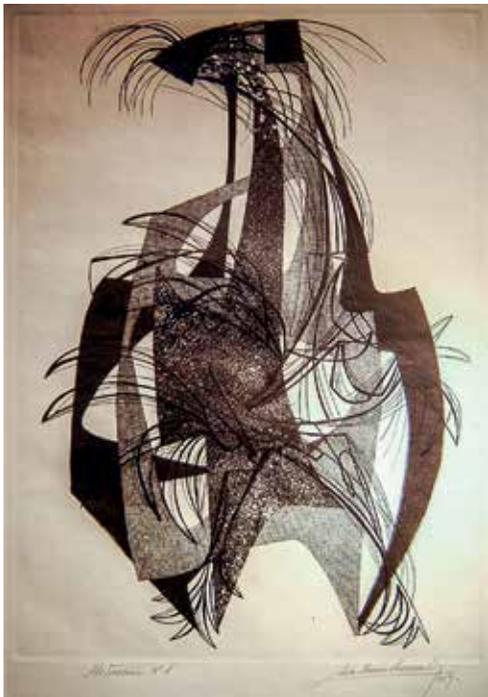
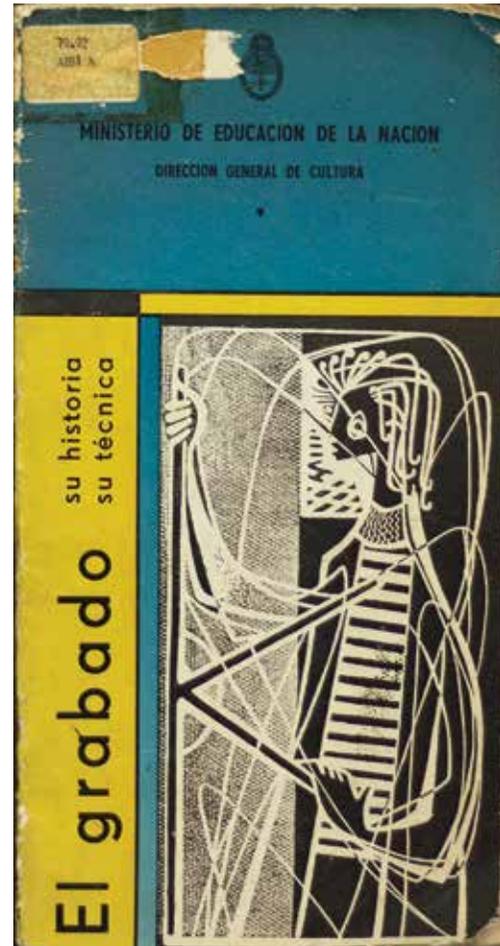


Fig. 6 • Ana Maria Moncalto
Abstracción n° 1, 1959
etching, aquatint and soft ground
Colección Museo Nacional del Grabado,
Buenos Aires

made by Moncalvo and texts by López Anaya, who argued in the presentation that this edition would facilitate the “understanding of an art whose comforting rejuvenation is one of the most remarkable phenomena in the world of plastic arts in recent years” (LÓPEZ ANAYA, 1955, p. 7-8). Although most of the texts that López Anaya relied on for this booklet were publications dating from some decades earlier, more up-to-date references were included in the bibliographic data: among these, the mention to **New Ways of Gravure**.

The impact of Hayter’s work could already be seen on the booklet cover, which was dominated by an image by Moncalvo. The print by the Argentine artist presents a human figure of synthetic resolution interwoven in a fluid movement of white lines, and laid on a neutral background where a tulle fabric texture stands out. The image resumed a *topos* of the depiction of the discipline: in fact, the engraver working in the press as a metonym for the graphic craftsmanship shaped a recurrent reference to allude to the “artisanal cooking” of printmaking. In this case, it was a traditional subject solved through a modern image of Hayterian imprinting.

Hayter’s exhibition at the National Museum of Fine Arts, Buenos Aires

In times of reshaping cultural institutions after the military coup that overthrew Perón’s government in 1955, López Anaya was appointed director of the Escuela Superior de Bellas Artes, reaffirming his place in the Argentine cultural fabric and his name as a reference of modern printmaking. In this context of “liberal restoration” (SIGAL, 2002, p. 41), the directorship of the Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes was assigned to Romero Brest, one of the central figures in the making and dissemination of the discourse on artistic modernity (GIUNTA, 2001).

Romero Brest knew and had great appreciation for the work of Hayter: in his review of the First Bienal of São Paulo — where he had participated as a member of the jury — he had highlighted him as a “master of engraving”, saying that the works there “are not so clear, because of color, as others we know, where one can rather observe, besides the mastery of the faultless engraver, the deep metaphysical sense of his abstract and surrealist conception” (ROMERO BREST, 1951, p. 26). Obviously, Hayter’s innovative approaches to image should have had impact on him, taking into account that the engraver’s participation was small and located in an inconspicuous space, the critic highlighted it within the vast set of works exhibited.

Through his magazine **Ver y Estimar** (1948-1955) and his interventions in different cultural events, Romero Brest had been forming, during the years of Peronism, a network of international links, relations that gave him a symbolic capital that he was quick to activate in his management at the head of the MNBA since the end of 1955.

It was through the personal relations of Romero Brest with “his friend Hayter”¹⁵ that he managed to exhibit in 1956, in the main Argentine museum, a set of prints by the English artist, whom he expressly thanked for his “generous collaboration [...] Stanley Hayter sent us an extraordinary selection of engravings, recently exhibited.”¹⁶ Probably they were works exhibited in the retrospective *All in line* (Galerie La Hune, Paris, June 19 to July 14, 1956), since the newspaper **La Nación** commented that “Professor Jorge Romero Brest has brought from Paris a set of 37 prints by Hayter.”¹⁷

The budgetary difficulties that the museum was going through prevented the production of a catalog for the exhibition; however, we know that the set of prints – dated between 1934 and 1955 – included some of Hayter’s most outstanding works, such as *Cinq Personnages* (**cat. 25 and 26**).¹⁸ If this work was significant in the development of his method of simultaneous color printing – the tenth chapter of **New Ways of Gravure** was focused on explaining the making of this work – the originality of Hayter’s chromatic proposal was highlighted in an eye-catching note for the public of Buenos Aires: in fact, the color was a resource scarcely approached by the local printmakers, limited until then to the monochromatic resolution.¹⁹

Opened on August 28, 1956, the exhibition of the engraver “considered the most valuable at the present time”²⁰ was accompanied by a program of activities. On the one hand, Aldo Pellegrini gave the lecture *Grabados de Hayter*; it can be assumed that the links of the English artist with the surrealist nucleus and the proximity of his method to the proposals of the graphic automatism would be very attractive for Pellegrini, a collector of contemporary prints and responsible for a saga of Surrealist publications in Buenos Aires.²¹ On the other hand, a study session was conducted

15 Reference found on Ignacio Pirovano to Niomar Moniz Sodré letter, Buenos Aires, Oct, 25, 1956. Archivo Pirovano, about 719, folio 32 b, Museo de Arte Moderno de Buenos Aires.

16 Museo Nacional de Bellas-Artes. **Boletín del Museo**, nº 2, Buenos Aires, Oct. 1956.

17 Grabados de Stanley Hayter, **La Nación**, Buenos Aires, Sept, 9, 1956, p. 6.

18 Included in the set were *Woman in Net*, 1934; *Paques*, 1936; *Etreinte*, 1937; *Elvo*, 1938; *Myth of Creation*, 1940; *Debris*, 1941; *Mirror*, 1941; *Submerger Figure*, 1941; *Source*, 1941; *Prestige of the Insect*, 1942; *Persistence of Life*, 1943; *Personnages Menacées d'un Homme*, 1943; *Flight*, 1944; *Descente*, 1945; *Amazon*, 1945; *Unfolding*, 1946; *Five Figures*, 1946; *Unstable Woman*, 1947; *Falling Figure*, 1947; *Death by Water*, 1948; *Octopod*, 1949; *Tropic of Cancer*, 1949; *Ange Noir*, 1950; *Danseuse du Soleil*, 1951; *L'Escoutay*, 1951; *Trois Personnages*, 1952, *Couple*, 1952; *Personnages Ailés*, 1952; *Action in Two Fields*, 1952-1954; *Wizard*, 1953; *Warriors*, 1953; *Jeux d'Eau*, 1954; *Danae*, 1954; *Paysage Lunaire*, 1955; *Leçon d'Anatomie*, 1955; *Feu Sous l'Eau*, 1955; *Famille Japonaise*, 1955. Carpeta actividades del Director, 1950. List typed, file from the MBA research and documentation area.

19 It was reported in the press that Hayter’s show included “A room of engravings in black and in color”. Inauguration of a room of engravings. **La Prensa**, August, 28, 1956, p. 11.

20 Exposiciones en el Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes, **La Nación**, August, 28, 1956, p. 6.

21 Aldo Pellegrini (Rosario, 1903 – Buenos Aires, 1973) was an Argentine cultural manager and collector, well-known writer and magazine publisher. He has published *Qué*, the magazine which introduced Surrealism in Argentina, in 1928. In the 1950s he has published the magazine *Letra y Línea* and organized the *Salones Arte Nuevo*.

by López Anaya, whose knowledge of the complex method of the Atelier 17 made him the ideal reference to analyze the particularities of the contemporary but not locally well-known graphic work. In fact, the singularity of Hayter's printmaking method was the feature highlighted in the commentary of the newspaper **La Nación**, which valued "the extraordinary fantasy and skill of this singular artist who exerts so much influence on today's boldest engravers. Above all, what draws attention is the technical mastery achieved by Hayter, as a result of searches and countless experiences, which are translated into really remarkable transparencies, reliefs, and quality oppositions."²²

The exhibition, which had a large influx of public, was an outstanding visibility platform for the modernist graphic image. While these prints contributed a note of "international contemporariness" to the agenda of the MNBA, they were at the same time a central element for the realization of the program of exchanges to which Romero Brest aspired for the institution. Thus, from the institutional management, this Hayterian *corpus* was sent from Buenos Aires to the Museum of Modern Art of Rio de Janeiro (MAM RJ).

Prints Travelling between Buenos Aires and Rio de Janeiro

It is significant to consider the exchanges that were maintained between the Buenos Aires MNBA and the Carioca MAM to account for the confluence of interests around the regional circulation of modern art that was taking shape at that time and the key role that Hayter's work has played in these transnational dialogues: in effect, the operations for sending the show with his prints to Brazil were produced simultaneously with the organization of *Arte Moderno en Brasil*, a significant exhibition presented in Buenos Aires in 1957.

The efforts were initiated by the collector Ignacio Pirovano in his role as "correspondent" of the MAM RJ in Buenos Aires²³. Just a week after the inauguration of Hayter's exhibition at the MNBA, Pirovano wrote to Niomar Moniz Sodré, director of the Rio de Janeiro institution, to tell her that Romero Brest was "willing to collaborate as much as possible. At this moment, he presents in the Museum an exhibition of engravings by Stanley Hayter. If you are interested, he will be happy to provide it to you."²⁴

²² **Grabados de Stanley Hayter**, *op. cit.*

²³ Ignacio Pirovano (París, 1909 – Buenos Aires, 1980) was a lawyer, cultural manager and collector. Founder and director of the Museo de Artes Decorativas de Buenos Aires from 1937 through 1955, was an enthusiastic promoter of Abstract art and the Concrete avant-gardes. Niomar Moniz Sodré Bittencourt (Salvador, 1916 – Río de Janeiro, 2003), was a journalist and founder of MAM RJ, in 1948; she has conducted this institution during its ten first years of existence. In 1963 she assumed the management of **Correio da Manhã**, one of the most important newspapers in Rio de Janeiro.

²⁴ Letter of the Ignacio Pirovano a Niomar Moniz Sodré, Buenos Aires, Set, 4, 1956, Archivo Pirovano, Museo de Arte Moderno de Buenos Aires, sobre 719, folio 21. (En adelante AP-MAMBA). My thanks to María Amalia García for give me access to this material.

The response to this offer was enthusiastic: “Of course we would love to have the exhibition here, for Hayter, besides being a great teacher (...) is one of the world’s leading engravers.”²⁵ Pirovano quickly retorted that “confirmed your interest, which I share, Brest will write immediately to his friend Hayter to see to the possibility.”²⁶ However, the negotiations began to delay and in November Moniz complained: “as usual, Brest is making gaffes ... to this day I have not received a single word from him about the Hayter Exhibition”;²⁷ by January 1957 there were still no details on the transfer of the show²⁸ and only the following month the works of Hayter were delivered to the Brazilian assignee.²⁹

The exchanges for the shipment of the Hayter show from Buenos Aires to Rio de Janeiro were initiated in tune with the negotiations to produce the largest show of Brazilian art that was presented abroad until that moment (GARCÍA, 2011). In fact, one of the main objectives within Romero Brest’s plan for the MNBA was to specify “a great exhibition of Brazilian drawing, prints, painting and sculpture”.³⁰ After many negotiations, *Arte Moderno en Brasil* opened in June 1957 in Buenos Aires, and among the large number of works presented there, the prints were one of the most celebrated sets by the art critic of Buenos Aires and that had the greatest impact for their level of quality and innovation. Subsequently, the set of Brazilian artworks was also exhibited in Rosario, Santiago de Chile and Lima.

At the same time, despite the complications and untidiness,³¹ Hayter’s show that was exhibited in the Argentine MNBA could finally be presented at the MAM RJ: these itinerant prints put into transit the modernist graphic discourses between Paris, Buenos Aires and Rio de Janeiro. *Gravuras e Desenhos de Stanley W. Hayter*, exhibited between April 25 and May 12, 1957, consisted of 59 prints, 10 drawings and a small catalog with information about the artist and an introductory text by the curator of the exhibition

25 Letter of the Moniz Sodr  a Pirovano, Rio de Janeiro, Oct, 18, 1956. AP-MAMBA, folio 31.

26 Letter of the Pirovano a Moniz Sodr , Buenos Aires, Oct, 25, 1956, doc.cit.

27 Letter of the Moniz Sodr  a Pirovano, Rio de Janeiro, Nov, 12, 1956. AP-MAMBA, folio 34.

28 “Romero Brest has not left any instructions regarding the Hayter exhibition in Rio, today they write to Europe [...] to write directly to you.” Pirovano a Moniz Sodr , Buenos Aires, January, 21, 1957. AP-MAMBA, folio 45.

29 Pirovano comments that in the MNBA “they had already received instructions from Romero Brest and today they have given me 56 engravings and 10 drawings by Hayter, which I have taken to Zazi”. Letter of the Pirovano a Moniz Sodr , Buenos Aires, February, 19, 1957. AP-MAMBA, folio 48. We do not know if this amount of works was about a subsequent shipment that completed the 37 prints exhibited in Buenos Aires or if it was originally sent from Paris, and from which it was later selected the ones that the Buenos Aires public could appreciate.

30 Letter of the Romero Brest a Moniz Sodr , Buenos Aires, Nov, 30, 1956. Nota n  643, MNBA, archive documentation and research’ area..

31 “I’ve never seen packaging worse (if you can call it packaging) than they did with the Hayter prints”. Letter of the Moniz Sodr  a Pirovano, Rio de Janeiro, March, 29, 1957. Carpeta 1 “Arte Moderna no Brasil, Itinerante”, center of the documentation and research, MAM RJ, Rio de Janeiro.

in Brazil, the local engraver Tuni Murtinho, who had studied in the Atelier 17.³² The atmosphere of camaraderie and the “true team spirit” among young printmakers and consecrated teachers was reflected in his evocative words about Hayter’s workshop.

Besides the edition of the catalog, another piece of information gives an account of the meaning of this exhibition in the Brazilian context: in the face of the more modest reception by the Buenos Aires press, the show had an important fate in Rio de Janeiro’s art critic, who noted the experimental status of Hayter’s graphics.³³ Mário Pedrosa highlighted him as a great teacher – comparing the influence of his didactic approach with that of other great “artists’ trainers” such as Fernand Léger or André Lhote – although he questioned the scope of his artistic qualities:

Stanley William Hayter is undoubtedly an eminent figure of contemporary art. Especially in the engraving. But it is legitimate, by the way, to raise the question: what kind of importance should we give to his figure? Is it the one of the creative artist, or the one of the researcher, the renewer of a technique? We do not hesitate to opt for the second hypothesis.[...] Everyone who went to his atelier comes out delighted with the master and the man. The enthusiasm for the artist, however, is more attenuated.³⁴

In his review, Pedrosa polarized between local tradition and international experimentation and favored rather a “poor woodcut” from Goeldi than Hayter’s technical skills. In a way, the exhibition showed a new form of production that clashed with the history of printmaking, a confrontation read at that time as a dispute reduced to “figurativeness versus abstractedness”:

The Museum of Modern Art of Rio will run a serious risk at the opening of the Exhibition of Hayter’s Engravings. It turns out that the man is a kind of leader of the contemporary printmaking movement, with two huge ateliers in Paris and New York. His performance brought to the sacred and “purified” field of the engraving – according to some opponents – too many tricks, excess of charm, much matter

32 In the MAM’s list, the titles of the engravings were published in their translation into Portuguese:

Mulher Enredada, 1934; *A Violação de Lucrecia*, 1934; *Fuga*, 1934; *Pascua*, 1936; *Mascaras*, 1937; *Entrelaçamento*, 1937; *O Espelho*, 1938; *Elvo*, 1938; *O Mito da Criação*, 1940; *Nascente*, 1941; *Figura Submarina*, 1941; *Espelho*, 1941; *Fragmentos*, 1941; *Esboço ao Butil*, 1943; *Prestígio do Incestuoso*, 1943; *Continuidade da Vida*, 1943; *Terror*, 1943; *Personagem Ameaçado pelas Chamas*, 1943; *Laocoon*, 1943; *Queda*, 1945; *Amazona*, 1945; *Desabrochar*, 1946; *A Afogada*, 1946; *Cinco Figuras*, 1946; *Personagens Virtuais*, 1947; *Figura Candente*, 1947; *Mulher Inestável*, 1947; *Morte por Asfixia*, 1948; *Mulher Ajoelhada*, 1949; *Polvo*, 1949; *Trópico de Câncer*, 1949; *Anjo Negro*, 1950; *Dansarinas do Sol*, 1951; *Escontay*, 1951; *Pegasso*, 1951; *Tres Figuras*, 1952; *Figuras Aladas*, 1952; *Par*, 1952; *Combate Homérico*, 1953; *Guerreiros*, 1953; *Maternidade Alada*, 1948-53; *Dança*, 1954; *Jogos d’Água*, 1954; *Ação em Dois Campos*, 1952-54; *Os Filos de Niobe*, 1954; *Fogos Submarinos*, 1955; *A Afogada*, 1955; *Lição de Anatomia*, 1955; *Família Japonesa*, 1955; *Paisagem Lunar*, 1955; *Ícaro*, 1956; *Mulher de Cócoras*, 1956; *Dois Traços*, 1956; *Arbusto Ardente*, 1956; *Combate Submarino*, 1957; *As Erenias*, 1957; *Figuras no Espaço*, 1957; *Sem Título*, 1957.

33 Anonymous, Nova mostra, **Correio da Manhã**, April, 26, 1957; José Roberto Teixeira Leite, Gravuras de Hayter no Museu de Arte Moderna, **Diário de Notícias**.

34 Mário Pedrosa, Mestre Gravador Hayter, **Jornal do Brasil**, April, 30 1957.

and much color. “Before Hayter, the engraving was hard craftsmanship, sober art, monastic thing. Now it’s turned into music hall, mild, fragrant, even nice thing.” So has said a great figurative printmaker. “Before Hayter, the engraving had the value that one has never failed to recognize, through the great artists who have used it. Tradition, however, was becoming too insipid, repeated. Hayter came to enrich it in every sense. He is an inventor, a great artist.” So has spoken an abstract printmaker.³⁵

However, the situation of the Brazilian printmaking field went beyond this polarization, since — as it was also happening in Buenos Aires — it was a moment in which the tensions and nuances between tradition and experimentation were put in the foreground (TAVORA, 1999; DOLINKO, 2012). In fact, in Rio de Janeiro, the institutional foundations for the development of modern engraving were being launched, and MAM’s project of the *atelier de gravura* was one of its most important axes; apparently, the institution at that time intended to contract Hayter to give a course.³⁶

A few months after the show at the MAM RJ, a new exhibition of prints by the English master and by artists from his workshop was presented in Buenos Aires: *Artistas del Taller 17 Paris-N.York*, organized by Mina Gondler (GRIEBEN, 1962, p. 39-40)³⁷ from a commission and selection of works made by Hayter himself, it took place in October 1957 in the Galería Plástica, directed by Oscar Pécora (GENÉ, 2012).³⁸ By that point, knowledge of the Atelier 17 in the Buenos Aires artistic milieu already exceeded the group of “initiates” and was extended to new interlocutors of the cultural field. Even the combative students of Fine Arts, among them Julio Le Parc, promoted the name of Hayter as a progressive artist and as a desirable reference in times of claims for an update in art education.³⁹

Contemporaneously, Moncalvo developed the series of etchings-aquatint *Abstracción* (**Figure 6**), where her use of color and templates, textured planes from wefts emerged with soft-ground and the network of lines of strong relief and automatic bias or the

35 Gravadores em pé de guerra, **Correio da Manhã**, April, 25, 1957.

36 “Between Hayter and Friedländer the preferences and attentions of young engravers are divided, who, once they have arrived in Paris, seek perfection ... perhaps for the future, this influence of Hayter on the Brazilian engraving will solidify because, to what we know, the direction of the Museum of Modern Art of Rio de Janeiro intends to hire him to teach courses among us. LEITE, José Roberto Teixeira. Gravuras de Hayter no Museu de Arte Moderna, **Diário de Notícias** (April, 26, 1957). Finally, this course was taught between June and September 1959 by Johnny Friedlander, the other great reference in the realization and teaching of contemporary engraving.

37 Born in Paris and trained in Buenos Aires, Gondler met Hayter in the mid-fifties, acting as a contact between the Atelier 17 and the Argentine scene,

38 Oscar Pécora (Buenos Aires, 1911-2003) maintained a permanent interest in the dissemination of engraving. After graduating from the Academy of Fine Arts, in 1932, he began editing the magazine **Plástica**, which included numerous original prints; between 1939 and 1948, he published the **Anuario Plástica** with Ulises Barranco. In 1960 he started the Museo del Grabado, which became the Museo Nacional del Grabado in 1983; this institution has in its heritage several works produced in the Atelier 17.

39 Concursos??, **Tía Delia**, a. 1, n° 1, April, 10, 1958, p. 4.

abstract-biomorphic depiction gave account of the continuity of its reading with respect to the aesthetic ideology of the Atelier 17. Shortly after, the filmic documentation of López Anaya performing *Gaufrage n° 9* – abstract engraving without ink that worked like a visual manifesto of the new production of the artist – drew in the reference of the short film *A New Way of Gravure* created by Hayter.⁴⁰

Since then, being reinstated in Paris the workshop continued to receive numerous Argentine artists who traveled to that training center to learn the method that had revolutionized global printmaking.⁴¹ In the context of the graphic expansion process that was increasing from those years in Argentina, the reference to Atelier 17 was understood as a synonym of modern, cosmopolitan and experimental engraving.

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⁴⁰ *Gaufrage n° 9*. Dirección: Nicolás Rubiú, sonido: Esther Barugel; 15 minutos, Buenos Aires, 1960.

⁴¹ Mabel Rubli, Domingo Bucci, Angélica Caporasso, Alicia Penalba, Héctor Saunier, Cristina Santander, among others, among which Alfredo de Vincenzo has stood out for his role as teacher of several generations of engravers.

New and Old Journeys of the Engraving Print

Claudio Mubarac

Engraving was original

Print Engraving and the important part it has played in the circulation of artistic forms or scientific information, in the creation of new fashions, modes and models for the habits, might not be considered as coincidental, and much less minor, in the cultural constructions of the last six hundred years.

It constitutes a true revolution in education, in the interstitial chains of the social media, through the transmission of images that, moreover, included the illiterate. Prints, with their transatlantic repertoires, have always interested the princes, the powerful of every order, intellectuals, prelates and people to whom basic education was denied.

Such is the power of that circulation to the four winds that it becomes difficult to ascertain its origins, the range of its creation in multiplied genres, in the various kinds and styles that have arisen within and through it, as well as the weight of these actions on the history of culture and mentalities.

Its invention parallels the technical improvements performed in the Middle Ages, bringing its workshops the tools, presses, paints and papers needed for its practice, and parallels the enhancement of banking systems in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. This makes it the letter of credit of image and personal devotion, composing a channel for the guarding of reproduced images preached by the church, and sets its bases as the axis of an idea of a radial diffusion never imagined.

Publications and publicities start to walk hand in hand, ensuring the artists with more powerful engines for the reach of their works, as in the emblematic cases of Dürer, Rafael's association to Marcantonio Raimondi, and of Rubens, with his little army of interpreter-engravers. A graphic genre that becomes established in the sixteenth century, interpretive print will compose an important branch of prints until the nineteenth century. No less striking is its practice for distribution of knowledge associated with the emergent sciences, the many mythologies, religious and secular education, and the documentation of contemporary life, with its new and old habits.

Thus, a field with a wide horizon is opened for the systematic studies on print engraving, since the 1400s until today, as a central channel for the circulation of shapes and formats, spaces and spatiality, ideas and ideologies, art and technique, where the many local shades and their schools begin to gain unprecedented visibilities, and, in my understanding, to weave the web of the contemporary world.

Some of the difficulties that show themselves in these studies are related to the volume of prints produced throughout all these centuries and with the resulting poor mix respecting the sources, origins and the prolixity in the quality of their proofs. But wouldn't this be another sign of their success as a vehicle of transmission and as a herald of our present condition?

As a means of communication, prints are as efficient as they are troublesome. They blur the borders between the so-called high and low cultures, making art a fuel to the more daily relations and turn the trivial, the ordinary, into an attractive smell to the most sophisticated constructions. They share a badly organized world, through which circulate reproductions of drawings and paintings by both great and unknown artists, cataloguing, card indexes, collections linked to the most diverse human intents, desires and designs; copies from copies, high level counterfeits and others of coarse making; works of undeniable aesthetic stature and more than deniable reproductions; sets of inaugural figures for a new conception of anatomy, of new lessons about the body and licentious, pornographic publications, that occupy a considerable share of this amount. All of this, in a market as promiscuous as seductive, a situation that seems to me typical of the world of images and of repeated figures, where all these exemplars have shaped the most unfathomable hybridizations that our imagination can enunciate.

And this condition of existence has been echoed since the first implementation of the workshops in several parts of Europe. Therefore, many births, fatherhoods, motherhoods and registries have been built, which later sought assertion in national schools, which do not resist to more vertical analysis. The print is, since the very

beginning, international. The earliest anonymous masters from Northern Europe, Italy, and Bourgogne showed no modesty in coexisting, copying one another, in matters of traditional or nascent iconography, as well as in technical improvements.

It is by virtue of these facts that I consider the engraving print, in its origins, so deeply penetrating for understanding contemporary culture. In an era carved by the culture of the traveler, its portability and volatility is also essential for us to understand the construction of platforms and devices for the sharing of secrets and the diffusion of the wonderful.

Stanley William Hayter and William Mills Ivins Jr.

When we focus solely and excessively on the relations engraving holds only with the arts, we lose sight of the iconographic awareness it creates, in addition to the cultural, social, and commercial expansions, briefly discussed in the previous text, in this publicity activity that did not stop increasing its strategic power in a wide range of topics. All this must be added to the second big iconographic explosion fired in the nineteenth century by photography and the consequent photomechanics.

William Mills Ivins Jr. (1881-1961) was one of the first authors to dwell on this matter when he published **Prints and Visual Communications**, in 1953. He was the founder of the Department of Drawings and Prints of the Metropolitan Museum in New York, which he directed from 1916 to 1946. He published the aforementioned book after a long and rich coexistence with the world of prints, when he developed seminal conceptions on the subject. Even underestimating the classic heritage in the history of engraving and overestimating photography as a definite rupture, in his view this is absolutely faithful and true to its referents, in a structure of thought typical to the post-war, it is as accurate as it is fundamental to talk at length on this powerful means of visual communication as the bearer of myriad functions. He observes with acuity the chains of copies that establish themselves between matrices and prints, debasing the mother image, but creating a fertile field for the exchanges, changes of values and the permanent see-saw between distinct and distant cultures. He points out the relevance of verifying the meanings that engravers inscribe on their images as not solely dependent on their own capacities and on the technical means of their time, but also on the audience to which they address themselves and the subsequent market that coordinates the technical and aesthetic movements. Thus, he creates new relations between addresses and destinations.

The circulation of prints, as already mentioned, plays a central and unprecedented role in the circulation of subjects, motives and styles. The history of mentalities may not make us forget the history of ideas, mediated by the history of techniques; there

is a continuous flow between them. Let us not also lose sight of the educational, pedagogical perspective accomplished by the circulation of prints; they do not just meet the demands, but often provoke them, opening channels and portals to other incursions on the models and their derivations.

The other side of this vision is based on the little importance given to these graphic products as opposed to the “artistic print”, that in the 19th century gains the nickname of original print, so that this paradox well differentiates it from the reproduction or translation print. Bracquemond and Whistler, among many other artists from the 19th century, established this post-romantic lexicon in response to the advances of photomechanics, gradually replacing the burin of the engraver-interpreter, and chose the etching as a symbol of the defense of an experimental attitude, because more direct, less controlled, that artists would seek in face of the graphic media, releasing the engraving from its submissive role, according to this conception, and from its minor function.

Stanley William Hayter (1901-1988), an English painter and engraver, associated with Surrealism in the 1930s and Abstract Expressionism in the 1940s, confirms this principle in a kind of second manifesto of the original print, with his book **New Ways of Gravure** in 1949. The first was created by Adam Von Bartsch (1757-1821), an Austrian engraver and scholar who developed the idea of the engraver-artist, practitioner of the original print. He fixed his principles in a cataloging work entitled **Le Peintre Graveur**, in twenty-one volumes, published between 1803 and 1821, the year of his death. According to this position, Rembrandt is the highest example to follow as a model of excellence. In the view of Ivins Jr., without diminishing in any way the significance of this great painter-engraver, on whom he even included in his studies, Rembrandt would be a sublime anomaly, who could not be separated from his surroundings and has a huge importance precisely because of the way he moved in the vast circuit of prints; he knew how to collect, refer, extend relationships, establishing deep dialogues with engraving from all ages.

Today, without passionate discussions, perhaps we can bring these two visions closer together and analyze their interpenetrations of deep richness of meanings and alterities. The differences matter as much as the similarities and can articulate new reflections, measured in the crucible of geographical, temporal and cultural distances that the prints have covered and still cover incessantly. It is almost impossible to establish a full separation of visibility between the print industry and the relations that artistic production has established with or through it. On the contrary, their interpellations have generated an imagery world full of symbioses and iconographic promiscuities, of great associative power.

Moreover, Hayter was also an important generator of libertarian crafts and attitudes since he founded his Atelier 17 in Paris, beginning in 1927, through which Picasso, Giacometti, Miró, Calder, and Chagall went, to mention just the best known. During World War II, he transferred his studio to New York, where he brought together artists such as Pollock, Rothko, and other young artists associated with Abstract Expressionism. While in New York, he also taught at the New School for Social Research. It seems to me that the importance of his work rivals that of his activity as head of studio. In his testimonies he approaches the engraving to drawing, as resonant experiences; with his teaching methods, he releases the burin from his long historical course as a shaper of craft or he rethinks the craft as an inquiry, like diving into the mirrors created by the senses. He relates engraving to sculpture and to painting, as powers that can speculate themselves on their pompous ways. His positions were even very important for the Brazilian tradition of free engraving workshops, the uncomplaining practice of engraving, which in several parts of the country assured founding experiences for a printing press that still awaits further studies.

I suppose today we may bring Ivins' efforts to understand the historical processes on engraving print closer to Hayter's on the compression of his means, in the attempt to revive the atelier as a place of reflection on the things to do, and not only as a factory site. By bringing together the ideas on the making of prints from the two authors, we may be able to deduce that each reproduction process, with its engraving codes, translations, filtering, and printing techniques, deeply changes the nature of the image; that there is a constant and not finite play between original and copy, in the universe of repeated images, which ends up blurring the essential boundaries of these two categories. With no pretense of temporizing, the intention of bringing them close together lies on the possibility of re-reading the idea of originality as a pendular movement, between births and offsprings, between the ideas and qualities of things.

With the engraving print, new conceptual and material fields were born to produce repeated specificities. After all, visual information, if we think of print as a broad phenomenon, are ideas also shaped by the different grains of paper or printed surfaces, by the fluidity specific to the paint, the disruptions introduced by attrition and heat, the distinct dispersions of the pigments and all kinds of deformation. Within these factories of repeated images, everything has always been and is constantly repaired, reinterpreted, corrected, and verified, in an extended chain that transforms authorial images into image authority, where authorship and image authority always had a well ploughed and fertile field to mix themselves up to a nearly total indistinctness.

Ivins also shows us the close links between sciences, arts and theology in the invention of the first calculated images, which is how he righteously calls the engraving prints. Every weft or graphic screen is a shape designed to serve the greatest number of possible settings. From the first woodcuts to the most advanced computers, the open mathematical game between different matrices and their respective prints is what provide the graphic practitioners with the means to generate the differences, the spaces, the contrasts, the effects necessary to forge/translate the images into this accelerated world of mirrors.

The engraving print, in an intriguing and instigating paradox, that is essentially reproduction, was responsible for the dissemination of the idea of originality in the arts. Artworks only reach the status of original through a broad chain of reproductions, in a movement that focuses the origin by a bias of interpretive nature.

Image as a moment in the figurative game is never a simple reality. There are always bridges across the image, their internal and external operations, the variants and variations of form, the speakable and the unspeakable, in multiple proliferations. The lexicons developed by engraving are a very rich source to establish these language games. Why not acknowledge that, as in a risky game, every mechanism of reproduction, repetition, is unavoidably a subjective reconstruction, and dependent on constant appraisals and reappraisals, of a kind of interpretive capacity that the repetition itself give us?

Fred
BECKER

Floresta Aérea IV (Aerial Jungle IV), 1948

etching, aquatint and dry-point in color on paper

print editions: 7/30

54 x 40 cm [44,8 x 30,3 cm]

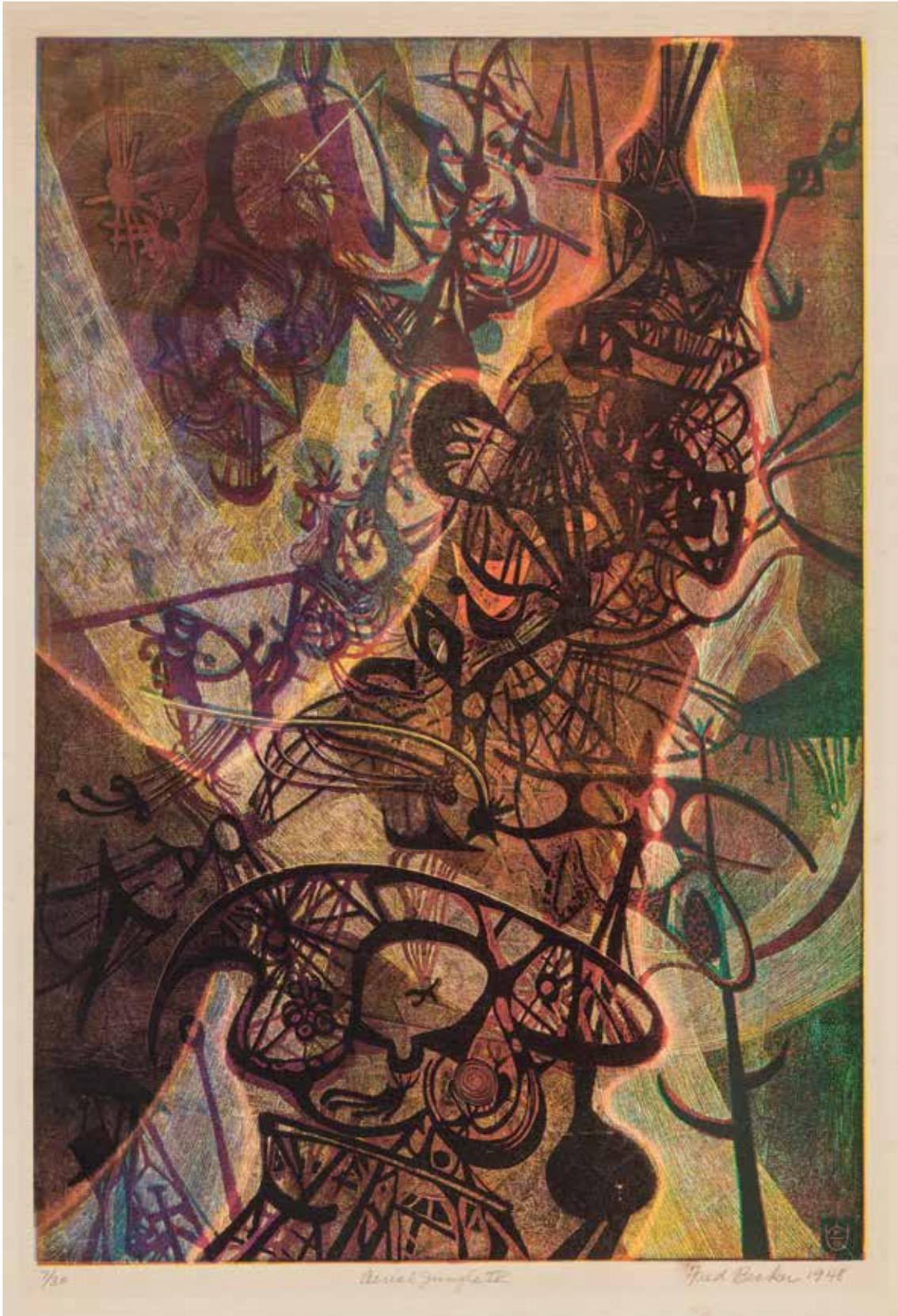
Donation by MAM SP

Oakland, CA, USA, 1913

Amherst, MA, USA, 2004

Provenance: Donation by Nelson Rockefeller, 1951

MAC USP Collection. 1963.3.53



7/60

Aerial Jungle II

Fred Barker 1946

Fred Becker was among the first group of artists that attended Atelier 17 when Hayter established the studio in New York in 1940. At that time, Becker had already exhibited in the New York art scene and his tuition for the Atelier 17 class was sponsored by the Willard Gallery. Prior to joining Hayter's studio, Becker had been involved with Works Progress Administration Graphic Department in New York and a few of his prints were selected by Alfred Barr to be shown in the seminal exhibition *Fantastic Art, Dada and Surrealism* at MoMA in 1936.

Initially adept to Social Realist woodcuts, Becker's work gradually incorporated Surrealist tendencies and psychologically charged imagery. Guided by Hayter, Becker shifted from woodcuts to engraving and increasingly used automatic drawing techniques. *Aerial Jungle* is an example of this automatism, where abstract gestural forms suggests a birds-eye view over an untamed ecosystem of interconnected pathways and nodes.

At the Atelier 17, Becker became an assistant to Hayter, collaborating in the development of *Cinq Personnages* (1946) (**cat. 25 and 26**), Hayter's first large color print made by incorporating different colors onto one single plate. During his time at Atelier 17, Becker completed only four finished color prints, between 1946 and 1948, among which *Aerial Jungle* was the last. Becker developed his own personal technique to color printing. Differing from Hayter, he used multiple plates, inking each plate with a different color¹.

This process consisted in first making a drawing on a scratchboard (a black paper coated with several layers of gesso). Then, the artist used an etching press to transfer the engraving onto multiple plates coated with soft-ground resist. The plates were etched in acid and individually finished by Becker, using varied materials and tools to produce specific textures. All plates would align perfectly when printed onto paper, obtaining nuanced and overlapping color effects.

By altering the thickness and viscosities of the paints, Becker was able to achieve translucent effects and an intricate sequence of colors and tonalities, such as the ones seen in *Aerial Jungle*. There are different versions of this print because Becker would often experiment with the order in which the color plates were printed, alternating the pigments used and producing multiple colored versions of the same design (WECHSLER, 1993, p. 373-384).

1 See examples of the print *The Cage* on article Wechsler, James. Fred Becker and Experimental Printmaking. *Print Quarterly*, vol. 10, n° 4, 1993, pp. 373-384. https://www.jstor.org/stable/41825158?seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents.

Minna
CITRON

Newark, NJ, USA, 1896
New York, NY, USA, 1991

Squid Under Pier (Lula sob Pier), 1948

color engraving on paper

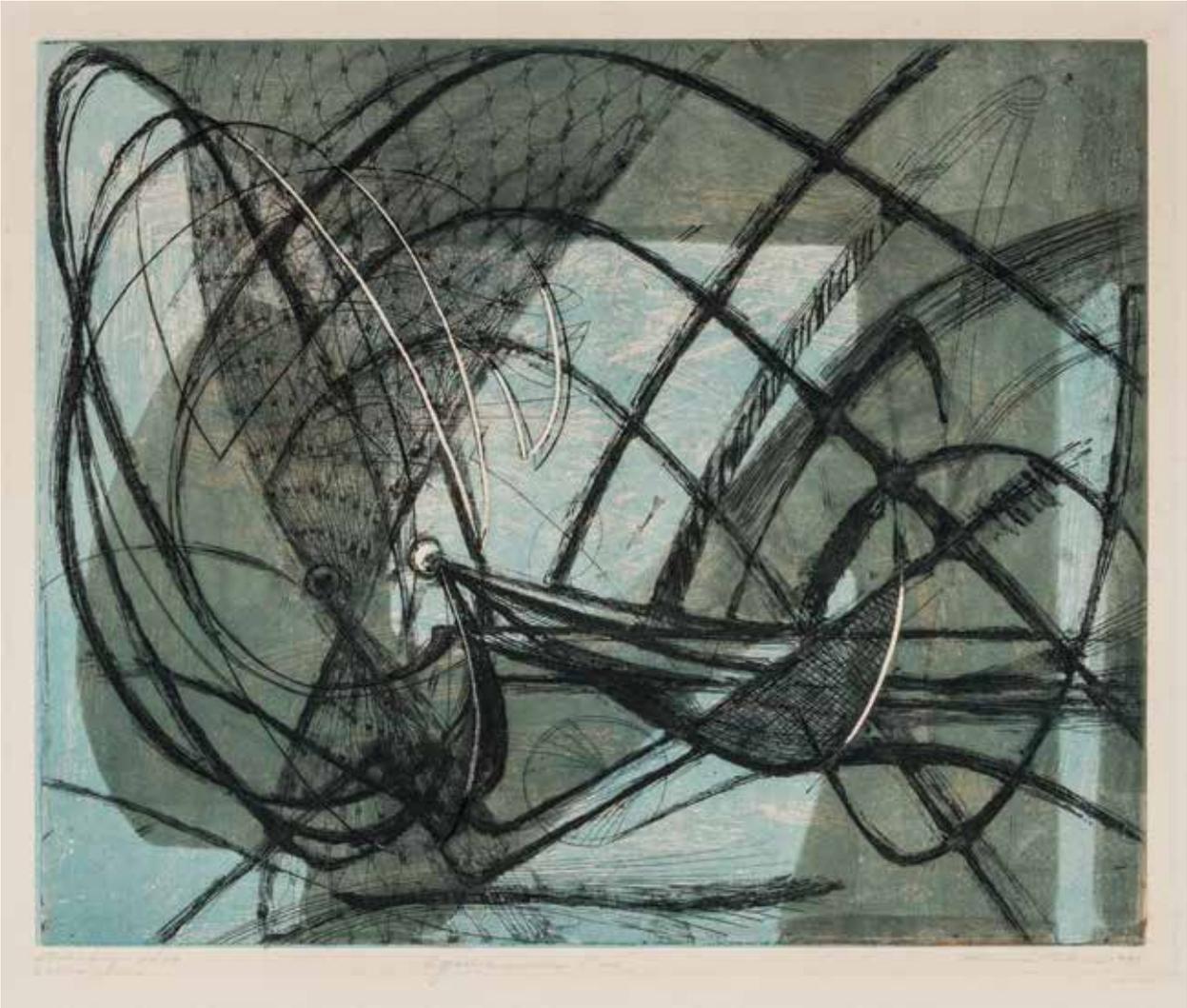
56,5 x 65,1 cm [37,3 x 45,7 cm]

Donation by Francisco Matarazzo Sobrinho

Provenance: Donation by Nelson Rockefeller, 1951.

Acquired through The Weyhe Gallery, un New York.

MAC USP Collection. 1963.1.49



Minna Citron described the aesthetic satisfaction of modern art as the ability of the spectator and the artist to share a combined experience based on two key factors. First, a shared experience about the physicality of the moment of creation of the artwork. Second, the unconscious symbolic force of the image.

According to Citron, the artist's movements are as important to the work as the resulting visual register: "The sensitive and sympathetic observer will follow the artist not only in the visual but also in the kinesthetic experience" (CITRON, 1995, p.147-153). This gestural trajectory can be appreciated in the rhythms and tensions displayed in *Squid Under Pier*. Citron's animated and expansive energy, often circular and ample but also linear and contained, is performed all over the surface of the plate. A movement so energetic that it travels beyond the limits of the composition, creating strong black curvilinear lines; the untamed tentacles of a sea creature.

The second level, based on the unconscious, is expressed through automatism and symbolism. Citron was a keen practitioner of Freudian analysis and, as many artists at the Atelier 17, she explored the Surrealist approach of automatic drawing as a method of releasing psychological content. *Squid Under Pier* suggests an inner struggle of an entrapped creature in a claustrophobic environment. The distraught figure is laid against a pale blue background under an overshadowing green structure.

Minna Citron is one of the Atelier 17 artists that received greater notice in Brazil. Her work was exhibited in the I and II Sao Paulo Biennials (1951 and 1953). Additionally, she received a solo exhibition of her painting and prints at the Museum of Modern Art of São Paulo, in 1952. Such a level of exposure was rare for Atelier 17 artists in Brazil.

As a result, the Museum of Contemporary Art at University of São Paulo has four of Citron's works—an impressive number for an American artist in this collection. The print *Marine* (1948) was donated by Nelson Rockefeller in 1951, and the other engravings — *Squid Under Pier* (1950), *Deac* (1948), *Way Through the Woods* (1950) were purchased by Francisco Matarazzo Sobrinho and later donated to the museum.

Arthur
Wesley DOW

Moonrise, c. 1898-1905

color woodcut on cream Japanese paper

print edition: one of two known print: 1/2

13,3 x 20 cm [10,8 x 17,8 cm]

Ipswich, MA, USA, 1857
New York, NY, USA, 1922

Terra Foundation for American Art, Daniel J. Terra
Collection. 1996.4



Born in Ipswich, Massachusetts, north of Boston, Arthur Wesley Dow had a traditionally academic artistic education at the Académie Julian in Paris. Returning to Boston in 1889, he became both a practicing artist and a popular educator, establishing a summer art school in Ipswich in 1891.

As an artist, and in his development as a teacher, Dow sought out new techniques, as well as new ways to revitalize old techniques. His introduction in 1889 to the *ukiyo-e* woodblock prints of Japanese artist Katsushika Hokusai (1760-1849) revolutionized his thinking and compelled him to explore beyond the limits of his traditional training. He became enamored with the simple yet effective technique of traditional woodblock printing, but he experimented with it too, printing from a single block a variety of color combinations (instead of using individual blocks for each color) to evoke different seasons or times of day.

Moonrise is a superb example of Dow's investigation of *ukiyo-e* and his approach to abstracting the landscape of coastal Massachusetts, rather than rendering it in detail, as he had been taught in Paris. The landscape features a high horizon line, an effect taken directly from Japanese prints; but pale, velvety colors and a languid softness of line that describes undulating hills and the wide arc of a coastal river are exemplary of Dow's particular style. Lacking an overlaying key block (the block that would be printed last, on top of all the colors, to outline and distinguish the various elements of the image) (GREEN, 1999, p. 64) the colors in this impression blend sweetly together.

One of the *Ipswich Prints*, a group of landscape images of the marshes and waterways of coastal Massachusetts, *Moonrise* was a major experiment for Dow. As he described the *Ipswich Prints*, images like *Moonrise* were "not to represent any place, any time of day, or season very realistically, but rather, in an imaginative manner, to use some beautiful groupings of lines and shapes, chosen from the scenery of the old New England town, as a groundwork for different color schemes, a pattern... for a mosaic of hues and shades..." (GREEN, 1999, p. 63).

While Dow took his subject matter from his local surroundings, his work was exhibited across the country; he was represented by a gallery in New York, and showed his Ipswich prints in both Boston and San Francisco (GREEN, 1999, P. 64-65). Dow was an influential figure for generations of artists, including the painter Georgia O'Keeffe (1887-1986), and printmaker Blanche Lazzell (1878-1956), also featured in this exhibition.

John
FERREN

Pendleton, OR, USA, 1905
Southampton, NY, USA, 1970

Sea Forms, 1937

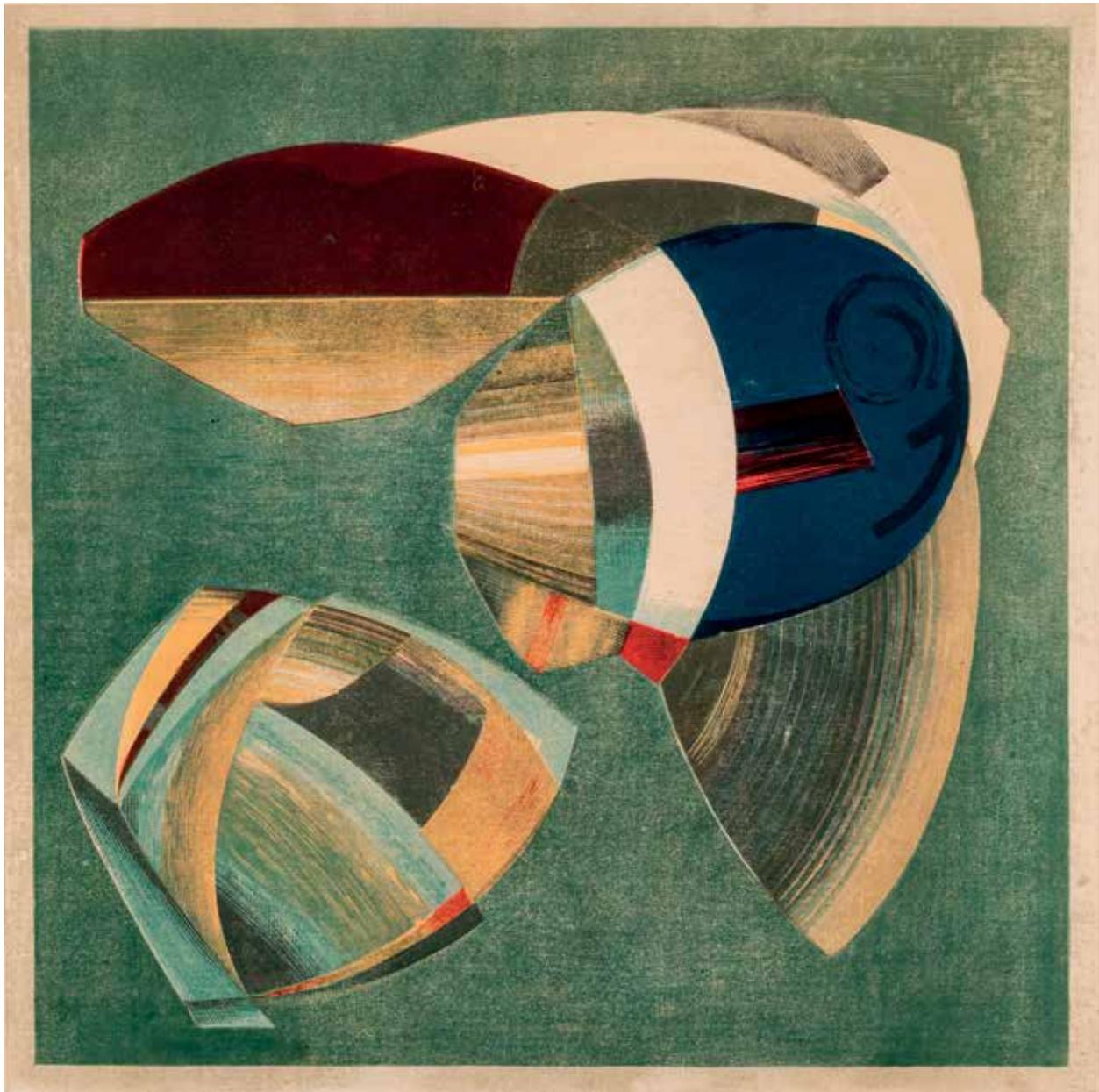
color woodcut on paper

print edition artist's proof for an edition of 7

54,6 x 40,8 cm [36,2 x 36,8 cm]

Terra Foundation for American Art, Daniel J. Terra
Collection. 1996.89

Wally Findlay Galleries International, Inc.



Trained primarily as a sculptor, John Ferren was also a talented painter and printmaker. His two-dimensional work is infused with a three-dimensional quality inspired by his early training, as well as his time spent in Stanley William Hayter's Atelier 17 in Paris.

Born in 1905 on the west coast of the United States, Ferren apprenticed with a stonecutter as a young man before studying at the California School of Fine Arts. In 1929 he spent a year in Europe, where he became interested in the pure abstract painting that was being made in France and Germany. Ferren returned to California, where he had his first solo exhibition in 1930,¹ but quickly became discouraged by the slow pace of the art scene in his native country. He returned to Paris in 1931, where he spent the next eight years, exhibiting his work in both Paris and New York.²

Ferren met Hayter while in Paris and spent significant time in Hayter's workshop. He met other prominent artists and made numerous prints on paper, and also advanced a process to make carved plaster reliefs from printed plates. The wood engraving *Sea Forms* dates to this productive, experimental time in Ferren's career. The voluminous, precisely modeled shapes are gently suspended on a flat green background intended to emphasize their rounded forms. Ferren's cool, watery color palette — brown, sea green, light and dark blues — evokes marine life, while very shallow, arced lines in the bottom of the larger form, and in the middle of the smaller form, appear like the ridges of a sea shell, adding to the nautical motif.

Nature was an important influence in Ferren's work, and he believed that all elements of the natural world were interrelated but also interchangeable (**New York Times**, July, 26, 1970, p. 57), a notion which became the basis for his approach to abstraction. While he follows the traditional method of wood engraving, cutting into the dense end-grain of a block of wood, the details he articulates in *Sea Forms* — arced ridges, subtle crosshatching, and a skillful application of multiple colors to bring to life a complex abstract design — demonstrate Ferren's masterful and sophisticated manipulation of the wood block, as well as his nuanced understanding of the elements necessary to create unique biomorphic shapes.

1 Biography, Phillips Collection, https://www.phillipscollection.org/research/american_art/bios/ferren-bio.htm, accessed 25 Oct 2018.

2 John Ferren, Peggy Guggenheim Collection, http://www.guggenheim-venice.it/inglese/collections/artisti/biografia.php?id_art=60, accessed 25 Oct 2018.

Sue
FULLER

Galinha (Hen), 1945

soft ground etching on paper

print edition: 17/50

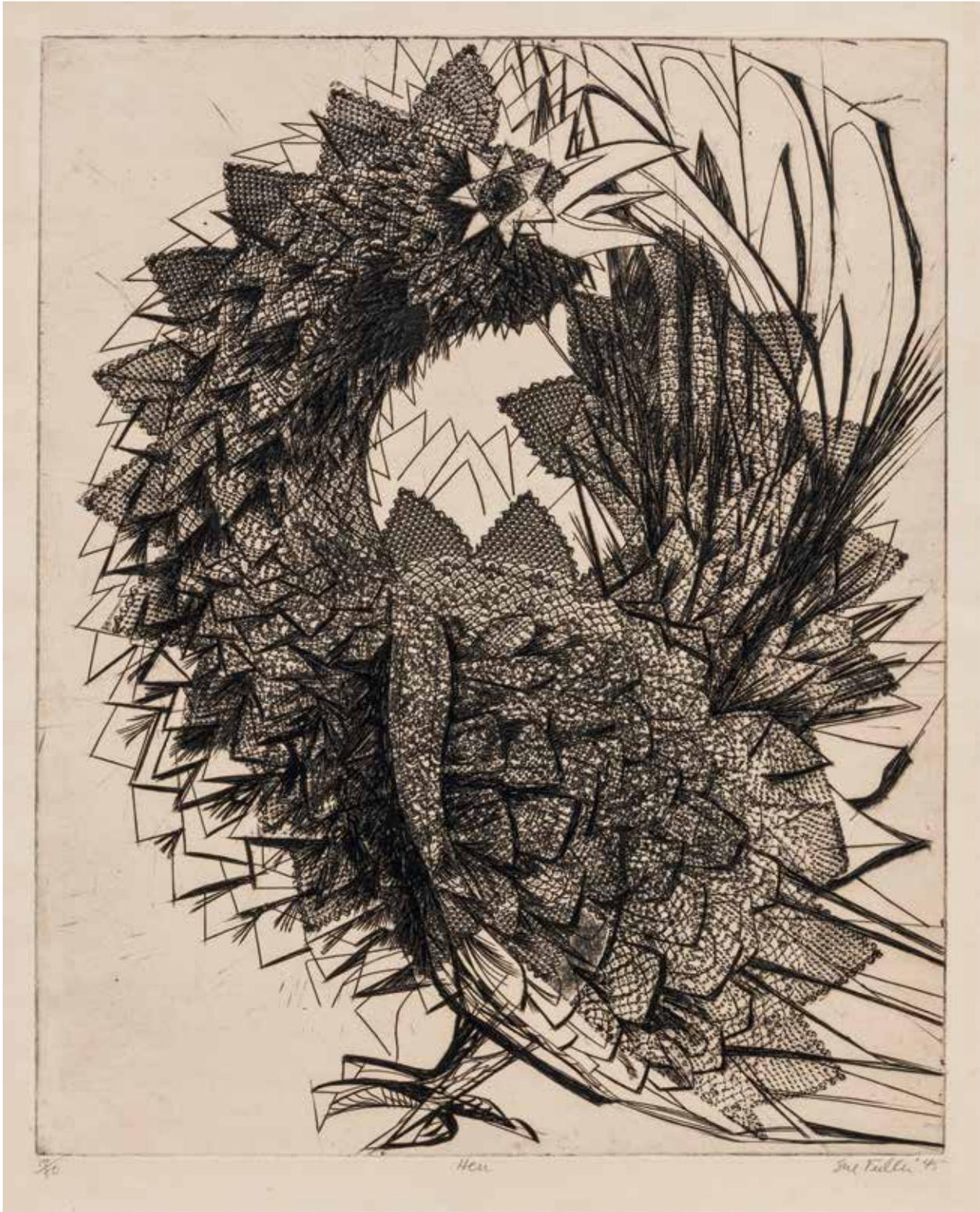
46,4 x 39 cm [37,4 x 30,3 cm]

Donation by MAM SP

Provenance: Acquired by Nelson Rockefeller
from Bertha Schaefer Gallery, in New York.

MAC USP Collection. 1963.3.145

Pittsburgh, PA, USA, 1914
South Hampton, NY, USA, 2006



Born in Pittsburgh and graduated from Carnegie Tech, Sue Fuller would become one of the better-known women artists associated with Atelier 17. She was one of the only female artists represented with multiple works at the iconic *Hayter and Studio 17: New Ways of Gravure* exhibition at MoMA (1944).

Hen is one of Sue Fuller's most famous prints. She produced four stages of this work. The first stage of *Hen* was created by overlapping two semicircular pieces of lace that formed the collar of one of her mother's dress. The following stages of the print show increased detailing of etched lines that form the feathers, head, and beak of the bird. This print was made after the death of the artist's mother and the selection of fabric suggests a deep personal connection and symbolic significance of this print.

Hen was made while Fuller was working as an assistant to Hayter. This print highlights her practice of incorporating textiles into the process of printmaking, a technique widely used by other Atelier 17 artists, most notoriously Louise Bourgeois and Hayter himself. "Instead of crosshatching, you could use a fabric and so it became a collage technique in metal plate", described Sue Fuller in an interview.¹

Aside from the popularity of the practice among other artists, the intensity of Fuller's interest in fabric was particularly heightened by a workshop she attended on the Bauhaus technique of weaving taught by Josef Albers in 1944, a year before she made *Hen*. Eventually, Fuller would abandon printmaking altogether and focus solely on creating sculptural string compositions during the 1950s.

1 Oral history interview with Sue Fuller, 1975 Apr. 24-May 8. Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution. <https://www.aaa.si.edu/collections/interviews/oral-history-interview-sue-fuller-13068#transcript>

Stanley William
HAYTER

London, England, 1901
Paris, France, 1988

Tarantela (Tarantelle), 1943

color soft ground etching and burin on paper

print edition: 27/50

64 x 38,5 cm (55,2 x 33 cm)

Donation by MAM SP

Provenance: Acquired by Nelson Rockefeller
through The Buchloz Gallery.

MAC USP Collection. 1963.3.169

© Hayter, Stanley William/AUTVIS, Brasil, 2019



For Hayter, there was an attitude of play in making prints. In **New Ways of Gravure** (1949), he compared printmaking to a game of chess. An experienced player would foresee results many steps ahead, while a novice would only be able to perceive the immediate consequence of a movement.

The constant pulling of proofs from each stage of a print was a common practice of the Atelier 17 and allowed artists to learn the effects of their decisions on the surface of the plate. This print is the sixth stage of *Tarantelle*, made by Hayter in 1943 and included in the MoMA exhibition *Hayter and Studio 17: New Directions in Gravure* that traveled throughout Latin America and was an important vehicle to circulate Hayter's disruptive ideas and unconventional attitudes towards printmaking.

Atelier 17 fostered a constant practice of discovery. The artist's movements on a plate should not depend on mechanical nor predictable decision. According to Hayter, risk was an essential aspect of artistic expression and failure was part of the process of creation:

The enriching of the artist's experience can only occur as he plays with the processes with a certain detachment from the result; the painful and accurate execution of a preconceived plan can only involve those means already familiar to him; and offer no new ones. I feel that in undertaking any graphic work, the artist places himself in a position to allow miracles to happen to him. Even though the position involves risk, he must retain a certain alertness, a kind of awareness, or the miracle will happen when he is not present (HAYTER, 1949).

Tarantelle is a print made in soft-ground technique. Hayter coated the plate with a wax resin and covered it with a sheet of paper. Drawing over the surface with a pencil allowed lines to be pressed onto the surface of the wax. Once the paper is removed from the plate, it is exposed the design (HAYTER, 1994, p. 6-13). To continue to develop further texture, it was a common practice at the Atelier 17 to incorporate a variety of textiles (silk, gauze, net, and even wood) to imprint different patterns. The fabrics were pushed into the resin creating volume. The plate was then dressed with varnish in certain sections and only specific portions were exposed to acid, creating the effect of an overlapping shadow. In *Tarantelle*, the combination of these two techniques create a couple of human-like figures (one made of line and the other of volume) that are entangled in a spirited dance.

Stanley William HAYTER

Cinq Personnages, 1946

engraving, soft-ground etching, silkscreen (printed in three colors: orange, turquoise-green and red-violet) on thick Kochi paper

print edition: trial proof for edition of 50

51,3 x 66,0 cm [37,5 x 60,6 cm]

Terra Foundation for American Art, Daniel J. Terra Collection. 1995.37

Stanley William Hayter, *Cinq Personnages*, 1946 • Engraving, soft-ground etching and silkscreen [printed in three colors: orange, turquoise-green and red-violet] on thick Kochi paper • 14 3/4 x 23 7/8 in. [37,5 x 60,6 cm] • Terra Foundation for American Art, Daniel J. Terra Collection, 1995.37

London, England, 1901

Paris, France, 1988

© Hayter, Stanley William/AUTVIS, Brasil, 2019



Cinq Personnages is a *tour de force* of Hayter's production as a printmaker. With its combination of media, writhing, biomorphic lines, and vibrant, unsettling colors, it speaks both to a particular moment in Hayter's life, as well as to the revolution he led in the field of printmaking.

Born in 1901 in London, Hayter studied chemistry at Kings College and worked for a time as a chemist in the Persian Gulf. In 1926 he moved to Paris to study art at the Académie Julian; finding the curriculum too conservative, he left the school and sought his own education. He began working with a Polish engraver named Joseph Hecht, who taught him copper engraving, a technique dating to the 15th century that had fallen out of fashion due to its exacting and time-consuming nature. But Hayter was fascinated by the expressiveness of copper engraving. On the smooth, metallic surface of copper, lines could be drawn directly onto the plate with a freedom that aligned with Hayter's artistic interest in automatic drawing and amorphous, organic shapes, or biomorphism.

In 1927 Hayter established the print studio Atelier 17 in Paris, which he relocated to New York City in 1940. The studio became renowned in both cities for Hayter's generosity, energy, creative expression, and embrace of both emerging and established artists. In 1950 Hayter and Atelier 17 returned to Paris, where the studio continued operating after Hayter's death and is known today as Atelier Contrepoint.

Hayter created *Cinq Personnages* in 1946, at the New York iteration of his Atelier 17 studio, and the print was exhibited at Laurel Gallery in 1949 alongside works by other Atelier 17 printers (GALLERY, 1949, p. 1). It is a technical and innovative masterpiece; Hayter was widely known as an experimental printmaker and teacher, a quality that infused his leadership of Atelier 17 in both Paris and New York. In a distinctly creative endeavor, Hayter applied three silkscreened colors (the layered swoops of orange, pink, and turquoise) on top of lines already engraved into a copper plate (GALLERY, 1949, p. 10), creating this image in a single pass instead of using individual plates for each color and each technique. The swirling lines and contorted figures — *cinq personnages* is French for “five figures” — describe something more anguished, however; this work was made in memorial for Hayter's son, David, who died of tuberculosis as a teenager.

Rockwell KENT

Tarrytown Heights, NY, USA, 1882
Plattsburgh, NY, USA, 1971

Flame, 1928

woodcut on ivory Japan paper

50,8 x 40,6 cm [20,3 x 14 cm]

print edition from an edition of 100

Terra Foundation for American Art, Daniel J.

Terra Collection. 1996.28

Rockwell Kent, *Flame*, 1928. • Wood engraving on ivory
Japan paper • [20,3 x 14 cm]. Terra Foundation for

American Art, Daniel J. Terra Collection

© Plattsburgh State Art Museum, Rockwell Kent Gallery
and Collection



An intrepid traveler and prolific artist, Rockwell Kent produced drawings, etchings, lithographs, wood engravings, book illustrations, paintings, and even houses — his earliest training was in architecture, which he studied at the University of Michigan and Columbia University from 1888 to 1902. In 1904 Kent enrolled in the New York School of Art, studying painting and drawing with William Merritt Chase (1849-1916), Robert Henri (1865-1929), and Kenneth Hayes Miller (1876-1952). After a summer studying with American artist and naturalist Abbott Handerson Thayer (1849-1921), Kent launched his career as a painter and illustrator.

For his prints, Kent worked exclusively with printer Elmer Adler and his New York City-based studio, Pynson Printers, from 1924 until it closed in 1940 (BURNE-JONES, 1975, p. 6). Kent's prints from the 1920s and 30s — in particular, a group of about 30 wood engravings similar in style and iconography to *Flame*, but created as individual works — derived their inspiration from sleek, powerful *Art Déco* aesthetics and from Kent's own travels to far-flung, unforgiving locations such as Alaska, Chile, Greenland, and Newfoundland. He recorded his travel experiences in texts and drawings, and the prints he made were disseminated widely, not only in the nine books and autobiographies he published with accompanying etchings and illustrations, but in popular magazines like **The Dial**, **Vanity Fair**, and **Harper's**.

Kent was a talented and meticulous printmaker, and made both woodblock prints (cutting into the smooth side of a block of wood) and wood engravings, like *Flame* (using the end-grain of a block of wood). In his 1934 book **How I Make a Woodcut** he explained the difference: “the side grain blocks are cut with a knife... the end grain blocks are cut with engraving tools identical with the tools used in engraving on metal. The technical result that is aimed at is that rare precision and that clean sharp line which cutting with edged tool invites” (BURNE-JONES, 1975, p. 6).

To create the composition for *Flame*, he cut thin, feathery lines around a tall, swaying blaze, dotted with hundreds of sparks that look like stars scattered across the dense, dark night sky. A naked man lies on a rocky slab at the bottom of the image, reaching up with the open palm of his left hand, as though to absorb energy from the strong flame. Behind him, two stark white peaks emphasize the emptiness of the landscape, and underscore the power in the man's yearning pose. Kent's adventures to remote environments spurred his contemplation of the natural world and human existence within it. These reflections permeate his artistic work, appearing vividly in this powerful, aspirational image.

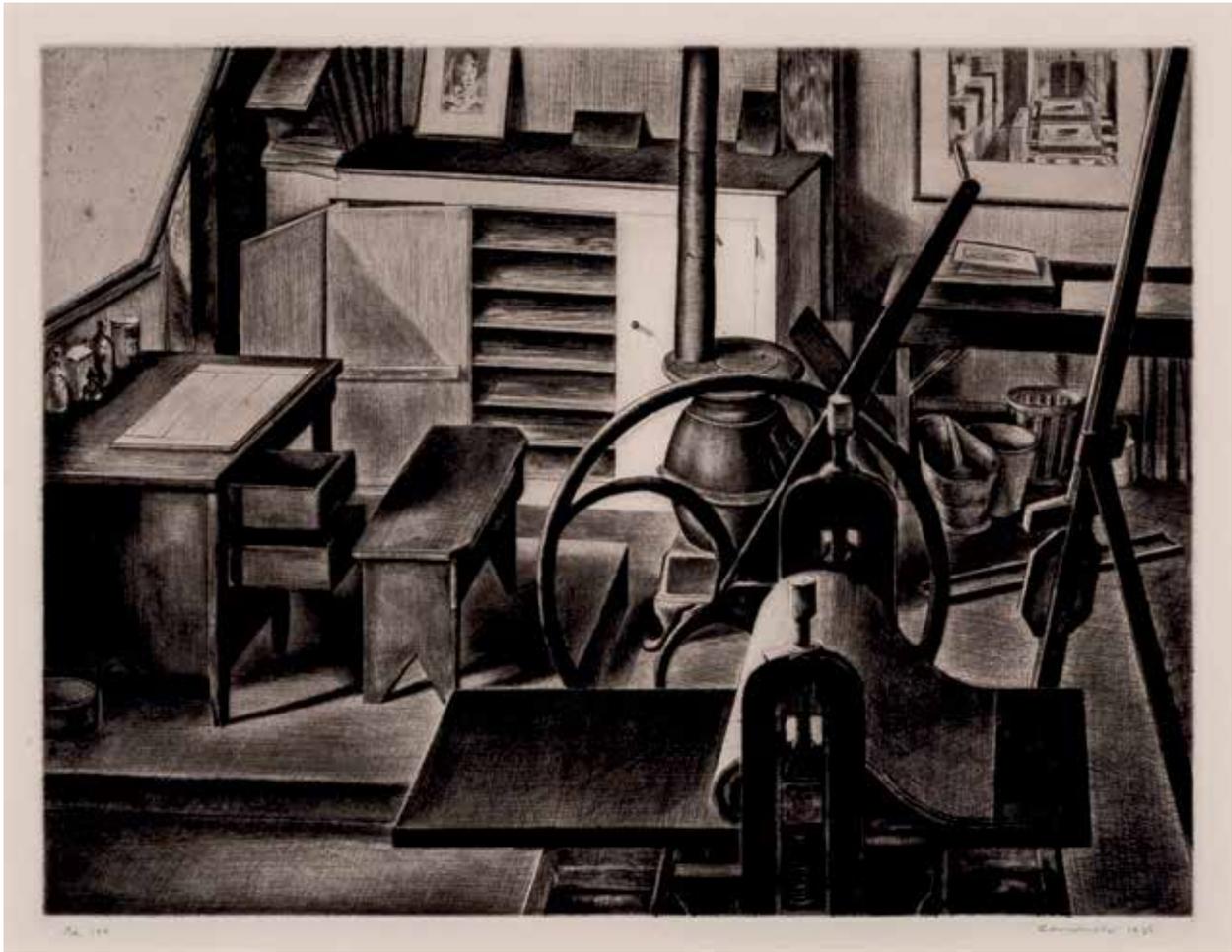
Armin
LANDECK

Crandon, WI, USA, 1905
East Cornwall, CT, USA, 1984

Studio Interior n° 1, 1935

dry-point on off-white wove paper
print edition: from an edition of 100
25,4 x 35,1 cm [20,3 x 26,7 cm]

Terra Foundation for American Art, Daniel J. Terra
Collection. 1996.31



Armin Landeck devoted himself to printmaking after a brief career in architecture was interrupted by the onset of the Great Depression. Returning from his honeymoon in Europe in 1929, Landeck purchased his first printing press and a home in East Cornwall, Connecticut. He would maintain this home for the rest of his life, but also eventually took an apartment in New York City, where he established a long and respected career teaching and producing etchings, dry-point prints, lithographs, and engravings.

With a background in architecture, Landeck naturally gravitated toward aerial cityscapes, room interiors, and close crops of building facades for the subjects of his prints; occasionally he produced portraits of himself and others, or included a figure passing on a sidewalk. His greater interest, however, appeared to be in rendering the complex layering of the skyscrapers of New York City, through which he deftly communicated deep shadows and bright planes of sunlight, or in depicting the accumulation of furnishings in a room, which demonstrated his interest in the treatment of shadow, depth, and tone.

Studio Interior n° 1, the first of two interior scenes Landeck made of his workspaces, depicts the studio at his home in East Cornwall. In this contemplative view the clean, orderly room is devoid of the activities of work in progress, but stands at the ready for printmaking, as indicated by the empty press and open desk drawers and cabinet doors. The dry-point process, drawing onto a metal plate with a sharp metal or diamond needle (much like one draws on paper with a pencil), allowed the artist to create nuances of volume and shadow with miniscule hatch marks. Landeck was an active member of the Society of American Etchers as well as its succeeding organization, the Society of American Graphic Artists, and showed his work frequently (KRAEFT, 1994, p. 11). By 1937 Landeck's work had gained the critical reception and respect of his peers, and he was elected to the National Academy of Design.

In 1941, Landeck's technique and style changed dramatically upon meeting Stanley William Hayter and joining Atelier 17 in New York, where he spent a month learning how to make copper plate engravings. In the following years, Landeck's prints became infused with a visible energy, a lasting effect of Hayter's influence. Typically quiet interior scenes, like *Studio Interior*, and aerial city views were overlaid with densely drawn intersecting and radiating lines, suggesting a sophisticated physical manifestation of movement, depth, light, and shadow.

Armin
LANDECK

Crandon, WI, USA, 1905
East Cornwall, CT, USA, 1984

Passagem no Beco (Alleyway), 1948

burin and dry-point on paper

print edition: 100

46 x 28,1 cm [34,9 x 17,7 cm]

Donation by MAM SP

Provenance: Acquired by Nelson Rockefeller
through Kennedy & Co.

MAC USP Collection. 1963.3.204



Graduated in architecture from Columbia University, Armin Landeck's interest for buildings and cityscapes is often translated to his prints. *Alleyway* is part of a series of engravings he developed in the late 1940s that investigated the inner workings of New York. Landeck's cities are often unpopulated and viewed from unusual angles. It is not the New York of monumental architecture and iconic skyscrapers, but a solitary urban maze of dark passages, dingy fire escapes and lonely rooftops.

In *Alleyway* the vertical orientation and narrow dimensions of this print create a sense of confinement. The gated street is inhospitable, lifeless and uninviting. The only reminder of human activity is the bottom-half of a sign from a commercial establishment that reads "delivery in rear".

About this print, Landeck said: "the mosaics were my idea. Actually, the ground was covered with just plain cement. I added the patterns. I did an awful lot of walking around in those days" (KRAEFT, 1994, p. 103).

At the time Landeck made this print, he was already an experienced teacher and awarded artist. In the 1930s, during the Great Depression, Landeck partnered with Martin Lewis and George Miller to open an experimental teaching studio. This endeavor responded to the increased interest in the printmaking in the United States, however, due to the harsh economic climate, it did not last more than a couple months. In 1941, Hayter invited Landeck to attend Atelier 17, where he produced his first copper engraving. The experience at the atelier stimulated his extensive lifelong use of copper engraving, although he continued to use other printmaking techniques.

Despite the contact with Hayter, Landeck's prints would remain figurative and realistic. Only later in his career, he started to explore geometric abstraction in prints that continued to focus mainly on architectural themes and the urban environment.

Landeck described how he combined different techniques:

I experimented with several so-called 'mixed' techniques and found the combination of dry-point and engraving proved most satisfactory for my purpose. First, I worked over the entire plate with dry-point needle, developing a tonal pattern and indicating textures with very fine, closely laid line, then removing the burr with a scraper. Next, I worked over this tonal base with a burin, cutting deeper lines, developing accents, and providing clearer definition. Last, I used the needle again, but this time I left the burr along the lines to add emphasis to the print (LANDECK, 1976, p. 314-316).

Landeck never worked from a finished drawing, but used diagrams to help define areas of the composition. With the dry-point he drew lines, diagonals and parallels, across the plate to help organize the architectural proportions and space of his prints. Then, with the use of a burin, he would add further detail and emphasis to the print.

The print *Alleyway* was shown at the Master Prints exhibition at MoMA, in 1949, and in the *National Print Annual* at the Brooklyn Museum in the same year. Landeck also showed three prints from this same period in the *American Pavilion* exhibition organized by MoMA during the I São Paulo Biennial in 1951.

Blanche
LAZZELL

Maidsville, WV, USA, 1878
Morgantown, WV, USA, 1956

Still Life, 1919 (matriz/block cut),
1931 (impressão/printed)

color woodcut

print edition: 2/4

42,2 x 39,4 cm [29,2 x 30,2 cm]

Terra Foundation for American Art,
Daniel J. Terra Collection 1996.32



Born in 1878 in Maidsville, West Virginia, Blanche Lazzell was a lifelong student of art, studying in New York with William Merritt Chase (1849-1916), in Paris at the Académie Julien, and with friends and colleagues in her adopted home of Provincetown, Massachusetts.

While she considered herself a painter first, Blanche Lazzell became well known as a leading maker of white-line woodcut prints, as well as an active contributor to a group of artists, mostly female printmakers, known as the Provincetown Printers. Some members had been taught traditional Japanese woodblock printing by Arthur Wesley Dow (SCHAPIRO, 2002, p. 13) while others worked with an innovative method which became called the “white-line woodcut.” Rather than the traditional method, used by Dow, of cutting each individual segment of a print into separate blocks, the white-line method involved cutting the entire image into a single block, applying colors to each section of the block separately. Lazzell became proficient in this technique, creating multiple prints in various color schemes by painting and re-painting the block. An astute record-keeper of both her personal and artistic life, she preserved her original blocks, using them to make new prints years later (ACTON, 2004, p. 180).

This block for *Still Life* was cut in 1919,¹ at the height of public and critical interest in the Provincetown Printers, who were given an exhibition at the Detroit Institute of Art in November of that year. A print date of 1931, however, suggests that *Still Life* may have been one of many prints Lazzell made during the Great Depression and sold cheaply in an effort to make ends meet (DOLL, sd, p. 41). *Still Life* shows a gathering of objects near the edge of a table — a small pedestal, two bowls, a rectangular box, and a quill. Lazzell’s jewel-tone, segmented style aligns with the geometric abstract paintings she began making in the early 1920s. An avid modernist, she was passionate about harmony and composition. In a letter to her sister, she wrote: “...[T]he forms and colors must be so related to make unity, rhythm, balance, etc. A piece of music is a composition of sounds. [My work] is a composition of color.” (DOLL, sd, p.38)

¹ The block lives in the collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. *The Red Quill and Hills*, double-sided woodblock, hand painted, 1919 and 1920. Gift of Leslie and Johanna Garfield, 2001.878.

Boris
MARGO

O Mar (The Sea), 1948/49

cellocut in colors on paper

print edition: 1/10

52,8 x 46,2 cm [42,1 x 42,2 cm]

Donation by MAM SP

Provenance: Donation by Nelson Rockefeller, 1951.

Volotshyk, Ukraine, 1902

Hyannis, MA, USA, 1995

Acquired from Jacques Seligman & Co Gallery.

MAC USP Collection. 1963.3.222



Born in a small village between the border of Austria and Russia, Margo graduated from the Polytechnik of Art at Odessa (1918-1923). He later moved to Leningrad, where he studied paintings in the Hermitage Museum by Hieronymus Bosch (1450-1516) and Pieter Brueghel (1525-1569), developing an increased interest for fantastic and mystical compositions. Because of the somber imagery that characterized his prints – as can be seen in *The Sea* – students and art critics often referred to him as “Morbid Margo”.

An important early influence was the teachings of Pavel Filonov, a Russian avant-garde painter associated with the Analytical Art movement that valued inner subjectivity, creative expression and automatic drawing. In 1928, the Soviet government granted Margo permission to study abroad. He traveled to Montreal, Canada, to work as a muralist before immigrating permanently to the United States in 1930.

Margo was a highly inventive artist. He developed various new techniques in painting and printmaking. He is well-known for having created the process of “decalcomania”, a painting method in which liquid paint is pressed and transferred to another surface, producing abstract shapes and textures, a technique also used by Surrealist artist Max Ernst.

In printmaking, Margo invented the cellocut, in which celluloid sheet is mixed with acetate and poured over a hard surface, often cardboard or wood¹. Once the mixture is dry and hardened, it can be etched on by using different tools, serving as a creative

¹ Technical entry to be discussed. Reference: <http://suart.syr.edu/wp-content/uploads/2013/02/1968-Boris-Margo-Graphic-Work-1932-1968.pdf>. Accessed Oct., 20, 2018.

alternative to wood or copper plates. He started experimenting with cellocut in 1932 out of necessity, during the Great Depression, to circumvent the lack of available artistic supplies. Margo gradually discovered this material was flexible enough that it could easily be dissolved and manipulated, creating new visual possibilities.

The print *The Sea* is a cellocut in which the celluloid mixture was poured over a Plywood base. Margo used a larger wood panel and a smaller free form celluloid plate placed over the wood. The blue and black patterns obtained from inking the wood grains create wave-like shapes that form the background of the composition. In the forefront, a phantasmagorical vessel is made from a free form celluloid plate, inked separately in black, and placed over the plywood base. The entire piece is put through an etching press in one single printing (JOHNSON, 1956, p. 33-34).

Although Margo never worked at Atelier 17, he was very much a part of the innovative printmaking environment of New York in the mid-1940s due to his technical contributions to the medium. He exhibited alongside many other Atelier 17 artists in different occasions, such as *Master Prints* at MoMA (1949) and in *14 Painter-Printmakers* at the Brooklyn Museum, where his works were shown with Atelier 17 artists, Jen Geb (Margo's wife), Minna Citron, Worden Day, Seong Moy, Alice Mason, Karl Schrag, Louis Schanker and Gabor Peterdi — all represented in this exhibition. Margo was more closely associated to the Graphic Circle at the Jacques Seligman & Co, gallery from which the print *The Sea* was acquired.

John
MARIN

Brooklyn Bridge n° 6, 1913

etching on off white wove paper

print edition: from an edition of about 12

39,7 x 34,6 cm [27,3 x 22,4 cm]

Rutherford, NJ, USA, 1870

Addison, ME, USA, 1953

Terra Foundation for American Art, Daniel J. Terra
Collection. 1995.15



Born in 1870, John Marin was raised in Weehawken, New Jersey, just outside the growing metropolis of New York City. After several fruitless attempts at higher education, Marin's father sent him to Paris to study art in an effort to secure a means of living for his son. After five years abroad, Marin returned to the United States in 1911 and was astonished by the rapid growth and new energy New York had developed while he was away.

In 1911, Marin produced two etchings in the academic style he had honed in Paris. However, he was dissatisfied; the delicacy and restraint of these prints did not adequately convey the bustle of New York's expanding urban scene. In 1913, Marin returned to etching with a different approach through which he responded to and channeled the pace and cadence of this "new" city. Adjusting his style to be more consistent with his subject matter, he turned his attention, as he put it, to the "great forces at work; great movements; the large buildings and the small buildings..." and the "influences of one mass on another greater or smaller mass" (ZIGROSSER, 1969, p. 16).

Brooklyn Bridge n° 6 conveys New York City's character through its dynamic line quality and dizzyingly active composition. The image is almost exclusively composed of diagonal lines, which converge near the base of one of the bridge's monumental towers. Marin exaggerates the tower's height by tapering the form as it rises, dwarfing the picture's solitary figure. In an effort to make this etching less static, Marin left only the implications of forms instead of solid shapes. For instance, cables stretching to the top and sides of the composition remain suspended in the air instead of connecting to the bridge's central tower. Marin made his etchings using only the intaglio process, so the soft tonal values in *Brooklyn Bridge* were achieved solely through his virtuosic manipulation of ink on the etching plate during printing.

Marin was prolific during his long career and showed with galleries in Chicago, New York, and Paris before joining Alfred Stieglitz's gallery 291 in 1909 (ZIGROSSER, 1969, p. 12)¹. Stieglitz, a photographer and passionate proponent of modern art, exhibited Marin's work consistently in solo and group exhibitions. Along with producing 500 oil paintings and 2,500 watercolors, he made approximately 185 etchings, which, after 1911, focused exclusively on the development of New York City's architecture.

¹ See too About John Marin, **Becoming John Marin: Modernist at Work**, <https://www.becomingjohnmarin.org/about>, accessed Oct. 24 2018.

Seong
MOY

*Pequeno Ato a Cavalo (The Little Act on
Horseback), 1949*

color woodcut on paper

print edition: 11/13

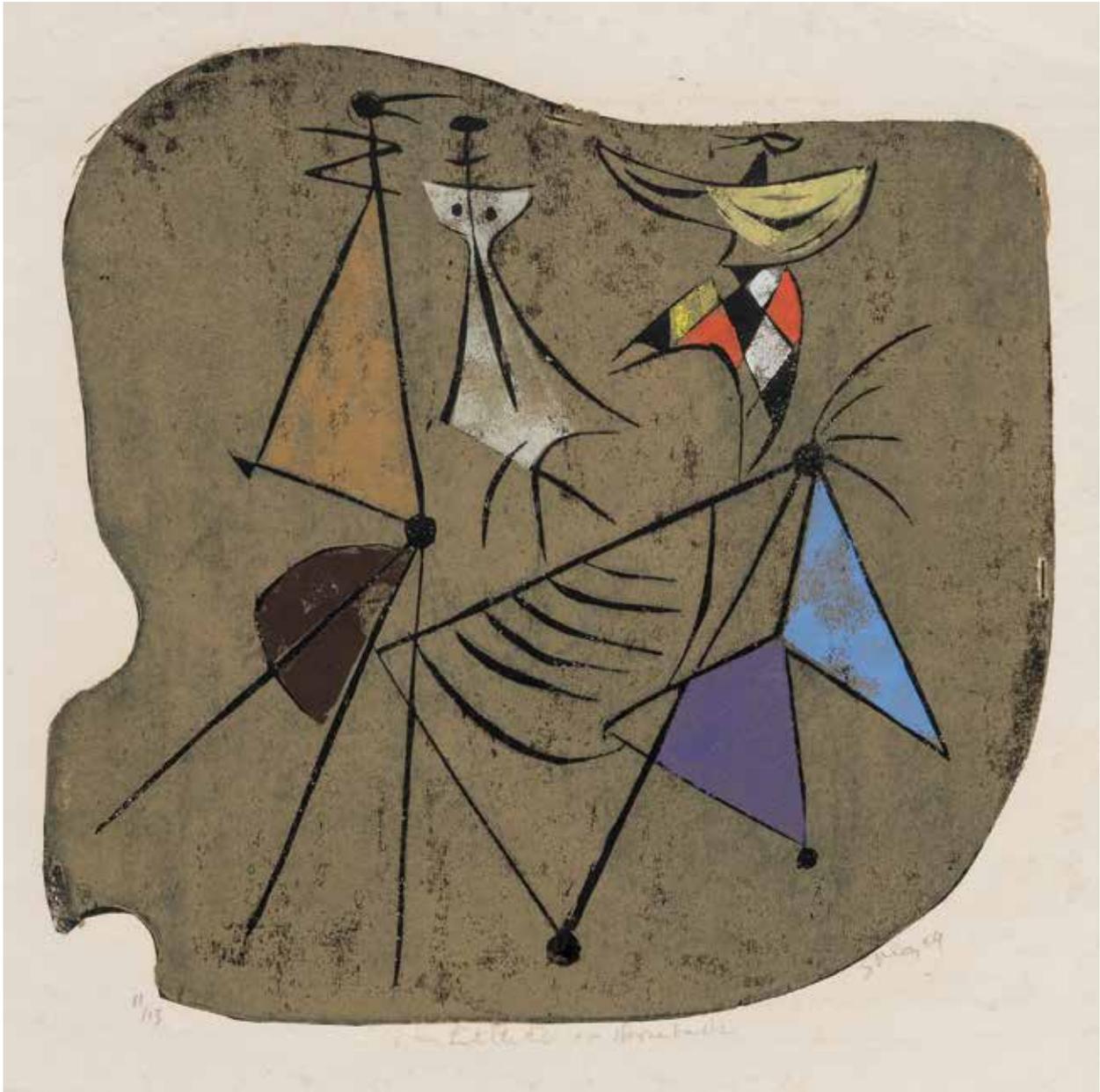
56,5 x 46 cm [31,5 x 32 cm]

Donation by MAM SP

Provenance: Donation by Nelson Rockefeller, 1951.

Canton, China, 1921
New York, NY, USA, 2013

Acquired from Jacques Seligman & Co Gallery
MAC USP Collection. 1963.3.241



Although many of the other artists at Atelier 17 were developing metal-based engravings, Moy dedicated himself almost exclusively to woodcuts, one of his best-known techniques. This print was made during the time the artist was working at Atelier 17 and exemplifies Moy's vibrant use of color. A series of prints made by him in this period evoke narratives from the theater or circus, such as *The Little Act on Horseback*, that depicts three human stick-like figures, dressed in colorful costumes, conducting a lively performance with a horse.

Seong Moy first met Hayter in 1948 at a competition organized by the Print Club in Philadelphia. Hayter was sitting on the jury that gave Seong Moy the first award in printmaking of his career. Shortly after, Hayter invited Moy to attend the Atelier 17 on a scholarship. From 1948 to 1950, he worked at the studio, alongside other artists such as Karl Schrag and Gabor Peterdi, as well as visiting artists such as Joan Miró, André Masson and Marc Chagall.

"I think it was probably the most ideal situation for any artist who has some background (...) What is done there is not teaching; it's an exchange of points of view, exchange of ideas", said Seong Moy, describing the creative environment at Atelier 17 and the relationship between the artists¹.

Seong Moy was born in China and emigrated to the United States as a child to live with distant relatives. His first experience with art was during the Works and Progress Administration Federal Art Project workshops set up in St. Paul, Minnesota during the mid-1930s. He later graduated from the St. Paul School of Art (1936-1940). Pressured to work in the family restaurant, Moy fled to New York as a young adult to develop an independent career as an artist. In New York, he attended the Art Students League and the Hans Hofmann School of Art (1941-1942), before being invited to join Atelier 17.

His work was exhibited in groups shows in several prominent U.S. institutions and, in Brazil, two of his works were included in the II Biennial of Art of São Paulo (1953).

1 Oral history interview with Seong Moy, 1971, Jan. p. 18-28. Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

Gabor
PETERDI

Marca da Lagosta (Sign of the Lobster),
1947/1948

soft color ground etching and aquatint on paper

print edition: 12/30

66,5 x 50,9 cm [50,4 x 37,7 cm]

Donation by MAM SP

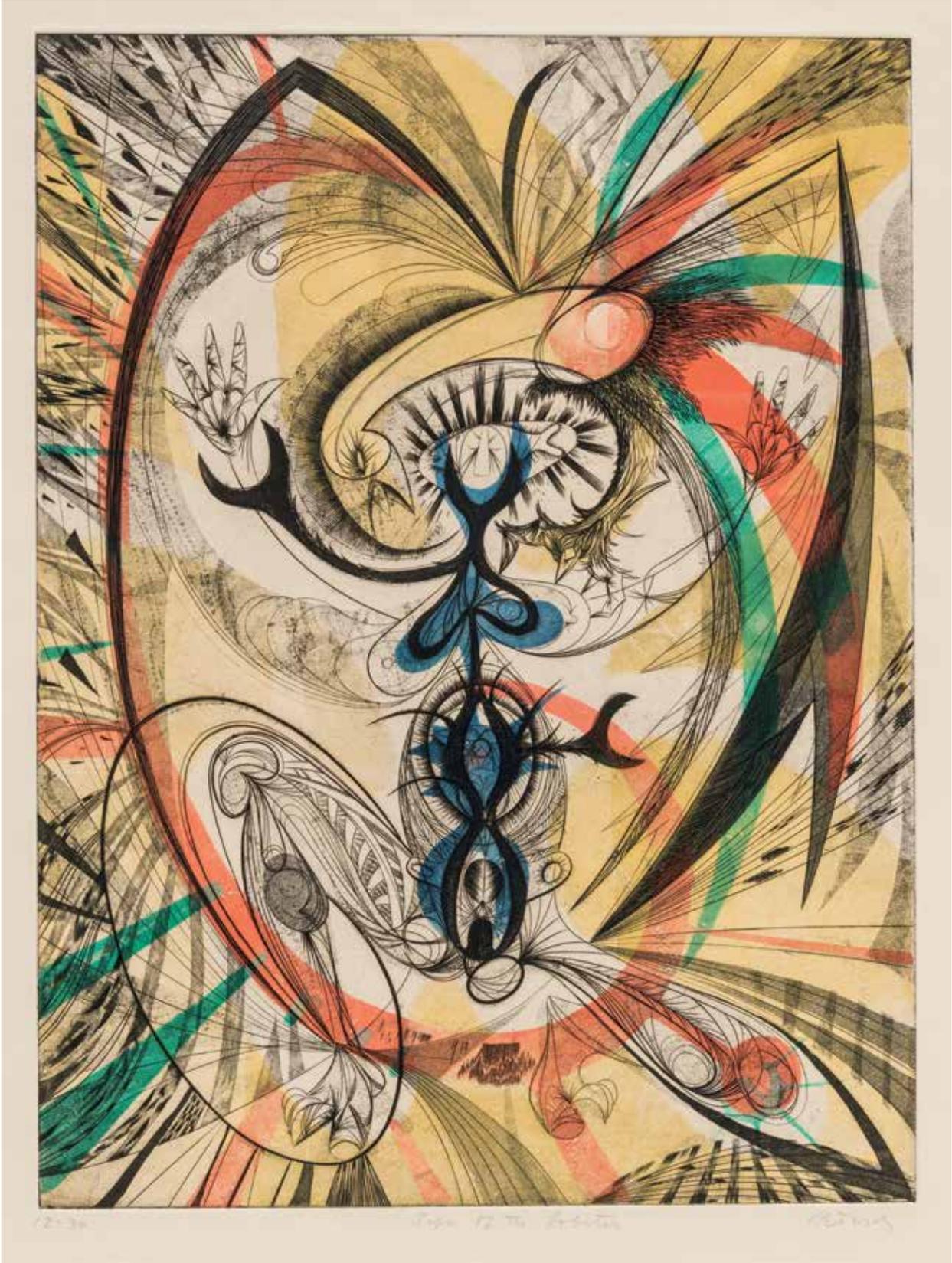
Provenance: Donation by Nelson Rockefeller, 1951.

Budapest, Hungary, 1915

Stamford, CT, USA, 2001

Acquired directly from The Artist

MAC USP Collection. 1963.3.264



Gabor Peterdi initiated his collaboration with Hayter in the original Paris studio in 1933. Peterdi was about 18 years old, when he left his native Hungary to study art in Italy and France, after receiving a Prix de Rome scholarship. He remained at the Paris-based Atelier 17 until 1939, later moving to the United States, because of the increased hostilities during World War II. He rejoined Hayter's studio in New York only in 1946.

Sign of the Lobster is often cited as one of Peterdi's first color prints. In 1947, he started experimenting with the application of watercolor brushed onto the engravings with stencils. In this print, the artist designed an anthropomorphic figure with female-suggested forms at the center. The figure is engulfed by an array of primal colors (yellow, green, orange, black, blue) that are applied onto the print in multiple layers of stenciling.

For Peterdi, color printing presented one of the greatest challenges in the field:

In combination intaglio printing, the registering is particularly difficult because of the expanding and shrinking of wet paper. One of the most important innovations that eliminated this problem was the combination of intaglio plates with stenciled surface colors. At first, we used paper stencils and applied color with gelatin rollers on the inked intaglio plate. This, of course, had great limitations, but was effective if the concept of the image did not require color textures or tonal modulations (...) I experimented extensively with the combination of intaglio and offset colors. To begin I used only the stencil on the plate, then I stenciled on the paper and overprinted it with the intaglio plate that carries other stenciled colors. This increased the richness, but still did not give me enough freedom (PETERDI, 1964, p. 9-12).

Peterdi would continue to expand the possibilities of the color printing by incorporating linoleum cuts over the printed plate, synthetic rubber molds or cutting the plate and inking different segments with colors to obtain more complex and nuanced tonal gradations.

Peterdi was an established teacher and prolific writer of printmaking books and texts. He founded and directed the Graphic Workshop at the Brooklyn Museum Art School (1948-1952), and taught at Hunter College (1952-1960) and Yale University School of Art (1960-1987).

Walter
ROGALSKI

Fiddlers (Caranguejos), s.d.

etching and burin on paper

print edition: 173/200

41,1 x 77,2 cm [35,2 x 44,1 cm]

Donation by MAM SP

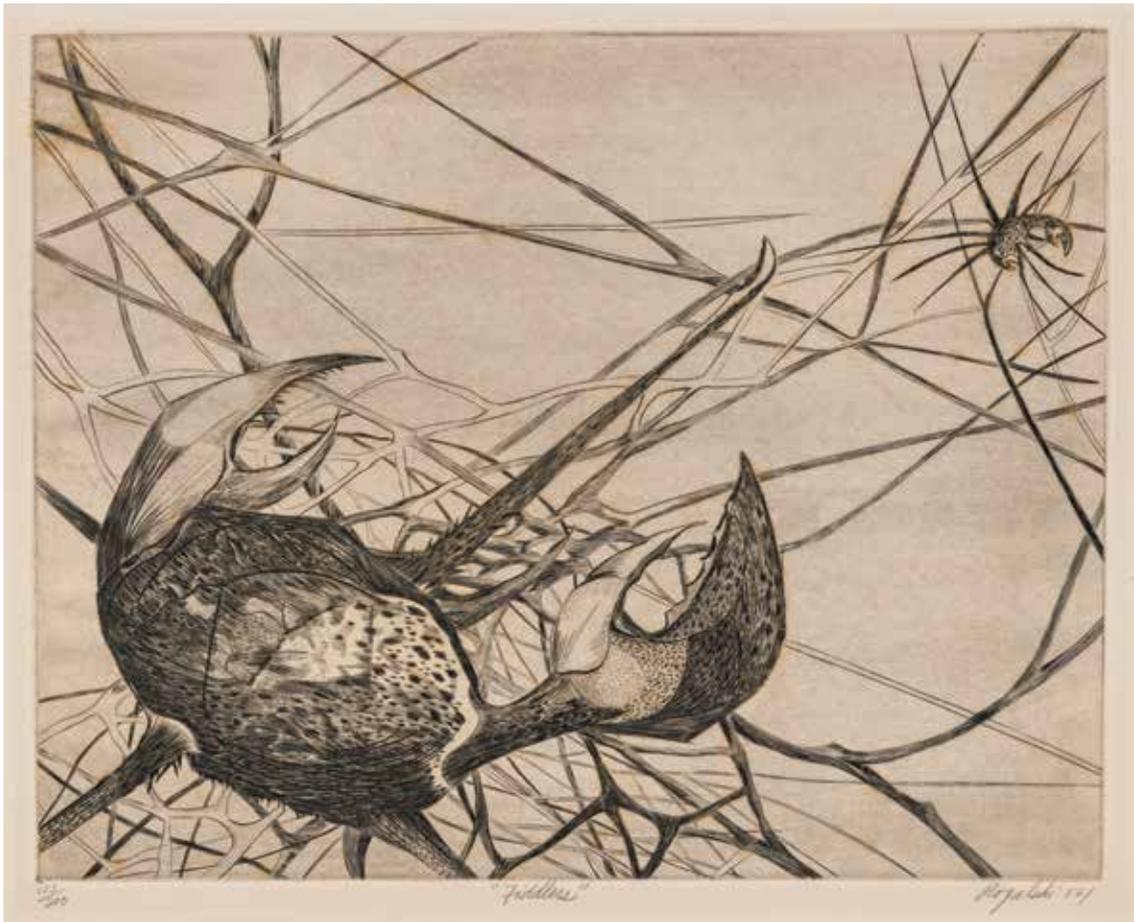
Provenance: Acquired by collector

Lessing Rosenwald.

MAC USP Collection. 1963.3.321

Glen Cove, NY, USA, 1923

New York, NY, USA, 1996



Insects, plants, corals, birds and shellfish often populate Walter Rogalski's highly imaginative and fantastical prints. Rogalski was a student and an assistant of Atelier 17 artist Gabor Peterdi at the Brooklyn Museum Art School for over two years, an artist that also delved into themes involving sea creatures, such as can be seen in *Sign of the Lobster*. Despite that fact, both artists produced prints with very different aesthetic and technical results.

Although Rogalski did experiment with other processes of printmaking while he was studying with Peterdi, his most known works are pure engravings, often only in black and white, with extreme attention to detailed drawing, an opposite approach to the automatism commonly stimulated by Hayter at the Atelier 17.

This print evidences Rogalski's inclination to expand and challenge the limits of the natural world, creating unnerving images. In this print, monstrous-like beings mesh morphological characteristics of a crab, with sharp-edged claws, with the stems, thorns and roots of a plant. The crab in the foreground is placed in an interconnected web and it embodies a both menacing and defensive attitude towards the second creature in the background, featuring long legs of a spider or insect. The title of the work, *Fiddlers*, helps define the treacherous and deceptive qualities of the figures, adding to the level of tension in the work.

In the early 1950s, Rogalski showed many of his works in the *National Print* exhibitions organized by the Brooklyn Museum, and in a collective exhibition at MoMA in 1952 to showcase young artists in American printmaking (ELLIOT, 1952). His work was shown in galleries and museums, and acquired by important print collectors, such as Lessing Rosenwald, a major art collector from Chicago who acquired *Fiddlers* and later donated this print to the Museum of Modern Art of São Paulo in 1956.

Louis
SCHANKER

Carnaval (Carnival), 1945

color woodcut on paper

print edition: 2/30

46 x 61,2 cm [36,5 x 53,7 cm]

Donation by MAM SP

Provenance: Donation by Nelson Rockefeller, 1951.

Acquired from Jacques Seligman & Co Gallery
in New York.

New York, NY, USA, 1903

New York, NY, USA, 1981

MAC USP Collection. 1963.3.331



Louis Schanker shared his studio at the School for Social Research so Hayter could establish Atelier 17 in New York. When Hayter arrived in the United States, Schanker was already deeply involved in experimenting with modern printmaking techniques, specially color woodcuts.

In the 1930s, Schanker had coordinated print workshops of the Works and Progress Administration, a U.S. government-funded program to stimulate the arts during the years of the Great Depression. Schanker was an active voice in the artistic community, participating in groups that protested the lack of abstract art in American museums. In 1943, the Brooklyn Museum organized the first major solo show of his prints. Together with Boris Margo, he participated in the Graphic Circle exhibitions at the Jacques Seligman & Co Gallery, through which the print *Carnival* was acquired.

Hayter and Schanker established a fruitful collaborative relationship and nurtured a mutual admiration of each other's accomplishments. In *About Prints* (1962), Hayter reproduced an abstract color woodcut by Schanker, recognizing his impact among other artists: "Schanker inducted a great number of young Americans into the craft of woodcut — more especially his particular technique of printing from different blocks wet on wet, to give results approaching the richness and complexity of oil painting" (HAYTER, 1964).

Carnival is an example of the overprinting color technique described by Hayter in 1962. In this print, Schanker used multiple blocks, each painted with a different color, to achieve a print that combines vibrant colors with simple geometrical abstract shapes, creating both a playful and energetic print that registers the essence of this popular festivity.

Books and magazines were an important means of circulation of the ideas and aesthetics of experimental printmaking in this period. *Carnival* was published in **The Tiger's Eye on Arts and Letter**, founded by artists John and Ruth Stephan, in an edition on June of 1948 (FRANKS, 2002, p. 60-65). Many Atelier 17 artists had their works and essays on printmaking published in this magazine, an important outlet for new experimentation in the graphic arts of the 1940s and 1950s. This print also was presented in at least two MoMA exhibitions: *Some American Prints from the Museum Collection* (1951) and *Recent American Woodcuts* (1952).

William
ZORACH

Mountain Stream, 1915

linocut on off-white Japan paper

print edition: size unknown

37,7 x 46,5 cm [27,6 x 35,6 cm]

Terra Foundation for American Art, Daniel J. Terra
Collection. 1996.46

Jurbarkas, Lithuania, 1887

Bath, ME, USA, 1966

William Zorach, *Mountain Stream*, 1915. Linocut on off-white
Japan paper [tissue thin], 10 7/8 x 14 in (27.6 x 35.6 cm).

Terra Foundation for American Art, Daniel J. Terra Collection,
1996.46. The Zorach Collection, LCC



William Zorach began his artistic career as a lithographic assistant in Cleveland, Ohio, where his family settled after emigrating from Lithuania. He studied painting at the Cleveland School of the Arts and at the National Academy of Design in New York City, before enrolling in painting classes at La Palette, a progressive art school in Paris. He returned to New York around 1912 and shortly after married fellow artist Marguerite Thompson, whom he had met in Paris.

Zorach continued to paint, inspired by avant-garde techniques he had learned in France; his canvases favored the bold, bright colors of the Fauves and the blocky figures and layered compositions of the Cubists. He made his last painting in 1922 and from then on, worked exclusively in sculpture, becoming nationally recognized for his work in this media. The bridge spanning his shift from painting to sculpture were his linocuts.

Zorach's prints are rare; he made 31 prints between 1915 and 1921, and this edition of *Mountain Stream* is one in a print run of four. Cut with the kind of wedged carving knife used in woodcut engraving but on a linoleum support, a linocut is able to generate textures similar to a woodcut, but is easier to produce, due to the smoother, more supple nature of linoleum. Zorach used the medium in various ways, creating exhibition announcements, labels for his painting stretchers (BURK, 2002, p. 356), and narrative works like *Mountain Stream*, an idyllic scene of bathers swimming in a stream and lounging in the water. Zorach was also a poet, and he published both his writing and his linocuts in magazines like **The Quill** and **Dial** (BURK, 2002, p. 355).

In *Mountain Stream*, Zorach employed the densely layered, abstracted style of his paintings, describing figures and fauna in compact sections of pattern and shape. His skillful understanding of positive and negative space allowed for a faceted depiction of both movement and stillness, seen at left in two figures gliding through a stream, and at right in a figure bathing in a pool, two rounded white lines indicating the ripples she makes while standing in the water. The physical construction of the linocuts, and the use of positive and negative space to build an image with dimension and form, helped Zorach move from the two dimensions of painting to the three dimensions of sculpture.

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Glossary

By Ruth Fine

To offer some essential data about printmaking, it is an art of multiple originals, in which images are fashioned in repeated impressions (called editions that range from small ones of ten or fewer sheets to some that number in the thousands), printed from a matrix created by an artist (or artisan on behalf of an artist) and transferred to paper, plastic, cloth, or other material. Within each print technique are individualized variations, ranging from work in black and white, to the use of a monochromatic or full color palette. The latter two employ multiple matrices and/or variation in ways of applying several colors of ink to a single one.

Relief most often wood- and linoleum-cuts, for example William Zorach's *Mountain Stream*, (**cat. 53**) and wood engravings (cut from end-grain wood rather than plank) such as John Ferren's *Sea Forms*, (**cat. 16**);

Intaglio the process group favored at Atelier 17, and most fully represented throughout this exhibition, is generally worked on metal plates (traditionally iron, copper, and zinc) using linear processes of engraving, dry-point — for example, Armin Landeck's *Studio Interior n° 1*, (**cat. 34**), and hard-and soft-ground etching, in which tone may be developed with layered hatching; plus specifically tonal processes of mezzotint, aquatint and variations of open-bite and spit-bite, “bite” referencing the action of acid on the metal that bites away open areas of the plate;

Lithography calls for chemical rather than physical alterations to limestone (traditionally) or specially prepared metal plates, for example, Stuart Davis, *Rue des Rats* (**cat. 11**);

Screenprint a stencil process credited as having been brought into the fine art realm by Guy Maccoy (1904-1981), who learned the technique while working for a commercial printer. Maccoy's *Woman with Cat*, 1932 (**see page 53**) is considered among the first screenprints to be printed in a limited edition by a fine-artist. At the time, these were referred to commercially as silkscreens, while fine-art editions went under the rubric of *serigraphy* to distinguish them from those made by their commerce-driven colleagues. The distinction became irrelevant as other processes supplanted silkscreen in the commercial sphere, and the term *screenprint* came into use when silk was no longer generally used for the printing screen;

Monotype is painted or drawn with ink or paint onto a flat surface, such as metal or glass, which is then transferred to paper or other support to create a unique printed image, possibly with second or third ghost-like impressions. Monotypes are distinct from *monoprints*, which are uniquely printed impressions from any of the matrices listed above that are altered either dimensionally or chemically.

List of Works



ABRAMO, Lívio

Araraquara, SP, Brazil, 1903
Asuncion, Paraguay, 1992

Macumba, 1953 (**cat. 01**)

woodcut on paper, print editions,
32 x 26,7 cm [25,5 x 22 cm], Donation by
MAM SP, MAC USP Collection. 1963.3.385



BARROS, Geraldo de

Chavantes, SP, Brazil, 1923
São Paulo, SP, Brazil, 1998

Abstração, 1951 (**cat. 02**)

aquatint and etching on paper,
28,2 x 22,6 cm [23,9 x 17,7 cm], Donation
by artist, MAC USP Collection. 1979.16.31



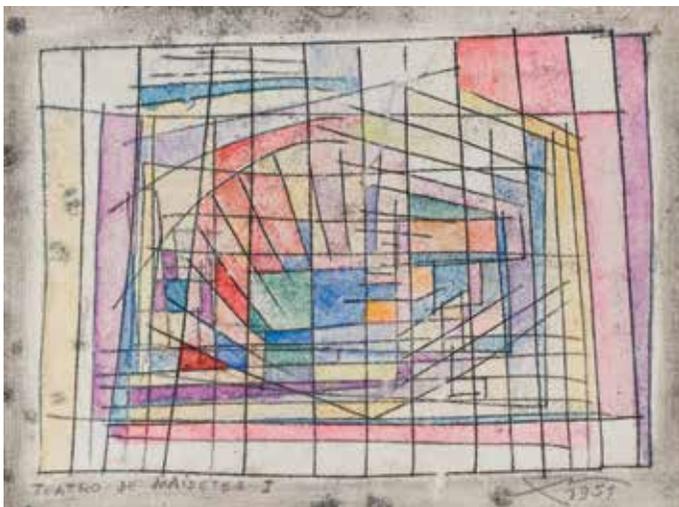
BARROS, Geraldo de

Chavantes, SP, Brazil, 1923

São Paulo, SP, Brazil, 1998

Pássaro Noturno, 1951 (**cat. 03**)

etching and nanquim on paper, print editions, 18,8 x 26,1 cm [14,2 x 21 cm],
Donation by artist, MAC USP Collection. 1990.12.78



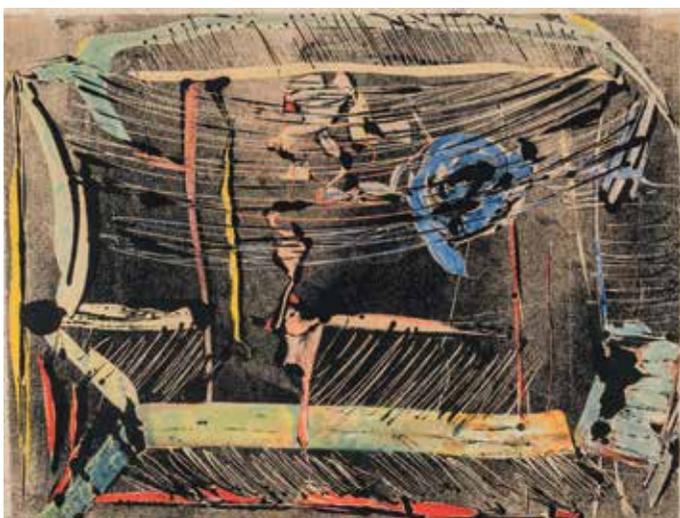
BARROS, Geraldo de

Chavantes, SP, Brazil, 1923

São Paulo, SP, Brazil, 1998

Teatro de Maidetes I, 1951 (**cat. 04**)

monotype on paper (hand-colored),
19,1 x 25,6 cm [19,1 x 25,6 cm], Donation
by artist, MAC USP Collection. 1990.12.83

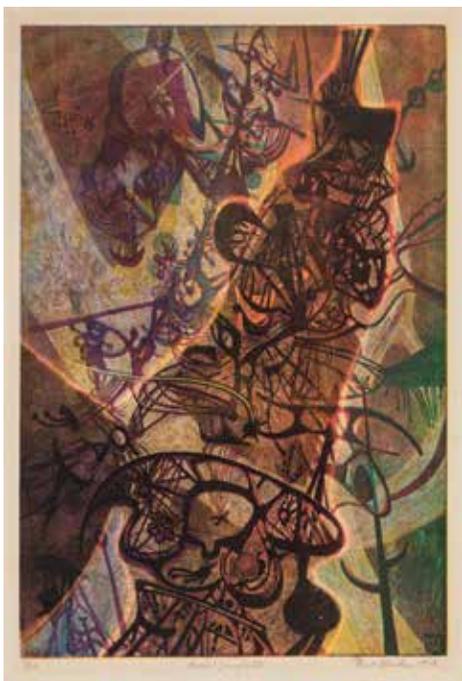


BARROS, Geraldo de

Chavantes, SP, Brazil, 1923
São Paulo, SP, Brazil, 1998

“Entre Acte”, 1950/51 (**cat. 05**)

monotype on paper (hand-colored),
20,5 x 27 cm [20,5 x 27 cm], Donation by
artist, MAC USP Collection. 1990.12.91

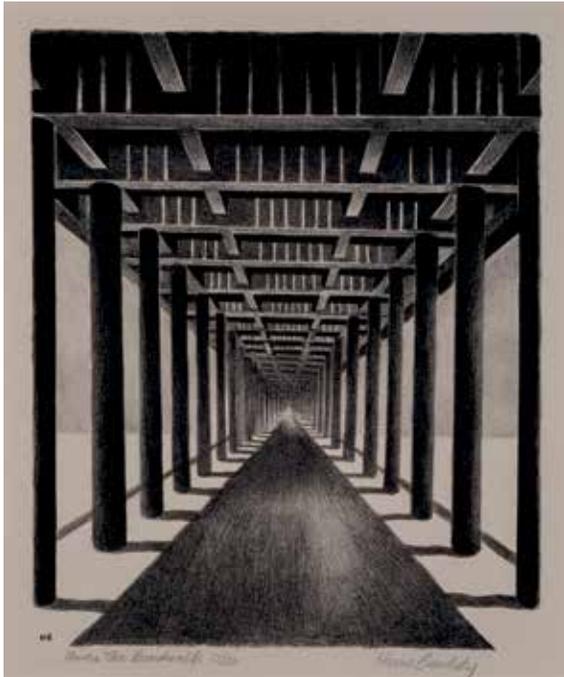


BECKER, Fred

Oakland, CA, USA, 1913
Amherst, MA, USA, 2004

Aerial Jungle IV (Floresta Aérea IV),
1948 (**cat. 06**)

etching, aquatint and dry-point in color
on paper, print editions: 7/30, 54 x 40 cm
[44,8 x 30,3 cm], Donation by MAM SP,
MAC USP Collection. 1963.3.53



BRODSKY, Harry

Newark, NJ, USA, 1908

Philadelphia, PA, USA, 1997

Under the Boardwalk, 1941 (cat. 07)

lithograph on off-white wove paper,
print editions: 12/20, 39,4 x 31,1 cm
[30 x 24,9 cm], Terra Foundation for
American Art, Daniel J. Terra Collection.
1996.62

Harry Brodsky, *Under the Boardwalk*, 1941.
Lithograph on off-white wove paper, image:
11 13/16 x 9 13/16 in. (30,0 x 24,9 cm),
sheet: 15 1/2 x 12 1/4 in. (39,4 x 31,1 cm),
Terra Foundation for American Art, Daniel J.
Terra Collection. 1996.62



CALAPAI, Letterio

Boston, MA, USA, 1902

Glencoe, IL, USA, 1993

Elemental Figure, 1946 (cat. 08)

engraving, aquatint and roulette on buff
laid paper, 22 x 30,2 cm [15 x 22,7 cm],
AIC/Art Resource. 1990.465.4

"Calapai, Letterio [1902-1993], © Copyright.
Elemental Figure. United States. 1945-1946.
Engraving, aquatint and roulette on buff laid paper,
15 x 22,7 cm [image]; 22 x 30,2 cm [sheet]. Gift
of Letterio Calapai [1990.465.4] The Art Institute
of Chicago, Chicago, U.S.A." Photo credit: The Art
Institute of Chicago/Art Resource, NY
© Calapai, Letterio/AUTVIS, Brasil, 2019

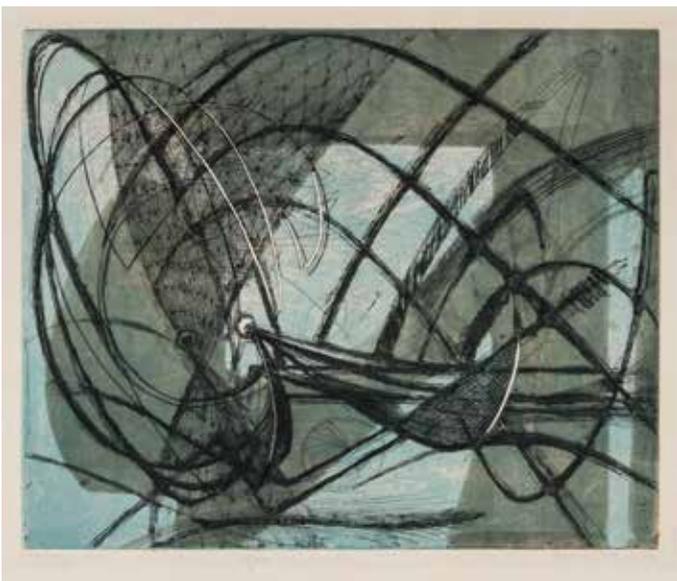


CITRON, Minna

Newark, NJ, USA, 1896
New York, NY, USA, 1991

Marine (Marinha), 1948 (**cat. 09**)

aquatint and soft ground on paper,
23,1 x 31,2 cm [15,8 x 22,7 cm], Donation
by MAM SP, MAC USP Collection. 1963.3.97



CITRON, Minna

Newark, NJ, USA, 1896
New York, NY, USA, 1991

Squid Under Pier (Lula sob Pier), 1948 (**cat. 10**)

color engraving on paper, 56,5 x 65,1 cm
[37,3 x 45,7 cm], Donation by Francisco
Matarazzo Sobrinho, MAC USP Collection.
1963.1.49



DAVIS, Stuart

Philadelphia, PA, USA, 1894
New York, NY, USA, 1964

Rue de Rats, 1929 (**cat. 11**)

lithograph on chine collé on wove paper,
print edition: 8/30, 35,9 x 54,8 cm
[25,4 x 38,6 cm], Terra Foundation for
American Art, Daniel J. Terra Collection.
1996.68

Stuart Davis, *Rue des Rats*, 1929. Lithograph on
chine collé, laid down on wove paper,
10 x 15 3/16 in. (25,4 x 38,6 cm). Terra Foundation
for American Art, Daniel J. Terra Collection, 1996.68.
Art. © Estate of Stuart Davis



DAY, Esther Worden

Columbus, OH, USA, 1916
Montclair, NJ, USA, 1986

Arcana IV, 1954 (**cat. 12**)

woodcut on paper, 91,8 x 57,5 cm
[86,4 x 51,8 cm], Brooklyn Museum.
65.81.6

Brooklyn Museum, Gift of Hollis K. Thayer, Florence
Read Thayer, Mary C. Draper, and Mrs. Darwin R.
James III, 65.81.6. © Estate of Worden Day
© Estate of Worden Day



DAY, Esther Worden

Columbus, OH, USA, 1916

Montclair, NJ, USA, 1986

The Burning Bush, 1954 (**cat. 13**)

color woodcut on paper, 131,4 x 30,5 cm
[58 x 18 cm], Brooklyn Museum. 59.16

Brooklyn Museum, Dick S. Ramsay Fund, 59.16.

© Estate of Worden Day © Estate of Worden Day



DOW, Arthur Wesley

Ipswich, MA, USA, 1857

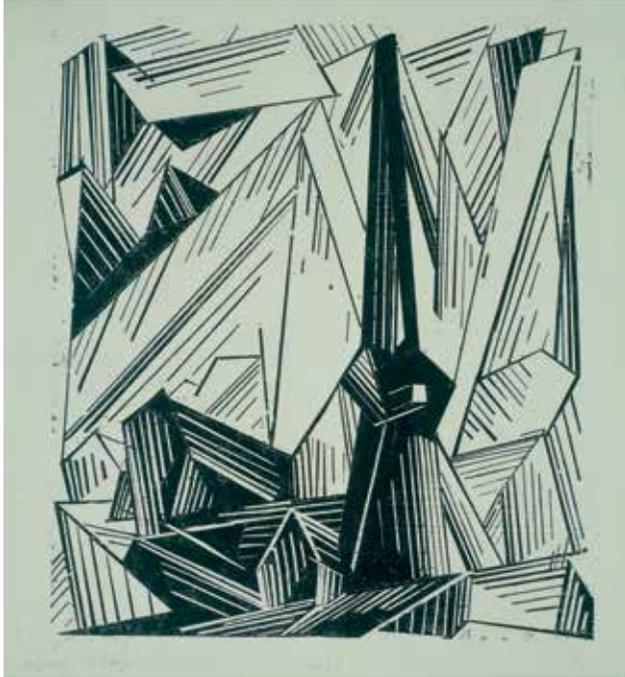
New York, NY, USA, 1922

Moonrise, c. 1898-1905 (**cat. 14**)

color woodcut on cream Japanese paper,
print edition: one of two known print,
13,3 x 20 cm [10,8 x 17,8 cm],

Terra Foundation for American Art,
Daniel J. Terra Collection. 1996.4

Arthur Wesley Dow, *Moonrise*, c. 1898-1905. Color
woodcut on cream Japanese paper, 4 1/4 x 7 in.
(10,8 x 17,8 cm). Terra Foundation for American Art,
Daniel J. Terra Collection, 1996.4



FEININGER, Lyonel

New York, NY, USA, 1871
 New York, NY, USA, 1956

Gelmeroda, 1920 (cat. 15)

woodcut on cream laid paper,
 print editions second state, edition size
 unknow, 54,9 x 53,5 cm [48,9 x 43,2 cm],
 Terra Foundation for American Art,
 Daniel J. Terra Collection, 1996.7

Lyonel Feininger, *Gelmeroda*, 1920. Woodcut on
 cream laid paper, 19 1/4 x 17 in. (48,9 x 43,2 cm).
 Terra Foundation for American Art, Daniel J. Terra
 Collection, 1996.7 © Artists Rights Society (ARS),
 New York/DACS, London



FERREN, John

Pendleton, OR, USA, 1905
 Southampton, NY, USA, 1970

Sea Forms, 1937 (cat. 16)

color woodcut on paper, print edition
 artist's proof for an edition of 7,
 54,6 x 40,8 cm [36,2 x 36,8 cm],
 Terra Foundation for American Art,
 Daniel J. Terra Collection, 1996.89

John Ferren, *Sea Forms*, 1937. Color wood
 engraving, 14 1/4 x 14 1/2 in. (36,2 x 36,8 cm).
 Terra Foundation for American Art, Daniel J. Terra
 Collection, 1996.89

Wally Findlay Galleries International, Inc.



FULLER, Sue

Pittsburgh, PA, USA, 1914
 South Hampton, NY, USA, 2006

Hen (Galinha), 1945 (cat. 17)

soft ground etching on paper,
 print edition: 17/50, 46,4 x 39 cm
 [37,4 x 30,3 cm], Donation by MAM SP,
 MAC USP Collection. 1963.3.145



FULLER, Sue

Pittsburgh, PA, USA, 1914
 South Hampton, NY, USA, 2006

The Heights, 1945 (cat. 18)

engraving and soft ground, etching on white
 wove paper, 48,2 x 40 cm [37,5 x 30,2 cm],
 AIC/Art Resource. 1945.130

Fuller, Sue [1914-2006]. © Copyright. The Heights.
 United States. 1945, engraving and soft ground
 etching on white wove paper, 37,5 x 30,2 cm [plate];
 48,2 x 40 cm (sheet). Print and Drawing Club
 Collection [1945.130]. The Art Institute of Chicago,
 Chicago, U.S.A. Photo credit: The Art Institute of
 Chicago/Art Resource, NY.

© Fuller, Sue/AUTVIS, Brasil, 2019



GORELICK, Boris

Moscow, Russia, 1912
New York, CA, USA, 1984

Sweat Shop, c. 1938 (**cat. 19**)

lithograph on ivory wove paper,
print edition: 1/25, 40,6 x 58,1 cm,
Terra Foundation for American Art,
Daniel J. Terra Collection. 1996.70

Boris Gorelick, *Sweat Shop*, c. 1938.
Lithograph on ivory wove paper, 16 x 22 7/8 in.
(40,6 x 58,1 cm). Terra Foundation for American Art,
Daniel J. Terra Collection, 1996.70



HAYTER, Stanley William

London, England, 1901
Paris, France, 1988

Untitled, from *L'Apocalypse*, published (publicado) 1932 (**cat. 20**)

engraving and dry-point on ivory wove
paper, 52,3 x 40,3 cm [32,4 x 23 cm],
AIC/Art Resource. 1972.33.7

Hayter, Stanley William [1901-1988] © ARS,
NY. *Untitled*, from *L'Apocalypse*. England. 1931.
Published by Editions Jeanne Bucher [French, 20th
century]. Engraving and dry-point on ivory wove paper,
32,4 x 23 cm [image/plate]; 52,3 x 40,3 cm [sheet].
Restricted gift of Margaret Fisher [1972.33.7].
The Art Institute of Chicago, Chicago, U.S.A. Photo
credit: The Art Institute of Chicago/Art Resource, NY
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HAYTER, Stanley William

London, England, 1901

Paris, France, 1988

Tarantelle, 1943 (cat. 21)

engraving, scorper and soft ground
etching on copper plate on ivory wove
paper, 52,3 x 40,3 cm (32,4 x 23 cm),
AIC/Art Resource. 1973.414

“Hayter, Stanley William [1901-1988] © ARS, NY.
Tarantelle. United States. 1942-1943, engraving,
scorper and soft ground etching on copper plate on
ivory wove paper, 55 x 33,2 cm [plate]; 63,5 x 38,1
cm [sheet], Joseph Brooks Fair Fund [1973.414].
The Art Institute of Chicago, Chicago, U.S.A.”,
Photo credit: The Art Institute of Chicago/Art Resource, NY
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HAYTER, Stanley William

London, England, 1901

Paris, France, 1988

Tarantelle (Tarantela), 1943 (cat. 22)

color soft ground etching and burin on
paper, print edition: 27/50, 64 x 38,5 cm
[55,2 x 33 cm], Donation by MAM SP,
MAC USP Collection. 1963.3.169

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HAYTER, Stanley William

London, England, 1901
Paris, France, 1988

Cronos, n.d. (cat. 23)

copper plate for engraving
AIC/Art Resource. 1945.168

Hayter, Stanley William [1901-1988] © ARS, NY.
Cronos. United States. 1921-1945, Copper plate
for engraving, 40,6 x 51 cm, Print and Drawing Club
Collection [1945.168], The Art Institute of Chicago,
Chicago, U.S.A. Photo credit: The Art Institute of
Chicago/Art Resource, NY
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HAYTER, Stanley William

London, England, 1901
Paris, France, 1988

Cronos, 1944 (cat. 24)

engraving, soft ground etching, and
scorper on copper on paper,
53,3 x 64,3 cm [39,8 x 50,4 cm],
AIC/Art Resource. 1945.129

Hayter, Stanley William [1901-1988] © ARS, NY.
Cronos. United States. 1944. Engraving, soft ground
etching, and scorper on copper on paper, 39,8 x 50,4
cm [plate]; 53,3 x 64,3 cm [sheet]. Print and Drawing
Club Collection [1945.129]. The Art Institute of
Chicago, Chicago, U.S.A. Photo credit: The Art Institute
of Chicago/Art Resource, NY
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HAYTER, Stanley William

London, England, 1901

Paris, France, 1988

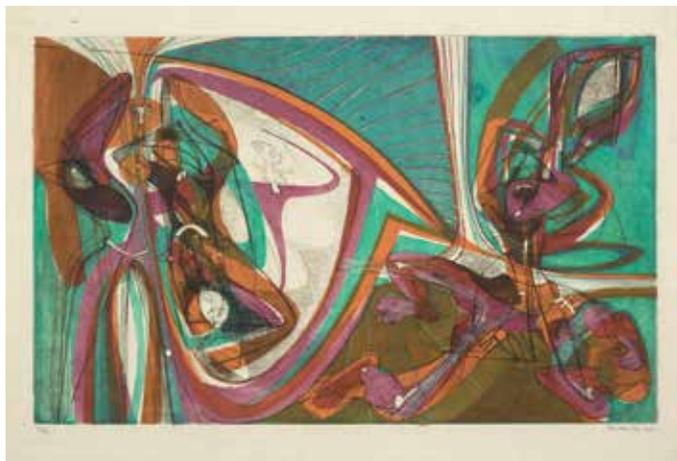
Cinq Personnages, 1946 (cat. 25)

engraving, soft-ground etching and scorper, silkscreen (printed in three colors: orange, turquoise-green and red-violet) on thick Kochi paper, print edition: trial proof for edition of 50, 51,3 x 66,0 cm [37,5 x 60,6 cm], Terra Foundation for American Art, Daniel J. Terra Collection. 1995.37

Stanley William Hayter, *Cinq Personnages*, 1946.

Engraving, soft-ground etching and scorper, silkscreen [printed in three colors: orange, turquoise-green and red-violet] on thick Kochi paper, 14 3/4 x 23 7/8 in. [37,5 x 60,6 cm]. Terra Foundation for American Art, Daniel J. Terra Collection, 1995.37

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HAYTER, Stanley William

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Paris, France, 1988

Cinq Personnages, 1946 (cat. 26)

engraving, soft ground etching, on copper with three silkscreens on tan wove paper, 49,1 x 66,4 cm [37,6 x 60 cm], AIC/Art Resource. 1956.622

© ARS, NY. Hayter, Stanley William (1901-1988).

Cinq Personnages. United States. 1946. Engraving, soft ground etching, and scorper on copper with three silkscreens on tan wove paper, 37,6 x 60 cm [image/plate]; 49,1 x 66,4 cm [sheet]. Gift of Joseph R. Shapiro [1956.622]. The Art Institute of Chicago, Chicago, U.S.A. Photo credit: The Art Institute of Chicago/Art Resource, NY

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Paris, France, 1988

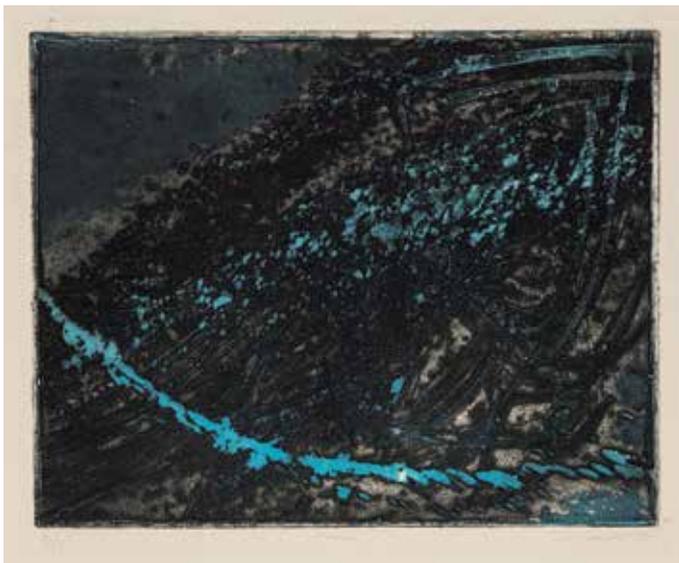
Composição, 1952 (cat. 27)

monotype with burin on paper,

20,8 x 23,5 cm [11 x 14,8 cm],

Donation by Associação Pinacoteca Arte e
Cultura, MAC USP Collection. 2018.7.46

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HAYTER, Stanley William

London, England, 1901

Paris, France, 1988

Merou, 1958 (cat. 28)

color etching on paper, print edition: 15/50,

50,2 x 65,7 cm [29,9 x 37,8 cm], Donation

by Francisco Matarazzo Sobrinho, MAC USP
Collection. 1963.1.89

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HAYTER, Stanley William

London, England, 1901

Paris, France, 1988

Varèche, 1958 (**cat. 29**)

color soft ground etching and burin on paper, print edition: 1/50, 48,9 x 67,5 cm [29,8 x 49,8 cm], Donation by Francisco Matarazzo Sobrinho, MAC USP Collection. 1963.1.90

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JORDAN, Raymond

Chicago, IL, USA, 1895

Synthesis (Sintese), 1948 (**cat. 30**)

soft ground and burin on paper, print edition: 1/15, 52,4 x 43,8 cm [45,4 x 35,2 cm], Donation by MAM SP, MAC USP Collection. 1963.3.191



KENT, Rockwell

Tarrytown Heights, NY, USA, 1882
Plattsburgh, NY, USA, 1971

Flame, 1928 (cat. 31)

woodcut on ivory Japan paper,
28,9 x 22,2 cm [20,3 x 14 cm], print edition
from an edition of 100, Terra Foundation
for American Art, Daniel J. Terra Collection.
1996.28

Rockwell Kent, *Flame*, 1928. Wood engraving
on ivory Japan paper, image: 8 x 5 1/2 in.
[20,3 x 14 cm]. Sheet: 11 3/8 x 8 3/4 in.
[28,9 x 22,2 cm]. Terra Foundation for American
Art, Daniel J. Terra Collection. 1996.28
© Plattsburgh State Art Museum, Rockwell Kent
Gallery and Collection



KETTUNEN, Marjean

East Lansing, MI, USA, 1926

Heavy Bird (Pássaro Pesado), 1950 (cat. 32)

burin and dry-point on paper, print edition:
4/30 55,1 x 69,2 cm [45,3 x 49,2 cm],
Donation by MAM SP, MAC USP Collection.
1963.3.198

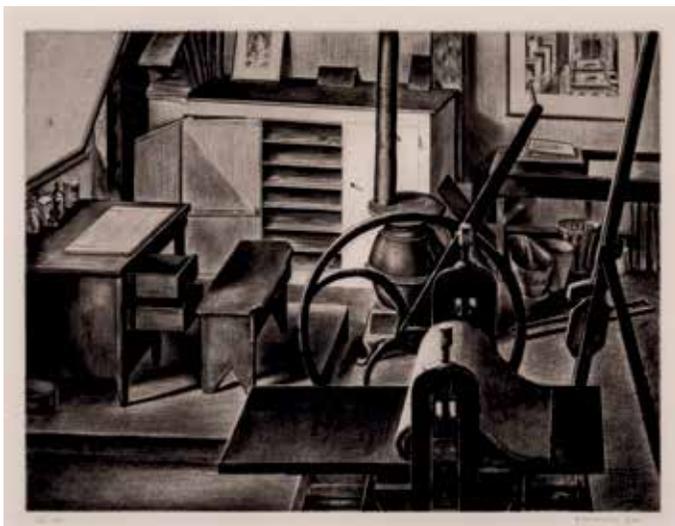


KILSTROM, Kenneth

Chicago, IL, USA, 1922
New York, NY, USA, 1995

The Attack on Marshall Gilbert
(O Ataque a Marshall Gilbert), 1948
(**cat. 33**)

soft ground etching, burin, aquatint and
offset on paper, print edition: 5/15,
37,8 x 56,8 cm [25,4 x 45,2 cm],
Donation by MAM SP, MAC USP Collection.
1963.3.199



LANDECK, Armin

Crandon, WI, USA, 1905
East Cornwall, CT, USA, 1984

Studio Interior n° 1, 1935 (**cat. 34**)

dry-point on off-white wove paper,
print edition: from an edition of 100,
25,4 x 35,1 cm [20,3 x 26,7 cm],
Terra Foundation for American Art,
Daniel J. Terra Collection. 1996.31
Armin Landeck, *Studio Interior n° 1*, 1935.
Drypoint on off-white wove paper, 8 x 10 1/2 in.
(20,3 x 26,7 cm). Terra Foundation for American
Art, Daniel J. Terra Collection, 1996.31



LANDECK, Armin

Crandon, WI, USA, 1905
East Cornwall, CT, USA, 1984

Alleyway (Passagem no Beco),
1948 (**cat. 35**)

burin and dry-point on paper, 46 x 28,1 cm
[34,9 x 17,7 cm], Donation by MAM SP,
MAC USP Collection. 1963.3.204



LAZZELL, Blanche

Maidsville, WV, USA, 1878
Morgantown, WV, USA, 1956

Still Life, 1919 (matriz/block cut),
1931 (impressão/printed) (**cat. 36**)

color woodcut, print edition: 2/4,
42,2 x 39,4 cm [29,2 x 30,2 cm],
Terra Foundation for American Art,
Daniel J. Terra Collection. 1996.32

Blanche Lazzell, *Still Life*, 1919 (block cut), 1931
(printed). Color woodcut, 16 5/8 x 15 1/2 in.
(42,2 x 39,4 cm). Terra Foundation for American Art,
Daniel J. Terra Collection, 1996.32



LOZOWICK, Louis

Ludvinovka, Ukraine, 1892
New Jersey, NJ, USA, 1973

New York, 1925 (cat. 37)

lithograph on off-white wove paper,
48,3 x 39,7 cm [29,1 x 22,9 cm],
print edition: 2/15, Terra Foundation for
American Art, Daniel J. Terra Collection,
1995.10

Louis Lozowick, *New York, 1925*. Lithograph
on off-white wove paper, image 11 7/16 x 9 in.
(29,1 x 22,9 cm), sheet: 19 x 15 5/8 in.
(48,3 x 39,7). Terra Foundation for American
Art, Daniel J. Terra Collection, 1995.10
© Louis Lozowick; Courtesy of the estate of Louis
Lozowick and Mary Ryan Gallery, New York



MARGO, Boris

Volotshyk, Ukraine, 1902
Hyannis, MA, USA, 1995

The Sea (O Mar), 1948/49 (cat. 38)

cellocut in colors on paper, print edition:
1/10, 52,8 x 46,2 cm [42,1 x 42,2 cm],
Donation by MAM SP, MAC USP Collection.
1963.3.222



MARIN, John

Rutheford, NJ, USA, 1870
Addison, ME, USA, 1953

Brooklyn Bridge n° 6, 1913 (cat. 39)

etching on off white wove paper, print
edition: from an edition of about 12,
39,7 x 34,6 cm [27,3 x 22,4 cm],
Terra Foundation for American Art, Daniel J.
Terra Collection, 1995.15

John Marin, *Brooklyn Bridge n° 6*, 1913. Etching on
off white wove paper plate: 10 3/4 x 8 13/16 in.
(27,3 x 22,4), sheet: 15 5/8 x 13 5/8 in.
(39,7 x 34,6 cm). Terra Foundation for American
Art, Daniel J. Terra Collection, 1995.15



MASON, Alice Trumbull

Litchfield, CT, USA, 1904
New York, NY, USA, 1971

Indicative Displacement, 1947 (cat. 40)

soft-ground etching on paper, 26 x 40,3 cm
[23 x 29 cm], Brooklyn Museum. 48.48

Alice Trumbull Mason [American, 1904-1971].
Indicative Displacement, 1947. Soft-ground etching
on paper, image: 10 1/4 x 15 7/8 in. [26 x 40,3 cm].
Brooklyn Museum, Dick S. Ramsay Fund, 48.48.
© artist or artist's estate



MOY, Seong

Canton, China, 1921
New York, NY, USA, 2013

The Little Act on Horseback
(Pequeno Ato a Cavallo), 1949
(**cat. 41**)

color woodcut on paper, print edition: 11/13,
56,5 x 46 cm [31,5 x 32 cm], Donation by
MAM SP, MAC USP Collection. 1963.3.241



NEVELSON, Louise

Pereyaslav-Khmelnytskyi, Ukraine, 1899
New York, NY, USA, 1988

The Ancient Garden, 1952-54
(**cat. 42**)

etching on paper, 69,2 x 55,6 cm,
Brooklyn Museum. 58.44.1

Louise Nevelson [American, born Russia, 1899-1988].
The Ancient Garden, 1952-1954. Soft ground etching,
sheet [Sheet and image]: 27 5/16 x 219/16 in.
[69,4 x 54,8 cm]. Brooklyn Museum, Dick S. Ramsay
Fund, 58.44.1. © artist or artist's estate
© Nevelson, Louise/AUTVIS, Brasil, 2019



PETERDI, Gabor

Budapest, Hungary, 1915
Stamford, CT, USA, 2001

Sign of the Lobster (Marca da Lagosta), 1947/48 (**cat. 43**)

soft color ground etching and aquatint on paper, print edition: 12/30, 66,5 x 50,9 cm [50,4 x 37,7 cm], Donation by MAM SP, MAC USP Collection. 1963.3.264



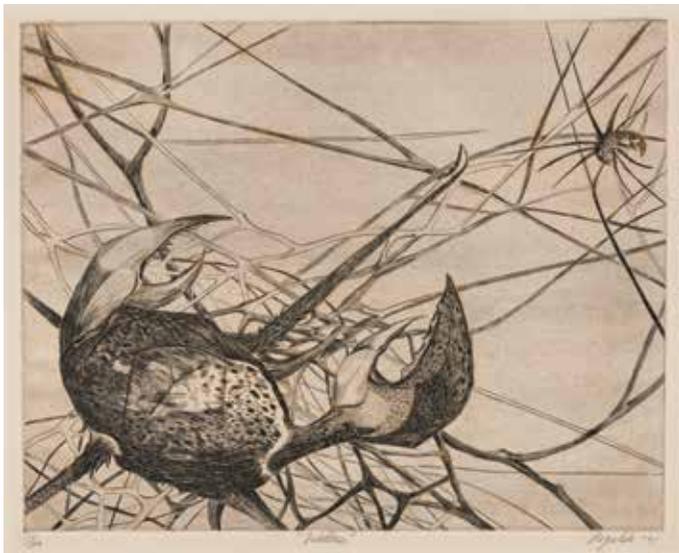
POLLOCK, Jackson

Cody, WY, USA, 1912
Springs, NY, USA, 1956

Untitled [n° 6 series of 7], 1944-45 (**cat. 44**)

engraving on paper, 54 x 73 cm [38,1 x 45,1 cm], Brooklyn Museum. 75.213.6

Jackson Pollock [American, 1912-1956]. *Untitled [n° 6 Series of 7]*, 1944-1945. Engraving on wove paper, [54,6 x 73,2 cm]. Brooklyn Museum, Gift of Lee Krasner Pollock, 75.213.6. © artist or artist's estate. © The Pollock-Krasner Foundation/AUTVIS, Brasil, 2019



ROGALSKI, Walter

Glen Cove, NY, USA, 1923

New York, NY, USA, 1996

Fiddlers, s.d. (cat. 45)

etching and burin on paper,
print edition: 173/200, 41,1 x 77,2 cm
[35,2 x 44,1 cm], Donation by MAM SP,
MAC USP Collection. 1963.3.321



RYAN, Anne

Hoboken, NJ, USA, 1889

Hoboken, NJ, USA, 1954

The Captive (O Cativo), 1946 (cat. 46)

color monotype on paper, print edition: 9/30,
41,1 x 58,4 cm [35,7 x 39,7 cm], Donation
by MAM SP, MAC USP Collection. 1963.3.328



RYAN, Anne

Hoboken, NJ, USA, 1889

Hoboken, NJ, USA, 1954

Two Figures, 1948 (**cat. 47**)

color woodcut on paper, 29,5 x 51,7 cm,
Brooklyn Museum. 48.124

Anne Ryan [American, 1889-1954]. *Two Figures*,
1948. Woodcut on paper, image: 115/8 x 20 3/8 in.
[29,5 x 51,7 cm]. Brooklyn Museum, Gift of the artist,
48.124. Courtesy Washburn Gallery, New York



SCHANKER, Louis

New York, NY, USA, 1903

New York, NY, USA, 1981

Carnival (Carnaval), 1945 (**cat. 48**)

color woodcut on paper, print edition: 2/30,
46 x 61,2 cm [36,5 x 53,7 cm], Donation by
MAM SP, MAC USP Collection. 1963.3.331

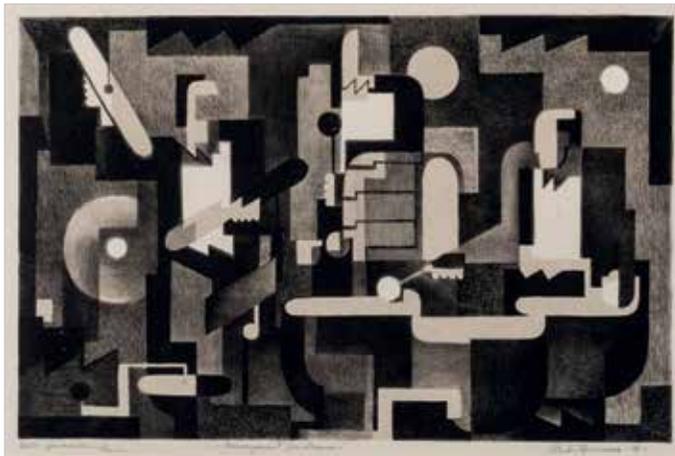


SCHRAG, Karl

Karlsruhe, Germany, 1912
New York, NY, USA, 1995

Rain and the Sea (Chuva e Mar),
1946 (**cat. 49**)

burin, soft ground etching and aquatint on
paper, print edition: 5/30, 48,6 x 38,9 cm
[37,9 x 27,8 cm], Donation by MAM SP,
MAC USP Collection. 1963.3.333



SPRUANCE, Benton Murdoch

Philadelphia, PA, USA, 1904
Philadelphia, PA, USA, 1967

Arrangement for Drums, 1941
(**cat. 50**)

lithograph printed in tan and black on paper,
print edition: 35/40, 37,1 x 47,9 cm
[24 x 36,8 cm], Terra Foundation for
American Art, Daniel J. Terra Collection.
1995.46

Benton Murdoch Spruance, *Arrangement for
Drums*, 1941. Lithograph printed in tan and black,
9 7/16 x 14 1/2 in. (24.0 x 36.8 cm).
Sheet: 14 5/8 x 18 7/8 in. (37,1 x 47,9 cm).
Terra Foundation for American Art, Daniel J. Terra
Collection, 1995.46, image courtesy:
www.bentonspruance.com



YUNKERS, Adja

Riga, Latvia, 1900
New York, NY, USA, 1983

Dead Bird (Pássaro Morto), 1947
(cat. 51)

color woodcut on paper, print edition: 5/15,
51,1 x 61,1 cm [43,2 x 50,6 cm],
Donation by MAM SP, MAC USP Collection.
1963.3.381



YUNKERS, Adja

Riga, Latvia, 1900
New York, NY, USA, 1983

Composition (Composição), 1955
(cat. 52)

color woodcut on paper, print edition:
184/200, 61,8 x 42,3 cm [53,1 x 34,6 cm],
Donation by MAM SP, MAC USP Collection.
1963.3.382



ZORACH, William

Jurbarkas, Lithuania, 1887

Bath, ME, USA, 1966

Mountain Stream, 1915 (cat. 53)

linocut on off-white Japan paper, print
edition: number unknown, 37,7 x 46,5
cm [27,6 x 35,6 cm], Terra Foundation for
American Art, Daniel J. Terra Collection.
1996.46

William Zorach, *Mountain Stream*, 1915.
Linocut on off-white Japan paper tissue thin, image:
10 7/8 x 14 in. (27.6 x 35.6 cm),
sheet: 12 7/8 x 5/16 in. (32,7 x 46,5 cm).
Terra Foundation for American Art,
Daniel J. Terra Collection, 1996.46.
Image courtesy: The Zorach Collection, LCC

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