Joanna Sikorska
THE NATIONAL MUSEUM IN WARSAW

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The Reception of *Portrait of a Young Man* in Prints. Exploring the Sources of Interpretive Myths[1]

Portrait of a Young Man, attributed to Raphael[2] and until the Second World War kept in the Czartoryski collection, occupies a special place in the history of Polish culture. It has become something of a symbol of wartime losses suffered by Poland. In recent years, it has entered the collective consciousness precisely as this great absentee.[3] However, it is not so much the work of art itself that sparks fascination, but its fate,[4] which – paradoxically – could not have been accurately reconstructed even before the masterpiece was looted. An important role in the history of interpreting and analysing this painting was played by its printed repetitions.[5]

References to works of art by old and contemporary masters were already present in prints in the 15th century, but back then they were usually the result of non-artistic choices. Only in the 16th century did matters of aesthetics and art historiography become a more important factor motivating printmakers and publishers to reach for works created by others as models. In the early 1500s, the varied functions of printmaking extended to include a "reproductive" aspect – copying and disseminating the compositions of other artworks, whose formal values were to be evocatively conveyed through prints. What is rather telling is that Raphael's paintings were one of the first works to be reproduced in this context.[6] Although the master from Urbino did not make prints himself, he did appreciate their promotional

[1] The impulse for this text came from *Portrait of a Young Man. In Search of Raphael's Lost Masterpiece* – a special display presented at the NMW between 21 November 2019 and 19 January 2020.

[2] Janusz Wałek, "The Czartoryski *Portrait of a Youth* by Raphael," *Artibus et Historiae*, vol. 12, no. 24 (1991), pp. 201–24; id., "Rafaela *Portret młodzieńca* ze zbiorów Czartoryskich," *Rozprawy Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie. Seria Nowa*, vol. 1 (1999), pp. 13–82; Józef Grabski, "The Lost *Portrait of a Young Man* (Attributed to Raphael) from the Collection of the Princes Czartoryski Family in Cracow. A Contribution to Studies on the Typology of the Renaissance Portrait," *Artibus et Historiae*, vol. 25, no. 50 (2004), pp. 215–39.

[3] Apart from Zygmunt Miłoszewski's ironic novel *Priceless* (Seattle, 2018; trans. Antonina Lloyd Jones; Polish edition: 2013), *Portrait of a Young Man* was also referred to in films, e.g., in the sequence taking place in the secret "chapel" of an art collector in Juliusz Machulski's *Vinci* (2004) or in the scene with the burning painting in the collection point of stolen artworks in George Clooney's *The Monuments Men* (2014).

[4] Monika Kuhnke, "*Portret młodzieńca* Rafaela – najcenniejszy z utraconych," *Cenne, bezcenne, utracone*, no. 2 (1997), p. 9. See also Robert J. Kudelski, *Zaginiony Rafael. Kulisy największej kradzieży nazistów* (Krakow, 2014).

[5] Sets of prints made after *Portrait of a Young Man* have been mentioned since the early 19th c. Their most recent compilation was presented by Jürg Meyer zur Capellen: *Raphael. A Critical Catalogue of his Paintings*, vol. 3: *The Roman Portraits, ca. 1508–1520* (Landshut, 2008), pp. 94–99, cat. no. 70.

[6] David Landau, Peter Parshall, *The Renaissance Print 1470–1550* (New Haven–London, 1994), pp. 162 ff.

potential, as testified by his close collaboration with engravers, whom he provided with drawings made for the sole purpose of being translated into the language of printmaking.[7] Printmakers reaching for Raphael's works were driven by various motivations: on the one hand, they wanted to pay homage to his art, on the other, they were hoping to profit from his status. Throughout the centuries, this brought about one of the most interesting phenomena in the history of so-called interpretive printmaking, showing how the printed medium could not only preserve or even enhance the fame of works of art, but also deform or create their image and message.[8] An analysis of prints made after *Portrait of a Young Man* shows how differently the painted work was translated into the language of printmaking throughout the centuries, depending on the employed techniques as well as the printmakers' skills and intentions. Interestingly, this transposition to a different medium often went beyond simple repetition, reflecting the key artistic and aesthetic dilemmas of a given era or milieu. In addition, prints made after *Portrait of a Young Man* brilliantly demonstrate the ambiguous nature of interpretive printmaking: while it resulted from the popularity of certain works, it simultaneously contributed to their fame.

The oldest known printed repetition of *Portrait of a Young Man*, rendered in mirror image compared to the painted original, is Paulus Pontius's (1603–58) engraving dated to c. 1630–40 (**fig. 1**).[9] This eminent printmaker active in Antwerp, pupil of Lucas Vorsterman and close collaborator of Rubens and Van Dyck, never left Flanders, so he must have used a locally available model to create his work. It is hard to pinpoint this direct template, as the early fate of Raphael's painting is still shrouded in doubt (it is assumed to have been located in northern Italy, but the source of this piece of information dates to the mid-17th century).[10] What is more, one ought to remember that when Pontius was working on his engraving, the appearance of *Portrait of a Young Man* had already been known through its painted copies.[11] Flanders was precisely where its fame grew ever more expansive, as may be inferred from a number of works that in various ways evoked its composition. Among them, the most obvious reference may be found in Jan Brueghel the Younger's *Allegory of Painting* (The Netherlands, private collection). Pontius's engraving may have even been directly inspired by a work from the printmaker's immediate circle, namely a drawing depicting a general outline of the portrayed sitter found in Anthony van Dyck's so-called Italian sketchbook (**fig. 2**)[12].

[7] Out of a vast number of sources on the subject, one could list: *Roma e lo stile classico di Raffaello 1515–1527*, Konrad Oberhuber, ed., catalogue by Achim Gnann, exh. cat., Mantua, Palazzo Te; Vienna, Albertina, 1999 (Milan, 1999); Lisa Pon, *Raphael, Dürer, and Marcantonio Raimondi. Copying and the Italian Renaissance Print* (New Haven, 2004); *Marcantonio Raimondi, Raphael and the Image Multiplied*, Edward H. Wouk, ed. (Manchester, 2016).

[8] See *Raffael und die Folgen. Das Kunstwerk im Zeitalter seiner graphischen Reproduzierbarkeit*, Corinna Höper, Wolfgang Brückle, eds, exh. cat., Staatsgalerie, Stuttgart, 2001 (Ostfildern, 2001); *Graphik als Spiegel der Malerei. Meisterwerke der Reproduktionsgraphik 1500–1830*, Stephan Brakensiek, Michel Polfer, eds, exh. cat., Musée national d'histoire et d'art, Luxembourg, 2009 (Milan, 2009).

[9] See *The New Hollstein Dutch & Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts 1450–1700. Anthony van Dyck*, part VI, comp. by Simon Turner, Carl Depauw, ed. (Rotterdam, 2002), pp. 143–144, no. 494.

[10] Francesco Scannelli, *Il Microcosmo della Pittura* (Cesena, 1657), p. 169. See also Wałek, "The Czartoryski *Portrait of a Youth*...," op. cit., pp. 210–11; id., "Rafaela *Portret młodzieńca*...," op. cit., pp. 42 ff.

[11] At least two early copies are known: the painting held at the Accademia di Carrara in Bergamo and the painting from Stuttgart, which was destroyed during World War II. The known painted copies have been compiled by Jürg Meyer zur Capellen, see Meyer zur Capellen, op. cit., pp. 94–99, cat. no. 70.

[12] The British Museum, London, inv. no. 1957,1214.207.109.

Van Dyck's sojourn in Italy (1621–27) exerted a profound influence on his oeuvre – his drawn "notes" created at the time were not so much a recording of artworks he saw, but a reflection on the working methods and compositions of Old Masters, which he later referred to in his own works.[13] The discussed painting (or a copy thereof, as it is not clear whether Van Dyck was familiar with the original) must have made a deep impression on the Flemish artist, as he modelled several portraits, including his own one, on this composition.[14]

Pontius's engraving – owing to the lengthy inscription at the bottom – represents the earliest proof of the painting being interpreted as Raphael's self-portrait: *RAPHAEL DE VRBIN | Vrbinum Vrbs aluit: pinxit sua dextera, nempe | Qui melius quiret pingere, nullus erat. | Sic ipsum praeter bene quis pinxisset Apellem | Eximia eximios pingier arte decet | Pontius excudit, semel ut qui pinxit in Vrbe | Se, excusus toto, pictus et orbe foret*. This sophisticated text employs a form of eulogy, whose traditions reach at least as far back as the mid-15th century. A reference to Apelles was the highest praise of an artist's talent. This compliment was not just reserved for Raphael, but also used with reference to Fra Angelico, Dürer or Titian, and – in terms of artists from Pontius's circle – to Van Dyck and Rubens (the latter was dubbed "the Apelles of his time" and "the Apelles of Antwerp").[15] Raphael was compared to Apelles by the most influential authors writing about art – this topos may be found, among others, in works by Vasari, Lomazzo and Bellori.[16]

The formula adopted by the printmaker, where the graphic image of *uomo illustro* is accompanied by a commendatory inscription with literary and antique references, had already been popular in the Netherlands since the 16th century. What is more, it enjoyed a particular rank there: it served to create the canon of Netherlandish art (**fig. 3**).[17] Pontius himself also created similar laudatory portraits of contemporary artists (e.g., the double portrait of Rubens and Van Dyck made with Erasmus Quellinus) (**fig. 4**).[18] As regards his engraving depicting Raphael, it is worth noting that the accompanying inscription not only praises the Urbino master's talent for painting, but also the promotional power of printmaking. Thereby, it enhances the skills of the printmaker (and simultaneously the publisher of the first state of this print), who attempted to convey the rich textures of materials depicted in the original work. Unfortunately, we do not know whether the interpretation of the portrayed person as Raphael, as contained in the inscription, was only conceived at the time or whether it referred to an older tradition. Leaving this question unanswered, it ought to be stressed that

[13] David Jaffé, "New Thoughts on Van Dyck's Italian Sketchbook," *The Burlington Magazine*, vol. 143, no. 1183 (October 2001), pp. 614–24; *Van Dyck. The Anatomy of Portraiture*, Stijn Alsteens et al., eds, (New York–New Haven, 2016), pp. 87 ff.

[14] See Susan J. Barnes, *Van Dyck in Italy: 1621–1628* (New York, 1986); *Van Dyck. The Anatomy of Portraiture*..., op. cit.

[15] Ruth Wedgwood Kennedy, "Apelles redivivus," in *Essays in Memory of Karl Lehmann*, Lucy Freeman Sandler, ed. (New York, 1964), pp. 160–70; Patricia A. Emison, *Creating the 'Divine' Artist. From Dante to Michelangelo* (Leiden–Boston, 2004), pp. 100 ff.; Anja Grebe, *Dürer. Die Geschichte seines Ruhms* (Petersberg, 2013), pp. 117 ff.

[16] See Patricia Lee Rubin, *Giorgio Vasari. Art and History* (New Haven, 1995); Sybille Ebert-Schifferer, "Raffaello e le sue reincarnazioni," *Accademia Raffaello. Atti e studi, Serie Nuova*, vol. 5 (2006), pp. 5–30.

[17] A good example here are the publications of Domenicus Lampsonius (*Pictorum aliquot celebrium Germaniae inferioris effigies*, 1572) and Hendrick Hondius (*Pictorum aliquot celebrium praecipuae germaniae inferioris effigies*, 1610). See also Nadine Orenstein, *Hendrick Hondius and the Business of Prints in Seventeenth-Century Holland* (Rotterdam, 1996), vol. 1, pp. 51, 133. Studies in Prints and Printmaking.

[18] *Anthony van Dyck as a Printmaker*, exh. cat., Carl Depauw et al., ed., Museum Plantin-Moretus, Antwerp; Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, 1999–2000 (Amsterdam–New York, 1999), pp. 291–92.

the engraving was created at a time of heightened fascination with Raphael's art – it was then that it was elevated to the canon of "classical" art in the circles of subsequent academies.[19]

What is certain, however, is that Pontius's work enjoyed considerable popularity. Its next edition was prepared by Joannes Meyssens (1612–70), a well-known Flemish printmaker, publisher, and painter active in Antwerp,[20] for whom Raphael's image reproduced in print could have been particularly significant, given that he authored another important publication on artists' portraits (*Image de divers hommes d'espirit sublime...*, 1649). In the mid-17th century, a print (**fig. 5**) clearly modelled on Pontius's engraving was published by Balthasar Moncornet (c. 1600–68), a printmaker and publisher active in Paris. This composition is reversed compared to the Flemish one, and its oval setting resulted in a reduction of the background. Repeated, however, is the main part of the inscription accompanying Pontius's print, which served as the basis for disseminating the interpretation of the original work as Raphael's self-portrait. It is justified to hypothesize that the painting owed its growing popularity to engravings rather than to laconic mentions in written sources.

Subsequent printed versions of the portrait appeared in the 18th century. Interestingly, they were used twice as the frontispiece of a set of prints "reproducing" Raphael's famous cartoons – designs for tapestries commissioned for the Sistine Chapel by Pope Leo X. In 1623, these large-format compositions made by Raphael and his workshop were purchased by the Prince of Wales (the future Charles I), and soon gained the status of the most valuable element of the royal collection, which was reflected in graphic series popularizing the cartoons and their history (**fig. 6**). In the 1690s, upon the order of William III, the cartoons underwent conservation work, and were then placed in a specially established gallery in the Hampton Court palace (The Cartoon Gallery).[21] A view of the gallery was depicted in a print made by Simon Gribelin (1661–1733), a Huguenot printmaker, publisher and metal-engraver (**fig. 7**).[22] It was used as the frontispiece of the 1720 edition of a series of engravings entitled *The Seven Famous Cartons* [sic] *of Raphael*, originally published in 1707 and extensively advertised in the press. At the top of the cross-sectional view of the gallery, we see puttos holding a medallion with an image of Raphael modelled on the discussed painting. At the bottom, beneath the composition and directly below the painter's bust, there is a medallion depicting Queen Anne, to whom the printmaker dedicated this publication (its sale was still publicized by the artist's son in 1735). It is hard to ascertain what may have inspired the engraver to combine the cartoons with this particular image of Raphael – the impulse may have come from the aforementioned 17th-century prints, most notably Pontius's one, or from subsequent painted copies of the original work kept on the British Isles.[23]

[19] See *Raffaello: elementi di un mito. Le fonti, la letteratura artistica, la pittura di genere storico*, Giulio Carlo Argan, Francesco Sissini, Renato Grispo, eds, exh. cat., Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence, 1984 (Florence, 1984); Edouard Pommier, *Raffaello e il classicismo francese del XVII secolo* (Sant'Angelo in Vado, 2004).

[20] There also exists the third state of this composition, made following the removal of Meyssens's address. *The New Hollstein Dutch & Flemish Etchings...*, op. cit., pp. 143–144, cat. no. 494.III.

[21] These works played a fundamental role in the history of artistic thought in England – among others, in popularizing knowledge about the most eminent artworks and creating the canon of European art, see Chia-Chuan Hsieh, "Publishing the Raphael Cartoons and the Rise of Art-Historical Consciousness in England, 1707–1764," *The Historical Journal*, no. 52/4 (2009), pp. 901 ff.

[22] Sheila O'Connell, "Simon Gribelin (1661–1733). Printmaker and Metal-Engraver," *Print Quarterly*, vol. 2, no. 1 (March 1985), pp. 31, 34, cat. no. 7; Hsieh, op. cit., pp. 905 ff.

[23] See Meyer zur Capellen, op. cit., pp. 94–99, cat. no. 70.

The admiration for Raphael's cartoons, emblematic for the subsequent period of fascination with the oeuvre of the Urbino master, is also testified by yet another set of prints "reproducing" these works, probably published a little later and already at the outset planned as a work of international scope (bilingual inscriptions, sale in London and Paris).[24] The discussed portrait is found in the central part of the allegorical composition featured as the frontispiece of the publication (**fig. 8**). The print's author, Nicolas Tardieu (1674–1749), used the design created by a French historical painter and book illustrator, Louis Chéron (1660–1725), who – being a protestant – emigrated to England towards the end of the 17th century. Raphael's image, again limited to a half-figure in an oval medallion, was placed on a pedestal. Next to him is a putto sat facing the personification of Painting and pointing to the painter's portrait. Above them flies Chronos, who unveils the curtains covering *The Transfiguration*, thus underlining the timeless qualities of the master's last, unfinished work. The personification of Drawing, equipped with a compass, also points to this painting. To the right of the composition sits the personification of Sculpture, propped against the *Belvedere Torso*. This print employed the traditional language of allegory to express "the spirit of the times": the composition, which presented the painter's image, the crowning achievement of his oeuvre, and the sources of inspiration behind his art, aimed to summarize Raphael's life and work, perceived in academic theory and practice as an undying artistic and moral ideal – an embodiment of the Greek *kalokagathia*.[25] In this context, placing the artist's self-portrait in the centre of the composition gained an additional meaning. Analysing these examples of the reception of Raphael's painting in prints, one ought to note that towards the end of the 18th century, during her trip to England, the Urbino master's cartoons were admired by Izabela Czartoryska, who several years later became the owner of *Portrait of a Young Man*.[26]

A yet another interpretation of the discussed work was offered by Georg Wolfgang Knorr (1705–61), a German printmaker, publisher, and author of texts on art. He published a print depicting *Portrait of a Young Man* in his work *Historische Künstler=Belustigung* (Nuremberg, 1738), which represented a very popular literary genre of the time: the so-called conversations of the dead (**fig. 9**). Knorr described a meeting in the spirit world between Raphael and Albrecht Dürer, who parley about their lives, art, and posthumous fame.[27] The text of this biographical work, heavily informed by the publications of Sandrart and Vasari, was preceded by two prints depicting both artists made by Knorr himself. Importantly, as may be inferred from the inscriptions, these representations were modelled on the self-portraits of the two painters. In the case of Dürer, the direct template was Lukas Kilian's 1608 print inspired by the artist's self-portrait included in *Feast of the Rose Garlands* from 1506. Without a doubt, the

[24] The inscription underlines the particular rank of works "reproduced" in the publication: *VII Tabulae | RAPHAELIS URBIN: | Quas Hortatu Pauli Rubenij Eq:...Rex et Regina. | The Seven CARTONS of RAPHAEL URBIN | that King Charles I bought by the Advice of Paul Ruben & which are preserv'd in the Gallery | at Hampton Court erected for that Purpose | by the Order of King WILLIAM & Q. MARY.*

[25] See Martin Rosenberg, *Raphael and France. The Artist as Paradigm and Symbol* (Pennsylvania, 1995); Hsieh, op. cit., pp. 910 ff.

[26] See Izabela Czartoryska, *Podróż po Anglii. Dziennik podróży po Anglii i Szkocji w roku 1790*, Agnieszka Whelan, ed. and introduction; trans. by Zdzisław Żygulski jun. and Agnieszka Whelan (Warsaw–Toruń, 2015).

[27] Georg Wolfgang Knorr, *Historische Künstler=Belustigung, oder Gespräche In dem Reiche derer Todten, zwischen denen beeden Welt=bekannten Künstlern Albrecht Dürer und Raphael de Urbino (Nürnberg 1738)*, Hans Christian Hönes, ed. and introduction, *Fontes*, vol. 81 (2014).

representation of Raphael was modelled on Pontius's engraving. The printed images of both artists were not just a neutral manifestation of their presence – the divine dialogue began with the two masters recognizing each other, which was possible because during his lifetime, Dürer had sent his self-portrait to Raphael.[28] The prints were accompanied by Latin inscriptions describing the achievements of both painters, which matches the general idea of Knorr's work – a rather original take on artist biographies that were immensely popular in his day.

In the decades to come, this illustrative dimension (accompanying texts showcasing Raphael's life and work) became crucial for the attractiveness of *Portrait of a Young Man* among publishers.[29] Subsequent printed versions of the painting from the 18th century consolidated its interpretation as Raphael's self-portrait. However, some were a rather distant echo of the masterpiece. For instance, in the work by Venetian printmaker Giacomo Zatta (active c. 1791–94), the painter's image was largely simplified, and the gist of the print's message is conveyed through the rhymed eulogy beneath the composition: *Rafaello | Natura ed Arte gli mostraro il Bello | Ch'egli imitò ne l'opre di pennello. | E l'avria forse con destrezza vinto | Se in maggior lotta non cadeva estinto* (**fig. 10**). In turn, the work by Turin-based printmaker Pietro Peiroleri (1741 – c. 1777) may be treated as a travesty (**fig. 11**). Not only did the Italian engraver limit the composition, but he also changed the arrangement of the sitter's hands, in which he placed a rectangular plaque (most likely a painting), supposed to refer to the model's artistic profession. Again, the most interesting element of this mediocre work is the inscription, emphatically (and rather hypocritically in the context of changes introduced by Peiroleri) stating that this was "a portrait of Raphael from Urbino that he himself painted" (*Ritratto di Rafaello d'Urbino dipinto da lui medesimo*).

Starting from the second half of the 18th century, the highest praise an artist could expect was no longer a comparison to Apelles, but being hailed as "the second Raphael."[30] Further printed references to *Portrait of a Young Man* appeared in numerous publications marking the bourgeoning cult of the "divine" Raphael.[31] These subsequent graphic repetitions and references may well have been the reason why the portrait came to be treated as the canonical image of the painter. It was this interpretation of the work that most likely attracted the Czartoryskis and was then adopted by them – Izabela herself described the painting as follows: *Portrait of Raphael painted by himself*.[32] Interestingly, in the mid-19th century, even

[28] The significance of portraits accompanying the text was also highlighted in the subtitle of this publication: [...] *Gespräche* [...] *nebst ihren wahren und eigentlichen Portraits, nach denen besten Stucken accurat vorgestellet werden.*

[29] For instance the contour head from the work *Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon, oder Lebensbeschreibungen 223 berühmter Künstlern...* (Augsburg, 1797). Another example is the illustration published in Jean-François Dreux du Radier's *L'Europe illustre...* (Paris, 1755, vol. 1, publ. by Michel Odieuvre), which is a quotation from the painting (the image was limited to a bust). See also *„Czasy! Ludzie! Ich dzieła!" Teatr obrazów księżnej Izabeli Czartoryskiej. Obrazy i miniatury z Domu Gotyckiego i Świątyni Sybilli w Puławach*, exhibition concept: Dorota Dec, Janusz Wałek, exh. cat., National Museum in Krakow, Museum of the Princes Czartoryski, 2001 (Krakow, 2001), cat. nos 108–9.

[30] *Raffaello e l'Europa. Atti del IV Corso Internazionale di Alta Cultura*, Marcello Fagiolo, Maria Luisa Madonna, eds (Rome, 1990); Rosenberg, op. cit.; Ebert-Schifferer, op. cit., pp. 20 ff.

[31] For instance, Philibert Boutrois's print appeared as the frontispiece of Charles Paul Landon's monograph on Raphael, *Vie et œuvre complète de Raphaël Sanzio*, published in 1805 as part of the *Vies et œuvres des peintres les plus célèbres* series.

[32] Izabela Czartoryska, *Poczet pamiątek zachowanych w Domu Gotyckim w Puławach* (Warsaw, 1828), p. 105, no. 1280. This is noted in an even clearer manner in *Katalog rozumowany Domu Gotyckiego* (vol. 3, p. 9; BCzart. MS 2917): "Raphael's portrait kept at the study in the Gothic House combines two dear mementoes: the facial likeness of such a renowned man and an assurance that said expressions were painted by his own hand."

Prince Adam Jerzy Czartoryski listed prints made after the painting as one of the arguments for the work's authenticity.[33]

In the 19th century, the portrait became the subject of academic analyses, whose authors were by no means unanimous either in their identification of the sitter or Raphael's authorship.[34] Nevertheless, these doubts did not immediately reach printed reception. It is worth noting, however, that at the time prints became a source of information – of unknown origin – on the painting's history. The most interesting example of such an investigation into the work's provenance is Pieter Jan de Vlamynck's (1795–1850) engraving from the 1820s (**fig. 12**). The inscription accompanying the print outlines the history of the painting almost from its creation: *Raphaël d'Urbin peint par lui même. Ce Tableau provient de la fameuse Collection du Duc de Mantove qui le tenait de Jules Romain. Il appartient maintenant à Mr Reghellini de Schio.*[35] The first part of the text suggests that after Raphael's death (1520), the work was taken over by his student and collaborator Giulio Romano (1499? – 1546).[36] In 1524, this artist was invited to the court of Federico II Gonzaga in Mantua, where he worked until his death. This fact from his biography lends credence to the painting being kept "in the famous collection of the ruler of Mantua." The inscription named the writer and freemason Marcello Reghellini (1763–1855), known as Reghellini de Schio, as the current owner of Raphael's self-portrait. We know for a fact that he acquired paintings from important north Italian collections and tried to extensively promote them with a view to profiting from their sale.[37] In the description of *Portrait of a Young Man* from the catalogue of his collection published in 1826, Reghellini listed a plethora of evidence confirming its rank and beauty – apart from quoting the opinions of art experts, he also mentioned that the image had been copied numerous times in the printed medium, starting from Pontius's engraving.[38] Were we to believe the cited inscription from Vlamynck's print, the engraving cannot been made after the original painting, because at the time it had already belonged to the Czartoryskis, who – according to their own tradition – acquired it from the Giustiniani family.[39] Could the discussed print in fact document the existence of another painted image of Raphael – a replica or copy of north Italian provenance?[40] More extensive deliberations on the subject go beyond the subject matter of this

[33] Janusz Pezda, "Młodzieniec z szafirem. O nieudanej próbie sprzedaży obrazu Rafaela *Portret młodzieńca*," *Rozprawy Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie*, vol. 5 (2012), p. 172. Seria Nowa.

[34] See n. 1.

[35] See Wałek, "The Czartoryski *Portrait of a Youth*...," op. cit., p. 222; id., "Rafaela *Portret młodzieńca*," pp. 37, 45; "*Czasy! Ludzie! Ich dzieła!*," op. cit., cat. nos 111–12.

[36] Giulio Romano was sometimes regarded as the author or co-author of *Portrait of a Young Man*. See also Wałek, "The Czartoryski *Portrait of a Youth*...," op. cit., p. 210; Grabski, op. cit., p. 226.

[37] He offered them at the court in Brussels and also travelled to the British Isles with the same objective. Eugène Warmenbol, "Sarah Belzoni and Her Mummy. Notes on the Early History of the Egyptian Collection in Brussels," in *Collections at Risk. New Challenges in a New Environment*, Claire Derriks, ed. (Atlanta, 2017), pp. 152–53. See also *Messager des Sciences et des Arts* (1826), p. 417.

[38] *Catalogue de tableaux précieux formant la collection de M. Reghellini de Schio, précédé d'une Notice historique sur l'arrivée de ces tableaux dans le Royaume des Pays-Bas* (Brussels, 1826), pp. 15–17, cat. no. 30.

[39] See *Poczet pamiątek*..., no. 1280.

[40] The existence of subsequent copies of the painting is confirmed by a print created at a similar time by Venetian printmaker Felice Zuliani (d. 1834), who specialized in making prints after Old Master paintings. The inscription accompanying the print: *Raffaello Sanzio da un Quadro in tella alto piedi parig. 2 poll. 6. lin. 10 largo piedi parig. 2. poll. 1. esistente presso il Sig.| Niccola Antonioli e similissimo a quello da cui Paolo Ponzio trasse il suo rarissimo*

paper, but it is worth noting that an analysis of Vlamynck's work only deepens these doubts. Comparing the engraving with known photographs of the painting reveals a different manner of depicting the sitter's facial features and coiffure as well as a clear feminization of the model. These differences could be explained by the print being made after a different work, but also by the taste prevalent at the time. After all, printed interpretations of Old Master paintings are only seemingly neutral.

Even the relatively recent past of the painting remains unclear, as may be inferred from an ink annotation preserved on a copy of Vlamynck's print kept in the Princes Czartoryski Museum: *aquis par le p-ce Adam Czartoryski en 1808 à Venise*.[41] This statement seems to contradict the generally assumed opinion that Raphael's image was purchased during the Czartoryskis' stay in Italy at the turn of the 19th century (1799–1801). What is more, the inscription allows us to assume that the Czartoryskis regarded Vlamynck's work as a "reproduction" of the painting held by the family!

Portrait of a Young Man became more renowned when it was acquired for the Czartoryski collection: the work was accessible to art admirers and experts at the Hôtel Lambert, and by mid-century, the painting was also noted on the London art market.[42] In addition, it became the subject of analyses published in subsequent monographs on Raphael. In a way, its rank in the artist's oeuvre was canonized by a steel engraving made by Alexis-François Girard (1787–1870) (**fig. 13**). This work by the Parisian printmaker and publisher, deservedly referred to as a highly skilled *graveur d'interprétation*, was used as the frontispiece of the French edition of the first academic monograph on Raphael by Johann David Passavant (1787–1861): *Raphael d'Urbin et son père, Giovanni Santi (1860)*.[43] Passavant was a painter, art historian and curator of the Städelsches Kunstinstitut in Frankfurt am Main, and his work on the Urbino master served as the model for artist biographies and academic works aspiring to the role of a *catalogue raisonné*. In his analysis of Raphael's self-portrait, Passavant noted the known painted copies of the work, and – understandably for this expert on works on paper – its repetitions in print.[44] Girard's work, equipped with an inscription that indicates the painting's provenance: *Raphaël d'Urbin de la Collection du Prince A. Czartoryski à Paris*, may be regarded as one of the most faithful printed images of *Portrait of a Young Man*. Furthermore, it is one of the very few prints made after the painting where there are no doubts concerning the actual original work it was modelled upon.

Uncertainties on the interpretation, initiated by Pontius's engraving, loomed up with greater force towards the end of the 19th century (*Portrait of a Young Man* did not leave Paris

intaglio del Ritratto medesimo, indicates that it was modelled on a painting on canvas [sic] held by a certain Niccolo Antonioli, "most similar" (*similissimo*) to the image preserved in the "extremely rare" (*rarissimo*) print by Paulus Pontius.

41 Inv. no. XV R-3695a. See Wałek, "The Czartoryski *Portrait of a Youth*...," op. cit., pp. 210–11; id., "Rafaela *Portret młodzieńca*...," op. cit., pp. 38–39; Grabski, op. cit., p. 230.

42 Prince Adam Jerzy sent the painting to London in 1850, hoping to sell it. It most likely returned to Paris in 1852 (in the meantime, attempts at selling the painting were also made in Berlin), see Pezda, *Młodzieniec z szafirem*..., op. cit., pp. 167–78.

43 The first edition of Passavant's work in German (*Raphael von Urbin und sein Vater Giovanni Santi*) was published in Leipzig in 1839. Passavant himself never saw the painting, but trusted the judgment of Gustav Friedrich Waagen, see Wałek, "Rafaela *Portret młodzieńca*...," op. cit., pp. 20 ff.; "*Czasy! Ludzie! Ich dzieła!*"..., op. cit., cat. no. 110.

44 Johann David Passavant, *Raphael d'Urbin et son père Giovanni Santi*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1860), pp. 96–98, no. 77.

until November 1882, when it was transported to Krakow). The scholarly controversy was echoed in an 1881 print by the renowned French printmaker Alphonse François (1814–88).[45] According to the print's inscription, the portrayed figure was Francesco Maria I della Rovere (1490–1538), Duke of Urbino. This interpretation of the sitter was offered by François-Anatole Gruyer, an authority on Raphael's paintings, in a publication from the same year entitled *Raphael. Peintre de portraits.*[46] In his opinion, the painting was a youthful image of the famous *condottiero* and patron of the arts, who came from one of the most eminent families of 16th-century Italy.[47]

Prints, and more specifically the inscriptions accompanying them, revealed what– according to printmakers and publishers – rendered the painting attractive to its viewers. The majority highlighted the fact they were made after the image of "divine" Raphael painted by his own hand. The same issues, i.e., the identification of the portrayed model and the attribution of the unsigned work, later troubled art experts and historians, who attempted to academically analyse the masterpiece starting from the first half of the 19th century. The reception of the work currently known as *Portrait of a Young Man* in prints shows that its attractiveness on the publishing market was due to the recognizability of the sitter and the authorship of the original work. And the popularity of the work in question – as well as subsequent contexts, in which it functioned – could stem from one exquisite print.

Translated by Aleksandra Szkudłapska

[45] Henri Beraldi, *Les graveurs du XIX^e siècle* (Paris, 1887), vol. 6, no. 13; Emmanuel Bénézit, *Dictionnaire critique et documentaire des peintres, sculpteurs, dessinateurs & graveurs...* (Paris, 1913), vol. 2, no. 13.

[46] François-Anatole Gruyer, *Raphael. Peintre de portraits. Fragments d'histoire et d'iconographie sur les personnages représentés dans les portraits de Raphael* (Paris, 1881), vol. 1, pp. 249–56.

[47] See *Patronage and Dynasty. The Rise of the della Rovere in Renaissance Italy*, Ian F. Verstegen, ed. (Kirksville, 2007).