European Biographical Graphic Novels about Canonical Painters:

An Analysis of Form and Function in the Context of Art Museums

By

Tobias Johannes Yu-Kiener

Thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy (PhD)

University of the Arts London

Central Saint Martins

February 2021

Contents

Acknowledgements

Abstract

In the 1940s, the very first comics about the lives and works of well-known visual artists appeared in US-American educational youth magazines, representing the birth of the comics genre of the artist's biography and inaugurating its first publishing boom. The start of the twenty-first century signalled the genre's second publishing boom. As part of a third, overlapping boom, graphic novels about canonical painters have become important tools in art museums' exhibitions, outreach, and education programmes, informing their public relations and marketing campaigns, promoting their collections, and (supposedly) attracting new and younger audiences.

Little attention has been given to these three publishing booms, and no one has investigated the stakeholders and their agendas, including the political, economic, and artistic processes involved in producing such graphic novels.

This thesis fills the gap by examining the booms' connection to art-historical traditions regarding the artist's biography and monograph, and considering how these comics function for different stakeholders, particularly in the context of European art museums, which co-commissioned, co-funded, co-edited and co-published them. The analysis of six graphic novels about the artists Paul Klee, Jacques-Louis David, Salvador Dalí, Vincent van Gogh, Rembrandt von Rijn and Jan van Scorel defines the publications' status between serious artists' biographies, comic books, history books and merchandise products.

The PhD employs semi-structured interviews and questionnaires, extensive archival research, along with close reading, and textual and visual analysis. It combines several interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary approaches from different fields, most importantly art history and comic studies, but reaching out to theories of museology (in particular curatorial and educational programmes as well as the role of the museum shops and its products), (trans)national identity-making, branding, marketing and public relations, and cultural-economic policies (connecting to notions of soft power and cultural capital).

Chapter 1 – Introduction

The twenty-first century has experienced an unprecedented publishing boom of biographical graphic novels about canonical visual artists, the majority of whom are painters, such as Bosch, da Vinci, Caravaggio, Dalí, Picasso, van Gogh, and Rembrandt. So far, this ongoing phenomenon comprises almost 200 such publications released during the first two decades of the third millennium CE.[1] Additionally, a minimum of 120 graphic novels—at least twenty-five of them biographical—have been co-commissioned, co-funded, co-edited and co-published by major art institutions, such as the Musée du Louvre, the Museo Nacional del Prado, the Rijksmuseum, and the Van Gogh Museum.[2] With these graphic adaptions of artists' lives, museums try to promote their respective collections and attract new audiences associated with the comics medium. Such publications have become important tools in the art institutions' exhibitions, outreach and education programmes, as well as public relations and marketing campaigns.

About eighty years ago, in 1942, the earliest comic strips about well-known visual artists appeared in educational US-American youth magazines.[3] Two stories about the lives of Leonardo da Vinci and Benvenuto Cellini represented the birth of the comics genre of the artist's biography, inaugurating a first respective publishing boom.[4]

This study has identified three distinct publishing booms of biographical graphic narratives about canonical visual artists: the First Boom (1942-1949) consisting of comic strips, and the Second Boom (2000-2019) and the Museum Boom (2005-2019) compiled of graphic novels, with the last one containing publications commissioned by art museums.

The European traditions of biographies of artists are more than two millennia old. The earliest complete surviving text was created by Pliny the Elder during the first century CE, using even older sources.[5] After a silent Medieval Period, the practice of recording artists' lives awoke again during the Italian Renaissance. Giorgio Vasari, describing the lives of Italian artists from Giotto to Michelangelo, and Carel van Mander, who wrote about Dutch and German artists' lives, have inspired writers up until today.[6] Gradually those writings have evolved into the standard form for the art-historical artist's monograph.

Looking at the First Boom (1942-1949), the Second Boom (2000-2019), and the Museum Boom (2005-2019), it becomes apparent that all three use Pliny, Vasari, and van

---

[1] See Appendix C for a list of these graphic novels.
[2] See Appendix D for a list of these graphic novels.
[3] [Uncredited] March 1942; [Uncredited] April 1942.
[4] See Appendix A for a list of these comic strips.
[5] Pliny 1968.
[6] Vasari 1998; van Mander 1969.

Mander as sources. Even more importantly, these comics follow art-historical traditions of the artist's biography using the same approaches and literary tools. The current Second Boom of graphic novels about canonical visual artists and the Museum Boom, in particular, have been phenomena unprecedented in their scale and international and transnational dimensions. The mounting pressure on art institutions to continuously attract more, broader and new audiences to prove their economic and cultural value and secure funding has crumbled the traditional steadfast resistance by most art museums to engage with the comics medium and comic art. Thus, a new type of museum publication has emerged on the book market, representing an innovative museological tool.

This thesis investigates the three currently under-researched publishing booms in biographical graphic narratives about canonical visual artists, their connection to, and continuation of established art-historical literary standards and traditions regarding the artist's biography and monograph. Furthermore, it explores the respective graphic novels' function(s) in the context of the individual supporting art museums.

Specifically, the aims of this research are fourfold:

- The first aim is to trace the predecessors, development, and scope of the current Second Boom (2000-2019) of biographical graphic novels about canonical painters as well as the overlapping Museum Boom (2005-2019) involving art museums. Upon discovering the First Boom (1942-1949) of biographical comic strips about canonical visual artists, identifying its scope and development has also become part of this aim.

- The second aim is to consider all three booms within the biographical traditions of art history. These traditions are the anecdote and the life-and-work model, two crucial narratological tools at the core of such life-writing, as well as the presentation of an artist's oeuvre.

- The third aim is to examine the graphic novel form and its function in different institutional contexts, using a corpus of selected case studies, co-commissioned, co-funded, co-edited and co-published by European art museums.

- The fourth aim is to explore all stakeholders' different institutional agendas, involved in creating the publications from the corpus, when associating themselves with the graphic novel medium.

The fulfilling of these foundational aims, thus the research project as such, rests on three main pillars: Firstly, semi-structured interviews and questionnaires; secondly, archival research; thirdly, close reading followed by a textual and visual analysis of graphic narratives, taken from all three booms but with a clear focus on a corpus of six graphic novels. This

corpus responds to the research aims while considering the limiting parameters of a PhD regarding time and length as well as the researcher's language skills. It consists of one Swiss, two French and three Dutch graphic novels from the Museum Boom published between 2008 and 2013 (Fig. 1.1).

The first pillar consists of semi-structured interviews, conducted with various stakeholders involved in the decision-making and creation of the graphic novels in the corpus. The conversations were held via telephone or online platforms, and in three cases, even in person.[7] When an interview was inconvenient or impossible for various reasons, questionnaires have been used to gather the required information.[8] These new primary sources stand at the heart of this thesis. Prior to this project, no such information, including the voices of various stakeholders, was available to scholars. These latest first-hand materials do not only highlight contributions by various parties involved but also allow for an in-depth understanding of the internal processes of the commission, creation, editing, funding, promotion, and publication of twenty-first-century biographical graphic novels about canonical visual artists.

Between October 2017 and November 2018, the respective comic artists and writers, commissioners, such as museums, publishers, and funding bodies, publishers of English editions, and comics journalists were approached for this research. As a result, six graphic novelists, who had written and drawn a narrative, one writer, four art museums, four publishers of original editions and three of foreign-language editions, and two funding bodies were successfully convinced to participate in the project and subsequently interviewed. In June 2019, an additional comics journalist agreed to partake.

Eleven interviews—more than fifteen hours in length—have been conducted, and ten filled questionnaires were received. Combined, they provide invaluable information and insight into the artistic, economic, strategic, and political processes involved in realising the respective project. Several email correspondences with various stakeholders have been used and additionally aided the research considerably. Unless otherwise stated, all translations are by the researcher. Due to restrictions regarding the length of the thesis, not all the material is used.

---

[7] Due to legal reasons, the researcher is required to safekeep the interview files. However, for strictly academic purposes and upon request, access will be granted. To request access, please contact the researcher via the Comics Research Hub (CoRH) homepage URL: http://comicsresearch.arts.ac.uk/ people/members/tobias-j-yu-kiener/.

[8] Due to legal reasons, the researcher is required to safekeep the questionnaires. However, for strictly academic purposes and upon request, access will be granted. To request access, please contact the researcher via the Comics Research Hub (CoRH) homepage URL: http://comicsresearch.arts.ac.uk/ people/members/tobias-j-yu-kiener/.

Extensive archival research, physical as well as online, forms the research's second pillar. Findings from the online archives *COMICBOOK+*, *Grand Comics Database* (GCD), and the Digital Collections of the University Libraries of the Catholic University of America have led to the discovery of many biographical comics about canonical visual artists, allowing for the scoping as well as the tracing of the aftermath of the First Boom.[9] Research at the British Library, examining the British educational youth magazines *Look and Learn* (1962-1982), *World of Wonders* (1970-1975) and *Ranger* (1965-1966), has revealed a complete lack of similar publications in the United Kingdom. The extensive bibliographic database complied for this project, containing biographical graphic narratives published in North America, Western Europe and Asia between 1942 and 2019, has enabled the discovery, definition and comparison of the different, at times parallel, publishing periods.[10] In combination, this has allowed for establishing a chronological frame and geographical focus for the research project, and an analysis and comparison of patterns between early and current graphic narratives about canonical visual artists.

Unfortunately, several individuals and institutions have not responded to attempts to contact them or stopped replying at some point. Luckily, online archival resources, such as interviews with, articles about and homepages of individual artists, as well as institutional websites and archives, could be accessed for this research. On several occasions, the necessity to consult such alternative sources has revealed valuable information and details unmentioned in the interviews. Also, appearances on social media, such as Twitter and Facebook, and online platforms like YouTube, have provided vital (additional) information.

The third and last of the main pillars is the close reading and subsequent visual and textual analysis of graphic narratives, looking at the representation of the portrayed artists' lives and works. In comparing the findings with the art-historical genres of the artist's biography and monograph, this research reveals the extent to which all three graphic narrative publishing booms are linked to such genre traditions. It allows the highlighting of specific shared patterns, and the continuation and confirmation, thus approval, of established art-historical narratives by graphic narratives. The close reading and analysis of policy papers, (annual) reports and press releases from governments, funding bodies, publishers, and museums have permitted the determination, interpretation, and contextualisation of the respective stakeholders' agendas.

---

[9] URL: https://comicbookplus.com/; URL: https://www.comics.org/; URL: https://libraries.catholic.edu/ (all accessed 01/11/2020).

[10] All efforts have been taken to ensure the accuracy and comprehensiveness of the data. Yet, due to various limiting factors, this thesis cannot guarantee, hence does not argue for, the data's absoluteness but acknowledged the possibility of its incompleteness.

Thoroughly resting on this stable structure, this research determines where to position graphic novels about canonical visual artists between scholarly artists' biographies, comic books, history books, merchandise products, public relations and marketing strategies, and state, city and museum branding. Thus, it contributes to academic knowledge in several disciplines and fields, as discussed below.

Neither art historians nor comics scholars have given much attention to the publishing booms of graphic narratives about canonical visual artists. On the one hand, art historians produce much literature about the histories and traditions of the artist's biography and monograph within the boundaries of their own discipline. However, none has looked at the specific comics genre of the artist's biography.

On the other hand, comic biographies, memoirs and autobiographies are thoroughly explored by comics scholars, but few have published articles about twenty-first-century biographical graphic novels about visual artists. These articles mainly focus on Franco-Belgian publications and hardly make the connection to art-historical traditions of writings about an artist's life.[11] Also, comic scholarship has (extensively) explored the relationship between the comics medium and comic art, and museums and museum art, focusing mainly on exhibitions of comics.[12] However, hardly any of these studies investigate graphic novels co-commissioned, co-funded, co-edited and co-published by art museums.[13] Ultimately, no publication has dealt with the different stakeholders and their various agendas behind, as well as the political, economic, and artistic processes involved in creating such graphic narratives. The First Boom has neither been discussed in the existing scholarship.

This research fills these gaps. It reveals, discusses, and analyses the previously unknown First Boom of comics on canonical visual artists in educational US-American youth magazines, giving birth to the new comics genre of the artist's biography. It considers the scale of the boom itself and its aftermath and introduces the main contributors, such as magazines and their publishers. Based on statistical evidence, this study acknowledges that twenty-first-century graphic novels about canonical visual artists do indeed constitute a Second Boom of respective biographical graphic narratives: a renaissance of the genre after a long break. The Second Boom proves to be more international and transnational in scale

---

[11] Lladó 2020; Screech 2020; Grünewald 2019, pp.254-255; Cortsen 2018-2019; Groensteen 2017-2018; 2015a; Pendergast 2016; Leroy 2012; 2011.

[12] Most recently, Kim Munson (ed., 2020a) published the anthology *Comic Art in Museums*; For an earlier exploration of the relationship of museums and graphic narratives in an exhibition setting, see e.g. Meon 2018-2019; 2015; Manzanera 2018; Munson 2017; 2009; Howell 2015; Lejeune 2015; Daures 2014; Flinn 2013; Picone 2013; Duffy 2009; Roeder 2008; Brandl 2007; Hill 2007; Molotui 2017; 2007; Roche 2007; For a discussion about the interplay of comic art and museum art, see e.g. Grünewald 2019; Cyrill 2017; Holbo 2017; Press 2017; Groensteen 2015b; c; 2010; Kaenel 2014; Beaty 2012; Bistis 2005; Bollom and McKinney 2005.

[13] Flinn 2013.

and output while having publication hot spots in certain countries. The findings link both publishing booms to writing traditions of art history. The specific role of European art museums in the Museum Boom is investigated and explained. The research also gives a voice to different stakeholders, from creators and commissioners to publishers and promoters. The various institutional and personal agendas behind joining and contributing to a graphic novel project are interrogated, and the individual role, status and use of each publication from the corpus in the respective museum context are highlighted and analysed.

Therefore, this research is mainly based in and primarily contributes to the disciplines of art history and comics studies. It considers art-historical theories, methods and traditions regarding the development and composition of the Western art-historical canon. Furthermore, the thesis refers to art-historical life-writing about artists, particularly the narrative structures and tools of respective biographical texts, from early records to Renaissance biographies and nineteenth-century monographs. The study combines these two aspects, analysing the use of the anecdote and the life-and-work model as storytelling devices as well as the presentation of an individual's *oeuvre* as part of the graphic narrative's structure, and examines how comic strips and graphic novels contribute to and enforce the canonical status of individuals and their art. Finally, the art-historical method of visual analysis is frequently used throughout the thesis to examine the *graphic* parts of graphic narratives.

Furthermore, this study is located within a comics studies framework. It builds on recent scholarship about genre in comics, arguing for a new addition to the canon of comics genres and establishing the existence of respective genre-specific themes. When analysing graphic narratives, this research refers to theories and discussions about narrative patterns in comics, such as braiding, to determine the level to which the creators have exploited the medium-specific advantages. Also, the thesis examines arguments by comics scholars and practitioners to consider what certain artistic styles, such as *ligne claire* and infographics, can bring to the genre and particular publications. Moreover, keen to provide a comprehensive analysis of the material, including the different contributions from all parties involved in a publication's production, creation and distribution, this research engages with theories on comics works—defined by Casey Brienza and Paddy Johnston as 'any labor within the field of the cultural production of comics that contributes to or informs a comic's production'—, whenever the material provides respective information, while not primarily focussing on this aspect.[14] Finally, this study builds on scholarship in the history of comics

---

[14] Brienza and Johnston 2016, p.3.

to contextualise the various publishing phenomena, past and contemporary comics exhibitions, and advertising and applied comics.

Moreover, the research looks at theories from museums studies and museology (in particular curatorial and educational programmes, audience development and the role of the museum shops and its products), (trans)national identity-making, branding, marketing and public relations, and cultural-economic policies (connecting to notions of soft power and cultural capital). Thus, this transdisciplinary research generates secondary contributions, highly relevant to these fields as well as cultural studies and cultural history, visual studies, biography studies, and cultural diplomacy.

The research corpus of graphic novels has been chosen carefully to keep its size manageable and composition consistent. Therefore, any form of illustrated biographical books has not been considered, such as the *This is ...* series by Laurence King Publishing Ltd and the *Biographic* series by Ammonite Press, as the graphic art does not form a narrative in those cases. Picture and children's books and graphic narratives targeted predominantly at children have been excluded too. On the one hand, naturally, such publications lack complexity and maturity in their narratives due to the targeted age groups, making them unsuitable for this research. On the other hand, this study considers graphic novels a distinct type of publication. Mingling them with children's literature—an already well-established museum product—would therefore have made little sense and prevented an assessment of the role and position of graphic novels in the museum context. Also, fictional graphic narratives and comic book series, which may occasionally mention or include a visual artist as a minor character, such as comics strips featuring Leonardo da Vinci's flying machine, and series like the Dutch *Suske en Wiske*, the Italian *Martin Mystére* and the American *S.H.I.E.L.D.*, have not been part of the corpus. The obvious fictionality and the fact that the artists are just secondary characters in the narratives made such publications unsuitable for analysing biographical patterns. Finally, only print publications have been considered.

The resulting possible corpus of nearly 200 graphic novels—mostly about painters—would have been still too large to research in-depth. Thus, it has been necessary to narrow the focus further: Firstly, considering the researcher's fluency in German and English, the body of works has been reduced by language accordingly. Secondly, as the art-historical traditions of artists' biographies and monographs, as well as the majority of the graphic narrative publications, are European, it has made sense to apply a matching geographic focus. Thirdly, graphic novels co-commissioned by art museums—manifestations and guardians of art-historical traditions—have been chosen as appropriate to stand at the core of this research. The respective publications allow the investigation of the interplay between long-established biographic standards of art history for recording an artist's life and the comics medium—

often deemed unworthy of their attention by art historians who help create and shape those same standards.

Consequently, the main corpus comprises graphic novels about canonical painters co-commissioned, co-funded, co-edited and co-published by European art museums during the twenty-first century and available in either English or German. The result is a body of six graphic novels (Fig. 1.1).

It is necessary to define some key terms in the context of this research. Firstly, the concept of the *canonical* artist, connected to the idea of the art-historical *canon*, needs to be clarified. Secondly, the differences between *comics* and *graphic novels* shall be explained as well as some notions of *genre* in comics. In both cases, the definitions are subject to ongoing discussions within the respective fields of art history and comics studies. Finally, this research's understanding of *boom* is laid out.

The Greek word κανόνας [*kanónas*] originally referred to a rule or measuring stick as a 'standard' by which something is measured.[15] The earliest known artistic canon of Europe came from fifth-century BCE Greece. Polykleitos of Sikyon 'made the statue which sculptors call the "canon," referring to it as a standard from which they can learn the first rules of their art,' embodying 'the principles of his art in a single work.'[16] Since the times of Polykleitos, this canon has continuously been extended, repeatedly re-defined, and lately more and more scrutinised, continually evolving and developing into more regional and national canons under the umbrella of the Western canon of art.[17] Naturally, ethnic, regional, and national identities have been of high importance for building sub-canons.[18] Consequently, the Western canon, as well as the specific canons, have lacked consistency throughout history.[19] For artworks or artists to be canonical has meant setting a standard for great art and aesthetic value, 'to be [deemed] indisputable in quality.'[20] In contrast to such canonical artists, their colleagues may have only been famous, lacking distinguishing greatness.

In referencing established canonical artists or artwork, artists have included themselves in the very same canon(s) too.[21] For example, Peter Paul Rubens studied the

---

[15] For a discussion on the meaning of canon as measuring standard, see Borbein 2019; Papadopoulos 2019.

[16] Pliny 1968, pp.42-43.

[17] Barker (1999a; b) and Walsh (1999) discuss cases of artists being added and removed from the European canon of art.

[18] Silver 2019, p.2; For a debate on the national character of canons, see Dewdney, Dibosa and Walsh 2013, pp.99-121.

[19] Silver 2019, p.11; Perry 1999, p.12.

[20] Perry 1999, p.12.

[21] Silver 2019, p.7; Pollock 1999, p.4.

Renaissance masters, such as Michelangelo and Titian, and achieved canonical status himself already during his lifetime in referring to their style and compositions (Fig. 1.2-1.3). Andrea Tsurumi's comic strip *Challenging the Gods. Rubens Becoming Rubens* (2015) exemplifies Rubens' creative process masterfully (Fig. 1.4), while the covers of Ivana and Gradimir Smudja's *Au fil de l'Art* [Throughout Art] (2012-2015) depict the formation of the canon of art by artists drawing on their predecessors and being drawn upon by their successors, equally well (Fig. 1.5).[22] The mythmaking of a Great Artist—natural-born genius or suffering negative criticism and poverty—has become an intrinsic part of the canon(s).[23] The canon of art has been defined, publicised and thus enshrined through the artists' training as well as ecclesiastical, princely, royal, municipal, national, and private collections and commissions, which were initially displayed in a respective exclusive setting and eventually in art museums. Thus, art academies and museums were always at the centre of the canon's development, evolution, and presentation (s).[24] In particular, the development of print, allowing for cheaper reproduction and distribution of artworks, has led to familiarisation and canonisation by repetition in affordable art books for a mass audience.[25] The artist's biography and monograph, both accepting and publicising the notion of the Great Artist, have become another crucial element in the canonisation of artists, acknowledged with book titles such as *Shaping the Netherlandish Canon. Karel van Mander's Schilder-Boeck* (1991) by Walter S. Melion.[26] Consequently, the publishing houses have been of great significance in creating, changing, and distributing the canon(s).[27] Pragmatically, one can therefore describe the canon as a body of individuals chosen for their 'enduring popularity [with the general public as well as professionals] and continuing economic and aesthetic value which their works are seen to hold.'[28]

The problem with this canon of art is that, as it is grounded in European notions of greatness and aesthetic quality derived from Greek Antiquity, it is fundamentally Eurocentric—religiously, culturally, and artistically—and dominated by white men, both as critics and artists. Conversely, it inevitably has been marginalising (if not excluding) women and non-European ethnicities and their works of art, as highlighted by scholars of social and

---

[22] Tsurumi's comic strip is part of the comic book anthology *Prometheus Eternal* (2015), which was commissioned by the Philadelphia Museum of Art on the occasion of their exhibition *The Wrath of the Gods. Masterpieces by Rubens, Michelangelo, and Titian (12 September – 6 Dcember 2015)*.

[23] Perry 1999, p.15; Nochlin 1973, p.197; Pollock 1998.

[24] Nochlin 1973, p.199; For a discussion of the interplay between art academies, museums and the European—mainly French and British—canon(s), see Perry and Cunningham 1999.

[25] Silver 2019, pp.3, 11; For a discussion about book series promoting the canon, please refer to Kitschen 2019.

[26] Nochlin 1973, pp.197-198; Melion 1991.

[27] Pollock 1999, p.4.

[28] Perry 1999, p.15.

feminist art histories such as Linda Nochlin and Griselda Pollock. Again, the Smudjas capture these problematic aspects of the canon (Fig. 1.5).[29]

There has never been just one single canon of art but a multitude of canons, applying different standards of artistic greatness and aesthetic quality, based on various local or national, political, religious, cultural, and social norms and identities.[30] However, European art history has usually not engaged respectfully with 'foreign' canons. On the contrary, European powers actively and consciously destroyed or at least ruptured indigenous canons of art in the process of various century-long colonial campaigns.[31] Thus, Pollock notes that the Western or European canon of art is 'selective in its inclusions' and 'political in its patterns of exclusion,' displaying a fear of the Other while offering 'a mode of worship of the artist.'[32] Therefore, a canonical artist—a standard-bearer of perceived greatness and European aesthetic values—has become iconic in the original meaning of *εικόνισμα* [*eikónisma*]: an image used for worship. However, more than a mere depiction or portrait, worshippers regard the icon itself as sacred.

This research acknowledges the issues raised regarding the—Western and European, white, and predominantly masculine—canon(s) of art history. However, as it is not concerned with challenging and re-shaping this tradition, it adopts a pragmatic definition of *canonical* in an art-historical context: consistently popular with the public and specialists for proven economic and perceived aesthetic values. Canonical artists may be considered commonly more popular and wider known, and their art more expensive and profitable than their non-canonical colleagues and their work. On the one hand, it is seen as a strictly descriptive term, not as an approval of the very same canon(s). On the other hand, in the context of European art museums co-commissioning graphic novels about European visual artists, referring to European canon(s) of art history is not intrinsically mistaken. Despite arguing for more inclusive art-historical canon(s), as the existing biographical graphic narratives about visual artists almost exclusively feature canonical individuals in a traditional sense, this thesis inevitably analyses writings about canonical artists using Western art-historical tools, such as established periodisations and academic standards regarding referencing. It thus might unintentionally repeat established tropes or contribute to the canonisation of individuals. However, this is no conscious choice but a result of the research material available to the researcher.

---

[29] Nochlin 1973; Pollock 1999.

[30] For a most recent discussion on the various global artistic canons throughout history, see Silver and Terraciano 2019.

[31] For an exploration of colonial views on canons, see Terraciano 2019; Flecker 2019.

[32] Pollock 1999, pp.5-6, 13-14.

In comparison, the discussion around possible definitions of terms such as *comics* and *graphic novels* is relatively young. However, that does not necessarily make them easier to pin down. No universal definition of comics exists, as scholarship, looking at the entire history of comics, has retrospectively been trying to write up a description that includes all essential features and holds true for most examples.[33] Daniel Stein and Jan-Noel Thon argue that most scholars could probably agree that a prototypical comic consists of a sequence of panels—unless it is a single-panel example—combining an image with text—except when it is wordless—into a narrative.[34] Such not entirely straightforward definitions, coupled with the desire of the broader comics industry and community to rebrand comics, to be more widely—not least academically—accepted, have led to an extensive array of terms, including sequential art and graphic narrative, which are shorter but by no means more explanatory.

Will Eisner claims, 'sequential art' would be a 'discernible discipline,' that it 'was for many decades generally ignored as a form worthy of scholarly discussion' and that its language and vocabulary developed in America.[35] By using 'sequential art' synonymously for 'comics,' clearly, Eisner's claims cannot hold, as art history included examples of artworks arranged in sequence for centuries and long before Europeans colonised Northern America. While Scott McCloud acknowledges the issues with Eisner's definition—together with the exclusion of single-panel comics—he nonetheless maintains the term.[36] Later, Eisner clarifies sequential art as 'images deployed in a specific order,' comics as 'a form of sequential art,' and graphic narratives as 'generic description of any story that employs images to transmit an idea.'[37] Stein and Thon argue for the usage of graphic narrative, as it is less Anglo-American than comic, incorporating Italian *fumetti*, Franco-Belgian *bande dessinée*, Spanish *historietas* or *tebeos*, Dutch *stripboek*, German *Bildergeschichten*, Japanese manga [マンガ], Chinese mànhuà [漫画] and more, thus being the most inclusive terminology—yet excluding abstract and non-narrative examples.[38] When sequential art emphasises the sequentiality of images, the term graphic narrative highlights the notion that those pictures might tell a story. Both terms include a reference to (graphic) art, thus, allow

---

[33] Sabin 1993, p.5.

[34] Stein and Thon 2013, p.5.

[35] Eisner 2008a, pp.xi, 1.

[36] McCloud 1994, pp.2-23.

[37] Eisner 2008b, pp.xv, xvii; However, still somewhat at odds with art history, he suggested that '[i]n our culture, film and comics are the major conveyors of story through imagery,' seemingly ignoring centuries of visual arts practice, telling an abundance of stories, while also leaving the question whose culture he is talking about unanswered.

[38] Stein and Thon 2013, p.5.

(if not demand) for their inclusion into art history as yet another medium, using (sequential) graphic expression to narrate a plot. A genuinely universal term has yet to be found.

In contrast, it seems easier to define the term *graphic novel*: a longer than usual story with thematic unity, often concerned with more complicated topics, such as substance abuse, sexual and physical violence, (mental) health issues, and trauma, thus, targeted at a more mature readership, starting with young adults. However, there is no consensus about what page count a comic book becomes a graphic novel and whether a publication that simply collects a series of previously released comic books counts as such. As recent scholarship shows, the debate about graphic novels' history, terminology, and definition is ongoing.[39]

Regardless of discussions within the comics community, Frank Miller and Klaus Janson's *The Dark Knight Returns* (1986), and Alan Moore, Dave Gibbons and John Higgins' *Watchmen* (1987) and Art Spiegelman's *Maus* (1986/1991)—winning the prestigious Pulitzer Prize in 1992—, have marked a change in how the *public* have been perceiving the comics medium.[40] Contrary to common belief, graphic novels were created well before the late 1980s. The term was used already in the 1960s, and several graphic novels have been published before the late 1980s, such as Will Eisner's *A Contract With God* (1978).[41] Roger Sabin shows that the 'graphic novel effect' was not so much a revolution but the introduction of a new audience to the medium.[42] Publishers created and applied the graphic novel label, 'associating [adult comics] with novels and disassociating them from comics,' to promote their sales to new readerships through high street book shops.[43] Although the sales have been disappointing, due to publishers' excessive use of the graphic novel label, graphic novels were permanently established on the book market and are now 'widely accepted to designate what are deemed serious, adult graphic narratives.'[44]

This research considers all formats of comics—comic strips, comic books, proto-graphic novels, graphic novels, webcomics, *fumetti*, *bande dessinée*, *historietas* and *tebeos*, *stripboek*, *Bildergeschichten*, manga [マンガ], and mànhuà [漫画]—as *graphic narratives*,

---

[39] For an in-depth discussion of the history and changing terminology and definitions of the graphic novel, see Williams (2020) *Dreaming the Graphic Novel. The Novelization of Comics*, providing statistical data on the use of the term and number of respective publications between the mid-1960s and the early 1980s, Baetens and Frey (2015) *The Graphic Novel. An Introduction*, and Beaty and Weiner (eds, 2013) *Critical Survey of Graphic Novels: History, Theme, and Technique*; For brief overview of the debate see, Inge 2017, pp.14-15; Duncan, Smith and Levitz 2015, pp.64-80; Sabin 2002, p.162; 1993, pp.87-95, 235-248.

[40] All three examples had been serialised before they were re-published and received much more attention as graphic novels.

[41] In contrast, *A Contract With God* had not been serialised before.

[42] Sabin 2002, pp.162-167.

[43] Ibid., pp.165-167; 1993, pp.87-95.

[44] Ibid. 1993, pp.235-236, 246-247; Baetens and Surdiacourt 2013, p.359; Gabilliet (2010, p.148) describes the excessive use of the graphic novel term as one part of a three-fold crisis of comics in the late 1980s.

insisting that the term naturally includes far more media in different formats. The term *comic strip* refers to a relatively short story of thematic unity and several pages in length, mainly used for specific examples of the First Boom (1942-1949), published as part of an anthology. In contrast, longer and more complex narratives, often depicting sex, violence, mental illness, and various types of trauma and frequently including a meta-narrative, thus, requiring a generally more mature readership to be fully understood, such as the examples from the Second Boom (2000-2019) and Museum Boom (2005-2019), are referred to as a *graphic novel*.

Standing between the two yet not clearly belonging to either are what this research labels *proto-graphic novels*. The term indicates that respective narratives were longer than the average comic strips of the 1940s, depicted more violence and sex, and thus increasingly aimed at (young) adults rather than juvenile readers. They were released during the second half of the twentieth century and included comic books and longer comic strips.

Defining *genre* in comics often focuses on major thematic complexes, such as superheroes, funny animals, and romance, thus leaving more minor genres unexplored.[45] This focus might result from the fact that there is no universal definition of genre and hence no definitive list, as they are subjects of constant discussion between the comics world's various communities, including creators, publishers, readers, collectors, and scholars.[46] Randy Duncan, Matthew J. Smith and Paul Levitz define genres through sets of 'conventions,' focussing on five aspects: character types, setting, narrative patterns, themes, and visual conventions.[47] Similarly, in his recent discussion on genres in comics and extrapolating from Peter Coogan's writings about core elements of superhero comics—who admits that 'canonical examples' do not exhibit them all—, Nicolas Labarre describes a genre as a 'catalog of conventions' concerning 'central features' and 'elements of context,'

---

[45] Most recently, Labarre has researched comics genres, their emergence, shaping, maintenance, use, and function in *Understanding Genres in Comics* (2020), including a whole chapter (pp.129-146) on 'invisible genres'; Duncan, Smith and Levitz (2015, pp.163-262) analyses genre in comics extensively, establishing the 'genre conventions', looking at Teen Humour, Romance, Funny Animals, and Horror, before exemplifying their argument further with a chapter each on Superheroes and Memoir; Gardner (2013) provides a most interesting analysis of American Romance Comics between 1947 and 1954, examine what sort of gender roles young female readers would encounter in such narratives; Hansen (2004) argues for a separate True-Adventure genre in 1940s-American-comics, providing a bibliography of respective magazines.

[46] Duncan Smith and Levitz (2015, pp. 163-262) record at least **eighteen** genres, which varies greatly from various online platforms, from **thirty-seven** genres registered by the *Grand Comics Database* (available at URL: https://docs.comics.org/wiki/Official_Genres_List, accessed 26/11/2021), **thirty-nine** genres noted by ComicsPriceGuide.com (available at URL: https://comicspriceguide.com/genres, accessed 26/11/2021), and **forty** such categories available at *ComicBook+* (available at URL: https://comicbookplus.com /?cbplus=categories, accessed 26/11/2021), to **sixteen** distinguished genres on the amateur comics creator homepage *WebToons* (available at URL: https://www.webtoons.com/en/genre, accessed 26/11/2021), and **nineteen** genres known to Gene Kannenberg's comics scholarship bibliography ComicsResearch.org (available at: http://comicsresearch.org/ genres.html, accessed 26/11/2021).

[47] Duncan, Smith and Levitz 2015, pp.163-170.

allowing to 'rule *in* or *out*.'[48] Such genre conventions are established and maintained through repetition, with each repetition strengthening the convention further.[49] Potential new additions have to find a balance between following these conventions (standardisation) and introducing new ideas (differentiation) to carve out a niche for themselves on the market, which sometimes leads to hybrid forms, which can also be interpreted as sub-genres.[50] Labarre argues that the film scholar Rick Altman's model, mapping genre on a semantic axis and a syntactic axis, allows categorising such hybrid narratives as a blend instead of peripheral examples.[51] Further, the model foregrounds that genre boundaries are not the result of 'a homogenous set of criteria' but constitute 'what is likely and expected,' with some genres being categorised by an affects they induce and others by features of their fictional setting.[52]

As mentioned above, a recurring problem is that certain comics are recognised as important examples of a particular genre while they do not display all its characteristics.[53] Prototype theory provides a solution, as it accepts particular, most prominent, and established exemplars of a category as a basis and subsequently positions and judges other (potential) examples in relation to their closeness and distance to the prototypical reference.[54] Thus, genres are approached not as 'objective index to a collection of physical objects, but as conceptual and discursive categories,' while also being compatible with approaches that work with sets of conventions.[55] Probably not coincidentally, comics scholarship has long been using a prototype approach when trying to define what comics are. At the same time, in agreeing on the most important historical examples, worthy of attention and praise for various reasons, the comics community has essentially been compiling a *canon* of its own against which new publications are measured, following art history's example.

The function and use of genre differ for the various stakeholders. For audiences, it is 'guiding consumption and generating specific pleasures' in categorising a narrative's content and providing information about what to expect.[56] In the case of creators, genres offer 'reproducible narrative patterns' and a way to 'shape the readers' experience,' while publishers and distributors use it to 'create and identify expectations' and subsequently

---

[48] Labarre 2020, p.3.

[49] Duncan, Smith and Levitz 2015, pp.167-170; Labarre 2020, pp.9-11.

[50] Duncan, Smith and Levitz 2015, pp.165, 186-187; Labarre 2020, p.4.

[51] Labarre (2020, pp.3-4) also dedicates a whole chapter (pp.63-78) hybrid genres.

[52] Ibid, p.4.

[53] For example, a secret identity is commonly regarded as a crucial feature of a superhero narrative yet there are superheroes, such as the Fantastic Four, whose identity is very well and publicly known.

[54] Labarre 2020, pp.5-7.

[55] Ibid.

[56] Ibid., p.7.

adjust their marketing efforts.[57] Also, critics use genres to 'create discourse' beyond an individual object and strengthen and legitimise their own position in 'making the experience of a cultural object meaningful.'[58] Notably, 'genres and their uses are not separate notions.'[59] Furthermore, comics communities constantly renegotiate established genres through their use, changing them and creating new ones in the process.[60] This research considers and argues for the artist's biography as a distinct comics genre, based on the characteristics displayed by respective narratives.

Naturally, the discussion of different publishing booms also requires defining a *boom*. On the one hand, it is characterised as 'a sudden bound of activity in any business or speculation' as well as 'the effective launching of anything with éclat upon the market, or upon public attention' and 'an impetus given to any movement, or enterprise.'[61] This research subscribes to these definitions, as indeed the publishing booms discussed occurred after a long period with few or even no similar publications. Thus, the First Boom, the Second Boom and the Museum Boom constitute the sudden launch of a respective unprecedented comics product in specific markets. Further, during the Second Boom and the Museum Boom, the commissioners were actively pushing these products, trying to generate publicity and attract attention, in publishing a series of biographical graphic narratives about canonical visual artists and staging exhibitions.

On the other hand, writing about the British Sci-Fi Boom, Istvan Csicsery-Ronay describes a boom as 'an explosion of creativity' and 'a moment [that] happens,' admitting that the precise reasons for the occurrence of a boom are challenging to determine.[62] According to the author, the contributors to a boom share a particular 'spirit' to create 'exciting work under fortunate circumstances,' which in response is shaped into a creative field by various stakeholders, such as publishers and critics.[63] Csicsery-Ronay argues there is an exchange between critics and creators, developing into a shared sense among all stakeholders of 'serving a larger cultural community.'[64] He concludes that either a boom has to end or turns into an age after being strengthened.[65] This thesis uses Csicsery-Ronay's

---

[57] Ibid.

[58] Ibid., pp.7-8.

[59] Ibid., p.8.

[60] Ibid., pp.8-9.

[61] Oxford English Dictionary. "Boom." *Oxford English Dictionary* (Oxford University Press, online ed., accessed 08/11/2021). URL: https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/21467?rskey=OByuHM&result=3&is Advanced=false#eid.

[62] Csicsery-Ronay 2003.

[63] Ibid.

[64] Ibid.

[65] Ibid.

definition, as the researched publishing booms were seemingly not triggered by a specific event but just occurred when the circumstances were fortunate. This assessment is especially accurate for the First Boom. Fostered and formed in close partnerships between the various commissioners, such as publishers, museums and funding bodies, the three Booms played out in the respective comics and book markets as well as the museum world. Particularly during the Museum Boom, there is a shared consciousness among all stakeholders to create something new and exciting for the individual museum and thus the public while also contributing to the broader national and international cultural climate. Considering the length of the current Second Boom (2000-2019) and Museum Boom (2005-2019), they may qualify as the beginnings of respective Ages.

Throughout the project, parts of the findings have been presented, and new ideas and approaches tested at various international academic conferences. At the *Comics Crossroads 2* (Courtauld Institute of Art, UK, 2016), the *Summer School Transnational Graphic Narratives* (University of Siegen, Germany, 2017), and the *7th Annual International Conference of the European Popular Culture Association* (Charles University, Czech Republic, 2018), presentations explored specific elements of the research. Respectively, the talks discussed the mythologisation of canonical artists, transnational aspects of graphic novels about such artists, and how the publishing booms in biographical graphic narratives speak to local, (trans)national, global and European identities.

Together with Mark Hibbett and Guy Lawley, the researcher has organised the *FRAME:WORKS* conference (Central Saint Martins, UK, 2017). Among other aspects, it explored questions around translations and foreign-language editions of biographical graphic novels from the Second Boom in a panel discussion with Emma Hayley, the Managing Director and Founder of publishing house SelfMadeHero.

The development, scale and aftermath of the First Boom, as well as its connections to and use of art-historical traditions of the artist's biography and monograph, and the continuation in the Second Boom, were presented at the *Joint International Graphic Novel and Comics and International Bande Dessinée Society Conference* (Manchester Metropolitan University, UK, 2019) and the *Crossing Borders, Boundaries, and Cultures - Studies in Transnational Comics Symposium* (London College of Communication, UK, 2019). Large parts of these talks have been transformed into the forthcoming book chapter "Lives of the Artists" in *Seeing Comics through Art History: Alternative Approaches to the*

Form (2022), edited by Ian Horton and Maggie Gray and published by Palgrave Macmillan.[66]

Individual national aspects of the Second Boom, focusing on France and the Netherlands, have been brought to the academic community's attention. A presentation at the *Comics and Nation Conference* (Bangor University/ Prifysgol Bangor, UK, 2017) focused on the *Louvre Éditions* and Bernar Yslaire and Jean-Claude Carriere's *Le Ciel au-dessus du Louvre* (2009) in particular. The talk has subsequently been developed into the book chapter "Musée du Louvre: When The Picture Does Not Fit The Frame. Multiple Problems With The Graphic Novel *Le Ciel au-dessus du Louvre*" in *Framing [in] Comics: Essays on Aesthetics, History, and Mediality* (2021), edited by Johannes C. P. Schmid and published by Ch. A. Bachmann.[67]

At the *9th International Graphic Novel and Comics Conference* (Bournemouth University, UK, 2018), the *2nd International Amsterdam Comics Conference* (Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, Netherlands, 2018), the *Graphic Narratives and Social Impact Symposium* (London College of Communication, UK, 2019), and the *11th International Graphic Novel and Comics Conference* (London College of Communication, UK, 2020) the different Dutch contributions to the Second Boom were discussed. A particular emphasis lay on the Dutch Comics Network, the reasons for its creation, its formation, (trans)national effects, and social impact and public relations use. Those parts of the talks dealing with Barbara Stok's *Vincent* (2012) have been published as an article: "Barbara Stok's Graphic Biography *Vincent*: A Transnational Campaign" in the *International Journal of Comic Art* Vol.20, No.1 (2018).[68]

Unfortunately, due to the COVID-19 crisis, talks at the *NextComic 2020* (University of Art and Design Linz, Austria, 2020) and the *6th World Conference of the International Federation for Public History* (Freie Universität Berlin, Germany, 2020) were cancelled. However, the latter has been postponed until summer 2022, while the former paper, "Transnationaler Eurozentrismus. Grafische Künstlerbiografien Im Kontext von Kunstmuseen und Deren Ausstellungspraxis" [Transnational Eurocentrism. Graphic Biographies of Artists In the Context of Art Museums and Their Exhibition-Practice], has been published in *Ran an die Wand. Rein in the Vitrine?! Internationale Positionen zum*

---

[66] Yu-Kiener, Tobias J. "Lives of the Artists." In *Seeing Comics through Art History: Alternative Approaches to the Form*, edited by Ian Horton and Maggie Gray. New York, N.Y./London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2022 (forthcoming).

[67] Yu-Kiener, Tobias J. "Musée du Louvre: When The Picture Does Not Fit The Frame. Multiple Problems With The Graphic Novel Le Ciel au-dessus du Louvre" in *Framing [in] Comics: Essays on Aesthetics, History, and Mediality* edited by Johannes C. P. Schmid. Berlin: Ch. A. Bachmann, 2021.

[68] Yu-Kiener, Tobias J. "Barbara Stok's Graphic Biography Vincent: A Transnational Campaign." International Journal of Comic Art Vol.20, No.1 (2018): pp.170-188.

Ausstellen von Comics in der pädagogischen und musealen Praxis (2020) [On the Wall. Into the glass case?! International Positions about the Exhibiting of Comics in the Pedagogical and Museum Practice] edited by Barbara Maria Eggert and Anna Maria Loffredo, and released by kopaed.[69]

The *NextComic 2021 (University of Art and Design Linz, Austria, 2020)*, held online, offered the opportunity to present new research, building on but going beyond the thesis, about different gender roles and family dynamics featured in biographical graphic novels about canonical visual artists to an international academic audience in a talk titled *Rembrandt Ein Familienmensch? Die Rolle der Familie in Graphic Novel Künstlerbiografien* [Rembrandt a Family Guy? The Role of the Family in Graphic Novel Artist's Biographies].

This Thesis is presented in eight chapters, including introduction and conclusion, and divided into three thematic parts.

PART I – Setting the Scene introduces the reader to the key elements of this research, the art-historical traditions of writing about an artist's life, the First Boom, the Second Boom, and the Museum Boom.

Chapter 2 traces the traditions of biographic writings about visual artists, starting with the records of Pliny the Elder, moving on to the influential accounts of Giorgio Vasari and Carel van Mander, and continuing to the artist's monograph, the new standard since the eighteenth century and still of great relevance today. Throughout the centuries, one element has been forming the nucleus of any form of artist's biography: the anecdote. Another frequent feature of such texts has been the presentation of the individual's oeuvre, often after an *in situ* inspection by the author. With the artist's monograph, the life-and-work model has become equally important based on the conviction that one can be understood through the other. Finally, the painter's novel made a comeback at the turn of the millennium. The use of anecdotes and the life-and-work model, the presentation of the artist's oeuvre, and parallels to the painter's novel form the base of the visual and textual analysis in Chapters 3 to 5.

Chapter 3 follows the development of the comics genre of the artist's biography. It reveals the existence of the First Boom, a sudden appearance of biographical comic strips about canonical visual artists in educational US-American youth magazines, during the 1940s, which simultaneously was also the birth of the new comics genre. It argues for the phenomenon's classification as boom while acknowledging its relatively small size. Further,

_____

[69] Yu-Kiener, Tobias J. "Transnationaler Eurozentrismus. Grafische Künstlerbiografien Im Kontext von Kunstmuseen und Deren Ausstellungspraxis" In *Ran an die Wand. Rein in die Vitrine?! Internationale Positionen zum Ausstellen von Comics in der pädagogischen und musealen Praxis* edited by Barbara Maria Eggert and Anna Maria Loffredo, pp.78-89. Munich: kopaed, 2020.

the section scopes the boom and traces its aftermath. It investigates the publishers and the art. Referring back to the previous chapter, it highlights the use of Pliny, van Mander and Vasari as those comic strips underlying sources and evidence for the apparent use of art-historical traditions in their creation. Subsequently, the chapter comments on the available information about comics workers. Through an analysis of narratives about Leonardo da Vinci and Benvenuto Cellini, genre-specific tropes are revealed. Finally, the chapter discusses the parameters that qualify the group of architexts as a genre.

Chapter 4 outlines the development of twentieth-century proto-graphic novels about canonical visual artists before concentrating on twenty-first-century publications. The section investigates the current Second Boom, utilising statistical methods and looking at national and temporal patterns in the publication outputs. Notably, it focuses on the unique role of the Museum Boom, during which European art museums have increasingly been co-commissioning, co-funding, co-editing and co-publishing graphic novels about their respective collections or a canonical artist. While both booms are small in relation to the overall production of comics at the time, they are significant for the artist's biography comics genre. Subsequently, the study discusses the genre's evolution, most importantly, the institutionalisation that completes the genre's formation and confirms its position in the canon of comics genres. Finally, a brief section discusses the possible futures of the Booms and the genre.

PART II – The Analysis of the Corpus: The Representation of The Artist's Life & Works in Graphic Novels, encompassing Chapter 5, can be considered the core of this research. First, it introduces the research corpus of six publications taken from the Museum Boom, overlapping with the Second Boom, and details the criteria for the following analysis. Then, it analyses the one Swiss, two French, and three Dutch examples in depth. The analysis focuses on evaluating art-historical traditions in the graphic novels, such as the anecdote, life-and work model, and the presentation of an individual's oeuvre. At the same time, it looks at comics traditions, such as the use of genre-specific tropes of the artist's biography comics and discusses the available evidence of comics works.

Furthermore, it explores the respective creator's research, narratological and artistic approaches, from a preliminary study of the subject and sources used to the amount and quality of support received. In considering biographical graphic novels co-commissioned and co-published by art institutions as adult museum publications, the thesis applies the same respective criteria regarding quality, accuracy and referencing in its discussion and analysis. Moreover, the use of the comics medium, artistic styles and visual storytelling, as well as the blending of the comic artist's style with the portrayed artist's one, and the use and

rendering of original artworks in the narrative are discussed. Finally, the graphic novel is critiqued, and audiences, satisfaction levels and the publication's afterlife are discussed.

PART III –The Purpose of Graphic Novels in the Context of Art Museums is formed by two chapters, each looking into a specific context in which the co-commissioning museums have used the graphic novels from the corpus.

Chapter 6, after giving a brief historical overview of comic exhibitions in US-America and Europe, analyses how the graphic novels from the corpus were used in exhibitions. Only a single publication did not get exhibited. Building on recent research on comics exhibitions, the shows are analysed. The location, format, length, and level of museum involvement in the display and its promotion indicate the status and appreciation the graphic narrative receive from the individual co-commissioning art museum. Simultaneously, the content and use of the medium reveal the level of understanding of its potential. Also, the thesis pays attention to what extent comics works is part of a respective display. As the corpus consists of examples from three different countries and types of museums—national, municipal, and dedicated to a single artist—the comparison of the various shows sees exciting patterns emerging. For example, national museums were seemingly engaging less with the comic artist and their work than museums about an individual artist.

Chapter 7 explores the public relations purpose of graphic novels in a museum context. It starts with a brief history of comic books as a public relations tool, followed by a discussion about shops in art museums and the role of books in general and graphic novels specifically in such a museum shop, particularly as a public relations tool. The most significant part of the chapter forms the description and discussion of a complex network of stakeholders in the Netherlands, supporting the creation of a relatively large number of graphic novels, which this thesis labels the Dutch Comics Network.

Finally, Chapter 8 summarises the findings, details how the research questions have been answered, and provides a prospect of possible future interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary applications of this research.

In its entirety, this thesis is of value and importance for the current scholarship, standing as a rare academic coupling of art history and comics studies. The research community is unaware of the First Boom or does not consider it worth much attention. Indeed, no respective publications have come to the researcher's attention throughout this entire research. Thus, this thesis constitutes the first-ever scoping, discussion and analysis of the 1940s publishing boom of biographical comics about canonical visual artists, unfolding in educational US-American youth magazines. Consequently, up until now, there

is no academic realisation that the comics genre of the artist's biography is almost eighty years old, nor is the existence of genre-specific tropes known. Discovering, tracing, and summarising the origins and development of the comics genre of the artist's biography and establishing its specific tropes constitutes a unique contribution to knowledge. Furthermore, this thesis documents the continuous use and adaptation of art-historical narratological tools, patterns, and traditions, with several graphic narratives directly quoting Pliny, Vasari and van Mander. Again, these facts and aspects are not widely known nor discussed in the scholarly communities of art history and comics studies, contributing to the respective fields.

While a few publications from the current Second Boom of the twenty-first century have received some scholarly attention, the great majority have not, presumably because no one has been aware of their existence. After years of meticulous online and occasional in-store research, this thesis can now provide for the first time a comprehensive picture of this graphic novel publishing phenomenon of the third millennium CE as well as the international developments that have led towards it. It also reveals the astonishing number of almost 200 publications over twenty years and previously unknown aspects, foci, and details regarding the publishing countries, creators, and publishers. This research confirms the existence of a Museum Boom of graphic novels being co-commissioned, co-funded, co-edited and co-published by major art museums, which so far has mostly gone unnoticed by researchers. Once again, this project brings this long unknown situation to light, contextualises, analyses, and discusses it. In doing so, it demonstrates how major art institutions are using the graphic novel to better their image and attempt to engage new audiences in deploying the medium as public relations tool. Finally, in sharing the extensive research databases of recorded graphic narratives as well as the relevant interviews and questionnaires conducted for this study—providing access to the data upon request—this thesis offers a treasure trove of material for future analysis and research.[70] Those new primary sources have been compiled over more than four years and cover the lengthy period between 1940 and 2019, telling the stories of biographical graphic narratives about canonical artists from the viewpoint of several key stakeholders, including artists, publishers, and museums.

This thesis hopes to draw attention in art history and comics studies. In showcasing, analysing, critiquing and arguing for the comics medium's various uses in art-historical institutions—from one-off publications for special occasions and possible exhibition contents to long-term series of (international and transnational) sales and public relations

---

[70] Due to legal reasons, the researcher is required to safekeep the questionnaires and interview files. However, for strictly academic purposes and upon request, access will be granted. To request access, please contact the researcher via the Comics Research Hub (CoRH) homepage URL: http://comicsresearch.arts.ac.uk/people/members/tobias-j-yu-kiener/.

products and means to foster and celebrate national identities—it wishes to start a more comprehensive discussion within art-historical communities to reconsider the comics medium's status. Rightfully, narrative and sequential art in several media, including series of drawings, prints, paintings, and tapestries, have long and repeatedly been examined by art historians. This study aims to encourage the inclusion of the comics medium into art history. Furthermore, this thesis wants to start a discussion about the comics genre of the artist's biography and its power and usefulness in delivering art-historical content to a broad audience, as the comics medium lends itself naturally to telling the lives of visual artists, blending text and image, which stand separate in traditional art-historical bibliographies. However, the genre also documents the century-old petrification of the Western art-historical canon and how art history has imposed it on the comics medium for eight decades.

At the same time, this research equally aims to contribute to current discussions in comics studies. Maybe most importantly, it wants to raise awareness for the neglected comics genre of the artist's biography. Therefore, it adds to the discussions about comics publishing history between 1940 and 2019. Moreover, the realisation that it had started as a relatively minor genre, surviving and evolving over half a century, before it suddenly became a significant publishing phenomenon can inform research into comics genres. Thus, the thesis hopes to encourage the exploration of minor genres and their impact in comics history and, more generally, what defines a genre and its importance, the quality of specific characteristics or the number of publications. Also, the study demonstrates that throughout its existence, the artist's biography comics have been confirming and enforcing the Western art-historical canon. Therefore, the research furthers discussions about the potential instrumentalization of the comics medium, as well as power relations and artistic freedom in commissioned work, while also adding to research into institutional and even national funding, commissioning, and editing structures and networks.

Finally, with its bibliographic research data, the thesis hopes to foster scholarly interest in and stimulate research into the artist's biography comics and related genres. It acknowledges the data's possible incompleteness due to various limiting factors. Yet, in listing all confirmed publications, it wishes to facilitate access to the previously neglected material, help scholars locate relevant stories, publishers, and magazines, and stimulate further studies.
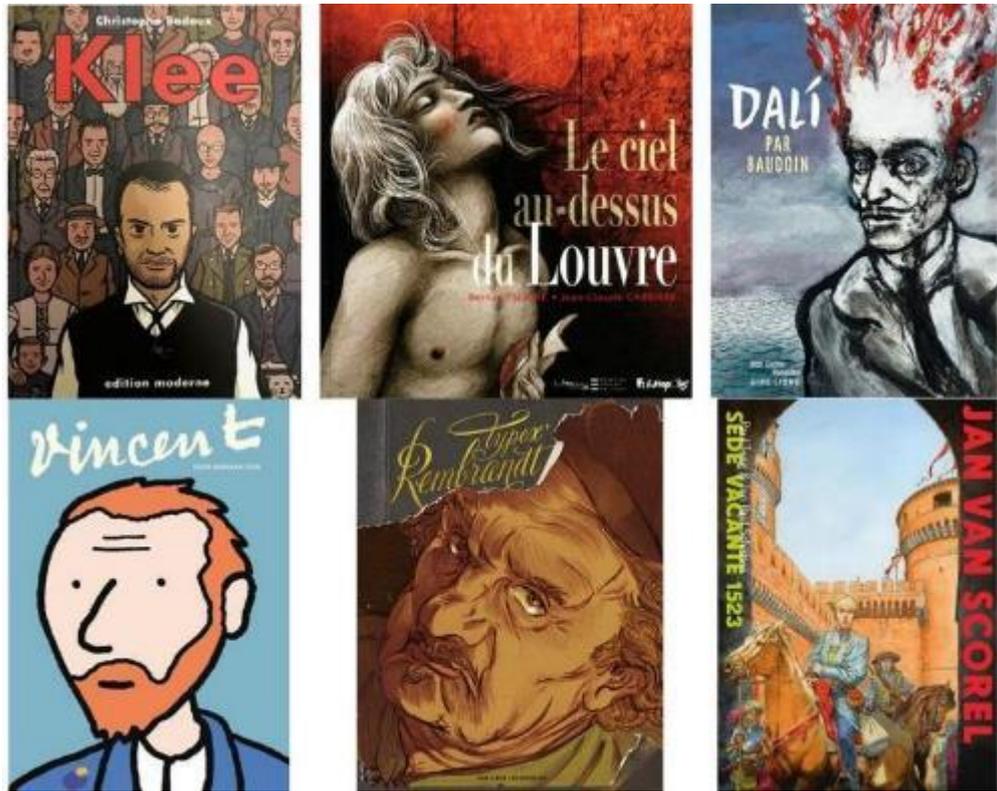
Fig. 1.1: The research corpus; Top: Christophe Badoux *Klee* (2008, Switzerland), Bernar Yslaire and Jean-Claude Carrière, *Le Ciel au-dessus du Louvre* (2009, France), Edmond Baudoin, *Dalí* (2012, France); Bottom: Barbara Stok, *Vincent* (2012, Netherlands), Typex, *Rembrandt* (2013, Netherlands), and Paul Teng and Jan Paul Schutten, *Jan van Scorel. Sede Vacante 1523* (2013, Netherlands).

Fig. 1.2: Titian (Tiziano Vecellio) , *Tityus* (ca. 1565). Oil on canvas (253 x 217 cm). Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid, the inspiration for Peter Paul Rubens' composition for *Prometheus Bound* (1611/12-1618).

Fig. 1.3: Peter Paul Ruben and Frans Snyders. *Prometheus Bound* (1611/12-1618). Oil on Canvas (242.6 x 209.5 cm). Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia, inspired by the art of Titian (Tiziano Vecellio), Michelangelo Buonarotti, and Michiel Coxcie and thus placing the artist in the canonical tradition of his predecessors.
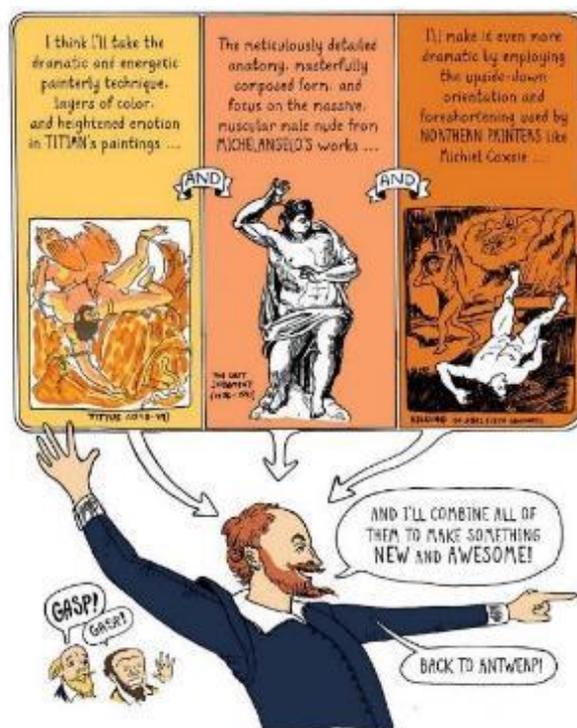
Fig. 1.4: Andrea Tsurumi."Challenging the Gods. Rubens becoming Rubens." In *Prometheus Eternal* (2015), detail: Peter Paul Rubens processes inspirational art by canonical artists Titian (Tiziano Vecellio), Michelangelo Buonarotti, and Michiel Coxcie in preparation for *Prometheus Bound* (Peter Paul Ruben and Frans Snyders, 1611/12-1618).

Fig. 1.5: Ivana & Gradimir Smudja. *Au fil de l'Art* Volume 1 (2012) and Volume 2 (2015), covers: Depiction of the Western canon of visual artists, from the Renaissance to the twentieth century, as a succession of white European men who establish themselves as canonical artists in painting the portrait of, thus drawing on, their respective canonical predecessor.

PART I

Setting the Scene

Chapter 2 – The Artist's Biography: Traditions in Art History

The production of a biographical text about an artist, be it long or short, literary or graphic, non-fiction or fiction, contributes to the individual's fame and canonisation. With every new publication about a person, it becomes increasingly likely that more literature on the same artist will appear. Repetition leads to familiarisation and eventually to canonisation, as Larry Silver argues. [71] The artist becomes part of a feedback loop, with every appearance strengthening his position further. Also, some artists actively try to achieve canonical status in copying the style, composition and subjects of already established artists and their work, as discussed for Peter Paul Rubens in Chapter 1.[72]

It is necessary to examine the origins, developments, and the resulting traditions of life writings about artists. Starting with historical records from Greek Antiquity, this chapter first examines the *Historia Naturalis* [Natural History] by Roman writer Gaius Plinius Secundus, commonly referred to as Pliny the Elder, and the use of anecdotes in his biographical narrations of ancient Greek and Roman artists. After it lay dormant during the Middle Ages, the literary interest in life writing about artists was revived during the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Italian Renaissance, giving rise to multiple texts by Florentine and Tuscan authors inspiring many more. This chapter examines *Le Vite De Piu Eccellenti Pittori, Sculptori E Architettori* [The Lives of the Most Excellent Painters, Sculptors and Architects] by Giorgio Vasari, tracing the developments that led to the renewed and extensive output of biographical literature on canonical artists and its impact. Finally, proceeding to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the section explores the artist's monograph's birth, rise, heydays, and decline.

The determining of the ancient sources, the Renaissance rediscovery and modern-day diversification of certain literary, structural and narratological elements of the artist's biography, most notably the continuous use of anecdotes and the life-and-work model, prepare the ground for the analysis of biographical graphic narratives at the centre of this thesis.[73]

---

[71] Silver 2019, p.3.

[72] Ibid, p.7; Pollock 1999, p.4; Gaertner 1970, p.28.

[73] Sousslouff 1997, pp.37-38, It was only in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century that the term *biography* was being used widely, referring to 'writing about a life distinctly human, relating to society at large and different from other life forms' and further including 'considerations of a way of living over a period of time determined by society to be distinctly human and inclusive of the moral and material productions of the life.'

The tradition of recording an artist's life and works goes back more than two millennia, including sixth-century BCE Greek inscriptions, statues, and vases. Also, it includes early remarks by Plato, Aristotle, and in the Bible.[74] However, not much of the artist's background and lifetime are recorded in these cases. Duris of Samos' *Lives of Painters and Sculptors* (fourth century BCE) shows interest in artists' personality and behaviour for the first time, 'inaugurat[ing] the biographical literature on artists.'[75] Unfortunately, the text has only survived in fragments. Rudolf and Margot Wittkower argue that this change in the fourth-century-BCE public's attitude marked the first time the status of an artwork's creator changed from *artisan* to *artist*.[76] He was then thought capable of inspiration, ecstasy and divine enthusiasm in a Platonic sense, thus inhabiting the same sphere as poets and musicians.[77] However, the oldest, most extensive, and most importantly, complete record of artists' lives is the *Historia Naturalis* [Natural History] by Pliny the Elder (first century CE).[78] It combines various older historiographical sources on artists from between the fifth and the first century BCE, while Pliny also added his own accounts.[79] Only four of thirty-seven books deal with art history, divided by artforms—Silver Chasing (*Liber XXXIII* [Book 33]), Bronze Statuary (*Liber XXXIV* [Book 34]), Painting (*Liber XXXV* [Book 35]), and Sculpture in Marble (*Liber XXXVI* [Book 36])— and recording the lives, personalities and artworks of ancient artists.

A prominent feature of Pliny's accounts is the anecdote, a short narrative about a particular event or details of an individual's life, revealing part of his personality or extraordinary skill. A choice likely copied from one of his primary sources, Duris of Samos, who had already used these stories as an essential element in his writings. It seems Pliny adopted this concept as a crucial part of a record about an artist's life. His use of anecdotes

---

[74] Wittkower and Wittkower, 1969, p.2; Plato 1949, p. 58, 'Soc[rates]: Because they [Dedalus's statues] require to be fastened in order to keep them, and if they are not fastened they will play truant and run away'; Aristotle 1907, pp.22-23, 'Daedalus endowed the wooden [statue of] Aphrodite with motion, simply by pouring in quicksilver'; Common English Bible, Acts of the Apostle 19,24: 'There was a silversmith named Demetrius. He made silver models of Artemis' temple, and his business generated a lot of profit for the craftspeople.' Available at: https://www.biblegateway.com/passage/?search=Acts%2019:23-25&version=CEB (Accessed 15/10/2020).

[75] Wittkower and Wittkower 1969, pp.3-4; Kisters 2017, p.23.

[76] Wittkower and Wittkower 1969, pp.1-5.

[77] Ibid.

[78] Pliny 1968.

[79] Ibid, pp.XVI-XCIV, Pliny the Elder uses the Greek Epigrams as well as the Greek historians Xenokrates of Sikyon, Antigonos of Karystos, Duris of Samos, and Heliodoros of Athens, and the Roman historians Pasiteles of Naples, Varro, Cornelius Nepos, Fabius Vestalis and Licinus Mucianus as sources.

has influenced artists' biographers and monographers that came after him and remained a prominent feature in their respective writings.[80]

As a subject-specific narratological tool, anecdotes about different artists often have strikingly similar, even identical, content. It is thus crucial to not take them at face value but stay sceptical of their truthfulness. Already Pliny records the same anecdotes for several artists. The painter Zeuxis painted 'a picture of some grapes so true to nature that the birds flew up to the wall' and 'a boy carrying grapes and … the birds flew down to settle on them,' while the sculptor Possis 'made clay apples and grapes which the very birds could not distinguish from nature.'[81] Also, the bronze sculptor Theodoros and the marble sculptor Myrmekides each created a tiny four-horse chariot that 'could be covered by the wing of a fly.'[82] Similarly, Protogenes and Nealkes both threw a sponge at a respective painting to create the impression of an animal's foamy mouth.[83]

Those anecdotes from Antiquity follow a specific pattern and cover particular topics about aspects of an artist's life: 1) the artist's origin, youth, and predestination; 2) the person's skill, speed and superiority in executing artworks, and competing with other artists; 3) the individual's character and personality. The most popular and frequently used anecdotes from Antiquity are summarised below.

Anecdotes about an artist's youth include at least one of the following: being an autodidact; being of low birth and climbing the social ladder; showing great talent at a young age; being discovered by chance by some passing artist or nobleman who adopts him; overcoming great difficulties to become an artist.[84] Stories about the artist's childhood and upbringing, and early artistic experiments and expressions, despite a poor background and much hardship, function as prequels or omens of future success and artistic destiny. Astrology is also frequently used to prove the artist's predestination.[85] Naturally, artistic skill is much discussed, usually in talking about an artwork so well executed that its content appears to be real or alive, allowing the artists to fool animals, laypeople, clients or—most prestigiously—even fellow artists. Directly linking into such notions are stories about an

---

[80] Kris and Kurz, 1980, p.33; Sousslouff 1997, p.26; Guerico 2006, p.29, Guerico sees the anecdote grounded in a broader biographical tradition. While he still mentions Pliny the Elder, he also includes Plutarch and Diogenes Laertius in the list of ancient writers who used it in their writing, and are thus to be regarded as exemplary for its use.

[81] Pliny 1968, pp.108-111 (Liber XXXV, I, §65-66), 178-179 (Liber XXXV, II, §155).

[82] Ibid., pp.67-68 (Liber XXXIV, II, §83), 214-215 (Liber XXXVI, §43).

[83] Ibid., pp.136-139 (Liber XXXV, I, §102-§104).

[84] Kris and Kurz 1980, pp.37-63, Such narratives about a young and gifted person overcoming obstacles and becoming successful, resemble those of Greek *Heroen* [heroes] or a divine wunderkind, and are heavily based in mythological and monotheistic writings.

[85] Kris and Kurz 1980, p.77; Sousslouff 1997, pp.33-34.

artist's extremely high command of likeliness, proportion, speed and virtuosity exhibited in his artworks, exemplified in the stories about Protogenes, Apelles, and Nikomachos.[86]

Very important and frequently used is also the theme of artistic competition. Maybe the most famous artistic rivalry is between Zeuxis of Herakleia and Parrhasios of Ephesos, with the former believing a painted curtain by the latter real.[87] There were several other battles of skills, such as Apelles painting a finer line than Protogenes, and Polykleitos winning a casting competition.[88] As mentioned in the previous chapter, Polykleites made a statue his fellow artists referred to as the 'canon' embodying all 'principles of his art [bronze sculpture] in a single work,' becoming the 'standard.'[89] Silver points out that this constitutes the very first European canon.[90] Contests between individual artists soon developed into a competition of artistic schools.[91]

A large number of anecdotes are concerned with funny stories and practical jokes. Once again, Apelles provides an excellent example in displaying finished artworks and listening to the critique of passers-by from a hiding spot.[92] Other anecdotes tell readers about greedy artists and stingy clients, the notion of the artwork as the 'artist's child,' and an individual's personality.[93] Examples include Zeuxis, who declared his paintings 'beyond all price,' and Parrhasios, who 'fastened the strings of his shoes with golden latchets.'[94] Anecdotes exist about hypercritical artists, such as a sculptor nicknamed 'The Niggler,' and obsessed artists, such as Protogenes, who continued painting *Ialysos* while the city of Rhodes was under siege by King Demetrios, who left guards at the studio to protect the artist.[95] On the one hand, artists are depicted as sexually permissive and dissolute people who are in (sexual) relationships with their models, such as Arellius, who 'notoriously degraded his art' in painting his mistresses as goddesses and creating a 'catalogue' of them, while others are violent to the extent of murder.[96] On the other hand, artists are diligent and hard-working, in

---

[86] Pliny 1968, pp.124-127 (Liber XXXV, I, §88-89), 142-143 (§109).

[87] Ibid, pp.108-111 (Liber XXXV, I, §65), 120-123 (§81-82).

[88] Ibid, pp.120-123 (Liber XXXV, I, §81-82).

[89] Ibid, pp.40-45 (Liber XXXIV, II, §53-55).

[90] Silver 2019, p.1.

[91] Pliny 1968, Pliny records the Thebano-Attic School and the Sykonian School in painting (Liber XXXV) as well as the family trees of the sculptors Polykles and Athanadoros *(*Liber XXXVI*);* Kris and Kurz 1980, pp.123-130.

[92] Pliny 1968, pp.122-125 (Liber XXXV, I, §85).

[93] Kris and Kurz 1980, p.144, pp.147-150.

[94] Pliny 1968, pp.106-109 (Liber XXXV, I, §62); Wittkower and Wittkower 1969, p.3.

[95] Pliny 1968, pp.78-79 (Liber XXXIV, II, §92), 138-141 (Liber XXXV, I, §104-105).

[96] Kris and Kurz 1980, pp.147-153

deep contemplation and entirely focused on their art, to the extent that they forget to eat and sleep and occasionally even become suicidal.[97]

Interestingly, the artist-genius motif already appears in Antiquity's anecdotes, with divine inspiration and artistic revelation—the marks of a genius—resulting from an ascetic and abstentious life in poverty, bearing an unmistakable resemblance to the life of a Christian hermit monk.[98] Such devotion for art is recorded for Protogenes, who lived on 'lupins steeped in water' that satisfied 'at once his hunger and his thirst' to not waste any time away from work, and sculptor Praxiteles, whose *Aphrodite* was made 'under the direct inspiration of the goddess' herself.[99]

Even though even Roman emperors, such as Nero, Hadrian and Marcus Aurelius, were known sculptors and painters, Rome never admitted the visual arts into the *artes liberales* [liberal arts], comprised of the *quadrivium* (arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy) concerned with measure, and the *trivium* (grammar, logic, and rhetoric) concerned with language.[100] Consequently, the visual arts were excluded when the *artes liberales* became the cornerstone of Medieval Christian education.[101] Thus, due to the initial exclusion of the visual arts from the *artes liberales* in Antiquity, the Christian Medieval Period reversed the fourth-century BCE elevation of artisans to the rank of artists.

Medieval naming of artisans is scarce, let alone written accounts about their lives. Most art was created in a religious context, and creators were no longer inspired but merely used by the Christian God, who created the artworks with the individual as tools.[102] While most Medieval artists stayed thus anonymous, we know of several exceptions, particularly within the building industry. The eleventh-century architects Rainaldus and Lanfrancus left self-laudatory inscriptions, and a certain mason Robert is praised in the *St. Albus Chronicles of the Abbots*, as is the twelfth-century architect Lanfred.[103] Further examples include the thirteenth-century French travelling architect Villard de Honnecourt, whose sketchbook has

---

[97] Ibid, pp.157-164.

[98] Ibid, pp.145.

[99] Pliny 1968, pp.136-139 (Liber XXXV, I, §102), 192-195 (Liber XXXVI, I, §20-21); Kyaga (2015, pp.14-15) explains Socrates distinguishes human (clinical) from *divine* (creative) madness, or demonic intervention, filling the artist—an empty vessel in terms of talent—with godly inspiration, and constituting a desired state of mind; Kris and Kurz (1980, pp.68-69, 74) suggest the worshipping of priestesses and oracles at the temples as origins of the notion of *divine* madness—true passion and enthusiasm in an ecstatic, religious, mythical episode of creativity.

[100] Wittkower and Wittkower 1969, p.7; Barker, Webb and Woods, 1999b, pp.14.

[101] Wittkower and Wittkower 1969, p.8.

[102] Kris and Kurz 1980, pp.80-84; Wood (1999, p.155) argues, before the Renaissance creativity was attributed to God(s) alone, humans were merely rearranging what was created prior by (a) God.

[103] Wittkower and Wittkower 1969, p.8, 43

survived, the fourteenth-century illuminator Jean Pucelle, and the German-Bohemian architect and sculptor Peter Parler.[104]

Throughout the Medieval Period, the ancient biographical traditions and the use of anecdotes were continued in the form of hagiographies, the life-stories of Christian saints, allowing them to be reborn in the Renaissance as a separate and distinct literary genre.[105]

2.2. The Artist's Life

Around 1400, Cennino Cennini argued for the renewed inclusion of painting and sculpture in the *artes liberales* in *Il Libro dell'Arte* [Book on Art].[106] During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, artists rose from *craftsmen* to *artists* once again. Already from the mid-fourteenth century onwards, various contributing factors led to the development of early descriptions of the lives of artists in Italy, such as Filippo Villani's *Cronica* or *Storia Fiorentina* [Florentine History] (1380s), about famous Florentine artists including Giotto di Bondone, and Gianlorenzo Ghiberti's *I Commentarii* [The Commentaries] (1440s) about the history of art, the lives of some artists and himself.[107]

The earliest artists' biographies, 'fully formed in a generic sense' and appearing during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in Tuscany, were produced with an academic institution in mind, creating long-lasting concepts of the artist and the artwork.[108] The new genre of the artist's biography relied equally on earlier accounts, records and physical descriptions of the artists by others, and autobiographical writings.[109] Catherine Sousslouff analyses and outlines the 'typical' structure of such Renaissance artists' biographies (Fig. 2.1.), pointing out the narrative's dependence on only two aspects: anecdotes about the artist's life and descriptions of his artworks.[110] Another essential element was the artist's autochthony—an innate ability, skill or talent based on a person's place of birth or

---

[104] Ibid, pp.44-45, Woods 1999a, pp.28-29.

[105] Sousslouff 1997, p.38; Kris and Kurz 1980, pp.57-58.

[106] Barker, Webb, and Woods, 1999b, p.14; Cennini 1899.

[107] Wittkower and Wittkower 1969, p.13; Woods 1999a, p.30; King 1999, p.56; Kisters 2017, p.25; On the change of artist position and reasons for it, see Barker, Webb, and Woods 1999a; Sousslouff 1997, pp.3-72; Wittkower and Wittkower 1969, pp.1-41, 229-252.

[108] Barker, Webb, and Woods 1999, pp.14-16, The first academy was the *Academia del Disegno* founded in Florence in 1563, and which was soon followed by academies in Perugia (1573), Bologna (1582) and Rome (1593). The academies developed out of the declining guild system, replacing a monopoly controlling their members' lives with different dependences. On the one hand, artists became early ducal, royal and papal court artists. However, the new system of patronage enabled projects on a massive new scale. On the other hand, the dominant position of workshops as exclusive places of training, learning and studying within the guild system was replaced by academies in the Renaissance, where the artist and his training was institutionalised once more. Yet, the process finalised a distinction between arts and craft, elevating the artist's position and status once and for all.

[109] Sousslouff 1997, pp.19-24; Woods 1999a, p.30.

[110] Sousslouff 1997, Figure 1.

upbringing.[111] While an artist's place of birth held no particular significance in Antiquity, the Renaissance's autochthonic narratives created an ideology of origins.[112] The concept of autochthony establishes a strong bond between the artist's (artistic and economic) success and his (geographic and political) place of origin, training and work. Thus, it brought forward a political function and notions of nationalism and patriotism in an artist's biography and its production.

This Renaissance notion of nationalism has continuously affected the building and defining of national canons of art history.[113] Sousslouff exemplifies this with the contemporary biographical writings about poet Dante Alighieri and painter Giotto di Bondone, both Florentines. In both cases, the Florentine biographers suggest a divine intervention in the respective Florentine person coming into existence as well as his work, praising and glorifying them in both cases as the founder of a new order.[114] Repeatedly their respective origin is emphasised, amplified through their involvement in the government, the individual is portrayed as representative of the city of Florence, and the whole Tuscan region and state, as well as the civic life and vernacular and consequently of all its people and citizens.[115] In conclusion, those biographies by Florentines about Florentines were also mainly intended for Florentines and Tuscans to confirm to them the superiority of Florentine and Tuscan poetry and art, thus, creating and fostering corresponding feelings within the readers.[116]

Sousslouff argues, due to its structure, models, tropes, and topics unique to the new genre, Antonio Manetti's The *Life of Brunelleschi* (c.1480) should be considered the very first modern artist's biography.[117] Manetti stresses his experience of meeting individuals and seeing artworks he mentions and uses several well-known anecdotes, such as Brunelleschi being gifted already as a child, working very quickly, and living like a hermit.[118] While the accounts are far more comprehensive than the records from Antiquity, they focus primarily on the creation of the cupola of the *Duomo* of Florence and the intense rivalry between Filippo Brunelleschi and Ghiberti, pushing other details to the back and leaving the text unbalanced.

---

[111] Ibid, pp.44-56.

[112] Ibid, pp.44-45.

[113] Silver 2019, p.2.

[114] Souslouff 1997, pp.47-48.

[115] Ibid, pp.49-52.

[116] A similar concept regarding the audience can be found in many biographical graphic novels about canonical painters, discussed in Chapter 5, their use in museum exhibitions, explored in Chapter 6, and their Public Relations purpose, investigated in Chapter 7.

[117] Sousslouff 1997, pp.43-44.

[118] Manetti 1970, pp.40-46, 52, 90, 94.

Giorgio Vasari's *Le Vite De Piu Eccellenti Pittori, Sculptori E Architettori* [The Lives of the Most Excellent Painters, Sculptors and Architects] (thereafter *Lives*), first published in 1550 and again as an extended final edition in 1568, is probably the commonly best-known example of a collection of Renaissance artists' biographies.[119] He assimilated earlier models of artists' biographies, such as Manetti's *Life of Brunelleschi* and Ghiberti's *I Commentarii*, and included more personal details, discussing an artist's entire lifespan.[120] In addition to earlier written accounts, he used autobiographical sources, writings, and interviews to create a compendium of essays on a large number of (mostly deceased) fine artists.[121] Scholars point out that in *Lives*, Vasari always tries to critique his sources but remains inconsistent in his efforts, leading to mistakes and neglect or misrepresentations of some artists' youth when reliable information was difficult to acquire.[122] At the same time, Vasari represents the first biographer who used written documents to narrate an artist's life.[123] He matches the artworks with their creator's personality, thereby the former show anthropocentric qualities while the latter seems to display separate artistic and biographical identities.[124]

Vasari structures the *Lives* in three ages, or artistic periods, with individual styles 'ordered by the biological principle of youth (the fourteenth century), adolescence (the fifteenth century), and maturity (the sixteenth century),' providing a preface for each.[125] The first preface educates the readers about the origins of sculpture and painting in Egypt, Nature as the origin of all art, and the destruction of artworks, professions, and knowledge following Rome's fall. [126] The significantly longer second preface mentions Antiquity's most influential painters and sculptors and explains Vasari's approach as a biographer to

> 'not merely narrating events but … [to investigate] with every care and even greater curiosity the methods, manners, and means … [artists] have employed in the management of their artistic enterprises … exploring their errors as well as their successes and remedies, and the

---

[119] Vasari 1998; Wittkower and Wittkower 1969, p.13; Barker, Webb and Woods 1999, p.19; Kisters 2017, p.25.

[120] Guerico 2006, p.25; Sousslouff (1997, p.77) argues in this context of Vasari and his predecessors, that already these 'earliest biographies of the artist and those text that followed in their tradition reveal that the myth and the history of art and the artist intertwine in compelling and complex ways.'

[121] Guerico (2006, p.34) also mentions two separate biographies, one on Michelangelo and the second on Jacopo Sansovino, taken from the 1568 edition of the *Lives*.

[122] Ibid, pp.27-28; Kisters 2017, p.26.

[123] Guerico 2006, pp.28-29.

[124] Ibid, pp.29-30.

[125] Kisters 2017, p.25; Vasari 1998, pp.49-58, 277-280.

[126] Vasari 1998, pp.3-6.

prudent decisions they sometimes made … in short, all those ways in which wisely or foolishly, with prudence, compassion, or magnanimity, such men have behaved.'[127]

Repeatedly, Vasari stresses his personal connections with artists, receiving gifts from some, and inspecting historical documents and artworks himself.

'Today I keep this drawing [by Michelangelo] near me as a relic, for I obtained it from Granacci to put in my book of drawings with others I received from Michelangelo; in the year 1550, when he was in Rome, Giorgio [Vasari] showed it to Michelangelo, who recognised it and loved seeing it again.'[128]

'[M]any of these papers on human anatomy [by Leonardo da Vinci] are in the possession of Messer Francesco Melzi, a Milanese gentleman […] There are also other writings by Leonardo [*Treatise on Painting*] in the possession of a Milanese painter […] Not long ago this man, wishing to print this work, came to Florence to see me.'[129]

However, Sandra Kisters argues that 'a large number' of artists in Vasari's book had died already or were not personally known to him and that he writes 'about several artworks without having seen them himself.'[130] As a fellow artist and self-acclaimed art critic, Vasari also aspires to teach his readers about Art, introducing them to the 'best from the better' works and explaining the artists' techniques, styles, colours, and inventions.[131]

After revealing his methods in the previous two prefaces, the third preface introduces Vasari's criteria for judging and ranking the painters: the complete command of all 'five qualities'—Rule, Order, Proportion, Design, and Style—is a prerequisite for artistic perfection, the truthful representation of nature.[132] An artist can only surpass everything done and achieved when acquiring the final and sixth quality of Freedom,

'which - not being part of the rules - was nevertheless ordained by the rules and which could coexist with Order without causing confusion or spoiling it … [requiring] copious invention in every particular and a certain beauty even in the smallest details which could demonstrate all of this order with more decoration.'[133]

For Vasari, the one artist who 'transcends and surpasses them all, is the divine Michelangelo Buonarroti, who reigns supreme … in all three [arts: painting, sculpture, architecture] at once.'[134] Vasari's underlying idea of a linear progression of artists and their art has prevailed

---

[127] Ibid., pp.47-50.
[128] Ibid., p.417.
[129] Ibid., p.292.
[130] Kisters 2017, p.26.
[131] Ibid., pp.47-50.
[132] Vasari 1998, pp.277-283.
[133] Ibid, p.278.
[134] Ibid, p.282.

in art history until this very day, with Emma Barker, Nick Webb and Kim Woods arguing Vasari created these notions in the first place.[135] It is important to note that the concept of ranking and glorifying individual artists, such as Michelangelo, based on subjective criteria, represents the grounding principle of canonisation. Thus, after *Historia Naturalis*, which had elevated some artists over others, in giving them more attention and space, *Lives* constituted the next significant step towards creating the Western canon of art history and establishing its parameters.[136] While Griselda Pollock reasons that the canon as 'a mode of worship of the artist,' started back in Antiquity, Charles Salas thinks it is only with 'writers like Vasari … that the cult of the individual artist begins.'[137]

Capturing an artist's *maniera* [manner], referring to his style, via an, ideally, *in situ* inspection of the artworks, was essential to Vasari.[138] It demonstrates the underlying idea that artists would portray themselves in their artworks and that hence understanding the latter is equivalent to genuinely knowing the former. However, according to Salas, Vasari does not negotiate between life and work but often makes 'one confirm to the other.'[139]

Lives mirrors *Historia Naturalis* by showing the artists' personalities and using anecdotes with recurring motif*s*.[140] Here Kisters warns that Vasari 'uses anecdotes told or written to him by others'—a reminder to remain critical about such accounts' accuracy.[141] One of the most popular anecdotes concerns a close relationship, sometimes even friendship, between artist and client, expressing fame, individual glory, and respect given to the portrayed artists.

> '[King Charles of Naples] would often stay with him, since the king took pleasure in seeing Giotto paint and hearing him talk. And Giotto, who was always ready with some clever remark or a witty retort, amused him with painting and pleasant, clever conversation.'[142]

> 'The King [of France, Francis I], who was in the habit of paying him frequent and affectionate visits, arrived […] [Leonardo] was then seized by a paroxysm, the harbinger of death. Because of this, the King arose and held his head to help him and to show him favour,

---

[135] Barker, Webb, Woods 1999, pp.22-23.

[136] Pliny 1968, pp.106-117,120-133, 136-141 (Liber XXXV, I, §61-72, §79-97, §101-106).

[137] Salas 2007b, p.8; Pollock (1999, p.13) notes too that the canon as 'a mode of worship of the artist'; The role and significance of the artist's image in Vasari's *Lives*, which cannot be discussed in this thesis due to restrictions, see Posselt 2013, and Gregory 2016.

[138] Guerico 2006, pp.29-30.

[139] Salas (2007b, p.4-8) points towards the long belief of a link between life and work, citing the ancient Greek historian Strabo ('It is impossible for one to become a good poet unless he has previously become a good man'); Wittkower and Wittkower (1969, pp.93-94, 281) mention in this context Plato's philosophies, and Neoplatonist idea from the first and fifteenth centuries, expressing the notion that only a man of good character can paint art of good quality.

[140] Kisters 2017, pp.25-27.

[141] Ibid, p.26.

[142] Vasari 1998, pp.26-27.

so as to ease his pain, and Leonardo's most divine spirit, aware that he could receive no greater honour, expired in the arms of that king at the age of seventy-five.'[143]

The importance of such anecdotes lies in their prevailing nature, reappearing from the Renaissance onwards.[144] For example, Carlo Ridolfi writes in his seventeenth-century biography about Tiziano Vecelli, commonly known as Titian,

> '[a]nd it is told of Titian that while he was painting the portrait, he dropped a brush, which the emperor [Charles V] picked up, and bowing low, Titian declared: "Sire, one of your servants does not deserve such an honor." To this Charles replied: "Titian deserves to be served by Caesar."'[145]

The Vasarian model of writing about an artist utilises empirical data from archival research, historical documents, oral history and earlier written records, *in situ* inspection and critique of artworks, personal encounters with individuals, and is based on the concept of the parallel and yet intertwined biographical and artistic identities. It soon became, and to a certain degree still is, the standard for writing about an artist.

This influence of Vasari is exemplified in the Flemish writer and painter Carel van Mander's *Het Schilder-Boeck* [The Book of Painting], first published in 1604, followed by a second complete edition in 1618.[146] The importance of the 'Dutch Vasari', as van Mander is sometimes referred to, and his biographies is clearly expressed in the title of Walter S. Melion's book, *Shaping the Netherlandish Canon. Karel van Mander's Schilder-Boeck* (1991).[147] However, in contrast to Vasari's *Lives*, *Het Schilder-Boeck* stressed 'the standard of craftsmanship of his fifteenth-century predecessors and the value of training, experience, and hard work above genius and scholarship.'[148]

The sixteenth-century topos of the artist as (mad) genius or *divino artista* [divine artist], an evolution of the Medieval notion of the artist as god's tool, has prevailed until today.[149] The Renaissance, allowing artisans to be artists again, considered painters and sculptors as '*genios'*, replacing the concept of *divine* (creative) madness or inspiration with melancholia, yet separate from *human* (clinical) madness.[150] The Renaissance artist was not

---

[143] Ibid., pp.297-298.

[144] Such prevailing anecdotes are examined in Chapters 3 and 5.

[145] Ridolfi 1996, pp.94-95.

[146] Constant van de Wall in van Mander 1969, p.V.

[147] Barker, Webb, Woods 1999b, p.20; Melion 1991.

[148] Woods 1999c, pp.126-127.

[149] Kyaga 2015, pp.14-17; Kris and Kurz 1980, p.68.

[150] Kyaga (2015, pp.14-17, 21) explains melancholia is one of the four temperaments. She cites George Becker, in pointing out that 'modern conception of bipolar spectrum traits has many similarities with ancient ideas of temperament'; Wittkower and Wittkower (1969, pp.98-99) Already Leon Battista Alberti suggests in *De Pictura* [On Painting] (1436) that artist could consider themselves as *alter deus* [another god], removing the artist from the realm of normal people.

just divinely inspired—or a possessed tool—like his medieval predecessors but divine himself, in being the creator of a piece of art.

Several artists in the *Lives* are awarded the status of divinity, such as Leonardo, who 'is so divine that he leaves behind all other men and clearly makes himself known as a genius endowed by God' and Michelangelo, who 'the most benevolent Ruler of Heaven … sent to earth,' and who famously after 'already been dead twenty-five days, … [was found] with all his bodily members intact and without any foul odour.'[151] While the miraculous undecomposed body can be interpreted as a sign of Michelangelo's sainthood, both cases bear apparent resemblance to the life of Jesus Christ, in being god-sent individuals.

Van Mander writes about Hans Holbein that he was born under a particular 'fortunate celestial influence,' and recites the poet Nicolaes Borbonius writing about Holbein's art 'God had done the work. God alone achieved such deeds,' suggesting a more active divine intervention in the artist's existence and artistic production.[152] Albrecht Dürer has seemingly portrayed himself literally as *divino artista* in *Selbstbildnis im Pelzrock* [Self-Portrait in Fur Coat] (1500) (Fig. 2.2), striking a pose resembling a *Salvator Mundi* [Savior of the World] depiction usually reserved for Jesus Christ. However, Woods argues, 'while this image may seem to border on blasphemy to us, it is highly unlikely that this was the original intention.'[153]

2.3. The Artist's Monograph

While since the Renaissance the interest in artists' biographies and their number increased significantly, it was only during the eighteenth and nineteenth century that the next evolutionary step in the writings on artists' lives happened: the artist's monograph. Barker, Webb and Woods argue that Vasari's *Lives* is 'perhaps the most important ancestor of the modern art-historical monograph.'[154] Indeed heavily influenced by and dependent on the Vasarian biographical model, the nineteenth-century artist's monograph is heterogeneous in its motivations, degrees of insight, and specialisation due to a large number of different authors from diverse backgrounds.[155] It combines biography and literary fiction, utilising documents and sources concerning the artist's existence, and critically evaluates artworks

---

[151] Vasari 1998, pp.284, 414, 484, 486, 580.

[152] van Mander 1969, pp.83, 94-95.

[153] Woods 1999b, p.107.

[154] Barker, Webb, and Woods 1999b, p.22.

[155] Guerico 2006, pp.4-5, The term 'monograph' was taken from eighteenth-century Natural History, where it refers to a piece of writing dealing with one particular and clearly restricted topic. The term was first used referring to an artist's life, in a review of Adam Weise's biography on Albrecht Dürer from 1819.

and their attribution, compiling comprehensive lists of works in the process.[156] At its core is the life-and-work model, suggesting an interconnection between the two in presenting 'the artist both as an individual empirically linked to a body of art through historical facts and as a personality created solely by that body of works.'[157] As mentioned above, a similar concept already forms an essential element of Vasari's *Lives*. Gabriele Guerico argues, 'in particular, in comprehending the life and works of the artist as a narrative, the monograph made sense of who an artist is by looking at both creative and biographical processes.'[158]

In the late eighteenth century, many changes took place in the wake of the French Revolution, not just in European society but also in its art world that would directly or indirectly affect the artist's monograph. Firstly, artists' usual official patronage declined, and they soon realised that the increased freedom from the demands of clergy, royalty, states, and aristocracy also meant a decreased certainty when it came to making a living from their art. Secondly, simultaneously with the public museum's birth, the hanging of the artworks changed too, from a topical hanging to one demonstrating the lineage and genealogies of artistic schools and individual artists' history and development, two notions already encountered in Pliny and Vasari. The resulting increased need for research led to a surge in monograph production.[159] Thirdly, the distinction between *artists*, referring to professionals and academics, and *artisans*, referring to amateur practitioners, in the visual arts was finalised, sixteen centuries after Pliny and three centuries after Vasari.

Additionally, the emphasis on the representation of artists started to shift, away from Antiquity and the Renaissance's artistic ideal aiming for a perfect depiction of reality—exemplified in numerous anecdotes about artists' skills—towards the Romantic notion of an artist's expression of feelings. [160] While the Enlightenment had defined genius anew, emphasising rational thought and judgment and balancing mental forces, this overly rational notion was once again reversed, in a return of the unrestricted imaginative and divinely inspired genius and artist.[161] Due to this upsurge in *creative* madness, artists were moving

---

[156] Ibid., pp.4-5, The monograph model was not exclusively used by Western art history, there are plenty of examples from Asia as well as Middle Eastern countries, but it was widely adopted in Europe at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

[157] Ibid, p.6; Salas (2007b, p.5-6) remarks that the life-and-work model has been discussed in other fields too; for a further historic and theoretical discussion of the life-and-work model, see Salas 2007a.

[158] Guerico 2006, p.38.

[159] Ibid., p.34-35

[160] Kisters 2017, p.45.

[161] Kyaga (2015, pp.17-19) argues the rational genius required a synthesis of imagination, judgement, sense, and memory. The shift back from rational to emotional was down to historic and socio-political factors; Salas 2007b, p.10.

further and further away from sanity, and concerns about *clinical* madness increased.[162] At the beginning of the nineteenth century, 'legendary stories from the lives of Renaissance artists … or in the Netherlands, masters from the Golden Age' became popular not just in literary but also artistic production.[163] As a result, more nostalgic visions about the great masters were developing, who were now being glorified in ways previously reserved for classical heroes and saints.[164]

For example, inspired by the most remarkable and memorable anecdotes taken from the portrayed artists' biographies, some paintings stress the close and harmonious relationship between rulers (such as dukes, kings, emperors, and popes) and artists. Some artworks show deathbed scenes, such as *Francis I Receives the Last Breath of Leonardo da Vinci* (1818) by Jean Auguste Dominique Ingres (Fig. 2.3) and *The Death of Raphael* (1832 or before) by Johannes Riepenhausen (Fig. 2.4)—with the artist's last painting (*Transfiguration*, 1516-20) placed at his head. Some depict moments in an artist's studio, such as Pierre-Nolasque Bergeret's *Charles Quint ramassant le pinceau de Titien* [Charles V Picking up Titian's Paintbrush] (1808) (Fig. 2.5).[165] Others again depict the discovery of the artist as a child, such as *Cimabue e Giotto* [Cimabue and Giotto] (1846) by Gaetano Sabatelli (Fig. 2.6).[166] This nineteenth-century cult of the artist also included contemporary artists, such as Théodore Géricault and Bertel Thorvaldsen.[167] Eventually, this glorification, heroisation and mythologisation developed apparent religious aspects. For example, Paul Cézanne drew *Apothéose de Delacroix* [The Apotheoses of Delacroix] (1890-94) (Fig. 2.7.), while the sculptor Antonio Canova was dismembered after his death, recalling the distribution of relics of Medieval saints to different sites for pilgrimage.[168]

The new century also brought the birth of the field of art history out of German historicism and *Kulturwissenschaft* [Cultural Studies]. Their discussions on art were very much based on the Renaissance artist's biography. Maybe as a consequence, the new

---

[162] Kyaga 2015, pp.19-21, At the middle of the nineteenth century, early psychiatrists investigated the presumed genius-madness link from a medical point of view. A century later, a biological and sociological approach appeared. Kyaga resumes that studies 'suggested an association for bipolar disorder and creativity' as well as that a consensus is growing that there is 'an association between abilities and mental illness resting on a biological foundation resulting in an inherent disposition'; For the role of the artist in America, see for example Burns 1996.

[163] Kisters 2017, p.47.

[164] Ibid.

[165] Ibid, p.48.

[166] Ibid, p.102, Already during the sixteenth century, Giorgio Vasari and Domenico Beccafumi depicted famous anecdotes about ancient artists, such as Apelles and Parrhasius, in painted ceilings; Bätschmann 1997, pp.77-80.

[167] Kisters 2017, p.49; Bätschmann 1997, pp.77-80.

[168] Bätschmann (1997, pp.82-85, 108-113) explains Canova's heart was buried in his tomb at S. Maria Gloriosa dei Frari in Venice, while his right hand was kept by the *Accademia di Belle Arte* in Venice, and his remaining body was given to the people of his birthplace Possagno—where Canova had designed a *Tempio*.

discipline and its leading scholars quickly adopted the artist's monograph as one of its essential sources and products.[169] The new discipline's concept of the artist relied almost entirely on Renaissance biographies and thus depicted an artist as hero. Sousslouff argues that despite the criticism from some scholars, such as Aby Warburg, the nineteenth- and twentieth-century conception of an artist was based in the Vasarian mode and its fourteenth- and fifteenth-centuries predecessors.[170]

Through authentication and attribution, the definition of oeuvres became a distinguishing feature of monographs in the first half of the nineteenth century, promoting the idea of the *oeuvre* as a 'multidimensional whole,' holding and revealing information about the development of the artist's personality, and artistic practice. [171] Thus, for connoisseurs, aiming to verify originals and compiling a complete chronological catalogue of an artist's production, a *catalogue raisonné*, became essential for the nineteenth-century monograph and its production.[172] From 1850 onwards, the pendulum swung the other way, when the aspect of biography became more important in artists' monographs, pushing back the dominance of *oeuvre* and eventually even placing biography above (art) history and connoisseurship. This shift achieved literary popularity and reached a wider audience by balancing the biography and *oeuvre*.[173] Regarding this balance and the audience of the nineteenth-century artist's monograph, Guerico states, 'the study of the oeuvre required specialised means, and therefore found its warmest reception among art historians and connoisseurs.'[174] He continues, 'in contrast, the study of biography verged on the novelistic and reached a much broader audience.'[175]

From the 1880s onwards, a publishing boom of multi-volume series on Renaissance and modern artists occurred, aiming to introduce the histories of many artists' lives and works to a readership as wide as possible.[176] Aided by affordable book publishing, allowing for

[169] Sousslouff 1997, pp.38, 77-88.

[170] Ibid, p.93; Salas (2007b, pp.9-10) writes that already Warburg argues that biographically oriented art history leads to hero-worshipping of artists, tightly bound to the art market and occupied with finding connections between art and life to prove an individual's genius.

[171] Guerico 2006, pp.80, 91-96, Johan David Passavant's *Rafael von Urbino und sein Vater Giovanni Santi* from 1839, a systematic and exhaustive survey of Raphael's life and artistic production which remains a reference work for current scholars of Raphael and his works, very much defined what an 'artist's oeuvre' was, although not using the actual term.

[172] Ibid., p.40.

[173] Ibid., pp.112, 126.

[174] Ibid., p.149.

[175] Ibid.

[176] Examples of such series are *Illustrated Biographies of the Great Artists* series (1879-95), *Librairie de l'Art* series (1886-1906), *KünstlerMonographien* series (1894-1941), and *Great Masters in Painting and Sculpture* series (1899-1910); Guerico (2006, pp.149-151) talks briefly about such series; for a more comprehensive discussion of such series and how they influenced and enshrined the Western canon of art history, see Kitschen 2019.

repetition of and thus familiarisation with the canon, its artists and artworks became more and more canonical in being enshrined in the public mind.[177] Guerico considers *Lorenzo Lotto: An Essay in Constructive Art Criticism* (1895) by Bernard Berenson an exemplary monograph.[178] It combines art criticism and connoisseurship to analyse artworks' stylistic and material qualities, subjective moods and personal visions.[179] When the sources are scarce, Berenson relies on visual analysis of paintings, blending an empirical approach with Neoplatonic ideas and psychology, arguing Lotto inscribed and constructed a presence into his artworks—the quintessence of the life-and-work model.[180]

With the dawn of the twentieth century, a new direction became popular in art-historical thinking and writing: the Viennese School. It tried to distinguish itself from the traditions of *Kulturwissenschaft* [Cultural Studies] in rejecting an uncritical use of artists' biographies and organising and critiquing not just primary but also secondary sources.[181] Scholars started exploring the role of artists in society and culture, and their lives increasingly through the lens of the new school of psychoanalysis.[182] Eventually, more concepts of artists appeared—the clinically mad genius, the revolutionary, the nobleman, the unappreciated, the loner, the bohemian, the romantic—forming a diverse list. This 'collection of artists' started to be seen as a distinguished type of people, merging with the wider 'community of geniuses.'[183]

Sousslouff argues that positioning the artist in an 'ideal and absolute' role in culture, and placing the genre of the artist's biography 'isolated from other kinds of biographies,' thereby textualising the artist 'differently from other human beings,' had created a mythical and legendary status for the heroic artist.[184] For the first half of the twentieth century, this position of the artist, their biographies and the anecdotes they consisted of and incorporated, remained untouched: enclosed within their own legendary and mythical realm of artworks

---

[177] Silver 2019, p.11.

[178] Berenson 1895; Guerico 2006, p.196.

[179] Guerico 2006, p.196.

[180] Ibid, pp.194-199, 213.

[181] Sousslouff 1997, pp.94-95.

[182] Sigmund Freud publishes three editions of *Eine Kindheitserinnerung des Leonardo da Vinci* [A Childhood Memory of Leonardo da Vinci] in 1910, 1919, and 1923 respectively; Several decades later, Meyer Schapiro (1955-56; 1955) writes two papers in reply; According to Sousslouff (1997, pp.119-127) Schapiro successfully argued that psychoanalytical biographies are historically unreliable; Wittkower and Wittkower (1969, p.288) explain Schapiro 'showed that Freud's assumptions [on Leonardo da Vinci] were based in factual errors and, in addition, pointed out some methodological shortcomings of psycho-analytical procedure when used in investigating historical personalities and works of art.'

[183] Kris and Kurz 1980, pp.27-28; Wittkower and Wittkower (1969, p.95) compare the fight of the Romanticist artists to free themselves from the academic conventions to Renaissance artists' fight to liberate themselves from the Medieval guilds; Gaertner (1970) provides a brief yet helpful overview of different types of artists, offering lists of matching artists for each category.

[184] Sousslouff 1997, pp.101, 111.

and art history, focusing on what an artist does or is, appearing almost timeless, they were disconnected from and unaffected by general histories.[185]

As a result, the artist's monograph became the most institutionalised type of art-historical writing, suffering from 'the presumption of knowledge,' the assumption that its defining parameters, such as concept, methods, and structure, had been established, not requiring any changes or improvements.[186] Since the late nineteenth century typologies had remained mostly unaltered, the artist's monograph's main impact was reduced to 'affecting and legitimating the reception of dead and living artists.'[187] Thus, monographs about canonical artists, like their predecessors, were creating a feedback loop, confirming and enshrining the individual's position within the canon of art history, in choosing to portray a person of already previously established status. Latest at this time, the commodification of artists by the art market reached the monographs, assimilating them into its apparatus.[188] Using eulogy and novelistic devices, the monograph's role on the art market was to (re-)confirm canonical status, uniqueness, importance, and economic value and push for the (re)discovery of neglected individuals, such as El Greco, Vermeer, and Leighton.[189]

Pablo Picasso and Marcel Duchamp are the two most prominent examples of artists who had their significance, thus the price of their artworks, heavily constructed through monographs in the second half of the twentieth century.[190] Their biographers, such as John Berger (*The Success and Failure of Picasso*, 1965), Robert Lebel (*Sur Marcel Duchamp* [About Marcel Duchamp], 1959), and Jerrold Seigel (*The Private Worlds of Marcel Duchamp*, 1995), knew the artists they were writing about very well, as did others writing about Picasso and Duchamp.[191] Similarly, John Richardson befriended Picasso in the 1950s and subsequently wrote several books about the artist. Picasso and Duchamp also became their own monographers. Picasso, who saw art as autobiography, had help from Christian Zervos in producing *Picasso (1932)*, a catalogue in thirty-three volumes covering the artist's

---

[185] Ibid, pp.109, 112.

[186] Guerico 2006, pp.226, 252-253.

[187] Ibid., p.227.

[188] Salas 2007b, pp.9-15; Kisters 2017, p.47.

[189] Guerico 2006, pp.236-237; Barker (1999a; 1999b, pp.202) argues that already '[i]n the late eighteenth century, art dealers started to realise that buyers could be attracted not just by famous names but also by the special cachet of rarity and unfamiliarity.'

[190] Guerico 2006, pp.267-274; Already Gaertner (1970, p.30) argues that the obvious opposite of the divinely inspired and mad artist would be the artist as businessman, calculating, money-conscious, who creates soberly, methodically for a specific market and willingly adapting the style to the taste of the patrons without ecstasies, depressions or suffering, not believing in inspiration but in steady, skilful, and lucrative work. According to him, Peter Paul Rubens, Auguste Renoir, and Henri Matisse fit this description; Several decades later Fastert, Joachimides and Krieger (2011, p.15) claim that the notion of the artist as manager and marketing expert has become increasingly important.

[191] Guerico 2006, pp.229-236; for the control Pablo Picasso was exercising over his own brand also see: Fine, Muniz Jr and Norris 2014.

entire career in chronological but unsystematic order.[192] Duchamp's *Boîte-en-valise (1935-41)* [Box in a Valise], a cardboard box with sixty-nine miniature replicas, models, and colours productions of his principal works, is described as a 'portable museum' by the artist himself while others refer to it as 'monograph'.[193] Such autobiographical monographs give the life-and-work model a new meaning.

Later during the century, questions about *origin* and *originality* were asked in art history and its monographs. The long-needed critique of the author and authorship was introduced by scholars such as the Structuralists Roland Barthes and Michel Foucault.[194] Other researchers have further explored and critiqued the artists and authorship theory, such as feminist art historians Linda Nochlin and Griselda Pollock, and the British Marxists T. J. Clark, exploring the socio-political aspects of art, David Kunzle, one of the early comics studies scholars, as well as Fred Orton, John Christie, and Nicholas Green.[195] On the one hand, the anti-authoritarian and anti-intentional positions question the life-and-work model, standing at the heart of the artist's monograph.[196] On the other hand, both stances also go against the grain of Feminist art history, aiming to highlight the individual woman artist and her creative, political, social, and emancipatory achievements, actually echoing the monograph's determinations to capture the identities of artists.[197] From the late 1980s onwards, the theories and ideas of postcolonialism influenced art history, forcing scholars to rethink racial, political, ethnic, and community notions, and consider the relationship between identity and creativity concerning individual artists and their biographies as well as the artistic canon.

Since the 1990s, the monograph genre was in decline, but art history seems to have rediscovered the artist as subject and focus of scholarly interest, with the attention yet still oscillating between the two poles of the artist or the artwork.[198] Sabine Fastert, Alexis Joachimides and Verena Krieger argue that this renewed research, a 'boom' as they call it, is no longer about 'the life' or 'the soul' of the artist but realises the connection of biography,

---

[192] Guerico 2006, pp.267-270.

[193] Ibid, pp.270-274.

[194] Barthes 1995; Foucault 1991.

[195] Sousslouff 1997, pp.109-110; Nochlin 1973; Pollock 1999; 2003; Pollock and Orton 1978; Kunzle 1973; 1990; Orton, Christie and Pollock 1996.

[196] Salas (2007b, pp.2-7) remarks that these positions also question the 'artist[s] as god-like source' of any particular artwork, thus denying them any notion of divine or mad inspiration.

[197] Ibid., pp.14-15; Guerico 2006, p.263-264; For Feminist art history, see for example Nochlin 1973; Pollock (1999, p.14) who claims inspired by Sigmund Freud, writing an artist's (a hero's) biography is a double determined operation: on the one hand the author desires to get close to the hero, while on the other hand both work and hero need to remain sacred, in order to maintain the status of a hero, who can then be worshipped.

[198] Fastert, Joachimides and Krieger 2011, pp.16-17; Guerico 2006, p.284.

social status, psychological constitution, habit and work as complex construction, in need of a contextualised analysis.[199]

At the same time, popular literature rediscovered artists too. Marjolein van Tooren argues for a return—a boom even—of the painter's novel, a literary genre popular during the nineteenth century, since the 1990s in French, Dutch and English literature.[200] Like the earlier original, the modern versions frequently feature *topoi* about the artist's character and studio, the mysterious place of inspiration and creation. The contemporary painter's novel, often told by an all-knowing narrator, includes an artist's choice between art and love and the artist as a secondary character, often in detective stories and thrillers, as popular themes.[201] The former indicates a clear interest in an artist's emotional state but essentially uses the life-and-work model as inspiration for amorous adventures. In contrast, the latter is mainly fictional and rather loosely attached to a (famous) name, which merely provides an aura of authenticity—no longer a painter's novel in the strict sense, as van Tooren points out.[202] Several parallels to modern painter's novels can be found in the analysis of graphic biographies of canonical artists discussed in the following chapters.

2.4. Conclusion

Since Antiquity, there have been apparent similarities in the artist's biography regarding the structure and the content. The most striking example is the artist's anecdote, which has migrated through the various biographical genres up to the present. It was most likely employed initially due to a general lack of contemporary sources available to the author. Although not always accurate, these ancient stories about an artist became a generic element of artists' biographies, portraying them as artistic and cultural 'heroes' in one way or another.

Through medieval hagiographies and enforced by the new status artists received during the Renaissance, such narratives have found their way into artists' biographies and monographs. Anecdotes have developed into an intrinsic part of the artist's biography, what Sousslouff describes as 'the dominant cultural and art historical source for the construction of the artist's image since the beginning of the Early Modern Period.'[203] The artist's monograph of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries have adopted the Vasarian biographical model and adapted it into the life-and-work model.

---

[199] Fastert, Joachimides and Krieger 2011, p.17.

[200] Van Tooren 2012; 2014.

[201] Van Tooren 2012.

[202] Van Tooren 2012; 2014; Van Tooen remarks that such painter's novels do also look at less well-known artists.

[203] Sousslouff 1997, p.138.

The beginning of the nineteenth century saw a rise in interest in Renaissance artists and the birth of the discipline of art history, which immediately assimilated and incorporated the artist's monograph as the chosen form of art writing. Connoisseurs inspected and verified artworks and their attribution, advancing the studying of individual *oeuvres*. Simultaneously, with multi-volume series on artists in the later nineteenth century, the monograph genre achieved broader literary popularity and reached a wider audience. At the end of the century, the monograph and the life-and-work model had reached their peak. The monograph had become highly institutionalised by the art-historical field, and very canonical. New influences, ideas, and approaches had no chance to succeed within the artist's monograph's now tight frame. Only during the second half of the twentieth century, the situation started to change.

Together with the canon of art history, many traditional art-historical aspects of thinking and writing about artists have prevailed too, such as an ongoing focus on the same canonical artists, usually white male Europeans, an idealisation and glorification of Renaissance artists, a fascination with sad, mad, lonesome, Romantic artists, and the heroisation of individual artists, their lives and works because they were mentally unstable and unhappy. Most prominently, the anecdote and the life-and-work model have held their principal position in biographical writings about artists. These traditions have found an expression in popular culture, such as comic books and graphic novels, discussed in the following chapters.

Schematic Structure of the Artist's Biography

Prebirth
- Portents
- Dreams
- Signs in nature of an unusual type

Birth
- Significance of place of birth
- Family lineage
- Naming

Youth
- Signs of early promise in drawing or modeling
- Discovery by a recognized artist or artistic authority
- Recognition of abilities by teacher, fellow students (including competition among artists), patrons
- Virtuosity in one or more media
- Early works described

Maturity
- Descriptions of major commissions
- Ekphrases of completed works in prominent locales or collections, including author's own

Old age
- Descriptions of late works in terms of artist's spirituality

Death
- Circumstances of death
- Artist's preparations for death
- Illustrious patrons and peers affected by death

Fate of body
- Physical appearance and personal habits of artist
- Burial, memorials, tombs, inscriptions

Fate of works
- Artist's artistic lineage: students, schools, technical secrets
- Significance of artist for author

Fig. 2.1: The typical structure of the Renaissance artist's biography, according to Catherine Sousslouff, *The Absolute Artist. A Historiography of a Concept* (1997), figure 1. © Catherine Sousslouff

Fig. 2.2: Albrecht Dürer, *Selbstbildnis im Pelzrock* [Self-Portrait in Fur Coat] (1500), Oil on Lime (67.1 x 48.9 cm), Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen - Alte Pinakothek, Munich: The composition, such as posture and hand gesture, shows parallels to that of a *Salvator Mundi* [Saviour of the World], reserved for depictions of Jesus Christ in Christian iconography

Fig. 2.3: Jean Auguste Dominique Ingres, *Francis I Receives the Last Breath of Leonardo da Vinci* (1818), Oil on Canvas (40 x 50.5 cm), Petit Palais Musée des Beaux-Arts de la Ville de Paris, Paris: The composition is based on a matching anecdote which appears already in Vasari's *Lives,* emphasising the close relationship between ruler and artist.

Fig. 2.4.: Johannes Riepenhausen, *The Death of Raphael* (1832 or before), Pen and Black and Brown Ink; Framing Line in Graphite and Brush and Grey Ink on Paper (26.6 x 35.1 cm), The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Washington, D.C: The composition shows parallels to depictions of the Death of Virgin Mary in Christian iconography.

Fig. 2.5.: Pierre-Nolasque Bergeret, *Charles Quint ramassant le pinceau de Titien* [Charles V. Picking up Titian's Paintbrush] (1808), Oil on Canvas (96.0 x 128.0 cm), Musée des Beaux-Arts Bordeaux, Bordeaux: The composition is based on a matching anecdote which appears already in Ridolfi's biography of the artist, emphasising the close relationship between ruler and artist.

Fig. 2.6.: Gaetano Sabatelli, *Cimabue e Giotto* [Cimabue and Giotto] (1846), Oil on Canvas (no measurements), Palazzo Pitti, Galleria d'Arte Moderna, Florence: The composition is based on a matching anecdote which appears already in Vasari's *Lives*, highlighting the artist's exception talent at a very young age and the resulting destiny to become a great artist

Fig. 2.7.: Paul Cézanne, *Apothéose de Delacroix* [The Apotheosis of Delacroix] (1890-94), Oil on Canvas (27.0 x 35.0 cm), Musée d'Orsay, Paris: In European art history, canonisations and apotheosises had previously been reserved for kings and Catholic saints only.

Chapter 3 – The Birth of the Artist's Biography Comics Genre

In the early 1940s, with World War II still ongoing, the idea of publishing comic strips about canonical visual artists and artworks hit the market of educational youth magazines in the USA.[204] This birth of the new comics genre of the artist's biography also inaugurated a respective first publishing boom, titled the First Boom for this thesis, and created enduring genre-specific tropes, which derived from art-historical anecdotes. The aftermath of the First Boom lasted until the early 1970s. This study only considers *biographical* graphic narratives about visual artists, whether they cover a period or a whole life. Thus, graphic narratives that just briefly mention an individual or their work but do not focus on either, or feature an artist merely as a secondary character, have been excluded from this research.[205]

Although much effort has been taken to find and record every graphic narrative that matches these criteria, there were limiting factors, such as language barriers, time, and the archives' content. Thus, this thesis cannot guarantee, hence does not argue for, the absoluteness of the compiled and discussed lists of biographical graphic narratives about canonical visual artists but is aware of the data's possible incompleteness.

Between 1942 and 1972, at least forty-seven comic strips about canonical painters, sculptors, architects, draughtsmen, and other artists and their works were published, mirroring the Western art-historical canon at the time.[206] Such educational youth magazines comprised anthologies of comic strips, illustrated stories, and short articles about different subjects.

After a short but diverse First Boom (1942-1949), its aftermath (1950-1972) lasted longer but played out almost entirely in a single magazine, *Treasure Chest of Fun & Fact* (1946-1972). Due to the high number of at least twenty-six publications between 1942 and 1949 and the diversity in narratives and publishers, only comic strips from the 1940s form the First Boom.

As discussed in Chapter 1, the sudden publishing activity in educational comics between 1942 and 1949, shaped by the publishers of respective comics magazines, and launching and establishing the new artist's biography comics, clearly qualifies the phenomenon as a publishing *boom*.

---

[204] Gabilliet (2010, pp.22-23) argues that the introduction of educational comics into some magazines was a decision based on the (probably quite rightful) assumption by publishers that parents were the ones who allow their children to buy comics and who would most likely also pay for them. These comics were then targeting parents and children equally.

[205] For example, Leonardo da Vinci and his flying machines are mentioned in many comics, and he appears as secondary character in several graphic narratives.

[206] See Appendix A for a list of these comic strips. Dates as given in the indicia.

Nicolas Labarre explains that architexts—a grouping of texts linked by some sort of shared trait—sometimes function as a genre and, through institutionalisation, can become one.[207] While the narratives compiling the First Boom and its aftermaths are certainly architexts—they are biographical, feature visual artists, and claim truthfulness—, and fulfil the categorising function of a genre, they were never institutionalised: they have so far neither been recognised as a genre by creators, publishers, critics, or scholars nor had they specific comics magazines devoted to them. Naturally, those narratives qualify for a variety of different architexts, such as biography, art history, history, science, education, and true adventure.[208] However, this chapter shows that biographical graphic narratives about canonical visual artists did develop certain characteristics with their first appearance, such as relatively standardised narrative patterns and, most importantly, storytelling devices and (genre) specific tropes. Thus, this thesis argues that the First Boom indeed was the beginning of a new comics genre, the artist's biography.

On reason for the mentioned lacking institutionalisation might have been the size of the First Boom and its aftermath in relation to the overall comics production during the period. Jean-Paul Gabilliet, writing about the American comic book industry of the twentieth century, registers 934 annual comic book releases in 1942, slowly rising to about 1125 releases by 1945 and increasing fast to approximately 2300 releases by 1949 (Fig. 3.1).[209] In 1952, the number of annual releases peaked at 3161, before declining steadily and reaching 1512 in 1959, roughly the level of 1946 which was more or less maintained until 1970.[210] With these figures in mind, and despite its considerable impact in creating a new genre and establishing its characteristics, it becomes clear that in sheer numbers, the First Boom and its aftermath constitute only fractions of the overall American comics production at the time.

This section investigates the First Boom (Fig. 3.2a-c) by tracing the leading magazines, establishing the most popular artists and artworks represented, and highlighting the similarities and differences in their portrayal in comparing the individual narratives. A particular emphasis lies in analysing anecdotes, the life-and-work model, and the development of genre-specific tropes, deeply rooted in art-historical tradition.

Various online archives have been consulted for this part of the research: COMICBOOK+[211], a valuable and extensive source for old comic strips and comic books;

---

[207] Labarre 2020, pp.8-9.

[208] Hansen (2004), while focussing in 'medical heroes', argues for a separate true-adventure comics genre and provides a bibliaphy of respective comics magazines, many of which also featured narratives from the First Boom.

[209] Gabilliet 2010, p.22, 47.

[210] Ibid., pp.46-47.

[211] URL: https://comicbookplus.com/ (Accessed 03/01/2020).

Grand Comic Database (GCD)[212] that provides publishing histories for various comic magazines; and the Catholic University of America University Libraries' digital collections[213] that holds a complete set of *Treasure Chest of Fun & Fact* (1946-1972). This vast plain of primary sources allowed this particular piece of comics historiography to be unearthed and examined.

3.1. The First Boom (1942-1949)

Blue Ribbon Comics Vol.1, No.22 (March 1942) and *Top-Notch Comics* Vol.1, No.26 (April 1942), both published by M. L. J. Magazines, Inc., contain the two very first comic strips about a canonical artist, giving birth to the comics genre of the artist's biography.[214] On six pages each, the March story features Leonardo da Vinci, while the April narrative is about the life of goldsmith and sculptor Benvenuto Cellini. These two comic strips set a lasting example regarding content, style, and narrative structure.

Cellini and Leonardo are the two most popular artists represented in the First Boom, followed by another Italian Renaissance artist, Michelangelo Buonarotti. Altogether, artists and artworks from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries feature in at least thirteen comic strips published during the First Boom, making them the most popular category of artists. They were followed by eighteenth- and nineteenth-century artists, appearing in ten stories.

The popularity of Renaissance artists resulted likely from them having long been written into the canon of art history, with two major contributing factors. On the one hand, Giorgio Vasari's *Lives* about Leonardo and Michelangelo, and Cellini's famous autobiography would be widely available and probably considered reliable first-hand sources—an essential factor for educational stories.[215] On the other hand, the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries celebrated the Italian Renaissance with various biographical series on such canonical artists, as discussed in the previous chapter.

Also, Cellini and Leonardo were already widely popular in the culture and entertainment industries at the time. The (love) life of Cellini was explored in movies, such as *The Affairs of Cellini* (1934), and a few drama productions, additionally, it featured in *L'Orfèvre du Roi, ou Ascanio* [The King's Goldsmith or Ascanio] (1843) by Alexandre

---

[212] URL: https://www.comics.org/ (Accessed 02/02/2020).

[213] URL: https://cuislandora.wrlc.org/islandora/object/cuislandora%3A9584 (Accessed 03/01/2020).

[214] [Untitled] March 1942; [Uncredited] April 1942.

[215] Vasari 1998, pp.284-298, 414-488; Cellini 2002; Probably the latest edition of Vasari's *Lives* available at the time, was the four-volume publication by J. M. Dent & Sons (London) and E. P. Dutton (Boston, MA and New York, N.Y.) from 1927, with a second edition in 1946. For Cellini's autobiography, the most recent edition of the time seems to have been by the Navarre Society (London) released in 1935 in two volumes, a reprint of a 1910 edition.

Dumas. [216] Similarly, Leonardo's life featured in several cinematic productions and documentaries, and literature.[217] Given the frequency of these artists' lives as the subject of various media, their biographies must have been incredibly popular and successful.[218] Thus, it was the unique combination of 1) readily available sixteenth-century (auto)biographical sources, 2) the contemporary perception of the Italian Renaissance, and 3) the proof of the *economic* value of Renaissance artists' lives that seem to have paved the way for these artists to feature in comics.[219] Indeed, depictions of Cellini closely resemble that of a famous movie star of the days, Errol Flynn (Fig. 3.3).[220]

The two comic strips about Leonardo and Cellini from spring 1942 became characteristic for the First Boom. Both stories attempt to give a biographical overview of the artist's life, starting in his early childhood and ending the narrative with his death or a famous masterpiece, mentioning the individual's most significant achievements and artworks in the process. However, in contrast to Pliny and Vasari's biographical writings, the artist's personality is of lesser importance. Instead, the First Boom narratives focus on particular periods in and episodes of an artist's life: moments of great triumph or despair as well as legendary aspects of the individual's life, discussed below. This concentration on such moments resembles the style of Antoni Manetti's *The Life of Brunelleschi*, discussed in the previous chapter.[221]

The foci on triumphant, desperate, or legendary moments become apparent already in the opening panels. *Leonardo da Vinci* (1942), about the 'artist, inventor and philosopher'

---

[216] **Movies** about Cellini: *Benvenuto Cellini ou Une curieuse évasion* [Benvenuto Cellini or A Curious Escape] (1904, France), *Benvenuto Cellini* (1908, France), *Benvenuto Cellini* (1910, France), *The Affairs of Cellini* (1934, USA); At the 7ᵗʰ Academy Awards (1935), *The Affairs of Cellini* was nominated in the categories Best Art Direction, Best Cinematography, and Best Sound Recording, while Frank Morgan, playing Cellini, was nominated as Best Actor. (URL: https://www.oscars.org/oscars/ceremonies/1935) (Accessed 15/09/2020); **Drama** productions about Cellini: *Benvenuto Cellini* (1838, France, Opera, *Benvenuto Cellini* (1852, France, Play), *Ascanio* (1890, France, Opera), *A Man of His Time* (1923, Australia, Play), *The Firebrand of Florence* (1945, USA, Operetta); **Literature** featuring Cellini: *L'Orfèvre du roi, ou Ascanio* [The King's Goldsmith or Ascanio] (1843) by Alexandre Dumas.

[217] **Movies** about Leonardo: *Voli del 'Leonardo da Vinci'* [Flights of Leonardo da Vinci] (1910, Italy, Documentary), *Il varo della 'Leonardo da Vinci'* [The Launch of the Leonardo da Vinci] (1911, Italy, Documentary), *Le tragique amour de Mona Lisa* [The tragic love of Mona Lisa] (1912, France), *Leonardo da Vinci* (1919, Italy), *The Conquest of the Air* (1936, UK, Documentary), *Portrait of a Genius* (1943, USA, Documentary); **Literature** about Leonardo: *The Romance of Leonardo da Vinci* (1901) by Dmitry Merezhkovsky.

[218] Gabilliet (2010, pp.36-37) noticed a similar connection between the popularity of gangsters and cops in movies and radio programmes of the 1930s and 1940s and true crime and detective comics in the 1940s.

[219] Williams (2007, p.36) remarks that 'Burckhardt's notion of Renaissance individuality is still very much alive in middlebrow culture, in what we might call the "Miramax Renaissance": movies that represent as a time when people gave themselves to sensuality, materialism, and the lust of power'; Burckhardt 1873; 1879; For a detailed discussion of visual artists in biographical movies, see Bovey 2015.

[220] In the 1940s, Errol Flynn was famous for his leading roles in swashbuckler movies, such as *Captain Blood* (1935), *The Adventures of Robin Hood* (1938), *The Private Lives of Elizabeth and Essex* (1939), *The Sea Hawk* (1940) and *The New Adventures of Don Juan* (1948).

[221] Manetti 1970.

(Fig. 3.4), presents *Self-Portrait* (c.1490-c.1517/18) (Fig. 3.5), *La Gioconda* (1503-19) commonly known as *Mona Lisa*, (Fig. 3.6), and three sketches titled 'Flying Machine,' 'Anatomy' and 'Nature.'[222] The composition of the opening panel, as an eclectic best-of selection, sets an example for future comic narratives about Leonardo, and in fact, other artists. This observation is confirmed when we look at the opening panels of *Leonardo da Vinci. Painter and Scientist. Pioneer in Engineering* (1942) (Fig. 3.7), and *500 Years Too Soon!* (1947) (Fig. 3.8a-b).[223] In all three cases, the opening panel does not contribute to the narrative but sets the scene or tries to summarise it in a single panel—a common feature of opening panels at the time. Also, all three base the artist's depiction on the same self-portrait. Most comic strips about Leonardo during the First Boom show a reference to designs allowing human flight, despite the lack of evidence that such designs were ever realised or tested. The only exception is *Leonardo da Vinci. The Man who knew Everything!* (1943), which does not depict but only describes Leonardo's achievements.[224] Thus, evidently, the motifs in these opening panels are standardised in terms of content, presenting Leonardo's legendary triumphs and contributions to numerous fields and disciplines of humanities and science. This specific use and design of opening panels ceased with the end of the First Boom but continued in other genres, such as superhero comics.

One can observe analogous foci and sameness when comparing the three narratives. *Leonardo da Vinci* (1942) describes Leonardo's childhood and training, his curiosity and discovery by Verrocchio, who realises the boy's genius.[225] Interested in a wide variety of subjects and particularly fascinated with the birds' flight, he designs and builds a pair of wings, making his assistant test them—an experiment that fails. The story also mentions Leonardo's artistic achievements, such as the unfinished *Adoration of the Magi* (1481), *The Last Supper* (1490s) and *La Gioconda*.[226] According to the narrative, Leonardo was convinced that the last work would become 'the greatest painting of [his] career.'[227] Despite several factual errors—historical, art-historical, artistic—this narrative became a template. *Leonardo da Vinci. Painter and Scientist. Pioneer in Engineering* (1942) also shows the discovery and training by Verrocchio and the inventions in a variety of fields. However, in an overly liberal interpretation of history—possible to interest young readers in science— the story depicts a submarine and steam-powered cannons used in military campaigns.[228]

---

[222] [Uncredited] March 1942.

[223] [Uncredited] November 1942; [Uncredited] March 1947, *500 Years Too Soon!* was even allowed to feature on the cover.

[224] [Uncredited] March 1943.

[225] [Uncredited] March 1942.

[226] Ibid.

[227] Ibid.

[228] [Uncredited] November 1942.

With eight pages, *Leonardo da Vinci. The Man Who Knew Everything* (1943) and *500 Years Too Soon!* (1947) are the longest comic strips about any artist produced between 1942 and 1972.[229] They both follow the narrative pattern of *Leonardo da Vinci* (1942), although the 1943-story does not show the discovery by Verrocchio and focuses more on the artist's war machines than other comics. Such narratological foci on specific aspects of and episodes in an artist's life continued to be used throughout the First Boom and its aftermath.

Comic strips about Cellini follow the same narrative patterns as discussed for Leonardo. However, his artistic identity is often overshadowed by more legendary aspects. The opening panel of *Benvenuto Cellini* (1942) introduces the 'famous artist, swordsman and lover' and shows a fighting protagonist (Fig. 3.9).[230] A much smaller panel mentions that Cellini was also artistically gifted at a young age.[231] Once again, despite taking up three-quarters of the page, the opening does not contribute to the narrative. The story focuses on the martial and adventurous qualities of Cellini, generating and emphasising the image of Cellini as a superior and exceptional soldier while merely mentioning him as an artist. *Benvenuto Cellini* (1945) follows the same narrative patterns, while the opening panel (Fig. 3.10) combines fencing and artistic production, thus painting a more nuanced picture.[232] Nevertheless, such depiction partly suppresses Cellini's artistic identity by introducing him as 'valiant soldier … daring duelist … peerless artist.'[233]

The case is different for *Masterpiece in Bronze* (1947), a shorter narrative focusing on a particular artwork by Cellini, *Perseus with the Head of Medusa* (1545-1554) (Fig. 3.11), while still displaying the focus of the First Boom on an artist's legendary moments of despair or triumph.[234] Counter-intuitively, the opening panel already reveals the narratological climax (Fig. 3.12). The story then starts anew, with Cellini presenting his model to the Duke de Medici of Florence, who admires yet doubts the artist, leading Cellini to promise the statue's completion, which he accomplishes after overcoming various obstacles. In August 1947, one month before *Masterpiece in Bronze* (1947), *Lady of Liberty* (1947) about the respective statue in New York Harbour was released.[235] Despite this slightly earlier narrative, the strip about Cellini's Perseus became the model for stories of the 1950s and 1960s about

---

[229] [Uncredited] March 1943; [Uncredited] March 1947.

[230] [Uncredited] April 1942.

[231] Ibid.

[232] [Uncredited] November 1945.

[233] Ibid.

[234] [Uncredited] September 1947; Kiefer and [Uncredited] (1953) features an almost identically worded comics about the exact same incident—building and releasing the tension throughout the narrative arc in the same way but being one page longer—so that it should be seen as extended and re-drawn (to match the elaborated text) reprint.

[235] Ward and [Uncredited] August 1947.

a particular artwork, as *Masterpiece in Bronze* (1947) first featured certain tropes that were going to become genre-specific, as discussed below.

Publishers

During the First Boom, seven different publishers produced nine educational youth magazines, containing comic strips about canonical visual artists (Fig. 3.1b-c). M. L. J. Magazines Inc. published *Blue Ribbon Comics* (1939-1942) and *Top-Notch Comics* (1939-1942), featuring a mixture of action, adventures, sport, superhero, mystery, spy, war as well as biographical narratives.[236] The comic strips about Leonardo and Cellini appeared in the ultimate and penultimate issue of these individual series, and both stories remained an anomaly in the publishing history of the respective magazines. Other more straightforward education-focused publishers of comic book anthologies were quick to adopt, continue and develop the new genre. *It Really Happened* (1944, 1946-1947) and *Real Life Comics* (1941-1952), companion magazines since October 1946, published eight comics featuring canonical artists.[237] The publisher of *Real Life Comics* changed its name several times before it eventually called itself Visual Editions Inc.[238] *It Really Happened* was discontinued in 1944 after only four issues, reappearing in October 1946 under the original name but with a new publisher, Visual Editions Inc., until October 1947.[239] In publishing *Real Life Comics* and *It Really Happened*, from October 1946 onwards, Visual Editions Inc. had two magazines featuring biographical graphic narratives about famous people of (art) history aiming at the same audience. In running an infrequent advertisement page for their companion magazines, the company tried to maximise its sales for both series but eventually discontinued *It Really Happened*.

Among all the magazines, *True Comics* (1941-1950), released by The Parents' Magazine Press, the publishing branch of The Parents' Institute, had possibly the strongest desire to be educational.[240] It claimed a high level of authenticity and excitement in stating 'TRUTH is stranger and a thousand times more thrilling than FICTION' on its covers until

---

[236] Grand Comic Database recorded twenty-two issues of *Blue Ribbon Comics* (1939-1942) (URL: https://www.comics.org/series/124/) as well as twenty-seven issue of Top-Notch Comics (1939-1942) (URL: https://www.comics.org/series/125/), published by M. L. J. Magazines Inc. (all accessed 04/01/2020).

[237] See Appendix A.1 for a list of publishers from the First Boom.

[238] Grand Comic Database records fifty-nine issues (URL: https://www.comics.org/series/12490/) (accessed 16/09/2020).

[239] *It Really Happened* Vol.1, No.1 (1944), indicia; *It Really Happened* No.5 (October 1946), indicia; Grand Comic Database records altogether eleven issues (URL: https://www.comics.org/series/19870/) (Accessed 04/01/2020).

[240] Grand Comic Database records eighty-four issues (URL: https://www.comics.org/series/271/) (Accessed 04/01/2020).

issue No.67 (December 1947). [241] Very possibly due to its success, with issue No.29 (November 1943), True Comic Inc. became a separate subsidiary of The Parents' Institute.[242] George J. Hecht had been Head of the U.S. Government's Bureau of Cartoons during WWI and edited and published *The War in Cartoons* (1919) before becoming the founder and publishing director of the *Parents' Magazine* and also publishing *School Management*, a magazine for school administrators.[243] Unhappy with the comic strips and comic books available at the time—'consisting largely of exciting picture stories which everyone recognises as not only untrue but utterly impossible'—Hecht wanted to offer a 'new and thoroughly different comic magazine.' [244] An explicitly highly educational approach, particularly the two advisory boards of editors, academics and authors from the fields of education, teachers' training, social studies, history and psychology, helped set the series apart from its competitors.[245] However, as discussed below, the *True Comic*s narrative on Leonardo was 'utterly impossible' too.

Unsurprisingly, the publishing histories showed some parallels to the developments in WW II.[246] All the magazines already featured anti-Nazi narratives in their earliest issues, with *True Comics No.1* even promoting the British Prime Minister Winston Churchill as 'World Hero No.1'.[247] With the war intensifying, the number and publishing frequency of educational comic book anthologies increased correspondingly and declined only once the heroic war stories had been sufficiently exploited.[248] In particular, pirate and western comic strips took over, filling the gap left by war stories. During the war, eight comic strips about canonical artists were published, except for two all stories about Renaissance artists. In contrast, during the post-war 1940s, eighteen narratives about artists and their works were released, seven of which featured individuals from the Renaissance. This change in subjects shows that comic strips about the artistic legends from a long-gone past were favoured during the war, possibly implying it was being fought to preserve this very cultural heritage.

---

[241] According to publisher George J. Hecht (*True Comics* Vol.1, No.1, April 1941, publisher's address), the magazine's subtitle was adapted from a quote by the poet Lord Byron (George Gordon Byron, 6th Baron Byron) who once wrote '"T is strange but true: for truth is always strange – stranger than fiction."'

[242] *True Comics* Vol.1, No.29 (November 1943), indicia.

[243] George J. Hecht in *True Comics* Vol.1, No.1 (April 1941), publisher's address; Hecht 1919; Gabilliet (2010, pp.26-28) notes that Hecht also released *Real Heroes Comics*, 'an in-house plagiary of *True Comics*,' as well as *Calling All Girls*, and 'issued another half-dozen similar magazines between 1942 and 1947'.

[244] Ibid.; This shows that already more than a decade before Fredric Wertham's notorious *Seduction of the Innocent* (1954), vilifying comics by linking them to delinquency, the quality of comics and their (possibly negative) influence on children was a concern for parts of society. For a discussion of this issue see Hajdu 2008; Nyberg 2017; Duncan, Smith and Levitz 2015, pp.22-29; Gabilliet 2010, pp.41-43; Sabin 1996, pp.67-69; 1993, pp.157-162.

[245] Initially, the advisory boards were listed on the inside cover together with the imprint, with time the information was sometimes moved around to make space for advertisements.

[246] Gabilliet (2010, pp.20-40) provides a brief overview of the US comics production during and after WW II.

[247] [Uncredited] December 1939a; 1939b; Harrison, Froehlich and [Uncredited] April 1941.

[248] For a discussion of the use of comics during WWII propaganda, see Goodnow and Kimble 2016.

However, after the war was won, more recent and more American but not WW II related stories were pushed, celebrating the artistic achievements of individuals connected to the U.S.

Art

The quality of the drawings for the narratives varies hugely between the publishers and throughout the decade. *Leonardo da Vinci* (1942) and *Benvenuto Cellini* (1942) have very basic, at some points even crude, art (Fig. 3.13). Except for the opening panels, the drawings are very flat and rudimentary in design, in many panels without any spatial indicators to create depth. In showing medium and (very) long shots for the panels, the comic strips avoid the need for detailed depictions of objects, people, facial features, emotions, and texture. A rare example of an expressive panel is when Cellini strangles a man during his flight from the Castel Sant'Angelo (Fig. 3.14).[249] A very bright but limited palette, heavily relying on complementary colour choices, and large monochrome but otherwise empty backgrounds in primary colours make the lack of sophistication in the drawings' execution even more apparent.

Later, publishers of the First Boom improved on the art in trying to add more depth and more elaborate backgrounds as well as more architectural and textual details. Nevertheless, the style remained primarily flat with only a mediocre level of detail, avoiding close-ups and paying little attention to facial features and textures. With time, some narratives successfully achieved expressive black-and-white lighting effects thanks to improved shading. Regarding the palette, only towards the end of the decade, the traditional bright primary and complementary colour choices became more elaborate by using more and different shadings (Fig. 3.15-3.16). These observations regarding style and palette are in line with the comics medium's general trends at the time. They are a result of restrictions due to costs and available printing technology.

The overall lack of accurate details and colours and the narratives' shortness meant that exploring a portrayed artist's style was never part of the First Boom. Also, while the stories usually depicted a few canonical artworks by an individual—the highlight(s) of their career—, they fell short of showing or even mentioning the person's oeuvre—let alone cite the art correctly—, and thus did not establish an emotional link between a creator and their artistic output. It seems, due to the editorial and technical circumstances of their production, governed by financial considerations, the comics forming the First Boom were simply not able to introduce an artist's oeuvre and subsequently employ the life-and-work model. Consequently, it is doubtful that any of the comics artists had inspected any original art *in*

---

[249] [Uncredited] April 1942.

situ or followed the life-and-work model in preparation for their graphic narrative—although the possibility cannot be wholly excluded.

Throughout the decade, one feature appeared in all comic strips: a large opening panel—occasionally a whole page—executed in a much more refined and more precise style, showing a portrait of the artist or the artwork at the centre of the story. Those opening panels are not part of the actual stories but merely introduce the artist or artwork to the reader. In other cases, they depict the narrative's climax or foreshadowed its end. In addition to their larger size, more detailed opening panels took extra time and effort and were undoubtedly more expensive. But they were produced regardless, most likely to impress the readership and catch their eyes. They could also aid and intensify the reading experience, as the rest of the stories were executed in a quicker, less detailed manner to save time and money.

The First Boom has two sides in terms of authorship and comics work. On the one hand, most of the strips are not signed, shrouding the identities of writers, pencilers, inkers, letterers, colourists and many more contributors.[250] Thus, once again in line with the general trends at the time, little is known about the comics workers and their collaboration, except for the publishers, which have been discussed above.[251]

On the other hand, in the six cases of a signed strip—equalling 23% of the publications during the First Boom—it seems it was always the artist who has left a mark. The fact that it was rather the artist than the writer who would sign the strip is remarkable, as the writers are usually privileged creators.[252] However, even in these six cases, the vast majority of comics workers remain unnoticed and uncredited.

The Aftermath of the First Boom (1950-1972)

The data suggests, towards the end of the 1940s, the new comics genre of the artist's biography lost its appeal for most US magazines (Fig. 3.2a-b), which might have been a

---

[250] Gabilliet (2010, pp.111-133), despite focussing largely on the superhero genre, gives a very useful overview of the change to production in the US comics industry between 1930s and 1980s. There, he describes scripting, pencilling, inking, lettering and colouring as 'the five basic operations in the making of a comic book story.' Brienza and Johnston (2016, p.1-2) argue for the inclusion of roles, such as flatter, cover designer, editor, publisher, typesetter, translator, distributor, and retailer, into the definition of comics workers.

[251] Gabilliet (2010, pp.159-190), tracing the position of comics book creators in the US comics industry between the 1930s and the 1990s, explains, that since the 1930s comics creators were either comics studio staff or freelancers, with the former enjoying relatively stable working conditions and income which the latter were lacking, as they were paid per page. Until the mid-1940s, most comics were provided by studios, which in some cases were owned by the publishers employing all their creators, but during the second half of the decade, more and more creators opted for a freelance career, earning better page-rates. However, as publisher therefore no longer held obligations towards the creators, such a career easily meant an economically precarious life without protection of one's intellectual property, and lacking social security, such as health insurance or pension funds. Gabilliet suggests the 'chronic inability to organize some form of collective professional organization' locked creators in this subordinate and dependent position.

[252] Brienza and Johnston 2016, p.1; Gray and Wilkins 2016, pp.116-117, 125-127; Jameel 2016, pp.175-176.

response to the growing popularity of television.[253] From October 1948 until July 1972, almost all comic strips about canonical visual artists and their works appeared in the same magazine: *Treasure Chest of Fun and Fact* (1946-1972), distributed via Catholic parishes.[254] It wanted to be 'a substitute for the objectionable comic publications […] a quality magazine which children—and adults—will enjoy and profit by.'[255] Throughout the decades, the magazine's mission was always not just a pedagogical one but to an at least equal extent a missionary one, as exemplified by frequent stories about the Catholic Faith, a variety of martyrs and saints, as well as missionaries.[256] It was by far the most enduring publisher of biographical graphic narratives about famous historical figures, including canonical Catholic artists, many of whom were Renaissance artists, such as Leonardo and Michelangelo, and creating canonical artworks for the Catholic Church.[257] In that sense, the magazine's approach can be described as a form of underlying religious autochthony. Most of the remaining biographical comic strips about artists showed a strong connection to America, discussed below and having a classic autochthonic meta-narrative.

Over its publication history, the magazine released twenty-six narratives about canonical artists or artworks, including two reprints.[258] The two-issue series *The Story of Painting* (1949) is remarkable, as it mentions several canonical painters, citing anecdotes already found in the writings of Pliny, Vasari and van Mander, discussed in the previous chapter.[259] The narrative features Apollodorus painting his famous grapes (Fig. 3.15) and Apelles painting Alexander the Great on his horse (Fig. 3.17).[260] It presents Giotto painting a perfect circle without using a compass (Fig. 3.18) and Michelangelo working on the Sistine Chapel (Fig. 3.19).[261] Also, the story introduces Jan van Eyck as the inventor of oil painting (Fig. 3.20).[262] Finally, in its summarising verdict, *The Story of Painting* closely follows

---

[253] Jean-Paul Gabilliet (2010, p.xviiii) suggests that from the start of the 1950s, the increasing competition from television made comics magazines less attractive.

[254] See Appendix A.2 for a list of these comic strips and their publishers; The mentioned exception is *Thrilling Adventures in Stamps Comics* (October 1951 - January 1953), running for just eight issues and introducing the readers to the stories behind certain stamps. No.8 (January 1953) features two narratives, one about the Cathedral of Cologne (Napoli and [Uncredited]) and another about *Perseus with the Head of Medusa* (Kiefer and [Uncredited]) by Cellini. Both comic strips are not particular significant, neither in terms of the art nor in terms of the narratives.

[255] Ibid., publisher's address.

[256] *Treasure Chest of Fun & Facts* Vol.1 No.1 (March 1946), indicia, Companion magazines like *Young Catholic Messenger*, *Junior Catholic Messenger* and *Our Little Messenger* made the publisher's orientation very clear from issue one.

[257] GCD recorded 496 regular issues 1946-1972 (URL: https://www.comics.org/series/488/) as well as twelve additional summer issues 1966-1967 in two volumes of six issues (URL: https://www.comics.org/series/16880/) (Accessed 04/01/2020).

[258] See Appendix A for a list of related comic strips published by *Treasure Chest of Fun and Fact*.

[259] [Uncredited] February1949; March 1949.

[260] Pliny 1968, pp.109-111 (Liber XXXV, I, §65), pp.122-125, 128-131 (Liber XXXV, I, §85, §93, §95).

[261] Vasari 1998, pp.22, 439-440, 475.

[262] Van Mander 1969, p.5.

Vasari, arguing that Giotto and Michelangelo deserve special attention for their artistic achievements.

During the aftermath of the First Boom, comic strips featuring canonical artists continued the established patterns of the 1940s, focusing on legendary moments of triumph and despair, avoiding the life-and-work model and not presenting an artist's oeuvre. Similarly, the art mostly followed that of the First Boom in terms of colours and drawing style, slightly improving texture and details. One exceptional narrative is the French painter Claude Lorraine's life story, featuring rather detailed and elaborate backgrounds with landscapes or architecture, close-ups with some facial expressions, and a generally softer pastel palette with a lot of green and yellow (Fig. 3.21).[263] Additionally, the opening panel's use changed with *Treasure Chest of Fun and Fact*, as it was still setting the scene but was now more often integrated into the narrative.

Interestingly, in terms of comics work, more stories were signed during the aftermath, respectively thirteen of twenty-one narratives—an increase to 61.9%. Further, of those comic strips carrying the artist's name, seven also identified the writer. Thus, although most comics workers continued to remain anonymous, there was a trend to reveal the artists and, to a lesser degree, the writers—an unusual favouring of the artist, as mentioned above. Once again, the publisher is the best-known part of the respective comics work.

Furthermore, a shift towards the portrayal of more American artists is noticeable. During the First Boom, only three comic strips were about an American-born artist. Including the additional five European artists who at least partly worked in the U.S., a total of eight out of twenty-six narratives of the First Boom had a direct connection to the USA. For the period between 1950 and 1972, six comic strips examined the life and artworks of American-born artists, and an additional six were about individual artists active in the U.S. As a result, during the aftermath of the First Boom, twelve of twenty-one comic strips showed a connection to US-America. These stories were very patriotic in their nature, celebrated most important national monuments and their creators, historic events and people (Fig. 3.22-3.24), and taught the readers why they mattered to American history and society, helping to generate a national identity. They often feature an underlying notion of autochthony, a mixture of myth and history to create an ideology of origins strongly related to, in this case, the USA but already found in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Florentine biographies, as discussed in the previous chapter.[264] Similar to those Tuscan biographical

---

[263] [Uncredited] October 1948b.

[264] See Chapter 2.

writings, patriotic comics about artists from or active in the USA were written by Americans for their compatriots to promote their country's artistic greatness.

3.2. The Use of Anecdotes and Art-Historical Tropes

The narratives of the First Boom utilise traditional art-historical anecdotes extensively. As discussed, the comic strips about Leonardo and Cellini's lives functioned as templates for the structure and opening panels. Additionally, they defined the most popular types of anecdotes, which have continued to be used for comic narratives about other canonical artists. Most anecdotes featuring in the stories already appeared in sixteenth-century writings, such as Vasari's "The Life of Leonardo da Vinci" and Cellini's autobiography. Some were even worded (almost) identically. Over time, these anecdotes have been turned into genre-specific tropes for the artist's biography comics.

Such anecdotes, repeatedly appearing in comic strips of the First Boom, can be grouped into seven categories: 1) Artistic Destiny, 2) Genius, 3) Powerful Clients/Friends, 4) Taking Great Personal Risks, 5) (Artistic) Obsession, 6) Revolutionising an Art Form/a Craft, and 7) Hermit-like life. Interestingly, all these categories date back to Antiquity and have been adopted by the artist's biography comics genre.

The graphic narratives about Leonardo and Cellini feature examples of artistic destiny. In one comic strip, readers learn that young Leonardo was already sketching from life so well that his teacher Andrea Verrocchio immediately declared '[h]e has genius!' upon seeing the drawings (Fig. 3.13).[265] Another narrative introduces the boy as having 'unusual talents' and Verrocchio's 'best pupil,' interested in many artistic and scientific fields (Fig. 3.16).[266] A third story shows the respective scene much more concise in a single panel (Fig. 3.25) while also showing Leonardo surpassing his master Verrocchio at a young age.[267] The latter is based on an anecdote Vasari mentions twice in *Lives*:

> 'Leonardo da Vinci, then a young boy and Andrea's pupil, assisted him in this work, painting an angel by himself, which was much better than the other details.'[268]

> 'This was the reason why Andrea would never touch colours again, angered that a young boy understood them better than he did.'[269]

---

[265] [Uncredited] March 1942.

[266] [Uncredited] March 1947.

[267] [Uncredited] November 1942.

[268] Vasari 1998, p.236.

[269] Ibid., p.287.

Similar anecdotes about artistic destiny can be found in comic strips about Cellini. They show him 'amazing the masters' (Fig. 3.26), and his allegedly 'first creation' already matching his master's skill (Fig. 3.27).[270] Such anecdotes demonstrate the respective artist's destiny, expressed through the boys' many talents and the ability to exceed the skills of their masters at a very young age.

Directly linked to artistic destiny are stories about genius, expressed through exceptionally high levels of versatility and the ability to excel in many fields, often already as a child, elevating the artists above the average human. In addition to representing him as a painter, sculptor and draughtsman, comic strips about Leonardo show him as a botanist, biologist, anatomist, physiognomist, inventor, musician, astronomer, city planner, landscape designer as well as military, civil, aerial, and naval engineer (Fig. 3.28a).[271] Once again, Vasari might have been a source of inspiration, calling Leonardo

> 'a genius endowed by God […] a very fine geometrician … not only work[ing] in sculpture but in architecture [… making] many drawings of both ground-plans and other structures […] discuss[ing] to make the River Arno a canal from Pisa to Florence [… who] drew plans for mills, fulling machines, and implements that could be driven by water-power […] construct[ing] models and designs showing how to excavate and bore through mountains … and [who] with the use of levers, winches, and hoists, showed how to lift and pull heavy weights, as well as methods of emptying out harbours and pumps for removing water from great depth [… giving humankind] a more perfect understanding of the anatomy of horses and of men.'[272]

The comic strips push the definitions of truth and accuracy in showing machine guns, submarines, and steam-powered siege-weaponry in action, as well as Leonardo assembling and subsequently testing the famous flying machine (Fig. 3.8b, 3.28b-c). While this was somewhat ironic for magazines called *Real Life Comics* or *True Comics*, in the latter case, it also directly contradicted the publisher's intention and claim, as mentioned above. Cellini is portrayed as a genius too. He is shown not just as a goldsmith, but also a sculptor, draughtsman, painter, soldier, swordsman, military strategist and musician as well as—certainly unexpected and slightly confusing for a youth magazine of the 1940s—a great lover (Fig. 3.9, 3.29).[273]

Both artists, Leonardo and Cellini, had powerful clients and friends. Knowing, befriending, and working for influential patrons functions as a sign of success and a mark of

---

[270] [Uncredited] April 1942; [Uncredited] November 1945.

[271] [Uncredited] March 1942; [Uncredited] November 1942; Uncredited] March 1943; [Uncredited] March 1947.

[272] Vasari 1998, pp.284-286, 298.

[273] [Uncredited] April 1942; [Uncredited] November 1945; [Uncredited] September 1947.

artistic and social distinction: Only the very best artists are asked to create exceptional artworks for the most potent clients. Thus, part of a leader's power reflects on the artist. Simultaneously, it proves the artist's ability to transcend social boundaries and navigate a ruler's courts equally well as his studio. Therefore, anecdotes about powerful clients and friends demonstrate the individual's high social and artistic status. Leonardo (Fig. 3.30a-b) and Cellini (Fig. 3.31a-b) are depicted working for the most influential individuals of their time. [274] In Vasari's *Lives* and Cellini's autobiography, several anecdotes talk about the artists' close relationships with their clients, such as the following.

> 'Leonardo, who knew that the prince possessed a sharp and discerning intellect, was willing to discuss his work at length with the duke [of Milan, Ludovico Sforza]… he talked to him extensively about art.'[275]

> '[T]hen [King Francis I. of France] patted me [Cellini] upon the shoulders, as he said: "*Mon ami* (which means "my friend"), I don't know which is the greater pleasure, that of a prince who has discovered a man after his own heart, or that of a talented artist who has discovered a prince who gives him so much help so that he can express his most brilliant conceptions.'[276]

Taking significant risks has emerged as another trope of the comics genre of the artist's biography. Respective anecdotes demonstrate the artists' determination and conviction, as well as their willingness to sacrifice anything. Cellini's life offers numerous opportunities to depict violence, and the comic strips give much emphasis to the martial aspects of his life. Readers witness several—perfectly justified—killings and murders. For example, most narratives prominently feature Cellini's defence of his older brother against a gang (Fig. 3.32), his escape from (wrongful) imprisonment at Castel Sant'Angelo (Fig. 3.14) and his victory over a band of robbers (Fig. 3.29).[277] Cellini himself describes such events extensively and vividly.

> '[B]ut I decided, as soon as I clearly saw four men armed with swords behind me, to cover that basket [containing 1000 gold scudi] quickly with my cape, and putting my hand on my sword, […] The scuffle only lasted a short while, because little by little they withdrew […] and with constant blows, thrusting and slashing, I sometimes came close to taking their lives, and because I had handled my weapons very well they thought I was more of a soldier than anything else.'[278]

---

[274] [Uncredited] March 1942; [Uncredited] November 1942; Uncredited] March 1943; [Uncredited] March 1947; [Uncredited] April 1942; [Uncredited] November 1945; [Uncredited] September 1947.

[275] Vasari 1998, p.290.

[276] Cellini 2002, p.257 (II, §22).

[277] [Uncredited] April 1942; [Uncredited] November 1945.

[278] Cellini 2002, pp.248-249 (II, §17).

The most likely already quite inflated version by Cellini himself is further exaggerated in the comic strips. In contrast to the graphic narratives, the artist does not mention any actual killings or murders in his accounts, even when defending his brother or himself. In comparison, as discussed above, Leonardo takes more peaceful risks in using his flying machine. While in some stories he forces his assistant to take flight by jumping off high grounds (Fig. 3.33), he does it himself in another (Fig. 3.8b, 3.28c).[279] There is no evidence suggesting that Leonardo or his assistant ever took flight, as discussed below.

Showing an obsession or great vision eventually has become an essential trope of the artist's biography comic. Such stories about an artist's obsession prove their determination to carry their vision out with little regard to the costs. They are often exaggerated in graphic narratives, thus overlapping with the risk-taking trope. Leonardo's obsession with human flight features in every comic strip about him, during the First Boom and its aftermath.[280] However, when reading Vasari, one only finds a brief comment—inspiring the corresponding scenes (Fig. 3.34a-b).

> '[W]hen passing by the place where birds being sold, he [Leonardo da Vinci] would often take them out of their cages with his own hands, and after paying the seller the price that was asked of him, he would set them free in the air, restoring to them the liberty they had lost.'[281]

Consequently, the idea of depicting Leonardo as overly preoccupied with flying, including the testing of apparatuses, appears primarily based on numerous related sketches by the artist himself.

In contrast, Cellini's obsession with *Perseus with the Head of Medusa* is grounded in the fact that the goldsmith—a craftsman—indeed tried to become recognised as a sculptor—an artist—using the statue to transcend this professional and social boundary. The process of casting almost failed and only succeeded most dramatically, as recorded by himself:

> '[O]n one occasion he [Duke de Medici] said to me: "Benvenuto, this figure cannot come out in bronze, since the rules of this craft do not permit it." […] And to add to my problems the workshop caught fire, and we were afraid that the roof would collapse upon us; on the other side of the workshop, towards the orchard, the heavens were driving so much rain and wind against me that it cooled off the furnace […] [I] had sent others up to the roof to protect it from the fire which, on account of the greater force of the fire in the furnace had spread more quickly; […] All at once we heard a noise accompanied by an enormous flash of fire, as if a thunderbolt had been produced there in our very presence; the extraordinary and

---

[279] [Uncredited] March 1942; [Uncredited] November 1942; [Uncredited] March 1947.
[280] [Uncredited] March 1942; [Uncredited] November 1942; [Uncredited] March 1947.
[281] Vasari 1998, p.286.

terrifying fear this brought about dismayed everyone, and I more than other. When this enormous noise and brightness had passed, we began to look one another in the face again; and when we saw that the cover of the furnace had exploded and had lifted in such a way that the bronze had overflowed.'[282]

Scenes depicting the statue's creation often cite Cellini's accounts in almost identical wording. Evidently, the comics used the autobiography as a source (Fig. 3.35a-b).[283]

Anecdotes about revolutionising an art form or craft blur with narratives about obsession, taking risks, and being a genius, since only exceptionally gifted individuals can achieve that. Both Leonardo and Cellini contributed to their field(s) in revolutionising ways, which subsequently has become another trope of the artist's biography comics genre.

In closely citing Cellini's autobiography, the doubts and difficulties he confronted, the comic strips ensure that the readers understand the *Perseus* statue's significance and dramatic creation. To be absolutely clear, the graphic narratives also explicitly mention it in the final panels (Fig. 3.35b, 3.36).[284] As for Leonardo, the comic strips depict him having ideas to revolutionise military, civic, and naval engineering and human flight. To exemplify his new artistic methods and techniques the stories show him painting frescos, such as *The Last Supper* (1490s) (Fig. 3.37).[285]

Anecdotes of artists living like hermits connect to others in having a particular religious connotation, such as genius and artistic destiny. They might also blend with narratives about obsession and revolutionising the art or craft, as the former may take the shape of a hermit-like life to achieve the latter. Stories about a hermit-like life feature first in a comic about Leonardo. When labouring on *The Last Supper*, he refuses to eat so that he would not need to pause his work (Fig. 3.37).[286] In contrast to Leonardo, Cellini is never depicted as a hermit, which is hardly surprising given his usually rather boisterous self-descriptions.

The seven types of anecdotes used in comic strips representing Leonardo and Cellini's lives constitute the respective narratives' core. The discussion above also clarifies that some stories can fall into multiple categories—for example, when the artist takes great risks, he is also following an (artistic) vision or obsession. Importantly, these types of anecdotes have become blueprints for later comic strips about canonical artists.

---

[282] Cellini 2002, pp.324 (II, §73), 327 (§75), 329-330 (§76-77).

[283] [Uncredited] September 1947.

[284] [Uncredited] April 1942; [Uncredited] September 1947.

[285] [Uncredited] March 1942; [Uncredited] March 1947.

[286] [Uncredited] March 1947.

For example, French artist Alexander Gustave Eiffel is shown obsessed with the idea of building the iconic Parisian *Eiffel Tower* (1887-1889), risking his own money and career for his conviction, while also revolutionising architecture and engineering (Fig. 3.38).[287] The inventor of photography, Louis Daguerre, is honoured with a comic strip, which indicates his genius, in depicting him excelling in different art forms, and shows him obsessed with revolutionising image-making at the costs of a hermit-like life (Fig. 3.39).[288] The British architect Christopher Wren is depicted as a destined genius comparable to Leonardo, working for most influential people, obsessed with a new layout of London and St. Paul's Cathedral after the Great Fire of 1666, risking his life sketching it (Fig. 3.40).[289]

As mentioned above, during the aftermath of the First Boom, U.S. educational magazines featured artists important for a specific American canon of art, applying the same tropes. Stories depict John James Audubon, a French ornithologist and draughtsman, as artistically destined, obsessed with American birds, living like a hermit, taking great personal risks and revolutionising the fields of ornithology and drawing (Fig. 3.41a-b).[290] His fellow Frenchman and sculptor Frédéric Auguste Bartholdi is shown as a predestined sculptor, fixated on creating *La Liberté éclairant le monde* [Liberty Enlightening the World] (1875-1886), commonly known as *The Statue of Liberty*, meeting influential clients, and revolutionising the art of sculpting (Fig. 3.22).[291] Similarly, a comic strip about the Prussian architect and engineer John Roebling shows him oddly obsessed with bridges and destined to become a canonical designer, engineer and builder since childhood (Fig. 3.23), revolutionising bridge-building by inventing the steel-wire-rope.[292] The Danish-American sculptor Gotzun Borglum, the designer of *Mount Rushmore National Memorial* (1927-1941), is featured obsessed with the revolutionising project, working for powerful clients, and risking the labourer's lives (Fig. 3.42).[293]

The American painter Winslow Homer is presented as artistically destined (Fig. 3.43), obsessed with depicting the ordinary people of America and explicitly labelled a hermit and genius.[294] In another comic strip, American sculptor Vinnie Ream is shown as artistically destined, obsessed with the idea of creating a statue of U.S. President Abraham Lincoln,

---

[287] [Crandall] and Goulart April 1969.

[288] Cooper and [Uncredited] July 1946.

[289] [Uncredited] May 1946b.

[290] Jason Comic Art Studio [Simon] 1947; Cooper and [Uncredited] August 1947; Powell and Crandall January 1954; Ostendorf and Straley June 1967; Audubon 1827-39; 1831-49.

[291] Ward and [Uncredited] August 1947; Matera and [Uncredited] April 1958; [Uncredited] May 1964.

[292] [Crandall] and Crandall December 1967.

[293] [Uncredited] December 1963b; January 1964.

[294] [Uncredited] May 1946a.

whom she befriends personally (Fig. 3.24).[295] The narrative about sculptor and author Malvina Hoffman depicts her drawing as a young girl, preoccupied with the idea of choosing non-European models and taking a personal risk in travelling the world alone as a young woman (Fig. 3.44).[296] Both Ream and Hoffman are depicted as successfully and independent artists in a profession dominated by men.

3.3. Conclusion

The first comic strips about canonical visual artists' lives appeared in 1942 in educational youth magazines in the USA. Those earliest stories about Leonardo da Vinci and Benvenuto Cellini inaugurated the First Boom (1942-1949). Thereby, considering the prototype and conventions models from the discussion in Chapter 1, they gave birth to a new genre. This chapter shows that these narratives function as prototypes for the artist's biography genre. Also, they set genre conventions in the aspects already foregrounded by Duncan, Smith and Levitz.[297] The narratives from the First Boom introduce distinct character types, a canonical visual artist (predominantly from the Renaissance) as the main protagonist as well as an artistic mentor and a powerful client as secondary characters. Furthermore, the Italian Renaissance and the regions around Florence, Milan and Rome feature in most stories, yet the genre also allows for other settings, making that aspect less standardised. During the aftermath, the settings become US American increasingly. The narrative structure focuses on an individual's childhood and training, exceptional artistic skill, and legendary moments of great despair and triumph—sometimes centred around the creation of a particular piece of art. Also, several prominent themes manifest in a number of genre-specific tropes. Finally, there seem to be no visual conventions for the artist's biography comics genre, except maybe for showing the artist in their studio at some point.

The apparent focus on European artists and artworks during the First Boom reveals the general art-historical sentiment of the first half of the twentieth century, which paid much attention to Italian Renaissance artists. For these cases, the probable use of contemporary Renaissance writings as sources, such as Vasari, van Mander, and Cellini, and Pliny's writings from Antiquity, is traced by this research. In drawing from the canon of art history, these comic strips confirmed the canonical status of individuals and their work, therefore feeding back into the very same canon, while also manifesting it in a non-academic readership through repetition.

---

[295] Walsh and [Uncredited] February 1967.
[296] Crandall and Brady January 1970.
[297] Duncan, Smith and Levitz 2015, pp.167-170.

The comic strips from the First Boom about Leonardo and Cellini feature several anecdotes taken from sixteenth-century sources. They have proven particularly influential and have subsequently transformed into aforementioned genre-specific tropes. Seven of such tropes are identified and discussed: Artistic Destiny, Genius, Powerful Clients/Friends, Taking Great Personal Risks, Obsession, Revolutionising an Art/Craft and Hermit-like Life. Since comic strips of the First Boom did not pay much attention to an artist's personality or style, they made no use of the life-and-work model. Furthermore, they neither cited the featured pieces of art correctly nor presented the portrayed artist's oeuvre. It would be possible that the comics artists examined original artworks *in situ* and used the life-and-work model when preparing their narratives. However, the editorial, technical, and financial circumstances of the strips' production would not have asked for it, making such an extensive effort seem unlikely. Finally, there is no indication that creators informed the narrative with their own experience as artists, as many Renaissance biographers of artists did, not least Vasari and van Mander. Comics workers and their individual contributions towards a narrative are generally not made explicit, with the publisher being the only exception. However, almost a quarter of the comic strips forming the First Boom, rising to more than 60% during the aftermath, are signed by the respective artist. Also, more than one-third of the comics name the individual writer during the aftermath. As various scholars have pointed out, one would usually expect the writer to be privileged over the artist, making these numbers remarkable.[298]

While the First Boom focused very much on Europe, its aftermath (1950-1972)—consisting almost entirely of one publisher and magazine—shifted the attention toward US-American artists and works, namely monuments and individuals living and working in the USA. Otherwise, the narrative patterns and tropes from the First Boom were continued.

Looking at the biographical comic strips between 1942 and 1972, apparent parallels between the art-historical genre of the artist's biography in Renaissance Italy and the new twentieth-century comics genre of the artist's biography emerge: namely, the use of anecdotes, a similar narrative structure, focus on canonical artworks, and an autochthonic notion.

---

[298] Brienza and Johnston 2016, p.1; Gray and Wilkins 2016, p.116-117, 125-127; Jameel 2016, p.175-176.

Number of Annual Publications 1933-1970

Fig. 3.1: Annual numbers of comic books released in the United States 1933-1970, Jean-Paul Gabilliet, *Of Comics and Men. A Cultural History of American Comic Books* (2009, p.47), to help contextualise the releases during the First Boom (192-1949) © Jean-Paul Gabilliet.
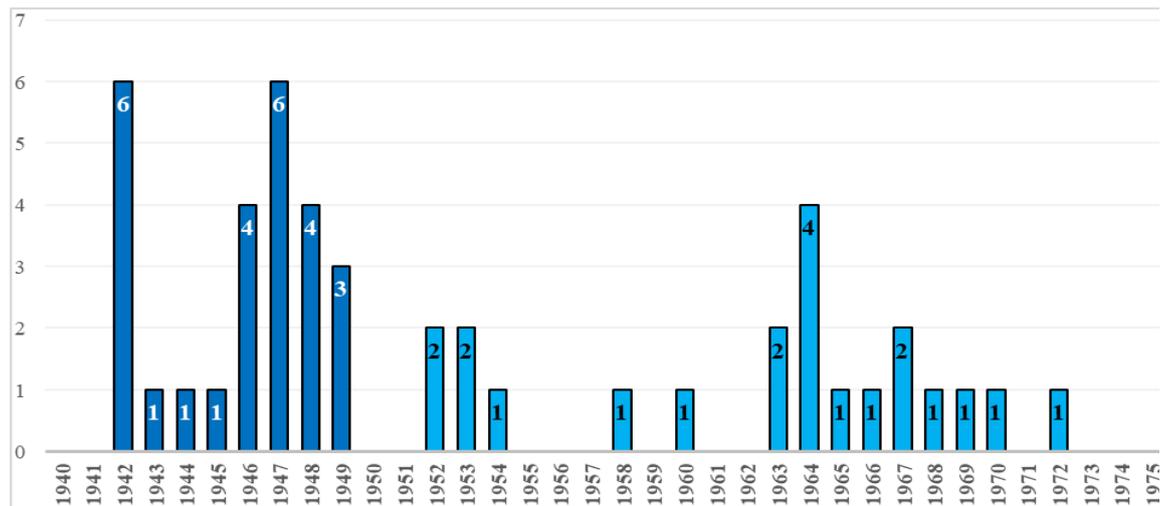
Fig. 3.2a: Annual numbers of comics about canonical visual artists in US-American educational youth magazines 1940-1975, visualising the First Boom (1942-1949) and the Aftermath (1950-1972) © Tobias J. Yu-Kiener.
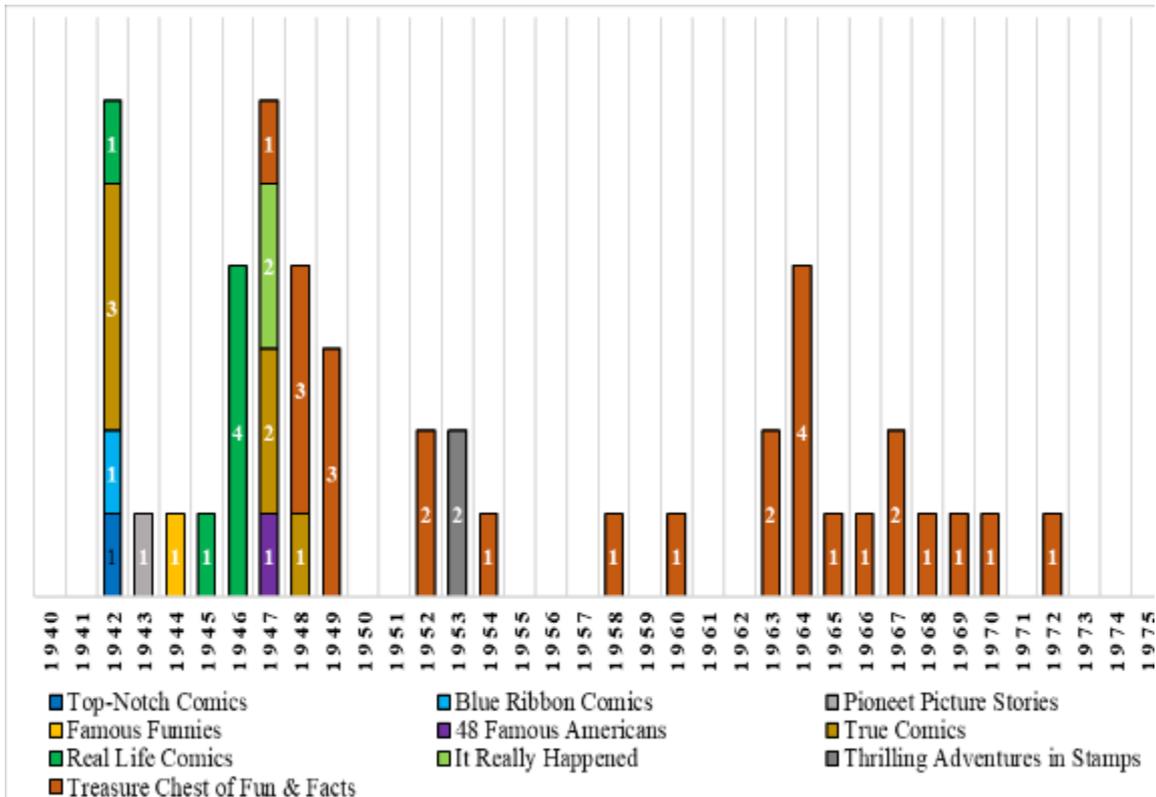
Fig. 3.2b: Annual numbers of comics about canonical visual artists in US-American educational youth magazines 1940-1975 by magazines, showing the diversity of publishers during the First Boom (1942-1949) in contrast to a relatively homogenous aftermath (1950-1975) © Tobias J. Yu-Kiener.
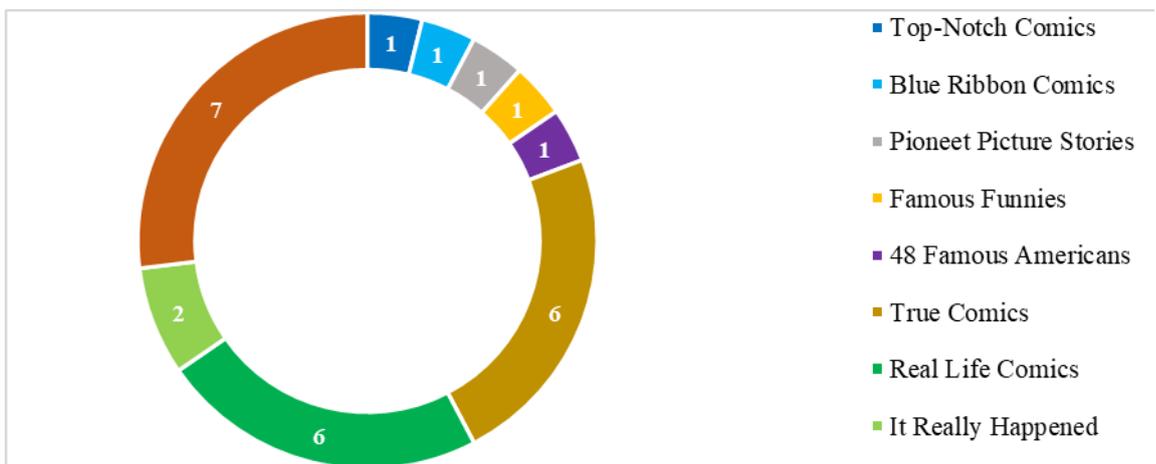
Fig. 3.2c: Magazines of the First Boom (1942-1949) by publishers (n=26), indicating the share of each publisher with figures rounded to the nearest tenth:

M. L. J. Magazines Inc. (Top-Notch Comics, Blue Ribbon Comics): **7.7%**

Street & Smith Publications Inc. (Pioneer Picture Stories): **3.8%**

Famous Funnies Inc. (Famous Funnies): **3.8%**

J. C. Penney Company, Inc. (48 Famous Americans): **3.8%**

The Parents' Magazine Press (True Comics): **23.1%**

Visual Editions Inc. (Real Life Comics, It Really Happened): **30.8%**

Geo. A. Pflaum Publisher Inc. (Treasure Chest of Fun & Facts): **26.9%**

© Tobias J. Yu-Kiener.

Fig. 3.3: Benvenuto Cellini in Top-Notch Comics (1942) and Errol Flynn in *The Sea Hawk* (1940), demonstrating a likeliness between both.
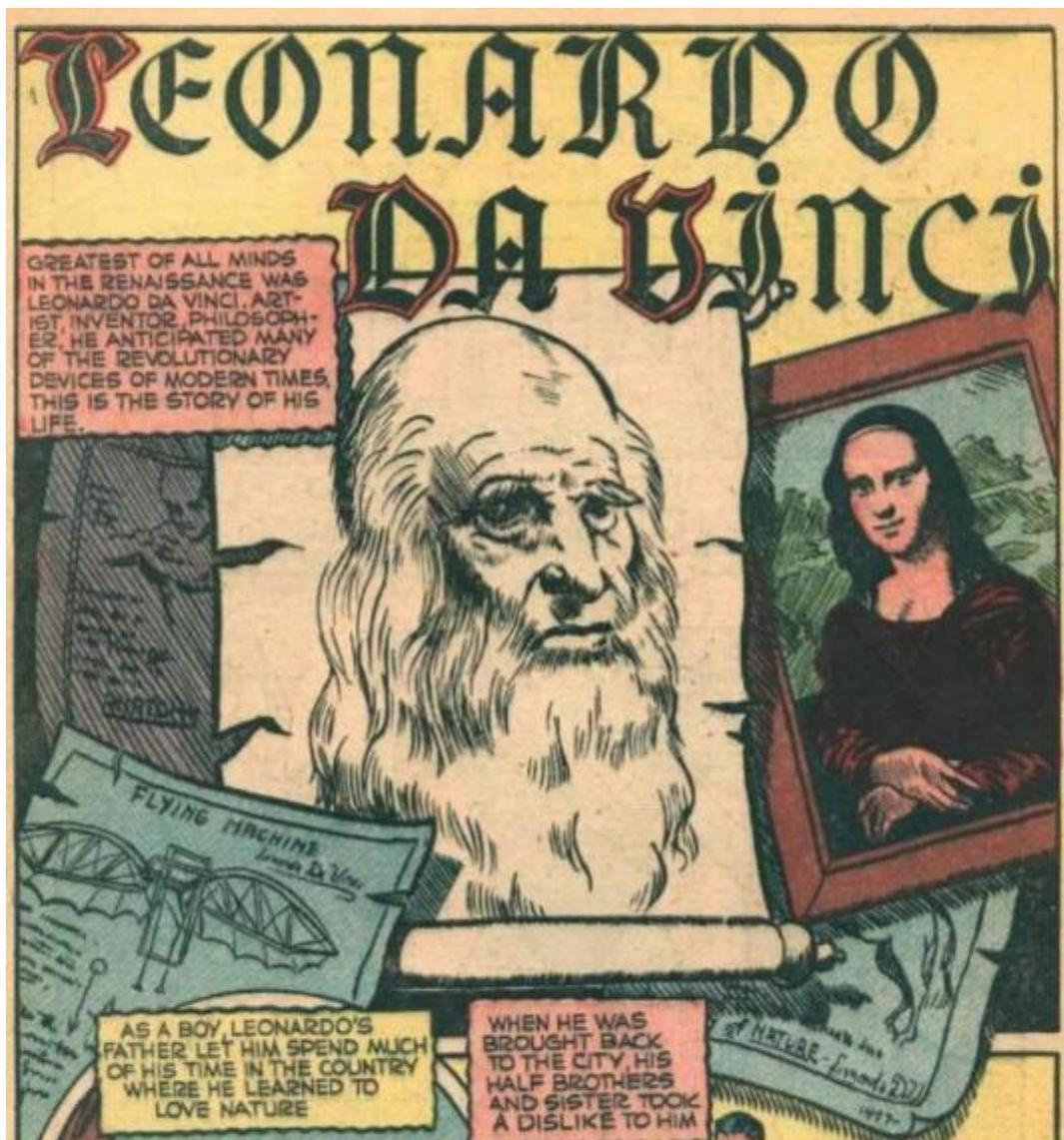
Fig. 3.4: [Uncredited] (a & w), "Leonardo Da Vinci." *Blue Ribbon Comics* Vol.1, No.22 (March 1942), [p.1], showing an opening panel not contributing to the narrative but featuring canonical artworks, such as *Self-Portrait* (c1490-c.1517/18) and *La Gioconda* (known as *Mona Lisa*) (c.1503–1519), typical during the First Boom (1942-1949).
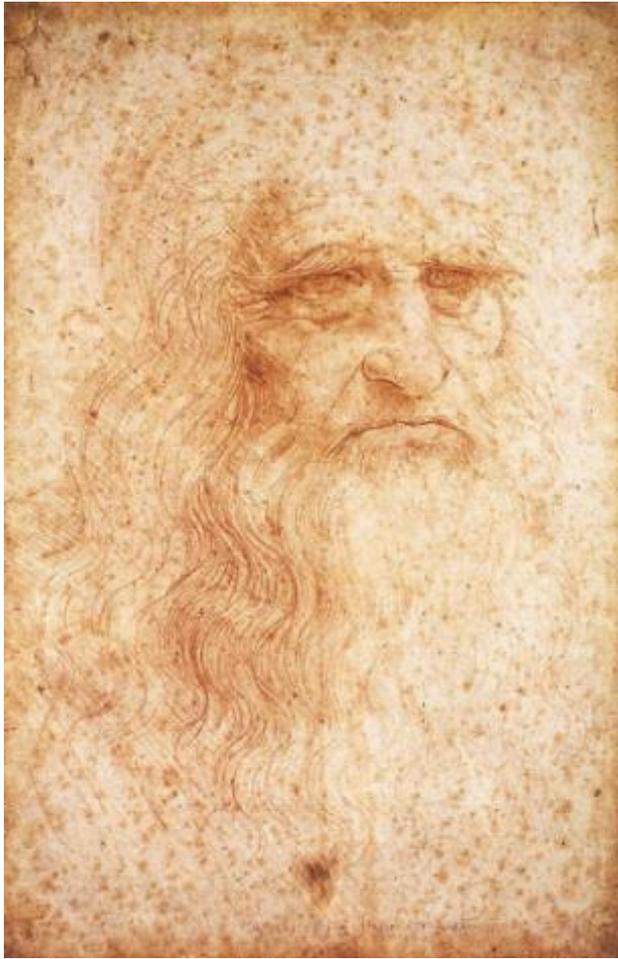
Fig. 3.5: Leonardo da Vinci, *Self-Portrait* (c1490-c.1517/18), red and black chalk on paper (33.3 x 21.3 cm), Royal Library, Royal Museum Turin: a canonical artwork often featured in opening panels as well as graphic narratives about the artist during the First Boom (1942-1949).

Fig. 3.6: Leonardo da Vinci, *La Gioconda* (known as *Mona Lisa*) (c.1503–1519), oil on poplar (77 x 53 cm), Musée du Louvre: a canonical artwork often featured in opening panels as well as graphic narratives about the artist during the First Boom (1942-1949).
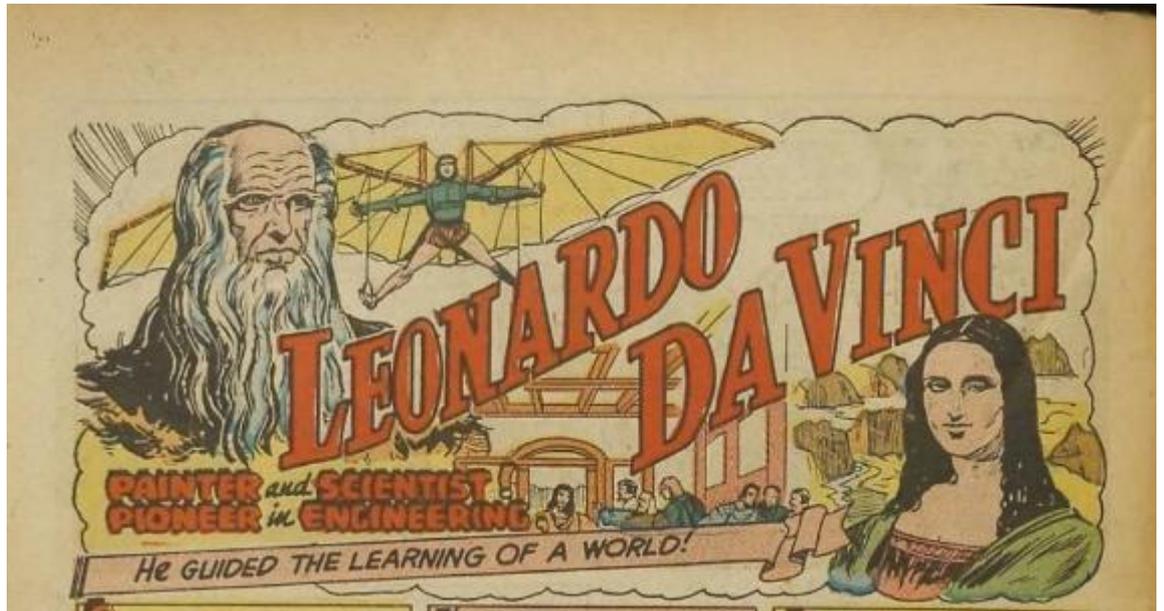
Fig. 3.7: [Uncredited] (a & w). "Leonardo da Vinci: Painter and Scientist. Pioneer in Engineering." *Real Life Comics* Vol.3, No.2 [No.8] (November 1942), [p.1], showing an opening panel not contributing to the narrative but featuring canonical artworks, such as *Self-Portrait* (c1490-c.1517/18) and *La Gioconda* (known as *Mona Lisa*) (c.1503–1519), typical during the First Boom (1942-1949).
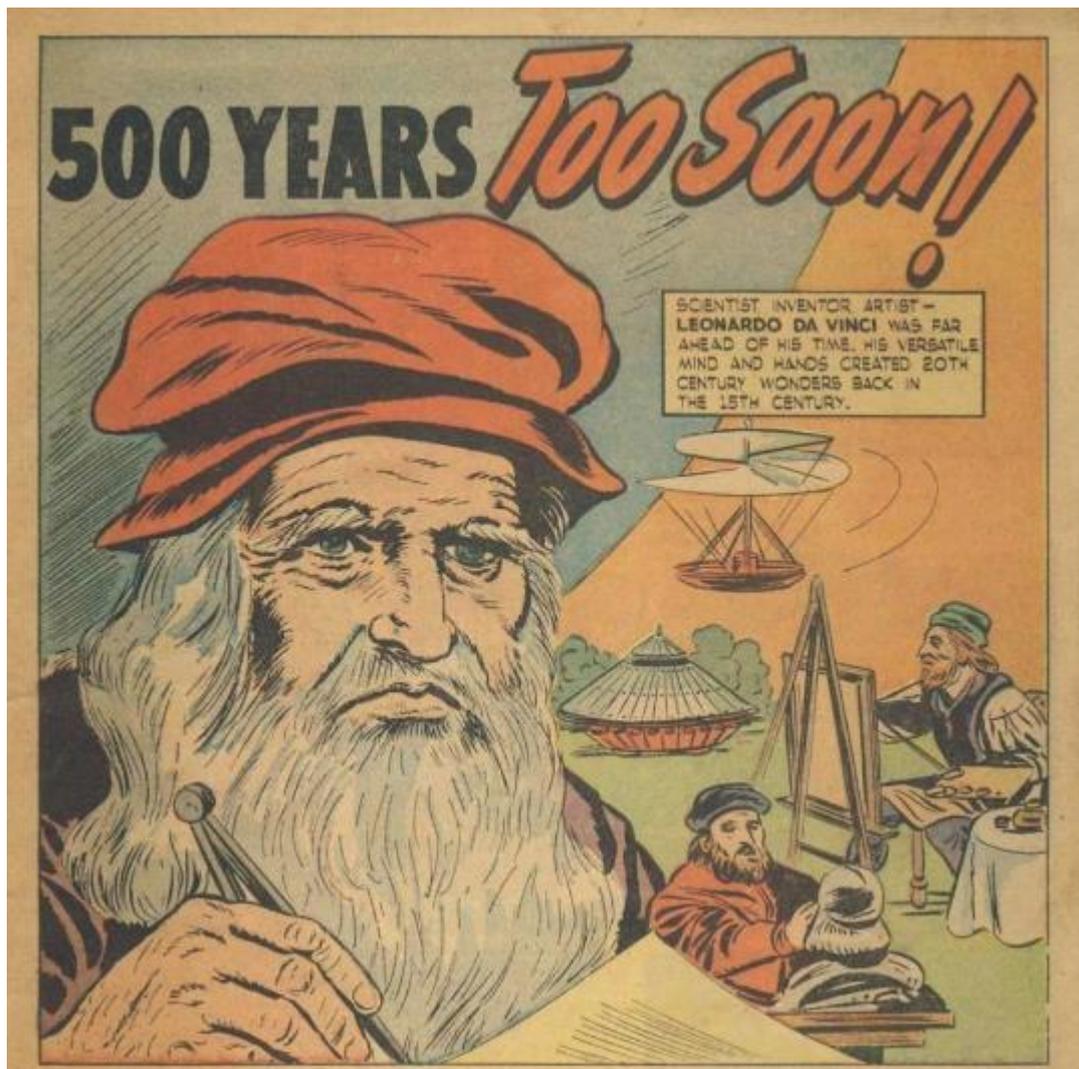
Fig. 3.8a: [Uncredited] (a & w). "500 Years Too Soon!" *True Comics* No.58 (March 1947), [p.1], showing an opening panel not contributing to the narrative but featuring canonical artworks, such as *Self-Portrait* (c1490-c.1517/18), typical during the First Boom (1942-1949).

Fig. 3.8b: *True Comics No.58* (March 1947), cover, constituting the only example of a narrative about a canonical visual artist appearing on the cover of a comics anthology during the First Boom (1942-1949). Also, it exemplifies the genre-specific tropes of Genius, Obsession, and Taking Risks.

Fig. 3.9: [Uncredited] (a & w). "Benvenuto Cellini." *Top-Notch Comics* Vol.1, No.26 (April 1942), [p.1], showing an opening panel not contributing to the narrative, showing the artistic identity being overshadowed by the martial and legendary aspects of the artist's life.
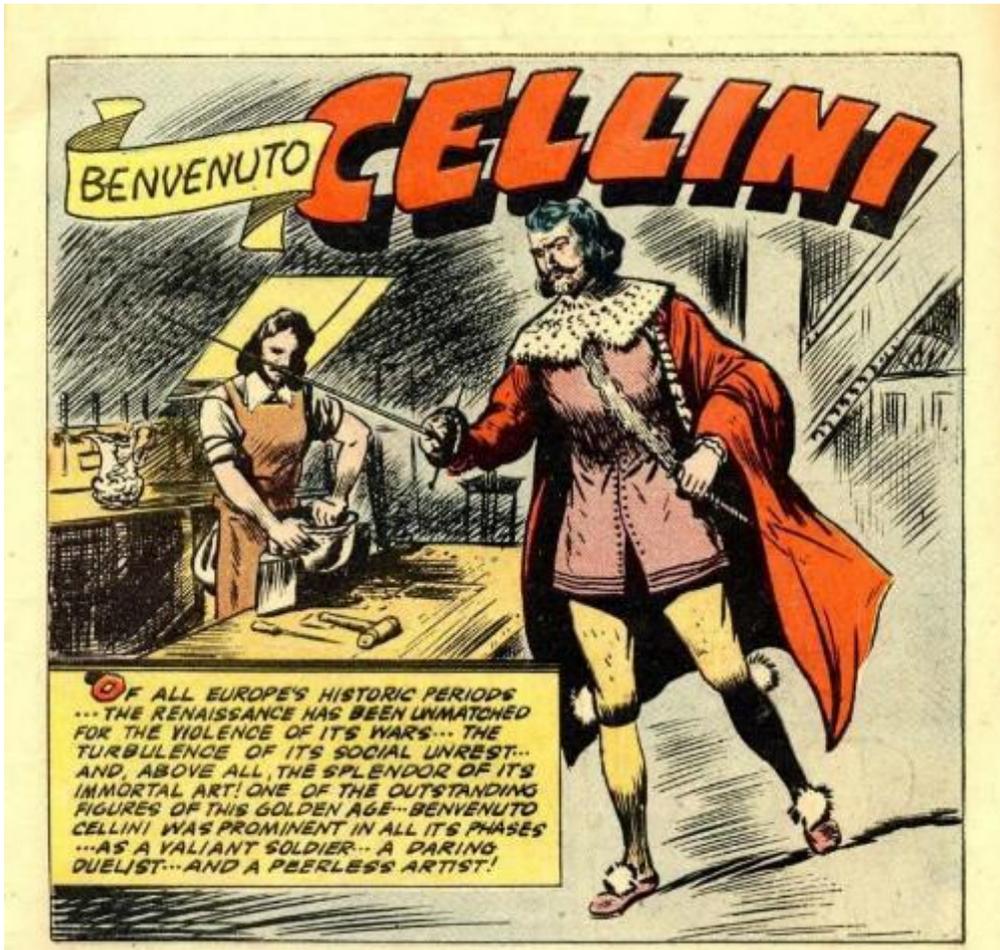
Fig. 3.10: [Uncredited] (a & w). "Benvenuto Cellini." *Real Life Comics* No.26 (November 1945), [p.1], showing an opening panel not contributing to the narrative but showing the artistic identity being pushed to the back and the martial aspects foregrounded.

Fig. 3.11: Benvenuto Cellini, *Perseus with the Head of Medusa* (1545-54), Bronze, Piazza della Signoria, Florence: a canonical artwork often featured in graphic narratives about the artist during the First Boom (1942-1949).

Fig. 3.12: [Uncredited] (a & w). "Masterpiece In Bronze." *True Comics* No.64 (September 1947), [p.1], showing an opening panel with the narrative's peak.

Fig. 3.13: [Uncredited] (a & w), "Leonardo Da Vinci." *Blue Ribbon Comics* Vol.1, No.22 (March 1942), [p.2], displaying a basic colour choice and lack of details typical for the First Boom (1942-1949). Also, it exemplifies the genre-specific trope of Artistic Destiny.

Fig. 3.14: [Uncredited] (a & w). "Benvenuto Cellini." *Top-Notch Comics* Vol.1, No.26 (April 1942), [p.5], showing a rare example of an expressive drawing and a change from the usual very regular panel layout. Further, it exemplifies the genre-specific tropes of Taking Risks.

Fig. 3.15: [Uncredited] (a & w). "The Story Of Painting [1]." *Treasure Chest of Fun and Fact* Vol.4, No.13 (February 1949), p.24, showing a more refined art with better shading and details and more colours and the use of anecdotes already used by Pliny.

Fig. 3.16: [Uncredited] (a & w). "500 Years Too Soon!" *True Comics* No.58 (March 1947), [p.2], showing a more refined art with better shading and details and more colours. Also, it exemplifies the genre-specific tropes of Artistic Destiny and Obsession.

Fig. 3.17: [Uncredited] (a & w). "The Story Of Painting [1]." *Treasure Chest of Fun and Fact* Vol.4, No.13 (February 1949), p.25, showing the use of anecdotes already used by Pliny.

Fig. 3.18: [Uncredited] (a & w). "The Story Of Painting [1]." *Treasure Chest of Fun and Fact* Vol.4, No.13 (February 1949), p.27, showing the use of anecdotes already used by Pliny.

Fig. 3.19: [Uncredited] (a & w). "The Story Of Painting [2]." *Treasure Chest of Fun and Fact* Vol.4, No.14 (March 1949), pp.12-13, showing the use of anecdotes already used by Pliny.

Fig. 3.20: [Uncredited] (a & w). "The Story Of Painting [2]." *Treasure Chest of Fun and Fact* Vol.4, No.14 (March 1949), pp.13-14, showing the use of anecdotes already used by Pliny.

Fig. 3.21: [Uncredited] (a & w). "Vagabond: The Story Of Claude Lorraine." *Treasure Chest of Fun and Fact* Vol.4, No.3 (October 1948), p.23, constituting a rare example of detailed and colourful drawings.

Fig. 3.22: Matera, Fran (a) and [Uncredited] (w). "The Lady Is 152 Feet Tall." *Treasure Chest of Fun and Fact* Vol.13, No.17 (April 1958), p.6, showing an important US monument and celebrating its creator. Further, it features genre-specific tropes of Obsession, Taking Risks, Revolutionising an Art or Craft, and Powerful Clients and Friends.

Fig. 3.23: [Crandall, Reed] (a) and Frances E. Crandall (w). "John Roebling. Artist In Steel And Granite."
Treasure Chest of Fun and Fact Vol.23, No.9 (December 1967), p.3, showing an important US monument
and celebrating its creator. Further, it features genre-specific tropes of Artistic Destiny, Obsession, Taking
Risks, and Revolutionising an Art or Craft.
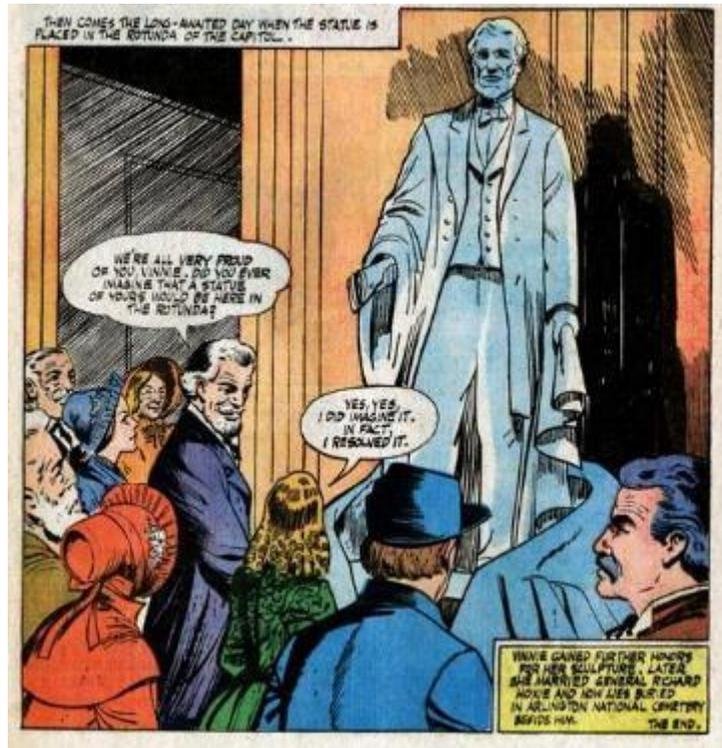
Fig. 3.24: Walsh, William A. "Bill" (a & w). "Sculptress Of The President." *Treasure Chest of Fun and Fact* Vol.22, No.12 (February 1967), p.8, showing an important US monument and celebrating its creator. Further, it features genre-specific tropes of Artistic Destiny, Obsession, Taking Risks, and Powerful Clients and Friends.


Fig. 3.25: [Uncredited] (a & w). "Leonardo da Vinci: Painter and Scientist. Pioneer in Engineering." *Real Life Comics* Vol.3, No.2 [No.8] (November 1942), [p.1]. It exemplifies the genre-specific trope of Artistic Destiny and features a famous anecdote already used twice by Vasari in *Lives*.

Fig. 3.26: [Uncredited] (a & w). "Benvenuto Cellini." *Top-Notch Comics* Vol.1, No.26 (April 1942), [p.1]. It exemplifies the genre-specific trope of Artistic Destiny.

Fig. 3.27: [Uncredited] (a & w). "Benvenuto Cellini." *Real Life Comics* No.26 (November 1945), [p.4]. It exemplifies the genre-specific trope of Artistic Destiny.

Fig. 3.28a: [Uncredited] (a & w), "Leonardo Da Vinci." *Blue Ribbon Comics* Vol.1, No.22 (March 1942), [p.5]. It exemplifies the genre-specific trope of Genius.

Fig. 3.28b: [Uncredited] (a & w). "Leonardo da Vinci: Painter And Scientist. Pioneer in Engineering." *Real Life Comics* Vol.3, No.2 [No.8] (November 1942), [pp.2, 3]. It exemplifies the genre-specific trope of Genius.
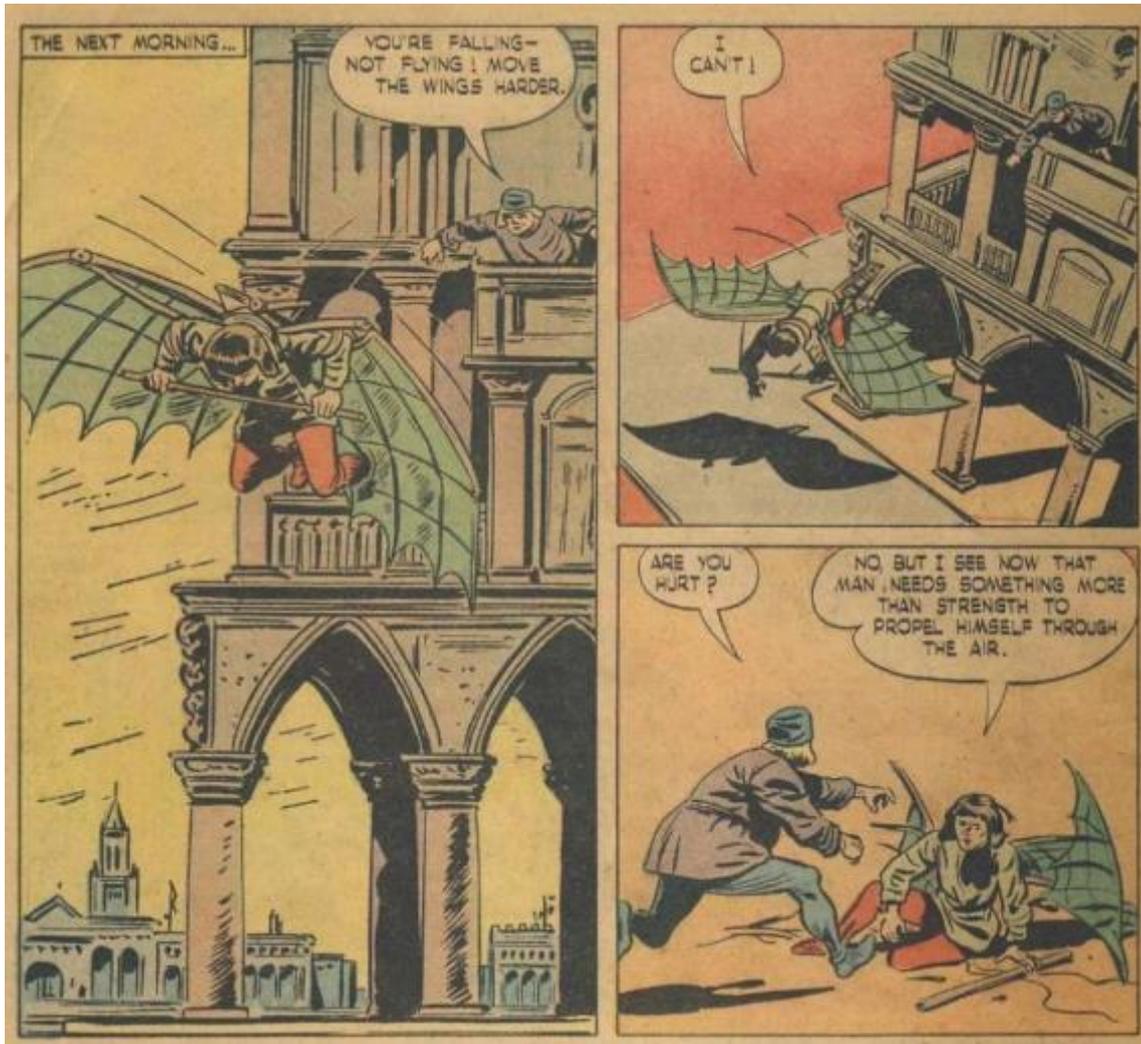
Fig. 3.28c: [Uncredited] (a & w). "500 Years Too Soon!" *True Comics* No.58 (March 1947), [p.4]. It exemplifies the genre-specific tropes of Genius and Obsession.

Fig. 3.29: [Uncredited] (a & w). "Benvenuto Cellini." *Top-Notch Comics* Vol.1, No.26 (April 1942), [p.3]. Somewhat unexpected for an educational story and youth magazine, the artist is praised as a great lover. Further, it exemplifies the genre-specific trope of Taking Risks.

Fig. 3.30a: [Uncredited] (a & w). "Leonardo da Vinci: Painter And Scientist. Pioneer in Engineering." *Real Life Comics* Vol.3, No.2 [No.8] (November 1942), [pp.1, 4], showing the use of the genre-specific trope of Powerful Clients and Friends.

Fig. 3.30b: [Uncredited] (a & w). "500 Years Too Soon!" *True Comics* No.58 (March 1947), [p.8], showing the use of the genre-specific trope of Powerful Clients and Friends.

Fig. 3.31a: [Uncredited] (a & w). "Benvenuto Cellini." *Real Life Comics* No.26 (November 1945), [p.5], showing the use of the genre-specific trope of Powerful Clients and Friends.

Fig. 3.31b: [Uncredited] (a & w). "Masterpiece In Bronze." *True Comics* No.64 (September 1947), [p.2], showing the use of the genre-specific trope of Powerful Clients and Friends.

Fig. 3.32: [Uncredited] (a & w). "Benvenuto Cellini." *Real Life Comics* No.26 (November 1945), [p.3], showing the use of the genre-specific trope of Taking Risks.

Fig. 3.33: [Uncredited] (a & w), "Leonardo Da Vinci." *Blue Ribbon Comics* Vol.1, No.22 (March 1942), [p.4]. It exemplifies the genre-specific tropes of Taking Risks and Obsession.

Fig. 3.34a: [Uncredited] (a & w), "Leonardo Da Vinci." *Blue Ribbon Comics* Vol.1, No.22 (March 1942), [p.3], showing the genre-specific trope of Obsession, inspired by numerous sketches and a brief passage in Vasari's *Lives*.

Fig. 3.34b: [Uncredited] (a & w). "500 Years Too Soon!" *True Comics* No.58 (March 1947), [p.2], showing the genre-specific trope of Obsession, inspired by numerous sketches and a brief passage in Vasari's *Lives*.

Fig. 3.35a: [Uncredited] (a & w). "Masterpiece In Bronze." *True Comics* No.64 (September 1947), [p.2], demonstrating the almost identical wording of Cellini's autobiography and the comics strip.
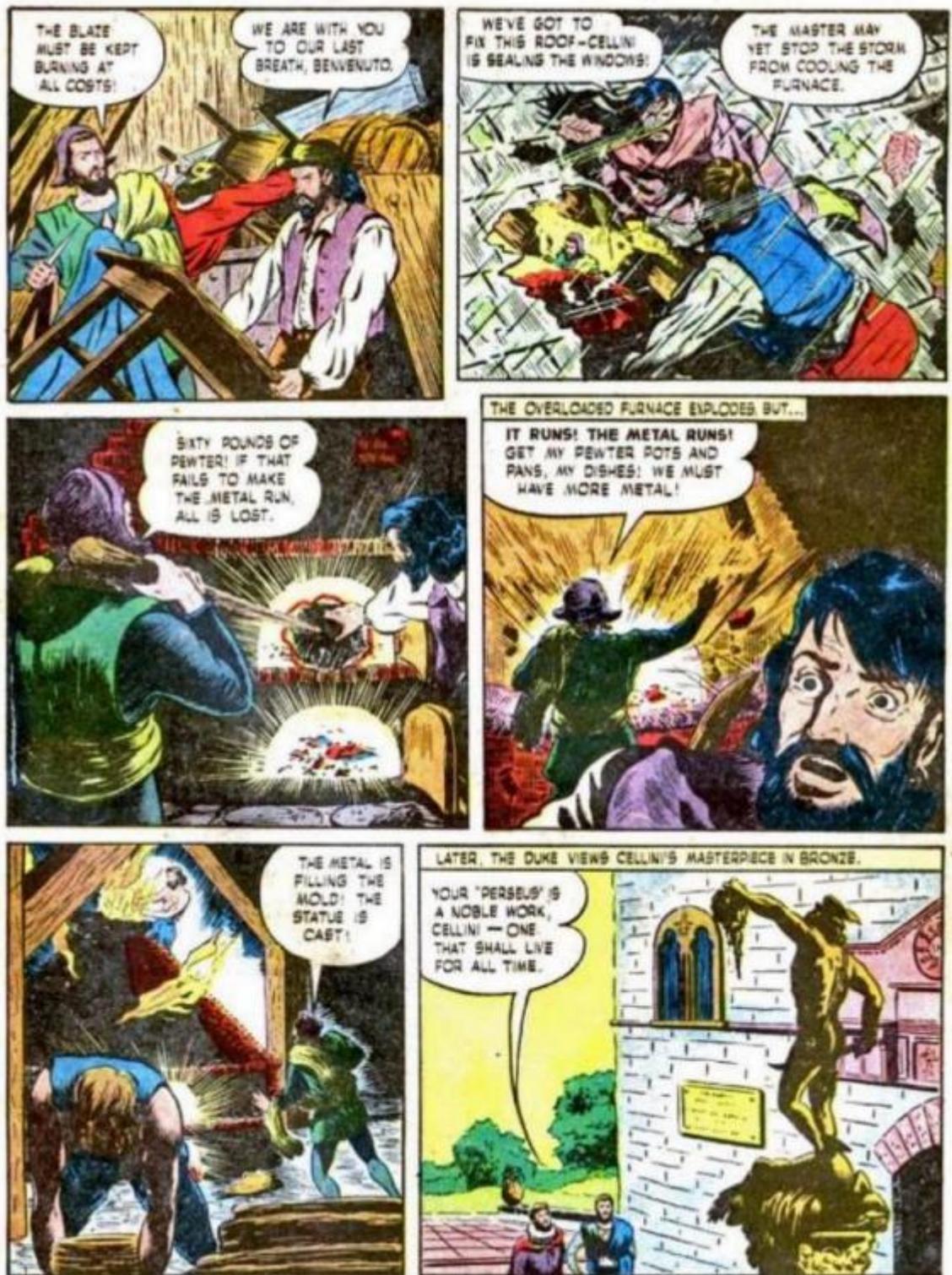
Fig. 3.35b: [Uncredited] (a & w). "Masterpiece In Bronze." *True Comics* No.64 (September 1947), [p.3], demonstrating the almost identical wording of Cellini's autobiography and the comics strip.

Fig. 3.36: [Uncredited] (a & w). "Benvenuto Cellini." *Top-Notch Comics* Vol.1, No.26 (April 1942), [p.6], showing the use of the genre-specific trope of Revolutionising an Art or Craft.
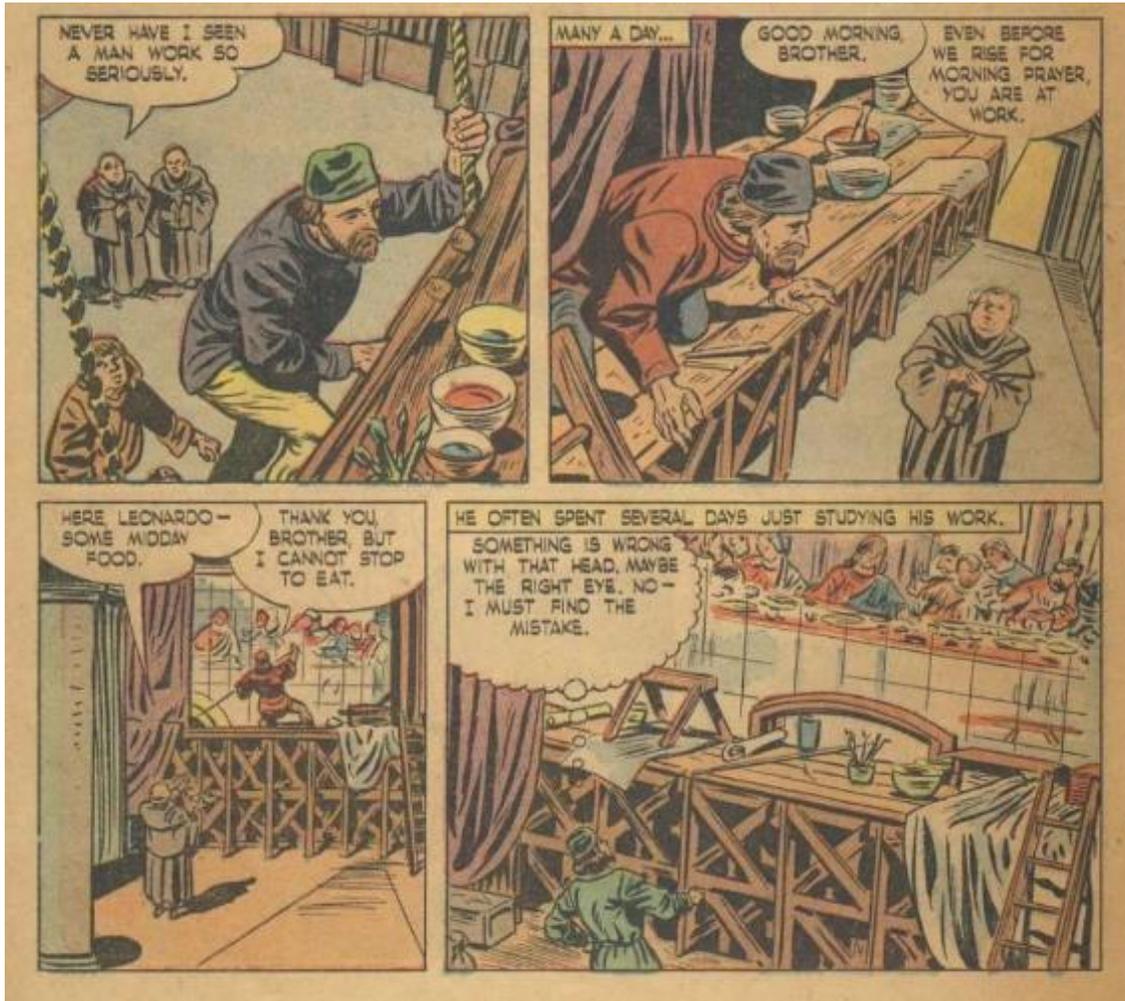
Fig. 3.37: [Uncredited] (a & w). "500 Years Too Soon!" *True Comics* No.58 (March 1947), [p.6], showing the use of the genre-specific tropes of Revolutionising an Art or Craft, Hermit-like lifestyle and Obsession.

Fig. 3.38: [Crandall, Reed] (a) and Frances S. Goulart (w). "Eiffel's Tower." Treasure Chest of Fun and Fact Vol.24, No.16 (April 1969), [p.4], featuring the genre-specific tropes of Revolutionising an Art or Craft, Obsession, and Taking Risks.

Fig. 3.39: Cooper, [Sam] (a) and [Uncredited] (w). "Louis Daguerre. Inventor Of Photography." *Real Life Comics* No.33 (July 1946), [p.2], featuring the genre-specific tropes of Obsession, a Hermit-like lifestyle, Revolutionising an Art or Craft.

Fig. 3.40: [Uncredited] (a & w). "Sir Christopher Wren." *Real Life Comics* No.31 (May 1946), [p.4], featuring the genre-specific tropes of Genius, Artistic Destiney, Revolutionising an Art or Craft, Obsession, Taking Risks.

Fig. 3.41a: Cooper, [Sam] (a) and [Uncredited] (w). "John James Audubon." *It Really Happened* No.7 (August 1947), p.3, featuring the genre-specific tropes of Obsession, Taking Risks, Revolutionising an Art or Craft, and Hermit-like lifestyle.
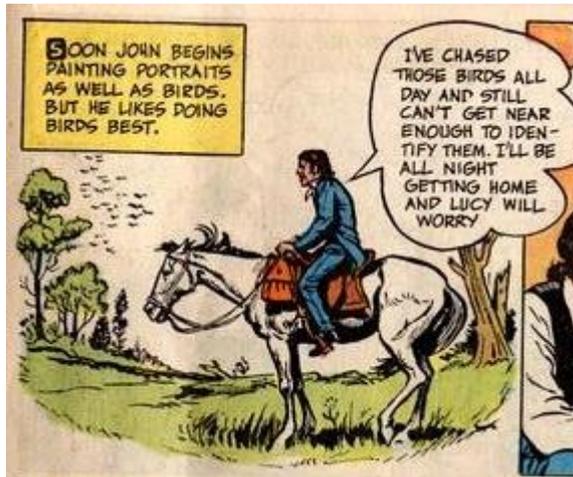
Fig. 3.41b: Ostendorf, Lloyd (a) and George Straley (w). "The Man Who Followed The Birds. The Story Of John James Audubon." *Treasure Chest of Fun and Fact* Vol.22, No.20 (June 1967), p.23, featuring the use of the genre-specific tropes of Obsession, Taking Risks, Revolutionising an Art or Craft, and Hermit-like lifestyle.

Fig. 3.42: [Uncredited] (a & w). "The Shrine Of Democracy. The Story Of Mt. Rushmore [2]." Treasure Chest of Fun and Fact Vol.19, No.9 (January 1964), p.23, featuring the use of the genre-specific tropes of Obsession, Taking Risks, Revolutionising an Art or Craft, and Powerful Clients or Friends.

Fig. 3.43: [Uncredited] (a & w). "Winslow Homer, Rugged American Painter." *Real Life Comics* No.31 (May 1946), [p.4], featuring the genre-specific tropes of Genius, Obsession, Revolutionising an Art or Craft, and Hermit-like lifestyle.
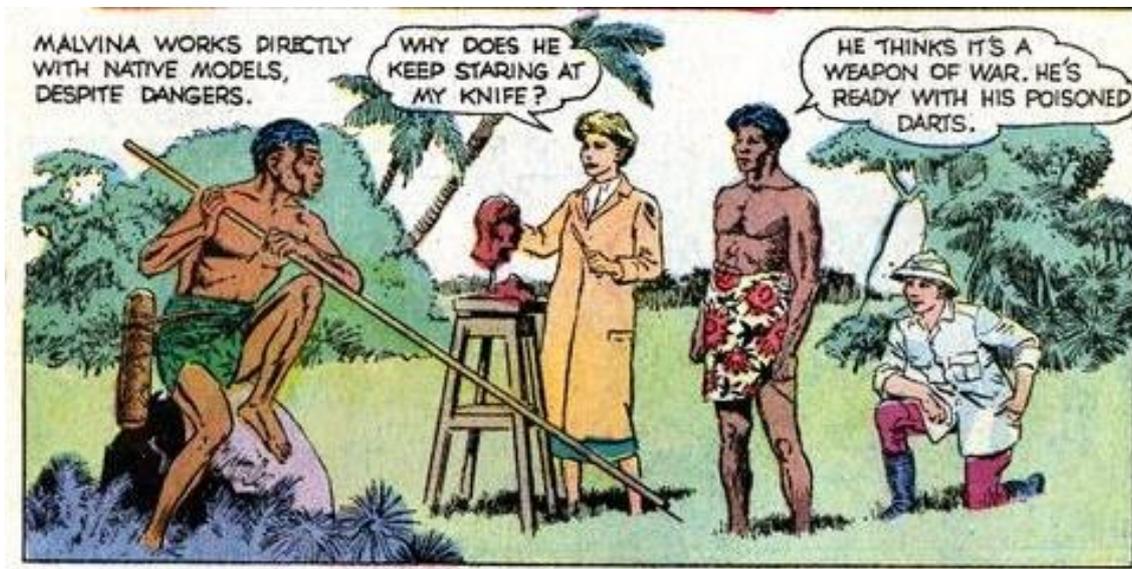
Fig. 3.44: Crandall, Reed (a) and Rita G. Brady (w). "Artist In Bronze And Stone. The Life Of Malvina Hoffman." *Treasure Chest of Fun and Fact* Vol.25, No.8 (January 1970), [p.5], featuring the genre-specific tropes of Obsession, Taking Risks, Revolutionising an Art or Craft.

Chapter 4 – The Evolution of the Artist's Biography Comics Genre

The artist's biography comic seems to have been noticeably absent from the second half of the twentieth century. However, on close inspection, it becomes clear that, already since the late 1940s, it experienced some changes and developments. [299] This chapter traces and examines three significant steps in the evolution of the artist's biography comics genre: proto-graphic novels, the Second Boom, and the Museum Boom.

Once again, only biographical graphic narratives have been included in the following analysis. While all efforts have been taken to find and record every respective graphic narrative, due to limiting factors, this thesis cannot guarantee, thus does not argue for, the absoluteness but is aware of the possible incompleteness of the data.

Between 1960 and 2000, few publications concerned themselves with the young genre of the artist's biography comics. This thesis labels those publications that did proto-graphic novels, due to their changing characteristics, such as more elaborate and complex narratives and a slow shift in the targeted readership resulting from more explicitly sexual and violent stories.[300] In its context, proto-graphic novels are stand-alone narratives or part of an anthology that shared aspects from 1940s comic strips and twenty-first-century graphic novels yet did not clearly belong to either.

After this evolutionary step, artist's biography comics re-emerged on the twenty-first-century high street book market in the form of a publishing boom of graphic novels about canonical visual artists, labelled the Second Boom in this thesis. This ongoing phenomenon is overwhelmingly European, consisting of almost 200 graphic novels, and strengthens the genre's position on the comics and book market through institutionalisation.

With a slight delay, another smaller publishing boom occurred when major European art museums started to co-commission graphic novels about their respective collections and canonical artists. This current, still ongoing phenomenon, titled the Museum Boom in this thesis, shows several similarities with the Second Boom, most notably an apparent European focus while being distinct enough to be treated as a separate occurrence.

---

[299] The data used for this section has been compiled over four years of mostly online research, with one discovery often leading to another. Thus, there is not one single database that can be cited as major source.

[300] See Appendix B for a list of these proto-graphic novels. Dates as given in the comic books' indicia; As discussed in Chapter 1, the definition of the graphic novel, thus the proto-graphic novel too, is contested in scholarship.

4.1. Proto-Graphic Novels (1947-1999)

One of the most significant changes in the artist's biography comics genre during the second half of the twentieth century was a shift towards more extended, complex, and elaborated narratives. In contrast to the First Boom, it was an international phenomenon observed in South and North America, Western Europe, and Asia. With the First Boom still ongoing, the earliest examples of such extended comic stories appeared in the US and Italy: *Classics Illustrated No.38 – Adventures of Cellini* (1947) and *Albo d'oro* [The Golden Book] *No.166 – Le Avventure di Benvenuto Cellini* [The Adventures of Benvenuto Cellini] (1949).[301] The former is significantly longer than the latter, with fifty-two and thirty-two pages respectively. Nevertheless, both exceeded the average five-page narratives of the First Boom and were published as individual comic books. The cover designs of both mirror the typical opening panels of the First Boom, emphasising Cellini's martial skills and moments of great triumph or despair (Fig. 4.1-4.2). Only in the 1960s and 1970s, the concept of the artist's biography in proto-graphic novel form became widely popular.

In 1961, a newly scripted and drawn, slightly shorter Classics Illustrated edition of Cellini's life (Fig. 4.3)—albeit bearing the same title and issue number—was published in six countries, continuing to emphasise the martial arts skills of the goldsmith and sculptor.[302] While the life of Cellini remained singular in the publishing history of *Classics Illustrated,* two Spanish-language series on both sides of the Atlantic made significant contributions to the genre of the artist's biography in proto-graphic novels. On the one hand, the Mexican series *Vidas Ilustres* [Illustrious Lives] included at least twenty-eight comic books about canonical visual artists between 1959 and 1974.[303] As the thirty-two-page issues were apparently distributed in the Spanish-speaking countries of the Americas, they reached a sizable audience. On the other hand, the Spanish series *Hombres Famosos* [Famous Men] included multiple editions on canonical artists since the late 1960s.[304] Earlier editions were sixty-eight pages in length, with later publications having page counts of about 170. Apparently, the earlier and shorter comic books were simply reprinted as part of the later and longer novels. *Hombres Famosos Leonardo da Vinci* (2003) shows the enduring success

---

[301] Froehlich and Katz 1947; Paparella and [Uncredited] 1949; The *Classics Illustrated* story was translated into Greek too: Froehlich and [Uncredited] 1951; The Greek edition and the *Albo d'oro* were both reprinted during the 1970s: Paparella and [Uncredited] 1949; Froehlich and [Uncredited] 1975-80.

[302] [Uncredited] 1961a-d; 1962; Initially published in the United States of America, United Kingdom, and Netherlands, and Sweden, Norway, and Denmark, translations appeared in Finland and Germany the following years. Interestingly, neither the French *Classiques Illustrés* series nor the Mexican *Clásicos Ilustrados* series—most probably widely available throughout the Spanish-speaking countries of South America—included either of the two Cellini narratives.

[303] See Appendix B.4 for a list of relevant publications in the *Vidas Ilustres* series; This count includes five reprints. The series also includes a comic book each on the art historian Johann Joachim Winckelmann and the archaeologist Erich Schliemann.

[304] See Appendix B.3 for a list of relevant publications in the *Hombres Famosos* series.

of the series. Since the 1960s and 1970s, both publishers had branches in Spain, Mexico, and Argentina, and it seems very likely that they competed with each other on both sides of the Atlantic.[305]

Also, Italy was active in keeping the artist's biography genre in proto-graphic novel form alive. *Messagero dei Ragazzi* [Boys' Messenger] published twenty-page narratives over several issues on Cellini (1964) and Giotto (1966) (Fig. 4.4).[306] Such publications partly returned to the First Boom traditions in their focus on the Italian Renaissance, not least Cellini and his eventful life, published in anthologies of educational nature. Just as *Treasure Chest of Fun & Fact*, *Messagero dei Ragazzi* is a Catholic youth magazine distributed via parishes, featuring stories of canonical Catholic Renaissance artists creating canonical art for the Catholic Church promoting a form of religious autochthony.

There are also examples of proto-graphic novels from India.[307] The *Amar Chitra Katha* series, teaching young readers about Indian mythology and folktales as well as history and literature, published *Rabindranath Tagore. India's Gentle Torch-Bearer* (1977), a thirty-one-page narrative about the Indian painter, poet, writer, philosopher. Further, the Publications Division of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India released *Rabindranath Tagore* (1986) (Fig. 4.5), a thirty-page narrative accompanied by an introduction and a poem. Both narratives followed the model of *Classics Illustrated*, *Albo d'Oro*, and *Vidas Ilustres* in length, targeted audiences, and the apparent educational nature.

While those longer proto-graphic novels discussed so far still targeted a (pre-)teenage audience, Japanese manga of the 1970s and 1980s included far more extensive and complex biographical graphic narratives about canonical visual artists, aimed at adults this time.[308] *Kyojin Kankei (狂人関係)* [Madman Relationship] (1973) by Kamimura Kazuo (一夫上村) was a three-volume series about the private life and artistic work of Katsushika Ōi (葛飾応為) and her father Katsushika Hokusai (葛飾北斎). A decade later, another narrative about her, *Sarasuberi (百日紅)* [Hundred Flowers] by Sugiura Hinako (杉浦日向子), was serialised in the manga magazine *Weekly Manga Sunday* (週刊漫画サンデー) between November 1983 and August 1987. Over the same period, the publisher also released the thirty-chapter story as a

---

[305] With already two magazines featuring a strong focus on the biographical genre in general as well as the lives of various canonical visual artists, in particular during the 1960s and early 1970s, it becomes clear why the Mexican series *Clásicos Ilustrados* never published either of the *Classics Illustrated* Cellini narratives.

[306] See Appendix B.2 for a list of Italian proto-graphic novels; [Sciotto] and [Salvatico] January 1964a-d; February 1964a-d; [Mancini] and [Forina] April 1966a-e; For this section about Italian comics, *Fondazione Franco Fosatti (FFF)* (URL: http://www.lfb.it/fff/fumetto/index.htm) (accessed 02/11/2020) and *Guida al Fumetto Italiano* (URL: http://www.guidafumettoitaliano.com/) (accessed 02/11/2020) were used to verify respective publishing histories and content.

[307] See Appendix B.6. for a list of Indian proto-graphic novels.

[308] See Appendix C.1. for a list of Japanese manga about canonical Japanese artists.

three-volume series (1983, 1985, 1987). Despite repeated and extensive efforts, the researcher could not determine the exact publishing details, such as the number and dates of issues of *Weekly Manga Sunday* featuring *Sarasuberi* (百日紅). Therefore, only the three volumes containing the entire narrative could be accurately counted for this thesis. Eventually, *Sarasuberi* (百日紅) was also made into the anime movie *Miss Hokusai* (2015) directed by Keiichi Hara (恵一原).

Towards the end of the 1980s, the three-volumes of *Hokusai* [北斎] (1987) by Shotaro Ishinomori (石ノ森章太郎) and the single-volume-narrative *Unkei* [運慶] (1988) by Takao Saito (隆夫斎藤), celebrated two of the country's most canonical artists. The inclusion of sex and violence in the narratives made those Japanese series inappropriate and unsuitable for a young audience. Considering their length, they would be graphic novels by Western standards. However, such extensive stories are not uncommon for Japanese manga. Also, they have an international appeal, as Kamimura's manga is published not only in Chinese but in German, Italian, Spanish, and French too. Similarly, Ishinomori's books are translated into Spanish, Italian, and French, feeding into the artist's biography comic's global evolution. Judging from the publications available to this research, at least some of the mangas feature common western tropes of artists' biographies such as a hermit-like life, the sad and lonely artists, a competition between artists, and an obsession with art.

During the 1980s and 1990s, the artist's biography comics attracted broader interest from the comic communities and industry. The first issue of *RAW* (July 1980) featured *The Two-Fisted Painters* by Art Spiegelman as an insert. While the twelve-page story *The Matisse Falcon* does not teach readers about painter Henri Matisse's life, it explains and depicts colour separation and print. The comix magazines *Love & Rockets* and *Blab!* respectively included narratives about Frida Kahlo (Fig. 4.6), Robert George Irwin, and Caravaggio (Fig. 4.7).[309] While the single-page story on Irwin is part of a longer one, the other two are relatively close to the original format of the First Boom by featuring short— twelve pages—biographical and educational narratives as part of an anthology comic book. The comic strip about Kahlo, comprised of panels heavily inspired by her artworks, foreshadowed the Second Boom in the use of artworks as a crucial part of a narrative and in picking Kahlo, a prevailing popular choice, as discussed below. Those comix publications differed from the First Boom in the audience they targeted. Due to their explicit depiction of

---

[309] See Appendix B.5 for the publication details; Several decades later, between 2012 and 2014, the Italian comix magazine *Scorpio* also published a sixty-six-issues narrative about Caravaggio counting almost 1000 pages, see Appendix B.2 for the publication details.

sex and violence, they were not meant for a young readership. Indeed, *Love & Rockets* stated on the cover 'Recommended for Mature Readers.'[310]

It may not have been coincidental that around the release of *Maus: A Survivor's Tale* (1986), *The Dark Knight Returns* (1986), and *Watchmen* (1987) in graphic novel format—all of which had previously been serialised—, the comics genre of the artist's biography took the form of graphic novels too. In France, publications included *La vie de Toulouse Lautrec* (1985), *La vie de Salvador Dali* (1986) as well as *Une Aventure de Julie Bristol* (1990-1994), dealing with the lives of Camille Caudel and Artemisia Gentileschi.[311] In the Netherlands, *Gauguin en Van Gogh* (1990) contributed to the new graphic novel genre. The features of those publications once again foreshadowed the approaching Second Boom, with France and the Netherlands being exceptionally productive, and artists, such as Vincent van Gogh, Paul Gauguin, Salvador Dali prevalent subjects. Finally, from the mid-1990s onwards, US-based Paradox Press, an imprint of DC Comics, published several short comic strips about different canonical artists in *The Big Book of Weirdos* (1995) and *The Big Book of Bad* (1998), and DC Vertigo released a ten-issue series about the all-time favourite Leonardo. *Chiaroscuro. The Private Lives of Leonardo da Vinci* (1995-96) was sexually explicit, violent, and certainly not aimed at an adolescent audience.[312] Nevertheless, the series showed that the genre had reached the mainstream, further contributing to the development, which eventually led to the Second Boom and the Museum Boom.

4.2. The Second Boom (2000-2019)

The following section traces and assesses the artist's biography comics genre's rediscovery, the Second Boom, after its evolution discussed above. It is justified to label the phenomenon a boom, as once more a sudden publishing activity occurred, fostered and shaped by the publishers, re-launching a largely neglected product on a massive scale, thus creating the right working conditions for an 'explosion of creativity,' as Csicsery-Ronay describes a boom.[313] While the Second Boom has been important for the artist's biography comics genre, this research acknowledges that compared to the overall production of comics between 2000 and 2019, the Second Boom has been relatively small. Furthermore, twenty-nine publications over the last three decades of the twentieth century (Fig. 4.8a-c) stand against

---

[310] *Love & Rockets* No.28 (December 1988), cover.

[311] The French sculptress Camille Claudel worked in bronze and marble in the workshop of Auguste Rodín, whose model, muse and lover she was. The Italian Baroque painter Artemisia Gentileschi was first female member of the academy in Florence and known for her naturalism in depicting women. She was raped as a young woman and successfully trialled her rapist Agostino Tassi.

[312] See Appendices B.5 and C.1 for the publication details.

[313] Csicsery-Ronay 2003.

at least 199 graphic narratives during the first two decades of the twenty-first century (Fig. 4.9a-c).[314] The Second Boom comprises two distinct episodes: Phase I (2000-2011) and Phase II (2012-2019). During the former, publishers re-discovered the genre, while the latter has seen the genre's potential being fully exploited.

The statistics and assessments count separately any editions combining multiple previous issues, such as Joann Sfar's *Pascin Intégrale* (2005) and *Chagall in Russia* (2011), Clement Oubrerie's and Julie Birmant's *Pablo L' Intégrale* (2017), and Gina Siciliano's *I Know What I Am. The Life and Times of Artemisia Gentileschi* (2019).

Phase I: 2000-2011

The 1990s had paved the ground for the Second Boom with occasional publications (Fig. 4.8a).[315] With the dawn of the third millennium, the graphic novel biography of canonical visual artists emerged.[316] The annual output fluctuated noticeably (Fig. 4.9a, 4.10) during the early 2000s. After those cautious years, the publishers gained some confidence in the re-discovered artist's biography comics genre. The resulting higher numbers of publications in 2004 and 2005 demonstrate a growing level of faith in the product. During the second half of Phase I, the number of releases was relatively volatile, albeit at a higher level, edging towards more releases every other year. Altogether there were sixty-one graphic novels about canonical visual artists published in Phase I, which equals an annual average of five publications. Thus, it can accurately be described as a period of re-discovery and testing of the artist's biography comics genre, soon establishing a relatively stable annual output and steady growth.

When we look at the countries of Phase I production, several observations can be made (Fig. 4.11). Firstly, France and Germany together are responsible for 82% of the publications. Secondly, with 93% of publications coming from Europe, evidently, Phase I is primarily European, a trend that has continued, as discussed below. Thirdly, and maybe most surprising, the entire German output is the work of only one man: Willi Bloess. The Aachen-based art teacher has started to self-publish his *Künstlerbiografien* [artist's biographies] series in 2002. It is apparent that without the irregular publishing outbursts of Bloess, the publishing history would appear less volatile (Fig. 4.10).[317] In France, the releases are not so

---

[314] See Appendix C for a list of these graphic novels.

[315] See Appendix C.1 for a list of these graphic novels.

[316] See Appendix C.2 for a list of the graphic novels from Phase I.

[317] In the rather conservative German comic market, still largely associating comics with children's literature, and (possibly as a result) with no German art museums commissioning their own graphic novels, Willi Bloess is filling as well as bridging a gap in publishing his series. On the one hand, there is not much in Germany that can compare with the idea as such, except maybe for translations of foreign graphic novels, thus little competition—certainly at the price point of €3 (about £2.70) per book. Furthermore, as Ludwig Forum Aachen, an art museum, is selling the books in its shop, there clearly is a market for graphic novel

focused but spread across thirteen publishers, with Delcourt, L'Association, and Glénat leading the field with respectively ten, seven and three publications, which equals 64.5% of the French production.

In examining the translation practices of graphic novels, one can highlight the attractiveness of specific languages over others, as deemed by stakeholders such as publishers, and show and judge a boom's level of internationalisation. Moreover, by comparing such practices for several languages, publishing and translation trends can be determined. An analysis of foreign-language editions from Phase I (Fig. 4.12) reveals that, in absolute numbers, Spanish, English and Italian are the most popular languages for a graphic novel to be translated into.[318] This thus indicates that the corresponding comic book markets are favoured over others. This ranking is also mirrored in the translation rate: the number of titles available in a particular language in relation to a remaining total number of publications, once any original language editions in that specific language have been deducted (Fig. 4.12). Consequently, the translation rate shows how much has been *translated* into a particular language in contrast to how much has simply been *published* in the very same. The resulting figures highlight specific comic book markets' importance for the stakeholders, such as publishers, and indicate the intended audiences. For Phase I, the number of translations, as well as the translation rates, are relatively low. Therefore, the primarily targeted audiences must be speakers of the original editions' languages. Consequently, either only small efforts were made to promote graphic novels internationally or at least such attempts were not exceptionally successful.

Regarding the subjects of Phase I (Fig. 4.13), due to Joann Sfar's French *Pascin* series (1999-2005), the Bulgarian-American Parisian painter Jules Pascin is most popular. He outranks the Dutch painter Vincent van Gogh, who appears in graphic novels from different countries. The third place is shared by the Renaissance artist Leonardo da Vinci, the nineteenth-century artist Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec most well-known for his posters, and the comic artist Winsor McCay, the last two being subjects of French four-issue series by Gradimir Smudja, and Thierry Smolderen and Jean-Philippe Bramanti respectively. Another shorter series by Smudja makes the Russian-French Cubist and Expressionist Marc

---

biographies of canonical artists in the German museum world. On the other hand, the educational as well as entertaining approach can be a way to prove the potential of comics to a wider German audience and public as well as art institutions. The fact the series has run continuously since 2002 is indication of its success on the German comic market and beyond, as some publications now even available as foreign language editions.

[318] These figures do simply count the numbers of available translations for an individual book found through this research, while they do not hold any information regarding temporal proximity of foreign language edition and original.

Chagall the fourth most popular artist of Phase I, followed by Frida Kahlo, Salvador Dali, and Rembrandt van Rijn.

Noticeably, painters are preferred (Fig. 4.14), with less than 10% of the narratives featuring an artist who does not paint at all. Also, with few exceptions, such as Hieronymus Bosch, Leonardo da Vinci, Rembrandt van Rijn, Jacques-Louis David, J. M. W. Turner and John Constable, the portrayed individuals are Modern and contemporary artists.

The Americans Andy Warhol, Keith Haring, and Winsor McCay, the Korean-American Nam June Paik, the Mexican Frida Kahlo, and the Japanese Chinpei Suzuki (鈴木鎮平), pupil and successor of Utagawa Hiroshige (歌川広重), are the only non-European artists, appearing in 16.4% of the graphic novels of Phase I. Kahlo is also the most popular female artist. Only five out of sixty-one (8.2%) graphic novels have a woman as the subject, two of which are about Kahlo. When only considering narratives about non-European artists, the gender ratio is 25% women and 75% men, significantly more balanced than the overall ratio of Phase I but still far from equilibrium. In its focus on modern and contemporary male artists from Europe, Phase I of the Second Boom—focusing on painters—proved to be a predominately European idea and endeavour, deeply rooted in the art-historical tradition and canon(s) of the continent.

Phase II: 2012-2019

After a relative volatile Phase I (2000-2011), Phase II has been marked by rapidly increasing publications over several years, peaking in 2016, followed by stabilising numbers of releases at a pre-peak level (Fig. 4.9a, 4.15).[319] While the average number of publications during Phase I was five books per *annum*, the average has increased to roughly seventeen books per *annum* during Phase II. Apparently, Phase II has represented the heyday of graphic novels about canonical visual artists.

For 2012, the number of publications was in the double digits for the first time. After low numbers in 2013, 2014 set off a boom within the boom with new records for each of the following two years. After the 2016-peak, 2017 had still a respectable number of releases, but the figures for 2018 and 2019 are significantly lower. This development might indicate that the Second Boom has reached a stable plateau above the ten books *per annum* benchmark.

Overall, at least 138 graphic novels have been released during Phase II, more than doubling the numbers of Phase I. Hence, Phase II has been a flourishing and fast growth period, culminating in an impressive peak, ending in a possibly stable plateau.

---

[319] See Appendix C.3 for a list of the graphic novels from Phase II.

Such dramatic increases have only been possible because France has defended its position as the top producer and publisher, followed by Italy, and *ex aequo* Germany and Spain. The fourth rank has been shared by the Netherlands and Japan (Fig. 4.16). The figures also confirm a continued dominance of European publications. However, the Second Boom has become noticeably more diverse. More and different countries have contributed, increasing their absolute and relative share significantly, with only Germany—respectively Willi Bloess—decreasing the output. Consequently, the proportion of non-European graphic novels has risen from 6.5% during Phase I to 12.3% in Phase II.

Naturally, the number of publishers has expanded too during Phase II.[320] For example, twenty-four French publishers have released titles, led by Glénat with a total of twenty-one publications—33.3% of the French output—thanks to its nineteen-issue *Les Grands Peintres* series (2015-2017). None of Glénat's competitors has released even remotely as many graphic novels, with Delcourt, Dargaud, and Casterman and 21g publishing respectively six, six, four and four albums. Willi Bloess Verlag has continued to publish all German contributions to Phase II, maintaining a consistent level of artistic output over two decades. The publishers releasing the most graphic novels in Italy and Spain have been Centauria and Astiberri, with five books respectively. Ranked first in their countries, have been Lecturis *ex aequo* with Nijgh & van Ditmar with two releases each in the Netherlands, and Poplar Publishing House [ポプラ社] with four releases in Japan during Phase II.

When looking at the available translations from Phase II in absolute numbers, the Second Boom diversification is once again proven (Fig. 4.17). English tops the ranking, followed by Spanish and German.[321] Since most graphic novels have initially been released in French, the language ranks only fourth in terms of translations, followed by Italian and Dutch. However, the order changes slightly when looking at the translation rates, with French now ranking before German. Once again, the diversification of Phase II becomes evident, with significantly more editions in non-European languages and different languages in general. Also, the data shows that during Stage II the publishers have no longer almost exclusively produced for a national audience, but have increasingly aimed for internationalisation and transnationalisation, trying to reach much broader and more global audiences.

Regarding the subjects of Phase II, Pablo Picasso has emerged as the most popular artist during Phase II (Fig. 4.18), followed *ex aequo* by Frida Kahlo, Salvador Dalí, Vincent

---

[320] See Appendix C.3 for a list of publishers.

[321] *Els fantasmes de Gaudí* (2015) by Juan El Torres and Jesús Alonso Iglesias was first published in Catalan. Consequently, while thirteen books were first released in Spain, only twelve were written in Spanish.

van Gogh, and Francisco de Goya.[322] The third rank has been shared by Leonardo da Vinci, Artemisia Gentileschi, Paul Gauguin, and Gustave Courbet.

These statistics reveal that specific trends have prevailed, although a general diversification is evident. While during Phase I, 14.8% of graphic narratives were about non-modern or non-contemporary artists, this share has increased to 26.1% for Phase II. Similarly, there has been a trend towards more graphic novels about artists working in other media but painting, with non-painter narratives increasing from 8.2% during Phase I to 12.9% in Phase II (Fig. 4.19). Despite four women being among the top five artists in popularity, the gender ratio for Phase II has shown a stark imbalance of 12.5% women and 88.2% men.[323] Only among the non-European artists of Phase II, male and female artists' ratio has been closer to an equilibrium, with 52.2% men and 47.8% women, and twelve and eleven respective releases. These graphic novels featuring non-Europeans also confirm the prevailing strong European focus of the Second Boom. For example, the percentage of narratives about non-European artists has decreased from 18% during Phase I to 16.9% in Phase II. Thus, while Phase II has made for a more diverse picture in the details, the Second Boom's overall impression has remained the same.

Summary

The Second Boom (2000-2019) consists of at least 199 publications over twenty years (Fig. 4.9a-c). Certain aspects, such as the strong European focus, in the portrayed artists as well as the publishing countries, and the emphasis on modern and contemporary male painters, display the influence of long-running art-historical traditions and canons (Fig. 4.20-4.21).

The main difference between the First Boom (1942-1949) and the Second Boom (2000-2019) were the subjects. During the former, Renaissance artists, such as Cellini, Michelangelo, and da Vinci were of high importance and featured in multiple stories across various magazines, while for the latter modern and contemporary artists have been in focus. Also, the First Boom told the lives of artists from different disciplines, while the Second Boom has favoured painters disproportionally. Unfortunately, women artists' marginalisation has been one prevailing aspect, starting from the First Boom, through proto-graphic novels, and further during the Second Boom. Katsushika Ōi (葛飾応為) for the proto-graphic novels of the 1970s and 1980s, and Frida Kahlo for the Second Boom, appeared to be token artists, ticking two boxes at once, in being non-European and women.

---

[322] This count considers Clement Oubrerie's and Julie Birmant's four-issue *Pablo* series (2012-2014), later re-published in a collector's edition in 2017, as separate publications.

[323] This ratio is indeed correct and occurs because one graphic novel focusses on a artists-couple and is therefore counted once for each gender.

As it is still ongoing, predictions regarding the future of the Second Boom are difficult. However, in 2020 and 2021 and despite the global COVID-19 pandemic, Willi Bloess has added another five narratives to his *Künstlerbiografien* series (and will probably continue his work for the time being).[324] Furthermore, there were at least three Italian publications and one American, one British, and one Mexican release.[325] Indeed, there is a potential for more non-European publishers to join the Second Boom.

4.3. The Museum Boom (2005-2019)

A few years after the Second Boom had started, several international art museums began to engage with the medium of graphic novels as well. The reasons for this are diverse and not so much based on financial but public relations considerations, as discussed in Chapters 6 and 7.

Possibly, after becoming aware of Phase I of the Second Boom, art museums started to co-commission, co-edit, co-fund and co-publish graphic novels, triggering a parallel boom of museum graphic novels, which this thesis titles the Museum Boom (Fig. 4.22a-c).[326] The following section investigates this choice of major art museums to commission their own graphic novel(s), scoping the size, tracing the development and determining the characteristics of this museum publishing phenomenon.

With 120 publications over twenty years, the Museum Boom's scale has been smaller, and its development more linear than that of the Second Boom. It qualifies as a boom for similar reasons as the Second Boom, yet there are differences. While it is a sudden publishing activity seeing a variety of creative approaches, it launched an already-tested product but did so in an entirely new market—the museum world—trying to reach a new public through exhibitions and series of graphic novels, discussed in Chapters 5 and 6. In addition, the stakeholders behind the Museum Boom were numerous, including not only publishers but museums, independent funding bodies and advisors, discussed in Chapter 5 and 7, who to varying degrees were actively involved in the creation, editing, marketing as well as the sale of the graphic novel. While the Museum Boom has also been important for the genre of the artist's biography comics genre, although significantly less than the Second Boom, this research acknowledges that in comparison to the overall number of comics as well as museum publications between 2005 and 2019, the Museum Boom has been relatively small.

---

[324] See Appendix C.4 for a list of these graphic novels.
[325] Ibid.
[326] See Appendix D for a list of these graphic novels.

The Museum Boom consists of two distinct periods, Stage I (2005-2011) and Stage II (2012-2019), which continued to focus on European art-historical traditions and canons. The majority of publications have been about a respective museum's collection, while the twenty-five biographical titles have formed a minority. Museum graphic novels about a canonical artist constitute a small overlap, in having been part of the Second Boom as well as the Museum Boom. However, these publications represent just 12.6% of the Second Boom.

Stage I (2005-2011)

In 2005, the very first graphic novel commissioned by an art museum was released on the market, Nicolas de Crécy's *Période Glaciaire* [Glacial Period] for Musée du Louvre and Futuropolis, which inaugurated a joint venture that became known as *Louvre Éditions* series. After a short period of discovery of the medium for the museum purpose, a testing period with a stable annual output occurred between 2008 and 2011 (Fig. 4.22a, 4.23a).

During this period, other European museums in France, Italy, Switzerland, the Netherlands, and the United Kingdom started publishing graphic novels too. In 2008, Zentrum Paul Klee published the first biographical graphic novel about a canonical painter, Paul Klee, commissioned by an art museum. Italian museums were the first to try the anthology format, such as Museo di Capodimonte publishing *Fumetto al Museo. La Nona Arte a Capodimonte* [Comics at the Museum. The Ninth Art in Capodimonte] (2008), and Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia in Rome releasing *Viaggio Etrusco. Sei Affreschi a Fumetti* [Etruscan Journey. Six Comic Frescoes] (2009), accompanying respective exhibitions and projects. With *Matisse Manga* (2010), *Rohan au Louvre* [Rohan at the Louvre] (2010) and *Professor Munakata's British Museum Adventure* (2011), commissioned by the Matisse Museum in Nice, Musée du Louvre and British Museum respectively, multiple European museums published titles by Japanese comic artists.

During Stage I, nine museums from five European countries released fourteen graphic narratives (Fig. 4.23a-b, 4.24). Similar to Phase I of the Second Boom, France dominated the scene. The majority of the publications explored a museum's collection or an exhibition, with only four biographical graphic novels about a canonical painter—and none about a woman artist. While fourteen is a small data set, their characteristics indicate the overall trends of the Museum Boom.

Stage II (2012-2019)

The years between 2012 and 2017 (Fig. 4.22a, 4.25a) have seen a relatively stable annual output, while the figures for 2018 and 2019 show a massive increase in publications due to a national comic project in Italy, the *Fumetti nei Musei* [Comics in Museums] series

(2018-2019). Consequently, Italy has suddenly been the country with the most publications, and the annual releases of 2018 and 2019 of the Museum Boom have exceeded those of the Second Boom. Stage II has marked a period of wider use and exploitation of the graphic novel medium and its potential. Different museums and countries have contributed, with non-European institutions joining (Fig. 4.25b).

The Italian *Fumetti nei Musei* series (2018-2019) was co-commissioned by the Italian Ministry of Culture and Tourism in cooperation with fifty-one individual national museums. In contrast, French museums, led by Musée du Louvre, have been the most active commissioners in Stage II (Fig. 4.26). The idea of commissioning a series of graphic novels for the museum has been adopted by Musée d'Orsay, Centre Georges Pompidou, Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza, and Museo Nacional del Prado. With Musée du Louvre, Rijksmuseum, British Museum and Nacional Museo del Prado, already four national museums in Europe have commissioned a graphic novel, two of them even a series: *Louvre Éditions* and the *Editorial Museo Nacional del Prado*.

In Stage II, seventy-four art institutions have commissioned and published 106 graphic novels, of which twenty-one were biographical, constituting a drop from 28.6% to 19.8%—just one graphic novel was about a female artist. However, the ratio would have gone up without the Italian publishing burst. Somewhat against the overall trend, Centre Pompidou has published four graphic novel biographies of canonical visual artists, making it the museum with the most biographical graphic novels of the entire Museum Boom.

The data for 2018 and 2019 is exceptional. It includes two massive and unprecedented Italian outbursts that are unlikely to repeat themselves as the *Fumetti nei Musei* series is finished, making further developments hard to predict. Excluding the Italian publications, 2018 and 2019 have four and eleven publications respectively, and while the former is relatively low, the latter is quite high for the Museum Boom. Therefore, the data is inconclusive in terms of future developments.

Summary

During the Museum Boom (2005-2019), a total of eighty museums have commissioned 120 graphic novels. The *Fumetti nei Musei* series (2018-2019) resulted in Italy becoming the country with the most publications, pushing France, the most consistent commissioner and publisher of graphic novels throughout the entire Museum Boom, to the second rank (Fig. 4.22b-c, 4.27).

Overall, 20.8% of the Museum Boom have been biographical graphic novels about canonical visual artists. Interestingly, Dutch art institutions have only ever commissioned biographical graphic narratives, respectively seven, making the Netherlands the second

largest publisher of such graphic novels, after France with twelve releases. At the same time, the entire Italian output has been concerned with the respective commissioning museums' collections. Of twenty-five biographical stories, just one has been about a female artist, Sonny Liew's *Warm Night, Deathless Days: The Life of Georgette Chen* (2014) for the National Gallery Singapore, equalling just 4% of the biographical releases and less than 1% of the entire Museum Boom. It also constitutes the only narrative about the life of a non-European artist. In comparison, the biographical graphic novels about male artists have formed 20% of the Museum Boom. Twenty-one of twenty-five biographical graphic narratives have been about painters, once again demonstrating an apparent preference already observed for the Second Boom.

Considering the figures, one realises that, with few exceptions, such as Musée du Louvre (Fig. 4.28), for most museums, the commissioning of a graphic novel has been a one-off endeavour. Interestingly, the idea seems not to have found much support outside of Europe (Fig. 4.22b-c, 4.27). Especially for the American market, both in comics and museum terms, it has been surprising that none of the large museums in New York (Metropolitan Museum of Art (MET), Museums of Modern Art) or the Smithsonian Institution has commissioned a graphic novel—although the MET shop does sell Gina Siciliano's graphic novel *I Know What I Am. The Life and Times of Artemisia Gentileschi* (2019).[327] However, the National Museum of American History, Washington D.C., part of the Smithsonian Institution, prominently exhibits a Comic Art collection and sells comic books in its shop.[328]

Due to the small number of publications during Stage I, a cumulative analysis of the entire Museum Boom's foreign-language editions is most effective. The translation rates have been, once more, strongly influenced by the Italian publishing outburst of 2018-2019, giving a slightly distorted impression of low rates and thus a relatively small degree of internationalisation. This distortion results from the fact that none of the respective fifty-one comic books have been translated. However, if the *Fumetti nei Musei* series is excluded from the data, the picture regarding translations represents the overall trend more accurately (Fig. 4.29). Those figures indicate that the Museum Boom commissioners have considered internationalisation and transnationalisation crucial, while favouring English over other major languages, such as French and Spanish.

The future of the Museum Boom is uncertain. Based on the number of publications and commissioning museums between 2005 and 2019, it is plausible to assume that there will be further French and Spanish publications, while the Italian production will likely

---

[327] This observation of the museum shop was made *in situ*, in early November 2019.
[328] This observation of the museum shop was made *in situ*, in early November 2019.

return to a lower pre-2018 level. The global COVID-19 pandemic may have brought some publication projects to a halt, as museums might be waiting for visitors and, in particular, tourists to return in more significant numbers before launching a new graphic novel. Also, whether the series of Musée du Louvre, Musée d'Orsay, Centre Pompidou, Museo Nacional del Prado, and Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza will be continued will partly decide the fate of the Museum Boom.[329] At least for the *Louvre Éditions* series, a new release is confirmed for 2021. Finally, there exists a sizable potential of new museums choosing to commission a graphic novel. After all, this research has found no Scandinavian, Baltic, Central or Eastern European, and few American and British museums have contributed to the Museum Boom yet.

4.4. Conclusion

Already since the late 1940s, the still young genre of the artist's biography comic had slowly evolved. Over the second half of the twentieth century, it experienced a silent internationalisation, with released in Italy, Spain, Mexico, Argentina, India and the USA, and the *Classic Illustrated* series bringing the life story of Benvenuto Cellini to large parts of Europe. Those publications became increasingly longer but less frequent over time. Simultaneously, the narratives maturations included more explicitly sexual and violent language and references and resulted in a shift of the targeted readership from teenagers to young adults. Thus, gradually, the 1940s comic strips have grown into proto-graphic novels.

Finally, at the dawn of the third millennium, the artist's biography comics genre was rediscovered. The Second Boom of almost 200 graphic novels has grown over twenty years and remained an overwhelmingly European phenomenon regarding the portrayed artists, creators, and publishers. France has released nearly half of the Second Boom, followed by Germany, Italy and Spain, contributing about a quarter of publications.

Labarre argues that genres are constantly changing and are not as stable a category as they are often considered.[330] Several changes are noticeable since the First Boom when re-examining the genre conventions, explained and discussed in Chapter 3. The genre's character types have largely remained unchanged yet shifted somewhat. Naturally, a canonical artist continues as a protagonist, but while the First Boom had included artists and individuals working in various media, the Second Boom favours painters. Also, the secondary character of the artistic mentor seems to appear less regularly, while the powerful

---

[329] While 2020 marked the fifteenth anniversary of the *Louvre Éditions* series, the COVID-19 pandemic likely foiled any possible plans for special releases as well as exhibitions.
[330] Labarre 2020, pp.9-10.

client type continues to feature. Since its birth, the genre has continuously marginalised women and non-white artists.

The setting—mainly the Italian Renaissance during the First Boom—frequently features the French and Parisian art scene of the nineteenth and twentieth century during the Second Boom. This shift might not be overly surprising, considering that almost half of the publications of the Second Boom have been French. Furthermore, the narrative structure has shifted too, as an artist's childhood, training, and youth rarely form part of a narrative during the Second Boom. However, the genre's themes have not changed, as the Second Boom still features the same genre-specific tropes, further discussed in the following chapter. Also, the visual convention of the genre is unaltered by the Second Boom.

Importantly, in contrast to the First Boom and its aftermath, the Second Boom managed to achieve institutionalisation, a crucial step for architexts to become a genre.[331] As Labarre explains, '[b]y bringing to the fore specific architexts, singling them out and making them meaningful, [communities and institutions] constantly create the genres.'[332] In the case of the Second Boom, several publishers have started a series of graphic novels dedicated to the genre of the artist's biography comic, such as Willi Bloess Verlag (*Künstler-Comic-Biografien*), Glénat (*Les Grands Peintres*), Laurence King Publishing (*Graphic Lives*), and SelfMadeHero (*Art Masters*). At the same time, multiple comics creators have decided to specialise in the new genre to some extent, producing more than just one biographical graphic narrative about canonical visual artists, such as Willi Bloess, Joann Sfar, Gradimir Smudja, Tyto Alba, Barbara Stok, Typex, Vanna Vinci, Otto Gabos, Steffen Kverneland, Lars Fiske, Giuseppe De Nardo, Thomas Campi, Julian Voloj, Eddy Simon, Joël Alessandra, Andre Houot, Jocelyne Charrance, Li-An, and Laurence Croix. This institutionalisation by publishers and creators has, for the first time in its history, fully acknowledged the genre of the artist's biography as distinct and important, strengthening and confirming its position as part of the catalogue of comics genres.

A few years after the Second Boom, a partly overlapping yet distinct publishing boom occurred when major art museums started co-commissioning graphic novels for their institutions. The Museum Boom has mirrored many Second Boom elements, such as a focus on Europe in content, commissioners, and creators. However, only a fifth of the Museum Boom has been biographical, with the remaining publications being about a respective museum's collection. French and Italian art museums are exceptionally active in commissioning graphic narratives in general. However, France and the Netherlands have

---

[331] Ibid.

[332] Ibid., p.9.

been the countries with the most biographical titles released so far. The data shows that most art institutions have considered the commissioning of a graphic novel a one-off endeavour. Regardless, several museums have started a respective series of graphic novels, especially in France and Spain. In commissioning graphic novels, those stakeholders acknowledge the comics medium and its potential for museums and the delivery of art historical information to a broader audience, further discussed in Chapters 5 to 7. At the same time, with their biographical graphic novels, the art museums join the publishers and creators in institutionalising the artist's biography comics genre. Importantly, they have the opportunity to do so even outside of comics communities.

The future of the artist's biography comics genre is uncertain, with the Second Boom and the Museum Boom still ongoing and thus the respective end of Phase II and Stage II yet undetermined. However, there were several publications registered for 2020 and 2021. Furthermore, the potential for further publications in the genre is significant. Many non-European publishers and art museums have yet to decide whether the artist's biography comic has a future in their eyes. Csicsery-Ronay argues a Boom that does not end turns into an Age.[333] Thus, if either the Second Boom or the Museum Boom were to continue, this thesis might be documenting the beginning of the Artist's Biography Comic Age or the start of the comics medium's Museum Age.

---

[333] Csicsery-Ronay 2003.
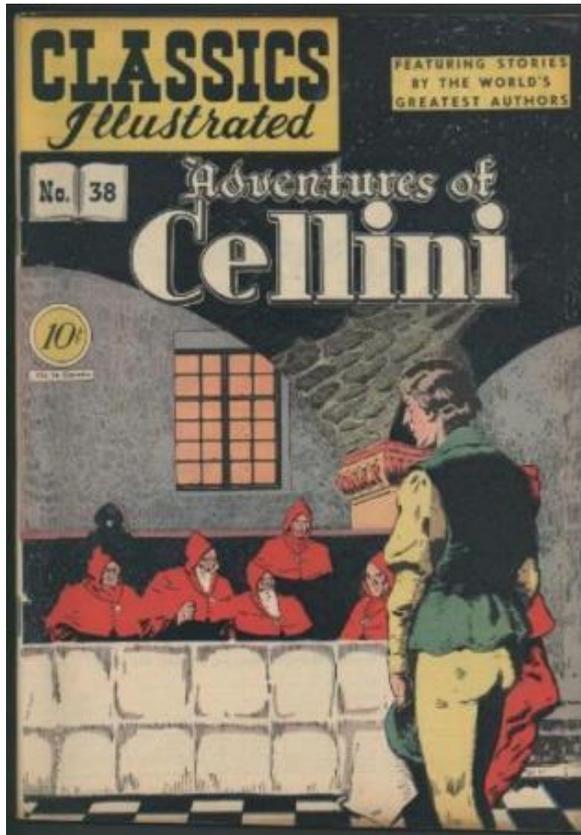
Fig. 4.1: "Adventures of Cellini." *Classics Illustrated* No.38 (June 1947), cover, showing Cellini's banishment from his home town of Florence after defending his brother in a violent street fight, mirroring the First Boom's focus on moments of triumph and despair.
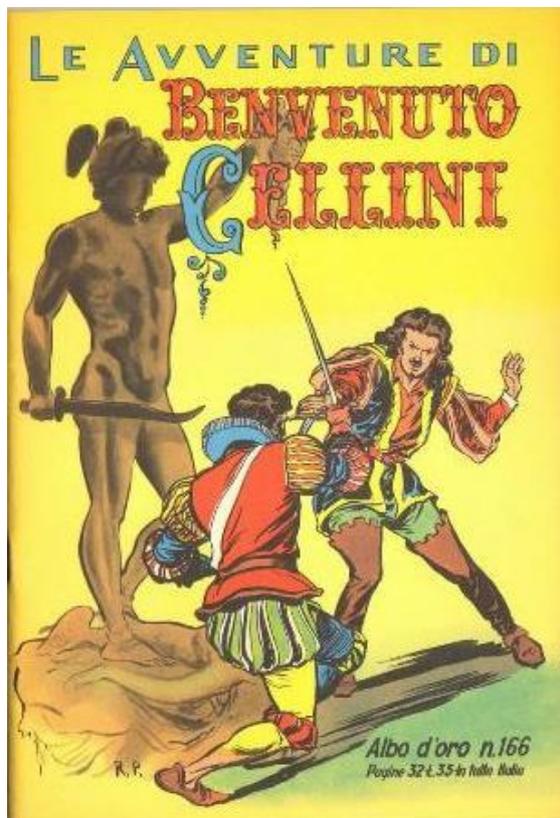
Fig. 4.2: "Le avventure di Benvenuto Cellini." Reprint. July 1949. *Albo d'ore* No.166 (August 1974), cover, foregrounding martial and adventurous aspects of Cellini's life while also showing his best-known sculpture *Perseus with the Head of Medusa*, mirroring the opening panels and narratives from the First Boom.
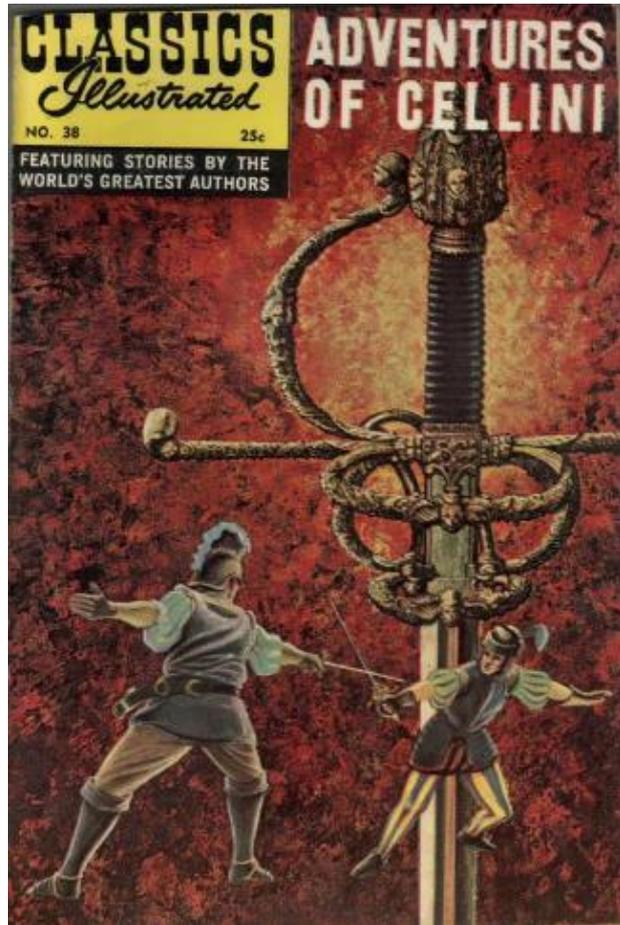
Fig. 4.3: "Adventures of Cellini." *Classics Illustrated* No.38 (October 1961), cover, foregrounding martial and adventurous aspects of Cellini's life, mirroring the opening panels and narratives from the First Boom.
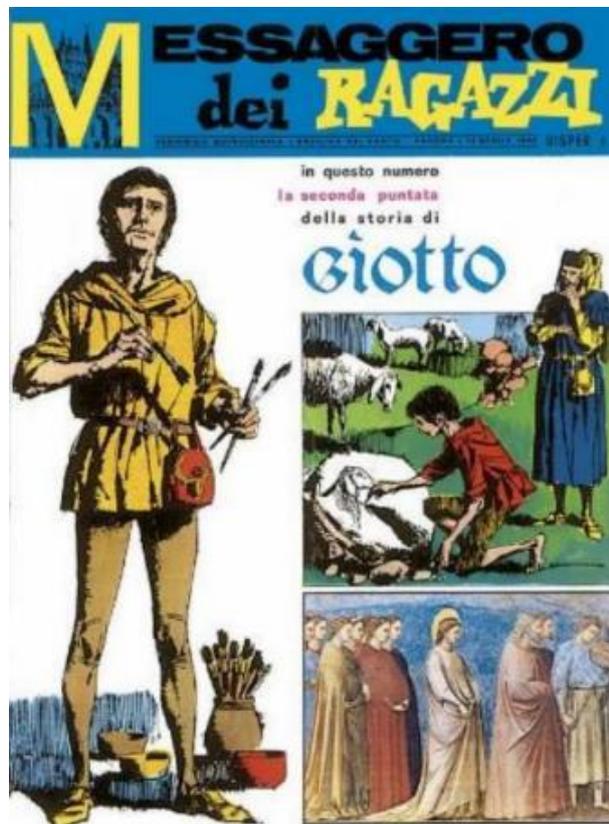
Fig. 4.4: *Messaggero dei Ragazzi* No.8 (April 1966), cover, showing the discovery of the artist by Verrocchio, an anecdote already used by Vasari, and the genre-specific trope of Artistic Destiny.
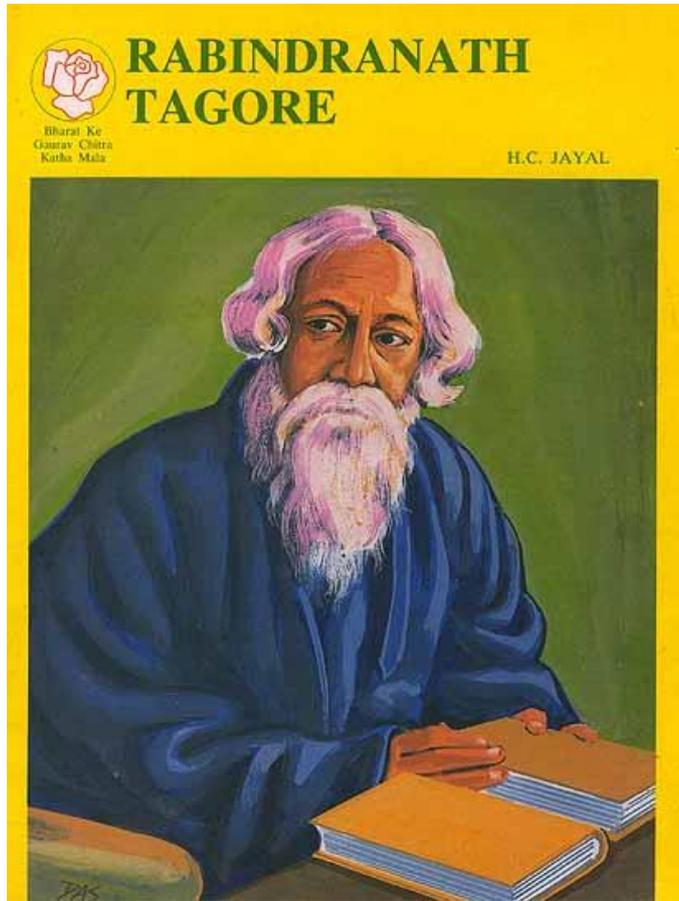
Fig. 4.5: H. C. Jayal, *Rabindranath Tagore* (1986), cover, emphasising the artist's poetic work.
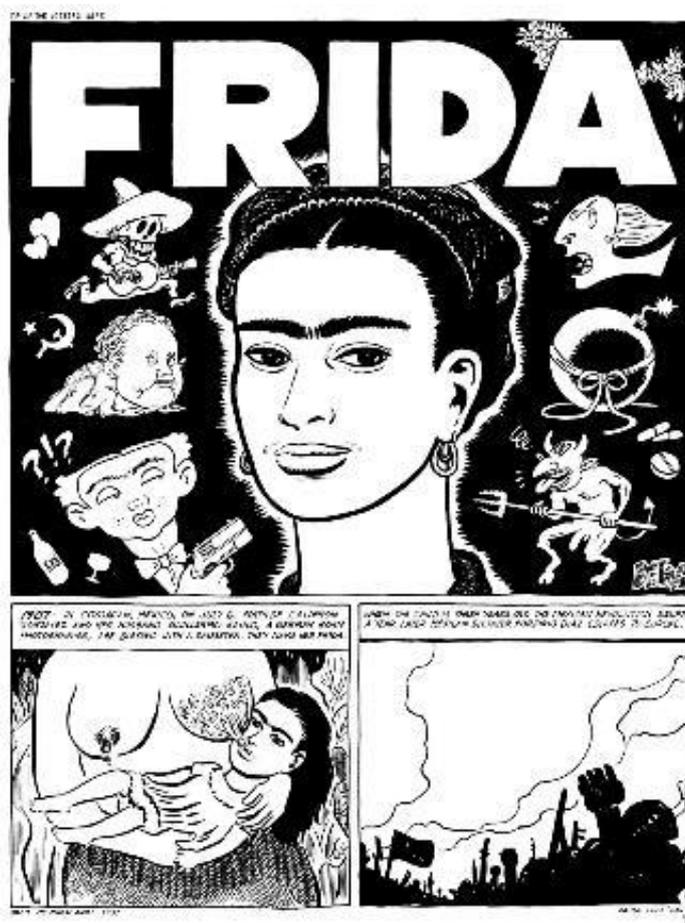
Fig. 4.6: Beto, "Frida." *Love and Rockets* No.28 (December 1988), p.13, featuring a narrative no longer aimed at adolescents but mature readers.
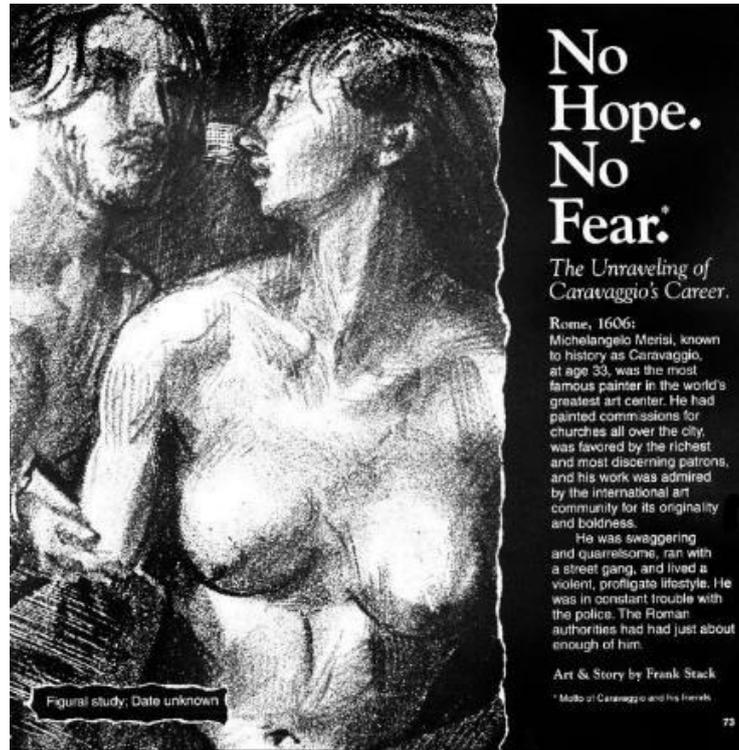
Fig. 4.7: Frank Stack. "No Hope. No Fear. The Unraveling of Caravaggio's Career." *Blab!* No.8 (Summer 1995), p.73, featuring a narrative no longer aimed at adolescents but mature readers.
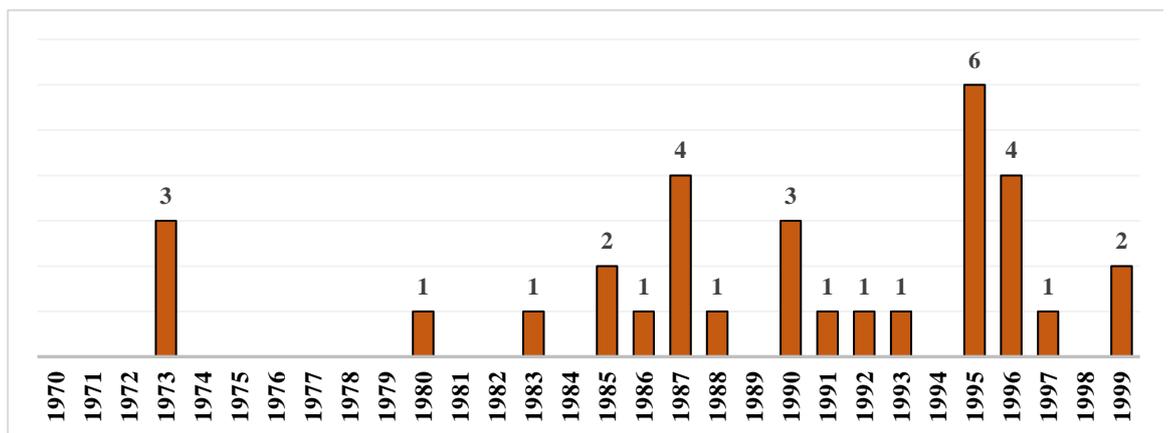
Fig. 4.8a: Annual numbers of graphic novel publications about canonical visual artists (1970-1999) (n=32), visualising the situation during the runup to the Second Boom (2000-2019) © Tobias J. Yu-Kiener.
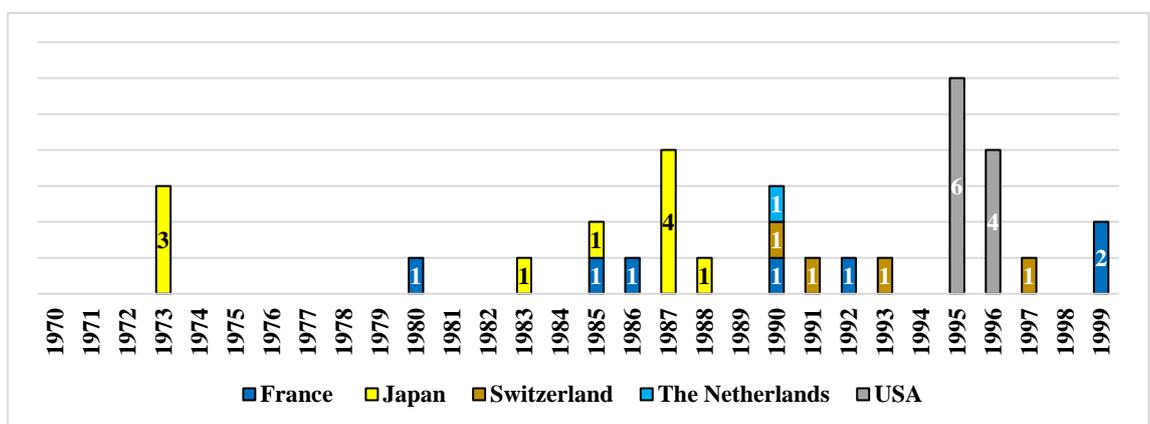
Fig. 4.8b: Annual numbers of graphic novel publications about canonical visual artists (1970-1999) divided by countries (n=32), indicating when and to what extent those regions were involved in publishing respective graphic narratives © Tobias J. Yu-Kiener.
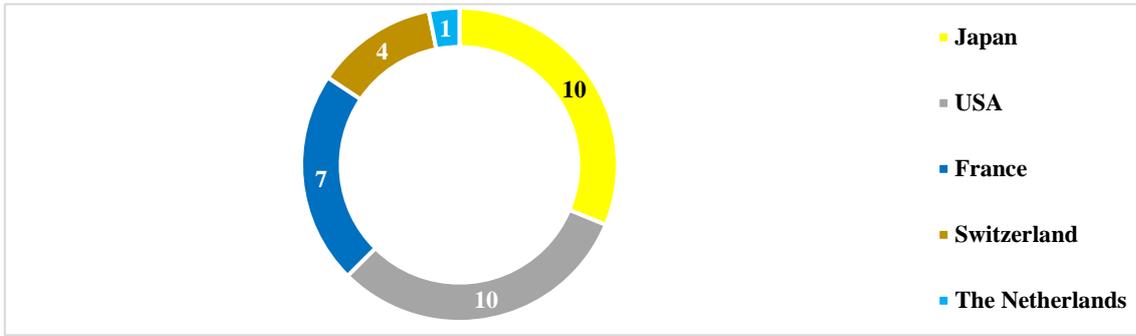
Fig. 4.8c: Numbers of graphic novel publications about canonical visual artists (1970-1999) divided by countries (n=32), indicating their share of comics publications © Tobias J. Yu-Kiener
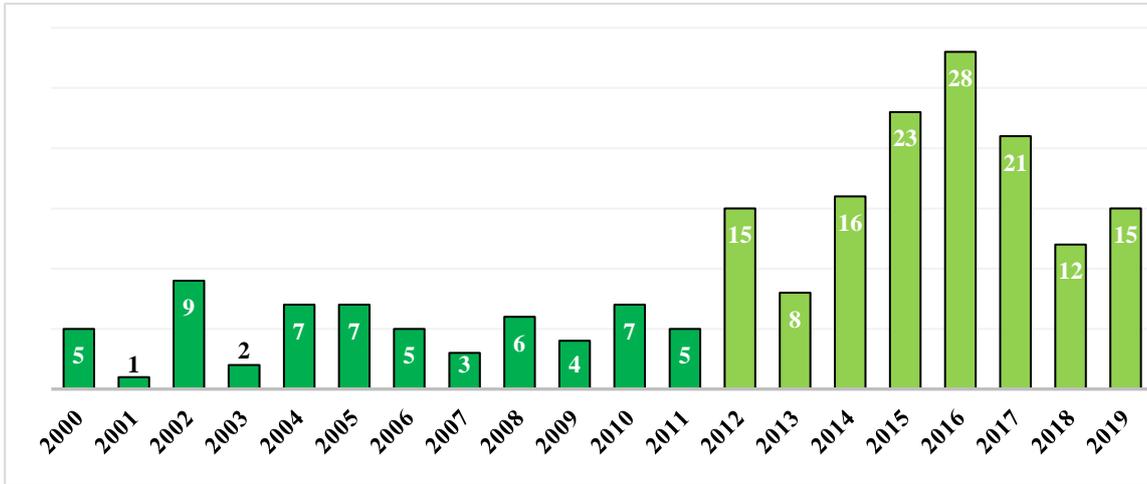
Fig. 4.9a: Annual numbers of graphic novel publications about canonical visual artists during the Second Boom (2000-2019) (n=199), visualising the situation during Phase I (2000-2011) and Phase II (2012-2019) © Tobias J. Yu-Kiener.
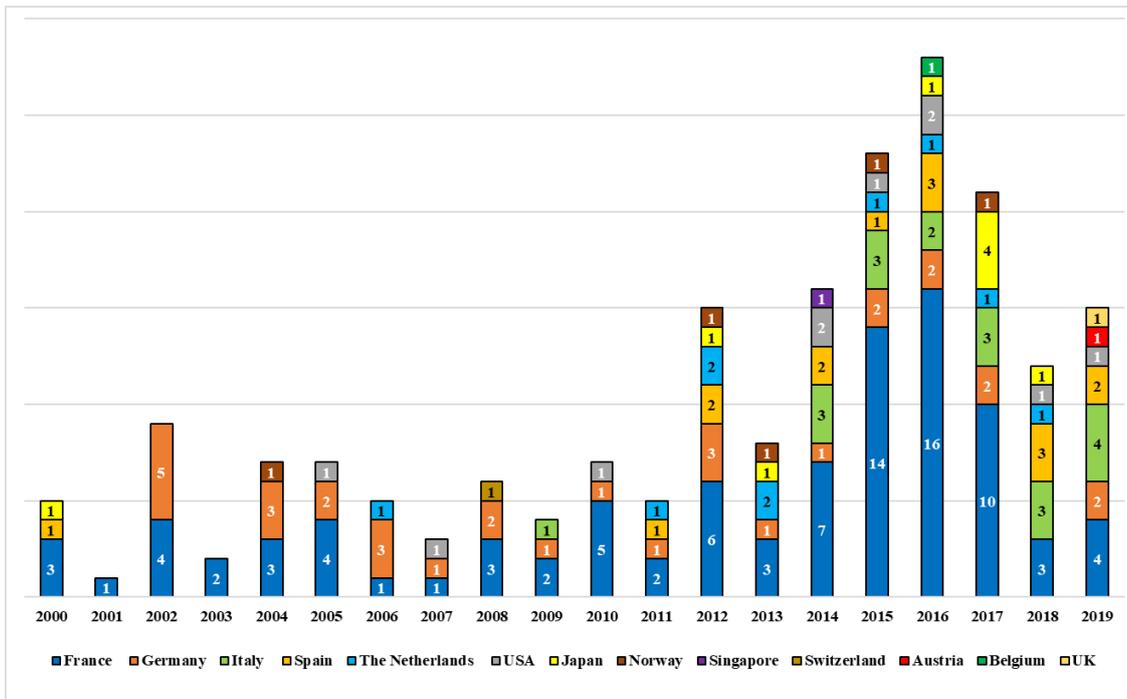
Fig. 4.9b: Annual numbers of graphic novel publications about canonical visual artists during the Second Boom (2000-2019) divided by countries (n=199), indicating when and to what extent those regions were involved in publishing respective graphic narratives © Tobias J. Yu-Kiener.
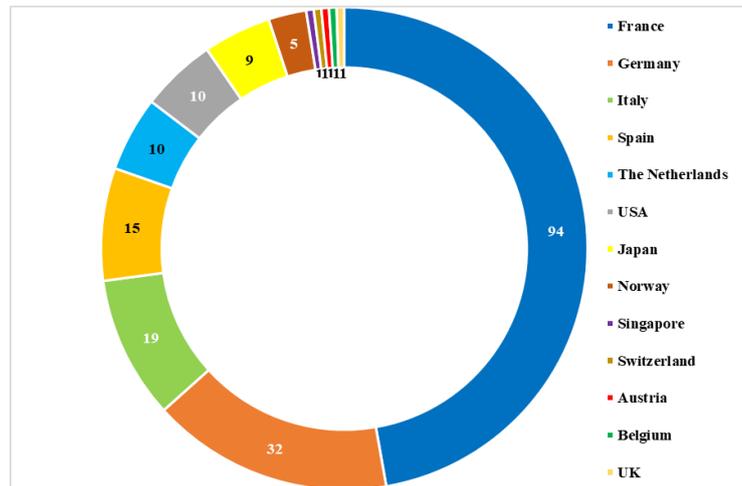
Fig. 4.9c: Numbers of graphic novel publications about canonical visual artists during the Second Boom (2000-2019) divided by countries (n=199), indicating their share of comics publications © Tobias J. Yu-Kiener.
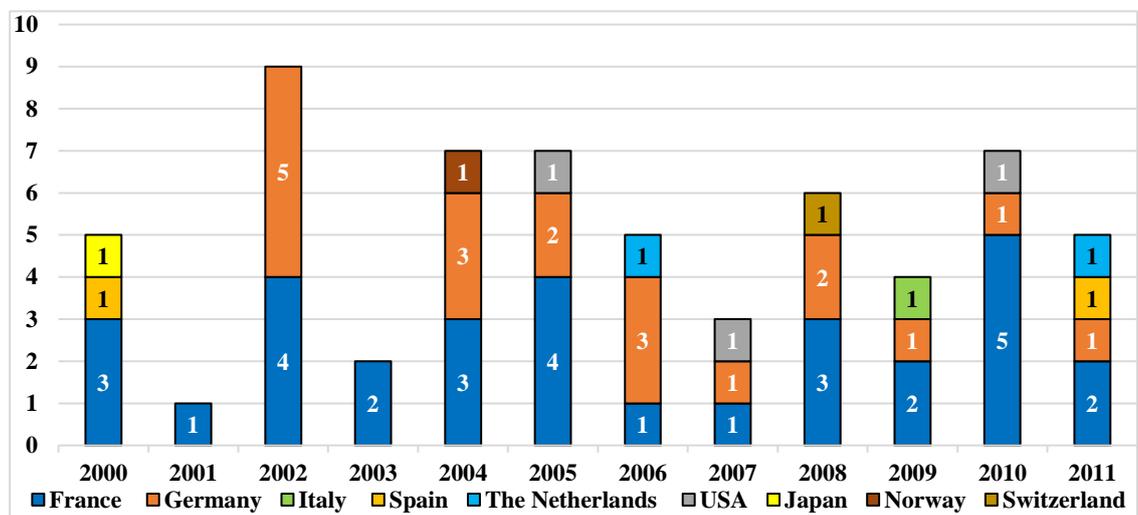
Fig. 4.10: Annual numbers of graphic novel publications about canonical visual artists during Phase I (2000-2011) of the Second Boom divided by countries (n=61), indicating when and to what extent those regions were involved in publishing respective graphic narratives © Tobias J. Yu-Kiener.

Country	number of publications	percentage of the Second Boom Phase I
France	31	50.8%
Germany	19	31.2%
USA	3	4.9%
Spain	2	3.3%
The Netherlands	2	3.3%
Italy	1	1.6%
Japan	1	1.6%
Norway	1	1.6%
Switzerland	1	1.6%

Fig. 4.11: Ranking of countries publishing graphic novels about canonical visual artists during Phase I (2000-2011) of the Second Boom (100% = 61), indicating their share of comics publications, with figures rounded to the nearest tenth © Tobias J. Yu-Kiener

Language	Translation rate	Number of translations into the respective language
Spanish	18.6%	11
English	15.5%	9
Italian	11.6%	7
French	10%	3
German	7.1%	3
Chinese	3.3%	2
Czech	1.6%	1
Dutch	1.6%	1
Finnish	1.6%	1
Portuguese	1.6%	1
Slovenian	1.6%	1
Swedish	1.6%	1

Fig. 4.12: Translation Ranking of Phase I (2000-2011) of the Second Boom by languages, with figures rounded to the nearest tenth.

The translation practices of graphic novels have been examined to show and judge the attractiveness of specific languages over others and the level of internationalisation for the various booms. Moreover, publishing and translation trends can be determined by comparing the results for several languages.

The translation rate (R) indicates how popular (with a high translation rate) or niche (with a low translation rate) specific languages and comic book markets are considered by stakeholders. When considering the translations rate for several different languages, they suggest whether the publications aim for domestic (overall low translation rates) or international (overall high translation rates) audiences.

The translation rate (R) is calculated for each language individually but follows the same formula.

For example, there might have been 100 publications (P), of which 75 (X) are published in French, but only 50 (Y) are original French editions.

P = 100 (number of publications)

X = 75 (number of publications in French)

Y = 50 (number of original French editions)

To determine the number of translations into French (Z), the number of original French editions (Y) is subtracted from the number of publications available in French (X). The result is 25 publications.

75 (X) – 50 (Y) = 25 (Z) (number of French translations)

To remove original French editions (Y) from the equation, as only translations are relevant, any original French editions (Y) are deducted from the total number of publications (P). The result is 50 publications.

100 (P) - 50 (Y) = 50 (number of non-French original editions)

Subsequently, the number of French translations (Z) is divided by the number of non-French original editions (P – Y).

25 (Z) / 50 (P - Y) = 50 % (R)

The resulting translation rate (R) shows the percentage of non-French original editions translated into French. i.e. 50% in the example. It indicates the attractiveness of the Franco-Belgian comic book market to stakeholders, such as publishers, and whether and how hard they were trying to push into it. Further, it allows putting the number of publications in French and the number of original French editions into perspective. © Tobias J. Yu-Kiener

Artist	number of publications	percentage of the Second Boom Phase I
Jules Pascin	7	11.5%
Vincent van Gogh	5	8.2%
Leonardo da Vinci	4	6.6%
Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec	4	6.6%
Winsor McCay	4	6.6%
Marc Chagall	3	4.9%
Frida Kahlo	2	3.3%
Rembrandt van Rijn	2	3.3%
Salvador Dali	2	3.3%

Fig. 4.13: Ranking of the most popular individuals portrayed in graphic novel publications about canonical visual artists during Phase I (2000-2011) of the Second Boom (100% = 61), indicating the greater appeal of certain artists over others, with figures rounded to the nearest tenth © Tobias J. Yu-Kiener

Medium	number of publications	percentage of the Second Boom Phase I
painting	42	68.9%
painting, prints	7	11.5%
drawing	4	6.6%
painting, drawing, sculpture	4	6.6%
painting, sculpture	1	1.6%
painting, sculpture, drawing	1	1.6%
architecture	1	1.6%
painting, drawing	1	1.6%

Fig. 4.14: Ranking of individuals' media usage in graphic novel publications about canonical visual artists during Phase I (2000-2011) of the Second Boom (100% = 61), indicating the greater appeal of certain media over others, with figures rounded to the nearest tenth © Tobias J. Yu-Kiener
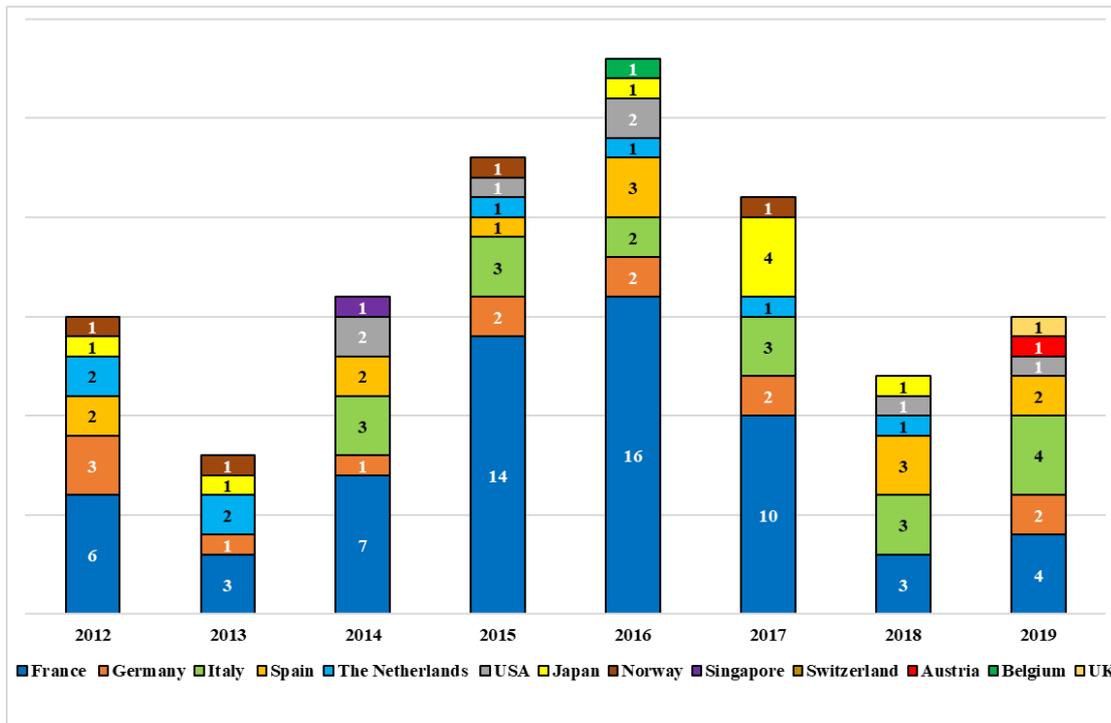
Fig. 4.15: Annual numbers of graphic novel publications about canonical visual artists during Phase II (2012-2019) of the Second Boom divided by countries (n=138), indicating when and to what extent those regions were involved in publishing respective graphic narratives © Tobias J. Yu-Kiener.

Country	number of publications	percentage of the Second Boom Phase II
France	63	45.7%
Italy	18	13.0%
Germany	13	9.4%
Spain	13	9.4%
The Netherlands	8	5.8%
Japan	8	5.8%
USA	7	5.1%
Norway	4	2.9%
Austria	1	0.7%
Belgium	1	0.7%
Singapore	1	0.7%
UK	1	0.7%

Fig. 4.16: Ranking of countries publishing graphic novels about canonical visual artists during Phase II (2012-2019) of the Second Boom (100% = 138), indicating their share of comics publications, with figures rounded to the nearest tenth © Tobias J. Yu-Kiener

Phase II

Language	Translation rate	Number of translations into the respective language
English	29.5%	38
Spanish	23.8%	30
French	24.0%	18
German	20.0%	25
Italian	10.0%	12
Dutch	9.5%	12
Polish	4.3%	6
Turkish	4.3%	6
Chinese	3.6%	5
Russia	2.9%	4
Serbian	2.2%	3
Japanese	1.5%	2
Catalan	1.4%	2
Danish	1.4%	2
Greek	1.4%	2
Korean	1.4%	2
Portuguese	1.4%	2
Albanian	0.7%	1
Arabic	0.7%	1
Croatian	0.7%	1
Czech	0.7%	1
Hungarian	0.7%	1

Fig. 4.17: Translation Ranking of Phase II (2012-2019) of the Second Boom by language, with figures rounded to the nearest tenth.

The translation practices of graphic novels have been examined to show and judge the attractiveness of specific languages over others and the level of internationalisation for the various booms. Moreover, publishing and translation trends can be determined by comparing the results for several languages.

The translation rate (R) indicates how popular (with a high translation rate) or niche (with a low translation rate) specific languages and comic book markets are considered by stakeholders. When considering the translations rate for several different languages, they suggest whether the publications aim for domestic (overall low translation rates) or international (overall high translation rates) audiences.

For an example of how the translation rate is calculated, please see Fig. 4.12. © Tobias J. Yu-Kiener

Artist	number of publications	percentage of the Second Boom Phase II
Pablo Picasso	8	5.8%
Francisco de Goya	5	3.6%
Frida Kahlo	5	3.6%
Salvador Dali	5	3.6%
Vincent van Gogh	5	3.6%
Artemisia Gentileschi	4	2.9%
Gustave Courbet	4	2.9%
Leonardo da Vinci	4	2.9%
Paul Gauguin	4	2.9%
Andy Warhol	3	2.2%
Caravaggio di Meresi	3	2.2%
Claude Monet	3	2.2%
Edward Munch	3	2.2%
Egon Schiele	3	2.2%
Gustav Klimt	3	2.2%
Katsushika Ōi (葛飾 応為)	3	2.2%
Henri Magritte	2	1.4%
Hieronymus Bosch	2	1.4%
Jean-Michel Basquiat	2	1.4%
Peter Paul Rubens	2	1.4%
Pierre-Auguste Renoir	2	1.4%
Piet Mondrian	2	1.4%
Rembrandt van Rijn	2	1.4%
Robert Capa	2	1.4%
Tamara de Lempicka	2	1.4%

Fig. 4.18: Ranking of the most popular individuals portrayed in graphic novel publications about canonical visual artists during Phase II (2012-2019) of the Second Boom, indicating the greater appeal of certain artists over others, with figures rounded to the nearest tenth (100% = 138) © Tobias J. Yu-Kiener

Medium	number of publications	percentage of the Second Boom Phase II
painting	90	65.2%
painting, prints	12	8.7%
painting, drawing	8	5.8%
drawing	6	4.3%
architecture	5	3.6%
sculpture	5	3.6%
painting, drawing, sculpture	4	2.9%
painting, sculpture	4	2.9%
painting, street art	2	1.4%
photography	1	0.7%
prints	1	0.7%

Fig. 4.19: Ranking of individuals' media usage in graphic novel publications about canonical visual artists during Phase II (2012-2019) of the Second Boom by artists' media usage (100% = 138), indicating the greater appeal of certain media over others, with figures rounded to the nearest tenth © Tobias J. Yu-Kiener

Country	number of publications	percentage of the Second Boom
France	94	47.2%
Germany	32	16.1%
Italy	19	9.5%
Spain	15	7.5%
The Netherlands	10	5.0%
USA	10	5.0%
Japan	9	4.5%
Norway	5	2.5%
Austria	1	0.5%
Belgium	1	0.5%
Singapore	1	0.5%
Switzerland	1	0.5%
UK	1	0.5%

Fig. 4.20: Ranking of countries publishing graphic novel publications about canonical visual artists during the Second Boom (2000-2019) (100% = 199), indicating their share of comics publications, with figures rounded to the nearest tenth © Tobias J. Yu-Kiener

Artist	number of publications	percentage of the Second Boom
Vincent van Gogh	10	5.0%
Pablo Picasso	9	4.5%
Leonardo da Vinci	8	4.0%
Frida Kahlo	7	3.5%
Jules Pascin,	7	3.5%
Salvador Dali	7	3.5%
Francisco de Goya	5	2.5%
Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec	5	2.5%
Paul Gauguin	5	2.5%
Winsor McCay	5	2.5%
Andy Warhol	4	2.0%
Artemisia Gentileschi	4	2.0%
Egon Schiele	4	2.0%
Gustave Courbet	4	2.0%
Rembrandt van Rijn	4	2.0%
Caravaggio di Meresi	3	1.5%
Claude Monet	3	1.5%
Edward Munch	3	1.5%
Gustav Klimt	3	1.5%
Hieronymus Bosch	3	1.5%
Katsushika Ōi (葛飾 応為)	3	1.5%
Marc Chagall	3	1.5%

Fig. 4.21: Ranking of the most popular individuals portrayed in graphic novel publications about canonical visual artists during the Second Boom (2000-2019) (100% = 199), indicating the greater appeal of certain artists over others, with figures rounded to the nearest tenth© Tobias J. Yu-Kiener
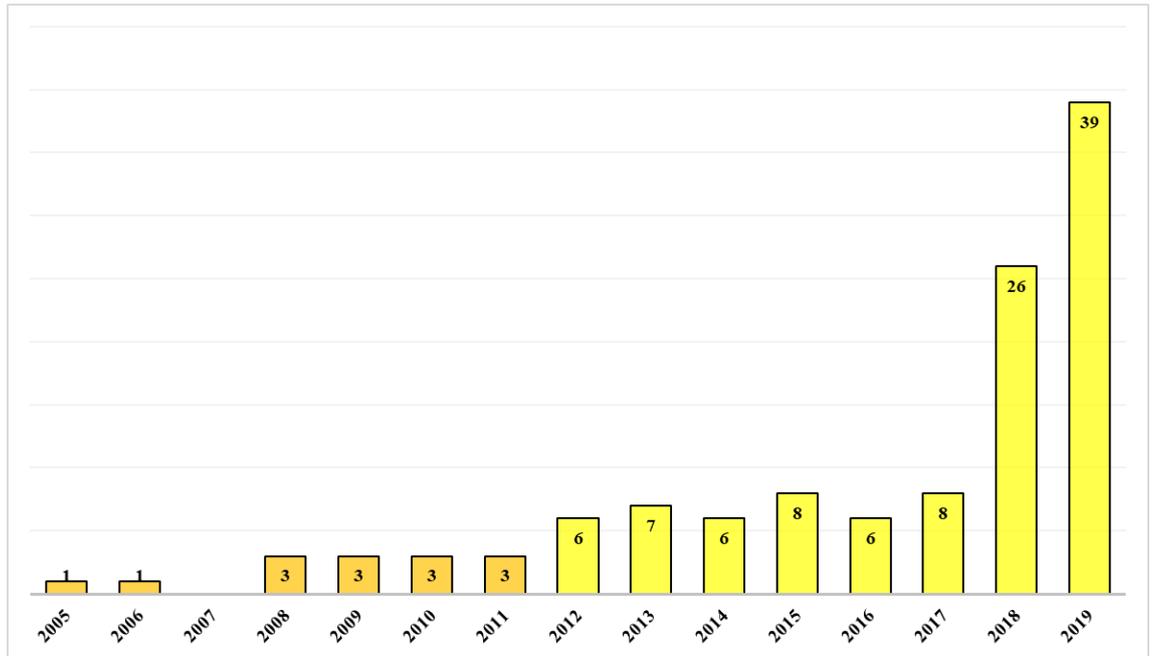
Fig. 4.22a: Annual numbers of graphic novel publications about canonical visual artists during the Museum Boom (2005-2019) (n=120), visualising the situation during **Stage I (2005-2011)** and **Stage II (2012-2019)** © Tobias J. Yu-Kiener.
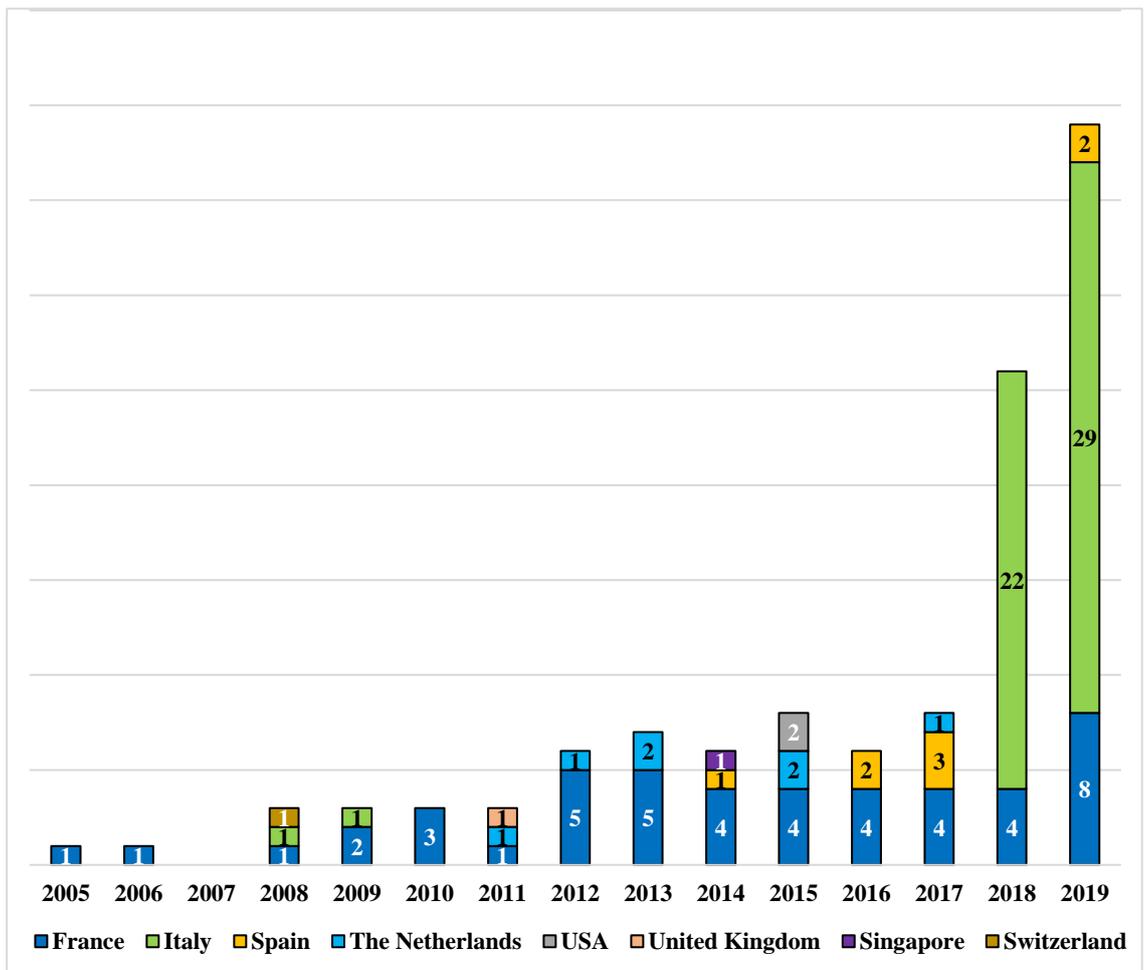
Fig. 4.22b: Annual numbers of graphic novel publications about canonical visual artists during the Museum Boom (2005-2019) divided by countries (n=120), indicating when and to what extent those regions were involved in publishing respective graphic narratives © Tobias J. Yu-Kiener.
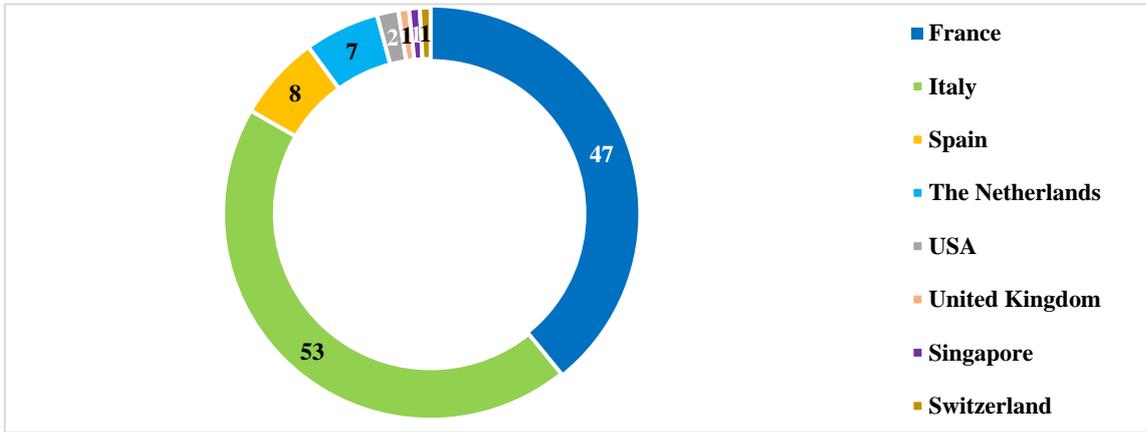
Fig. 4.22c: Numbers of graphic novel publications about canonical visual artists during the Museum Boom (2005-2019) divided by countries (n=120), indicating their share in the comics production © Tobias J. Yu-Kiener.
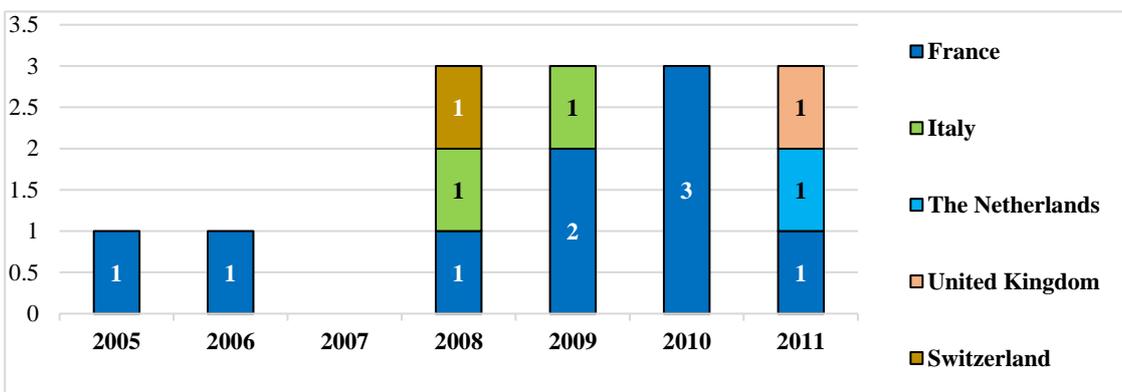
Fig. 4.23a: Annual numbers of graphic novel publications about canonical visual artists during Stage I (2005-2011) of the Museum Boom divided by countries, indicating when and to what extent those regions were involved in publishing respective graphic narratives © Tobias J. Yu-Kiener

Country	number of publications	percentage of the Museum Boom Stage I
France	9	64.3%
Italy	2	14.3%
Switzerland	1	7.1%
The Netherlands	1	7.1%
United Kingdom	1	7.1%

Fig. 4.23b: Ranking of countries publishing graphic novels about canonical visual artists during Stage I (2005-2011) of the Museum Boom (100% = 14), indicating their share of comics publications, with figures rounded to the nearest tenth © Tobias J. Yu-Kiener

Museum	number of publications	percentage of the Museum Boom Stage I
Musée du Louvre	6	42.9%
British Museum	1	7.1%
Musée Bourdelle	1	7.1%
Musée de Cluny - Musée du Moyen-Age	1	7.1%
Museo di Capodimonte (Napoli)	1	7.1%
Matisse Museum (Nice)	1	7.1%
Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia & Museo Cerveteri, Museo di Tarquinia	1	7.1%
Van Gogh Museum	1	7.1%
Zentrum Paul Klee	1	7.1%

Fig. 4.24: Ranking of museums co-commissioning graphic novel publications about canonical visual artists during Stage I (2005-2011) of the Museum Boom (100% = 14), indicating their share of comics publications, with figures rounded to the nearest tenth © Tobias J. Yu-Kiener
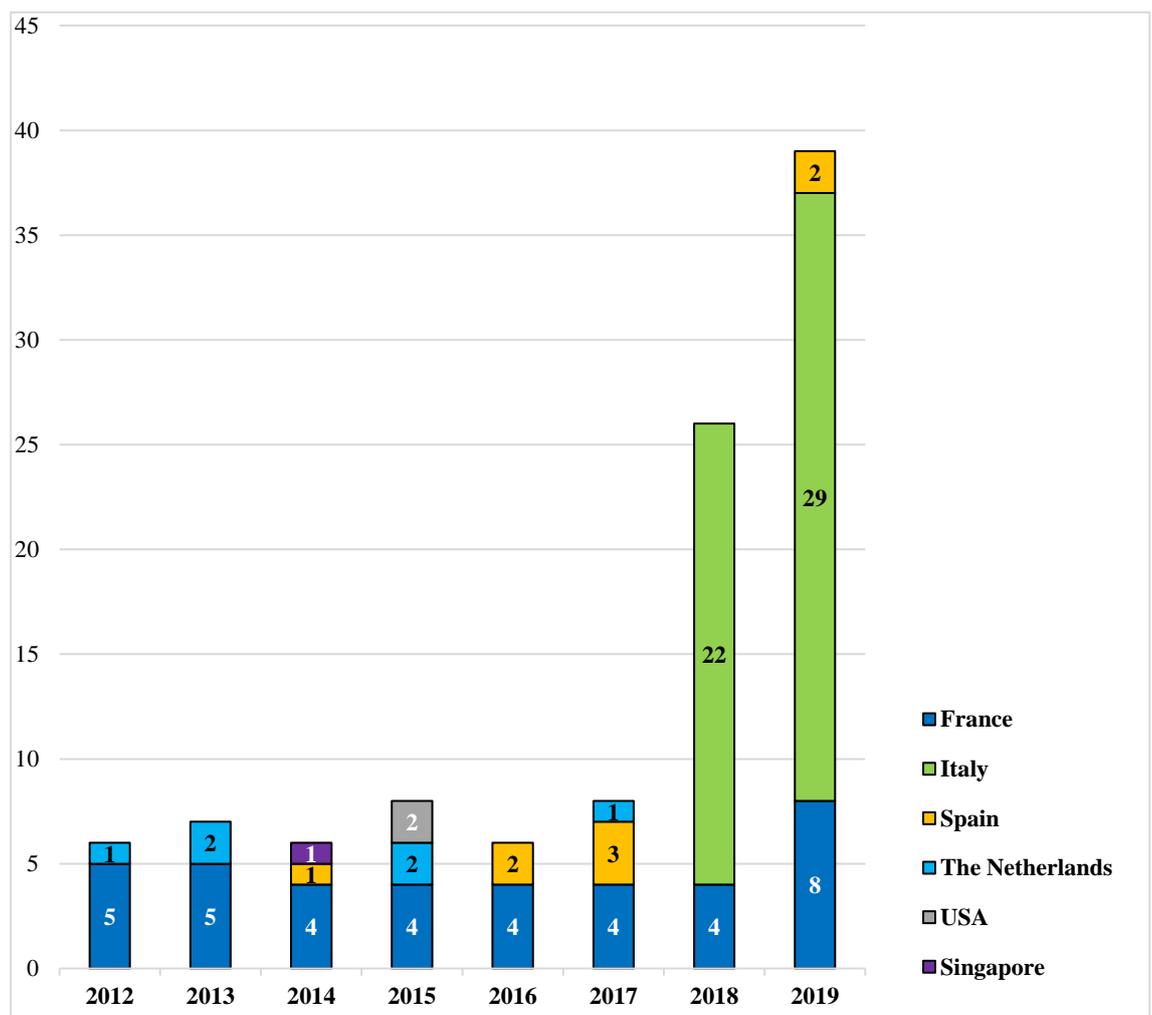

Fig. 4.25a: Annual numbers of graphic novel publications about canonical visual artists during Stage II (2012-2019) of the Museum Boom divided by countries (100% = 106), indicating when and to what extent those regions were involved in publishing respective graphic narratives © Tobias J. Yu-Kiener

Country	number of publications	percentage of the Museum Boom Stage II
Italy	51	48.1%
France	38	35.8%
Spain	8	7.5%
The Netherlands	6	5.7%
USA	2	1.9%
Singapore	1	0.9%

Fig. 4.25b: Ranking of countries publishing graphic novels about canonical visual artists during Stage II (2012-2019) of the Museum Boom (100% = 106), indicating their share of comics publications, with figures rounded to the nearest tenth © Tobias J. Yu-Kiener

Museum	number of publications	percentage of the Museum Boom Stage II
Musée du Louvre	15	14.2%
Musée d'Orsay	7	6.6%
Centre Pompidou	5	4.7%
El Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza	4	3.8%
Museo Nacional del Prado	4	3.8%
Musée des Arts et Métiers	3	2.8%
Château de Versailles	2	1.9%

Fig. 4.26: Ranking of museums co-commissioning multiple graphic novel publications during Stage II (2012-2019) of the Museum Boom (100%= 106), indicating their share of comics publications, with figures rounded to the nearest tenth © Tobias J. Yu-Kiener

Country	number of publications	percentage of the Museum Boom
Italy	53	44.2%
France	47	39.2%
Spain	8	6.7%
The Netherlands	7	5.8%
USA	2	1.7%
Singapore	1	0.8%
Switzerland	1	0.8%
United Kingdom	1	0.8%

Fig. 4.27: Ranking of countries publishing graphic novels about canonical visual artists during the Museum Boom (2005-2019) (100% = 120), indicating their share of comics publications, with figures rounded to the nearest tenth © Tobias J. Yu-Kiener

Museum	number of publications	percentage of the Museum Boom
Musée du Louvre	21	17.5%
Musée d'Orsay	7	5.8%
Centre Pompidou	5	4.2%
El Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza	4	3.3%
Museo Nacional del Prado	4	3.3%
Musée des Arts et Métiers	3	2.5%
Van Gogh Museum	2	1.7%

Fig. 4.28: Ranking of museums co-commissioning multiple graphic novel publications during the Museum Boom (2005-2019) (100%= 120), indicating their share of comics publications, with figures rounded to the nearest tenth © Tobias J. Yu-Kiener

Museum Boom

Language	Translation rate	Number of translations into the respective language
English	30.8%	20
French	18.2%	4
Italian	11.9%	8
Spanish	11.5%	7
German	8.9%	6
Chinese	5.8%	4
Japanese	4.3%	3
Danish	2.9%	2
Greek	2.9%	2
Korean	2.9%	2
Turkish	2.9%	2
Dutch	1.6%	1
Albanian	1.4%	1
Arabic	1.4%	1
Catalan	1.4%	1
Croatian	1.4%	1
Czech	1.4%	1
Hungarian	1.4%	1
Polish	1.4%	1
Portuguese	1.4%	1
Russian	1.4%	1

Fig. 4.29: Translation ranking of The Museum Boom (2005-2019) by languages, excluding *Fumetti nei Musei* series (2018-2019), with figures rounded to the nearest tenth.

The translation practices of graphic novels have been examined to show and judge the attractiveness of specific languages over others and the level of internationalisation for the various booms. Moreover, publishing and translation trends can be determined by comparing the results for several languages.

The translation rate (R) indicates how popular (with a high translation rate) or niche (with a low translation rate) specific languages and comic book markets are considered by stakeholders. When considering the translations rate for several different languages, they suggest whether the publications aim for domestic (overall low translation rates) or international (overall high translation rates) audiences.

For an example of how the translation rate is calculated, please see Fig. 4.12. © Tobias J. Yu-Kiener

PART II

The Analysis of the Corpus: The Representation of The Artist's Life & Works in Graphic Novels

Chapter 5 – Museum Comics: Analysing the Corpus

The Second Boom, with almost 200 publications between 2000 and 2019, would be too extensive to analyse in detail over just one PhD. Also, its publishers are generally not art-historical institutions. Therefore, the Second Boom would constitute an unsuitable corpus.

To answer the research aims regarding art-historical institutions' context and agendas, the corpus of case studies can only include publications from the Museum Boom. Additionally, questions about art-historical traditions in biographical graphic novels naturally demanded the choice to contain biographies exclusively, thereby excluding works about a museum's collections. A final criterion for selecting the corpus was the availability in either English or German to allow for a close reading and subsequent in-depth analysis. The case studies are analysed in this chapter, while Chapter 6 investigates their related exhibitions—just one graphic novel was not displayed.

Despite arguing for more inclusive art-historical canon(s), as the existing biographical graphic narratives about visual artists almost exclusively feature canonical individuals in a traditional sense, this thesis inevitably analyses writings about canonical artists using Western art-historical tools, such as established periodisations and academic standards regarding referencing. It thus might unintentionally repeat established tropes or contribute to the canonisation of individuals. However, this is no conscious choice but a result of the research material available to the researcher.

5.1. The Research Corpus

The final corpus provides answers to the research aims and depicts the general characteristics of the biographical part of the Museum Boom. It consists of six biographical graphic novels about European canonical male painters co-commissioned, co-edited, co-funded and co-published by different art museums in Europe between 2008 and 2013 (Fig. 1.1).

Klee (2008) was created by Christophe Badoux for the Zentrum Paul Klee, Bern, Switzerland. It was the very first graphic novel biography of a canonical painter co-commissioned by an art museum.

Le Ciel au-dessus du Louvre (2009) was drawn by Bernar Yslaire and written together with Jean-Claude Carrière for the Musée du Louvre, Paris, France. It is part of the first and longest-running graphic novel series by an art museum, the *Éditions Louvre* series.

Dali (2012) was created by Edmond Baudoin for the Centre Pompidou, Paris, France. It inaugurated the institution's series, exclusively containing biographical graphic novels.

Vincent (2012) was created by Barbara Stok for the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam, Netherlands. It constituted the very first Dutch graphic novel about a canonical painter. It is by far the most successful graphic novel of the entire Museum Boom (and the Second Boom), released in at least eighteen languages, made possible by the Dutch Comics Network discussed in Chapter 7.

Rembrandt (2013)—with some exceptions discussed below—was created by Typex (Raymond Koot) for the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, Netherlands. Thanks to support from the Dutch Comics Network, the monumental narrative has been released in at least ten languages.

Jan van Scorel. Sede Vacante 1523 (2013) was drawn by Paul Teng and written by Jan Paul Schutten for the Centraal Museum Utrecht, Utrecht, Netherlands. It received advice from the Dutch Comics Network.

Therefore, the corpus is a balanced mix and capable of answering the research aims while also demonstrating and discussing the main aspects of the Museum Boom. It consists of publications taken from series and one-shots, commissioned by national and municipal museums, and art institutions focusing on a single individual. The inclusion of the respective portrayed artists' styles in the graphic novels and the blending with the comic artists' one allows a detailed analysis of the role of original artworks and the translation into and interpretation in the comics medium. Some books focus on a critical period in an artist's biography, while others depict a whole lifespan. Some titles have an apparent (or declared) educational aim and include appendices, while others focus more on an artist's emotional portrait. The different formats and approaches reveal the advantages and disadvantages of each method.

The artists portrayed in the corpus, taken from Western, European as well as national and local canons, showcase the dominance and importance of such canons of art history in the Museum Boom. In choosing canonical individuals and their art as subjects of graphic novels, the publications reproduce, reconfirm, and strengthen the canons and the subjects' position, creating a canonical feedback loop.

Although not used for the analysis, it is nevertheless necessary to point out that Pierre Bourdieu theorised about the networks active in the construction of objects and individuals in the literary and artistic fields.[334] According to his theories, social agents, holding differing amounts of cultural as well as social capital, occupy and manipulate the social positions of artworks and artists in an everchanging struggle, what Bourdieu calls 'artistic position

---

[334] See Bourdieu 1993; 1983.

taking.'[335] Everyone involved in the inception, creation, distribution, consumption, and perception of cultural products, such as biographical graphic novels, including creators, editors, publishers, audiences, and critics, can become such a social agent. Art museums, as institutions holding significant cultural and social power, thus probably one of the most powerful and influential social agents in such a network, contribute considerably to the canonisation of artworks and their creators through acquisitions, exhibitions, collections, and, not least, book releases. Therefore, such art institutions play a crucial role in the creation of canonical feedback loops. This research shows that since 2005 several major (mainly) European art museums, supported by a network of stakeholders, have used their cultural power to enshrine various established canons of art history in yet another medium, in co-commissioning, co-funding, co-editing, and co-publishing respective graphic novels.

The corpus is analysed, following the same patterns and criteria for each case study. A brief introductory part gives the basic facts, names the utilised sources, including many interviews and questionnaires conducted for this research, and ends with the plot's synopsis. The anecdotes in the narrative and any similarities to art-historical traditions of the artist's biography and monograph are examined, such as using the life-and-work model and presenting (parts of) an artist's oeuvre. Furthermore, parallels to artist's biography comics and the First Boom, such as genre-specific tropes, are highlighted. Where applicable, resemblances with the modern painter's novel are pointed out.

The analysis then traces the whole project from its inception, looking at the timeline and the various levels of engagement of the different stakeholders throughout the creation process, and at aspects of comics work. In particular, the roles of the respective museums and publishers is of interest, such as in facilitating and aiding creators' preparatory research, in their role as editors and the hence part of the wider authorship shaping the content, and as subsequent promoters and seller of their product. Also, the research is determined to identify as many comics workers as possible, whose contributions are often overlooked, such as colourists and designers.

Furthermore, the thesis looks at the narratological, research, and artistic approaches and formal devices used by the respective creator(s). One focus is on whether they inspected original art *in situ* and subsequently followed the life-and-work model in their research, like authors of traditional art-historical monographs. The commissioners' demands, limiting the possible content, are also researched in this context. Moreover, the thesis examines if artists blended their personal style with the portrayed artist's one, and if their experience as artists

---

[335] Bourdieu 1983, p.312.

informed the narrative as it did for Renaissance-biographies, such as by Vasari and van Mander.

Naturally, the research analyses the inclusion and citation of, and response to original museum art, if and how an artist's oeuvre is shown and whether it is separated from or embedded in the narrative. Further, the study asks if and how the comics medium and its advantages for visual storytelling are exploited, including the word-image relationship, different artistic styles, page and panel layouts, and colouring to enhance the reading experience. A focus lies on the use of tools such as infographics, braiding and rhyming.

Afterwards follows a critique of the graphic novel, focussing on inconsistencies, mistakes, errors, and missed opportunities that affect the reading experience, on the distinguishability and citation of original museum art, and a clear fact-fiction division. As this research considers biographical graphic novels about canonical painters co-commissioned and co-published by art institutions adult museum publications, it applies the same respective criteria regarding quality, art-historical and historical accuracy, and correct and complete referencing in its discussion and analysis.

Finally, a brief consideration of the targeted as well as the likely audiences, and a determination of the different perceived levels of success and satisfaction among the various stakeholders, is included. While great effort is taken to ensure a balanced and unbiased description and discussion of each case study, the varying levels of available sources do not always allow for an equally in-depth analysis of all publications.

To investigate the corpus, the researcher has collected new primary sources. Only due to more than twenty semi-structured interviews and questionnaires, conducted with the respective artists, museums, domestic and foreign publishers, and funding bodies he has gained an inside view of the graphic novel projects. These interviews were complemented with institutional documentation in the public domain, such as annual and managerial reports, press releases, and guidelines, as well as by scrutinising social media and online appearances, providing additional information on how the various stakeholders perceived the graphic novels artistically, economically and strategically. These new materials draw a comprehensive picture of the graphic novel projects and their stakeholders, analysed below.

5.2. Switzerland: *Klee*

The Zentrum Paul Klee in Bern co-commissioned *Klee* for the use in a museum-pedagogical context, subsequently drawn and written by the well-known Swiss comic artist, illustrator, and graphic novel creator Christophe Badoux (1964-2016), aided by colourist Nora

Weyermann, it was published by Edition Moderne in spring 2008. As part of the Swiss comic festival *Fumetto 2008*, the book was launched at Sammlung Rosengart in Lucerne, Switzerland, where it also featured in a small exhibition. The sixty-seven pages of *Klee*, excluding three pages of endnotes, are structured into eleven unnumbered chapters of five to seven pages, mostly episodes taken from Paul Klee's life. However, the book also features stories without the artist himself appearing. The content reveals a noticeable educational interest, an approach that constitutes one part of the book's significance for this research, in addition to the fact that *Klee* was the very first biographical graphic novel about a canonical painter ever co-published by an art museum. As the only Swiss example, it stands alone in the corpus, allowing for analysis and comparison with French and Dutch approaches.

Gaining first-hand information from Badoux was not an option in the case of *Klee*.[336] Attempts to talk to someone involved in the project at the Zentrum Paul Klee were only temporarily successful.[337] The publishing director at Edition Moderne, David Basler, was willing to share some basic information about the project. The Museum Sammlung Rosengart, where Klee was launched and a corresponding short exhibition hosted, provided the most substantial help and support for the research in sharing large amounts of original material, including Badoux's sketches and drawings.[338] Additionally, archival materials, such as annual reports, newspaper articles and interviews, were used.

The narrative starts in Bern in 1898 when Klee is eighteen years old. The young artist moves to Munich. There, he meets his future wife, makes contact with the artists' group *Blauer Reiter* [Blue Rider], which he will later join, and is noticed by the gallerist Hans Goltz, who will organise Klee's first solo exhibition. Two important journeys help Klee to define himself artistically: during a two-week trip to the Musée du Louvre, he completes his art-historical studies, while a short visit to Tunisia allows Klee to make the step from a draughtsman to a painter. Klee is drafted for WWI but continues his artistic work. During the 1920s, Klee teaches at the *Bauhaus* in Weimar and Dessau, holding the position of *Meister* [Master]. In 1931, Klee moves again to teach at the Kunstakademie Düsseldorf [Düsseldorf Academy of Art]. The rise of the National Socialists to power results in Klee losing his job and his art being confiscated and displayed at the 1937 show '*Entartete Kunst*'

---

[336] Christophe Badoux died from a heart attack aged fifty-two in 2016, before *Klee* was chosen for this research and he could have been interviewed about the project.

[337] The shop manager at the Zentrum Paul Klee at the time of the commission and execution, Helen Moser, had left the company. While an initial contact was established, it was soon discontinued by Ms Moser.

[338] The researcher wishes to express his immense gratitude to Museum Sammlung Rosengart in sharing their documents, which became extremely important in understanding the artist Christophe Badoux and his work on *Klee* and enabled much of the research.

['Degenerate Art'].[339] Klee emigrates to Bern and continues to paint. *Klee* ends where it started, in Bern, in May 1939, a year before the artist's death.

Klee follows the traditional art-historical artist's monograph's approach in presenting part of the portrayed artist's oeuvre, within as well as parallel to the narrative, redrawn by Badoux. As the artworks are cited on the page or in the endnotes, readers can familiarise themselves with the compositions and subjects of Paul Klee's art. Furthermore, the artist's monograph's tradition is present in several anecdotes about the artist's life, tracing the creation of particular famous artworks and partly following a life-and-work model in trying to link the two. However, it does so in a strictly historical sense, as the book does not indicate an emotional link between the artist's life and art. On the one hand, with eleven self-contained episodes or chapters, the book is anecdotal and could be interpreted as a collection of short stories based on individual anecdotes—their lengths resembling artist's biography comics from the 1940s. On the other hand, the graphic novel also features specific anecdotes and tropes well-known from art-historical writings and the First Boom.

For example, in telling the reader that 'already as a pupil, he [Paul Klee] decides to become an artist,' being 'a talented violin player and draughtsman' and showing him executing drawings, paintings and sculptures, *Klee* features anecdotes-turned-tropes of artistic destiny and genius.[340] Also, Paul Klee is depicted as revolutionising drawing and painting on several occasions. He develops new artistic techniques, such as finding pre-existing figures in the lines on pebbles or a marble table (Fig. 5.1) and projecting his drawings on a glass plate onto a paper to distort them (Fig. 5.2). Generally, he moves towards a higher level of intuition and abstraction in his art. There are also aspects of a hermit-like life, in working in a darkened room on a sunny day (Fig. 5.3), reminiscent of stories of a hermit's retreat such as St. Jerome in his Study—frequently depicted in art history, most prominently by Albrecht Dürer (Fig. 5.4). The trope of obsession appears too, when Paul Klee paints excessively in his late years, even risking his health. In this context, in the last scene, taking place a year before Klee's death, Fritz Lotmar, the artist's friend and doctor, tells him, 'soon you will have painted everything that is there to paint,' receiving the reply 'do you really think so?' (Fig. 5.5).[341] This idea—a great artist's many artistic visions cannot be realised and expressed within his lifetime—already appeared during the First Boom in stories about Leonardo da Vinci, Augustus St Gaudens, and Winslow Homer.[342] Finally, the

---

[339] *'Entartete Kunst'* [Degenerated Art] *(19 July to 30 November 1937)* at the *Hofgarten* [Court Garden] in Munich.

[340] Badoux 2008, p.1; Unless otherwise stated, all translations are by the author.

[341] Ibid., p.66.

[342] [Uncredited] November 1942; March 1947; May 1946; Griffiths and [Uncredited] June 1946.

narrative frequently features aspects of competition among fellow artists, such as the various members of the *Blauer Reiter* group as well as the *Bauhaus*.

Details about how the *Klee* project started are not available. A pamphlet, produced for the launch of the graphic novel, seems to explain what the Zentrum Paul Klee had in mind when approaching Badoux:

> 'Because the children's and youth literature of museum pedagogy has been missing a narrative publication about the life and work of Paul Klee, the Zentrum Paul Klee commissioned the Zurich-based comic artist and illustrator Christophe Badoux to tell the life of Paul Klee in a comic.'[343]

The fact that Badoux previously illustrated schoolbooks and created *Fatmas Fantastische Reise* [Fatmas fantastic journey] (2006)—blending (medical) facts and educational content with an exciting (fictional) narrative, targeting the same age group as *Klee*—undoubtedly increased his chances of receiving the commission.[344] Possibly, Badoux was approached directly by the museum and the publisher without making a pitch, and he and the publisher came as a package, as discussed below. According to the concept, 'the graphic expressions should resemble the *Bauhaus* style,' which made Badoux's *ligne claire* [clear line] drawings particularly well-suited to support such a clean and sober form as well as the abovementioned educational approach of the graphic novel.[345] Finally, in his home country, Badoux was already a well-established and successful comic artist who had already published several graphic novels, and a well-known illustrator for Swiss newspapers and magazines, such as *Neue Züricher Zeitung*, *Die Weltwoche*, *Die Wochenzeitung*, *Velojournal*, *Bolero*, and *CASH*, and the Swiss comic magazine *Strapazin*.

Badoux had his studio at the headquarters of *Strapazin*. So does David Basler, one of the co-publishers of *Strapazin* as well as a founder and the publishing director of Edition Moderne, the publisher of *Klee*, which is based at the *Strapazin* office. Basler claims he was not involved in the commissioning of *Klee*, having no restrictions or demands and not providing any editing support but merely 'distribut[ing] the book.'[346] These accounts picture a publishing house strangely passive and uninvolved in its own business to the degree of indifference, satisfied with not having any agency in the decisions made during the creations

---

[343] Fumetto 2008.

[344] *Fatmas Fantastische Reise*, a collaboration with Prof. Dr. med. Nadia Khan, explaining the cerebral vascular disorder Moyamoya Agiopathy to young patients to be read before receiving brain surgery. *Moyamoya Center - International Competence Center for Treatment of Moyamoya Children* at the children's hospital in Zurich, led by Prof. Dr. med. Nadia Khan, does cite the comic as one of two 'books for explaining Moyamoya to your children.' URL: http://www.moyamoya.net/the-disease/moyamoya-childrens-books_176-en.html (Accessed 11/08/2020).

[345] Badoux 2007a, p.1.

[346] Basler 2017.

of its product. It is happily reduced to receiving a complete manuscript, unedited by anyone at the company, performing the mere mechanical tasks of printing, binding, and transporting the book to stores. Indeed, according to the publication itself, there was no editor from Edition Moderne.[347]

Such an arrangement would certainly be unusual, as publishers carry the most significant financial risk of all the stakeholders in a book project, as Pascal Lefèvre argues in the context of publishers' role in comics work.[348] Even when sharing the financial risks with the museum, the publisher would still be interested in guaranteeing success by ensuring quality content targeting their audiences. Further, Lefèvre explains that publishers usually have informal structures about which people do not want or cannot talk freely, including for editing, existing parallel to formal ones.[349] Considering this and that Basler and Badoux shared the office throughout the entire project, the researcher thinks it quite possible that a constant level of exchange between Badoux and Basler occurred about the shaping and progress of the project. Therefore, ongoing editing, possibly unregistered by Basler himself, could have taken place while there were no official meetings between publisher and artist.

Basler's account also suggests that Klee's publisher was chosen mainly for practical and personal reasons: Basler and Badoux had known each other for more than a decade, collaborating on *Strapazin* and graphic novel projects for twelve years. Also, publishers will try to commit talents to their own company, preventing them from working for others.[350] Consequently, it would be plausible that either Badoux brought along his own publisher or the publisher, when approached, suggested Badoux. Regardless, it should be considered possible they came as a package. The Zentrum Paul Klee probably appreciated the move, since Edition Moderne was well-connected on the comics market and could provide established domestic and international distribution networks, in contrast to the museum. This arrangement also facilitated the translation of the German original into French and Italian, covering three main languages of Switzerland.

Exactly when the Zentrum Paul Klee co-commissioned *Klee* remains unestablished, regardless, Helen Moser, shop manager at the time, initiated and supervised the project. The museum's annual report for 2007 mentions the start of the project, while the following year's report states the release and the accompanying exhibition.[351] A concept, dating from March 2007, is already rather detailed, sketching out the content and captions, revealing the results

---

[347] Badoux 2008, back endpapers.
[348] Lefèvre 2016, p.205.
[349] Ibid., p.211.
[350] Ibid. p. 210.
[351] Zentrum Paul Klee 2008, p.28; 2009, p.29.

of apparently meticulous (art) historical and biographical research by Badoux, referencing Klee's letters, diaries, and specific artworks.[352] It remains unclear whether this document constitutes the first draft. The second concept, from November 2007, keeps the previous structure but contains additions, such as an extra chapter.[353] The finished book's content differs again in various aspects. These findings prove that in early 2007 Badoux must have had a relatively complete draft, editing it over the year prior to the publication. Basler states the project took 'almost two years.'[354] Thus, the project's estimated start was between spring and summer 2006, with Badoux spending about a year researching Paul Klee and his life and creating a complete concept. At that point, he seems to have received the official commission—and very possibly the money—as mentioned in the museum's report.

On 13 April 2008, *Klee* was launched at the Sammlung Rosengart (now Museum Sammlung Rosengart) in Lucerne.[355] The event also marked the private view of a themed exhibition, as part of the seventeenth annual *Fumetto – Internationales Comix-Festival Luzern (12 April – 20 April 2008)*, one of the largest and best known Swiss comic festivals.[356] Curiously, while the Zentrum Paul Klee describes the launch and exhibition as 'one of the highlights of the year,' its archive did not record a respective press release.[357] Indeed, no explicit publicising efforts for *Klee* has been confirmed for Sammlung Rosengart, Edition Moderne or *Fumetto 2008*, possibly due to their lack of online appearances at the time.[358]

Badoux read through and subsequently built his narrative on Paul Klee's letters, diaries, theoretical writings, and lectures. Thus, there is no indication Badoux informed the narrative with his own experience as an artist. For each episode of *Klee,* there are corresponding references in the endnotes giving the exact source, once more stressing the publication's educational mission.[359] Badoux aimed to follow a biographical and cultural-historical approach, providing an opportunity to engage with Paul Klee and his work at a deeper level, explicitly targeting a juvenile audience.[360] The extensive research and meticulous citation effort, and the fact that all three editors are also employees of the Zentrum Paul Klee, suggests Badoux received significant support from the museum during

---

[352] Badoux 2007a.

[353] Badoux 2007b.

[354] Basler 2017.

[355] The gallery is known for its substantial collection of 125 works by Paul Klee.

[356] For this exhibition, see Chapter 6.

[357] Zentrum Paul Klee 2009, p.29.

[358] The Zentrum Paul Klee started its online social media appearance only in late 2011, as did *Fumetto*. Edition Moderne has a Facebook account since late 2010, and the Sammlung Rosengart has started online and social media activities in the late 2010s.

[359] Badoux 2008, back endpapers.

[360] Badoux 2007b, p.3.

the process of creation. Helen Moser, also credited with 'idea' and 'coordination', Michael Baumgartner and Osamu Okuda are named as editors.[361]Through these staff members, the museum became an active part of the wider authorship, shaping the project as it went along.

While the book is not clear about the exact roles, Moser (Shop Manager) seems to have overseen the project, including the financial aspects, Baumgartner (Director Collection and Art) and Okuda (Research Staff), authors of several publications on Paul Klee and his work, were likely providing research support in terms of literature and visuals. Also, they possibly gave Badoux access to the museum's collection, allowing the creator to inspect artworks *in situ*—part of a traditional artist's monograph's author's preparatory research. Furthermore, the book thanks Angela Rosengart and Martina Kral from the Sammlung Rosengart, Lynn Kost from *Fumetto*, Ateliers Strapazin, and Basler.[362] Thus, while no explicit publicising efforts can be confirmed, the book suggests that there might have been more involvement from these people and organisations, either during the research or editing process or indeed the marketing of *Klee*. One of the few clearly identifiable individuals in the context of often overlooked comics workers is the colourist Nora Weyermann, yet no further details about her contribution could be established.[363]

The book's educational approach becomes immediately evident. The opening page contains a caption, stating the date and place of birth of Paul Klee, his primary and secondary schools, the names, origins, and occupations of his parents, Klee's citizenship and finally, his talent as a violin player and draughtsman. Such captions, representing the main narrator's voice and providing a large amount of extra information, constitute an essential element of Badoux's narrative style. Throughout the book, they continue to appear, effectively forming a parallel narrative, which was Badoux's explicit intention.[364] There are several types of such captions: temporal and geographical indicators, openings as well as the conclusions of episodes (Fig. 5.6-5.7), elaborations of scenes, and basic profiles of people at their first appearance (Fig. 5.8).[365] In some cases, Klee's fellow artists take over the main narrator's role, talking to the reader directly and about future events. On other occasions, thoughts and quotes from Klee's diaries and letters replace the main narrator (Fig. 5.7). The yellow-coloured captions of the various narrators contrast with the white speech bubbles.

---

[361] Badoux 2008, back endpapers.

[362] Ibid.

[363] Ibid.

[364] Badoux 2007b, p.4.

[365] A person's profile always states the *name*, *year of birth - year of death*, and *occupation* if the main text does not mention it.

Badoux's characteristic *ligne claire* style had earned him the name *Hergé der Schweiz* [Hergé of Switzerland].[366] Indeed, he considered Hergé one of his artistic role models**,** alongside other famous comics creators in the same tradition, such as René Goscinny.[367] Scott McCloud, as well as Jan Baetens and Steven Surdiacourt, argue for the benefits of easy identification with and of characters due to such clean drawings with reduced details.[368] Baetens and Surdiacourt think of it as 'efficient storytelling [device]' capable of attracting a global audience of different ages through dynamic images.[369] In *Klee*'s cas*e*, Badoux's *ligne claire* corresponds and blends perfectly with Paul Klee's art and the importance of the line in it, which is a crucial idea frequently referred to, such as when the artist takes water-polished pebbles from riverbeds or draws on a marble table (Fig. 5.1). Klee describes their random pattern of tangled lines as a 'maze [that] contains so many figures,' matching his later conviction: 'Art does not depict the visible, art makes visible.'[370] The book's endpapers show those marbled patterns of tangled lines, reinforcing its significance for Klee and Badoux, for whom the line was essential and at the base of their art. Interestingly, Badoux used these endpapers when signing copies, in the same way Paul Klee does in the narrative, finding and tracing figures within the tangled lines (Fig. 5.9).

Throughout his career and again when drawing *Klee*, Badoux used infographics to explain complex ideas, such as Klee's theoretical approach towards the line in his art, and as a metaphor to picture artistic and philosophical differences.[371] In an episode, talking to

---

[366] Badoux (2015) explains: 'While working in a small advertisement-studio in Paris in the late 80ies I had to do illustrations in the only admitted style in advertisement at this time: *ligne claire*. Back in Zurich, it turned out that this fancy style earned me a lot of jobs and so I never really got away from it.'; Lüthi 2014, p.672, Badoux, thought of his own drawings as 'woodcuts … worlds apart' from Hergé's 'filigree technique.'

[367] Badoux 2015; Typographische Gesellschaft München 2016; Badoux featured in *The Adventures of the Ligne claire. The Herr G. & Co. Affair (26 October 2013—9 March 2014)* at the Cartoonmuseum Basel, exploring Hergé's heritage, the *ligne claire* (URL: https://www.cartoonmuseum.ch/en/ausstellungen/die-abenteuer-der-ligne-claire-der-fall-herr-g-co, accessed 14/10/2021); Duncan, Smith and Levitz 2015, pp.362-363, Sabin 2002, pp.217-220, The Belgian cartoonist Hergé (Georges Remi, 1907-1983) created *Les Aventures de Tintin* [The Adventures of Tintin] as a newspaper supplement series between 1929 and 1940, which was later collected and re-published as albums. His precise but radically reduced drawing style with drastically minimized shadows, yet detailed backgrounds, became known as *ligne claire* [clear line] and heavily influenced the Franco-Belgian tradition of *bande dessinée* and European comics as such. Among the followers of Hergé's *ligne claire*, though more cartoony in style, were French comics artist René Goscinny (1926-1977) and his Italian partner Alberto Uderzo (1927-2020), who created the hugely successful and influential—second only to Hergé's Tintin—series *Astérix le Gaulois* [Asterix the Gaul] (1959-present). Since the retirement of Uderzo in 2011, Jean-Yves Ferri and Didier Conrad took over the series and the use of *ligne claire*; It continues to be a popular drawing style choice for creators of educational comics, such as Will Eisner (2008a; b), Scott McCloud (1994) and John Swogger (2019; 2015; Hunt and Swogger 2017; 2016).

[368] McCloud 1994, pp.31-37; Baetens and Surdiacourt 2013, p.354.

[369] Baetens and Surdiacourt 2013, p.354.

[370] Badoux 2008, pp.6, 43.

[371] Ibid., pp.43-46; The term infographic refers to the graphic visual representation of information, data, and knowledge with the aim to make the content easily and readily comprehensible for an audience. It is used in graphic and information design, data analysis and visualisation, graphic communication and facilitation, as well as informational comics and graphic narratives in general, frequently termed applied comics. For

his students at the *Bauhaus*, Klee's character demonstrates the level of activity of different types of lines, when they are drawn, create a surface, and thereby become passive. While he does so, he exits the academy setting and enters the realm of his own drawings (Fig. 5.10), where space and object are only gradually defined by those very same lines he creates. In this new realm, the three-dimensional avatar Klee balances, walks and follows his own two-dimensional lines, which eventually outline two isosceles triangles, one on top of the other and touching at their right-angled tips. By filling those shapes black, they turn into one *active* surface, resembling an hourglass, rendering the line invisible and *passive*, while also leaving Klee hovering in an undefined space next to it. In the following panel, the fellow *Bauhaus* artists Walter Gropius, Oskar Schlemmer, Johannes Itten and Lyonel Feininger, each representing a different artistic approach and expertise, have joined Klee inside his drawn realm, who stands in the middle of the group. While the starting point of the scene is a classroom, as soon as Klee enters the realm of his drawing, that setting vanishes—he leaves it—giving the readers the impression that Klee is talking directly to them while wandering his lines.

Badoux's use of the comics medium is extraordinary in this episode, as indeed *depicting* Klee's thoughts and theories make his concepts far more straightforwardly understandable. Combining two-dimensional and three-dimensional aspects in the same panel and even allowing them to interact follows a show-and-tell approach that would not work as well using an exclusively literary medium. At the same time, it is a powerful demonstration of cognitive as well as artistic abstraction, which Badoux uses again in the continuation of the scene: a quarrel between Gropius and Itten (Fig. 5.11). Over the course of a page, the two artists' heads morph into icons, expressing their fundamentally different artistic and philosophical approaches that regularly clash at the *Bauhaus*. Scott McCloud uses a similar way to visualise abstraction in *Understanding Comics* (Fig. 5.12).[372] However,

---

example, the archaeologist and comic artist John G. Swogger (2019; 2015; Hunt and Swogger 2017; 2016), who deliberately choses *ligne claire* for his informational narratives, uses infographics extensively in his applied comics, to explore local histories, explain archaeological procedures and scientific methods, and present research, speaking to diverse audiences—existing as well as new—in an engaging and accessible manner, communicating complex information easily, quickly and successfully, and giving the discipline more visibility and new public outreach opportunities. Live visual recording practices, such as graphic facilitation and sketchnoting, representing the content of events, processes, meetings, conferences and discussions, frequently feature infographics as well. Graphic facilitator and comics scholar Penelope Mendonça (2016; 2021) discusses the raising popularity of live visual recordings for academic and non-academic purposes and uses infographic element in her work. Also, following the recent conference *Transitions 9. New Directions in Comics Studies (8 – 10 April 2021)* at Birkbeck, University of London, the organisers decided to publish *Transitions 9. New Directions in Conference Proceedings* (Haug, Miers and Yu-Kiener 2021), exclusively consisting of sketchnotes, including several infographics, documenting the entire event. Furthermore, Scott McCloud uses infographics in *Understanding Comics* (1994) to explain and exemplify comics histories and theories. Also, already Will Eisner's (2008a, pp.151-155) work, such as *PS-The Preventive Maintenance Monthly* (1951-1972) and the *Job Scene* series (1967) for the U.S. Departments of Defense and of Labor respectively, regularly feature infographics.

[372] McCloud 1994, pp.50-51.

the juxtaposition employed by Badoux gives the example of abstraction additional meaning and effect beyond the apparent mere rendering of shape.

The graphic novelist uses visual storytelling also to add extra expression to the spoken words on other occasions. For example, Wassily Kandinsky, when first meeting Klee, talks about 'remembering the spiritual in the arts! A type of art that points the way, carrying the seed of the future within'. His speech bubble is not connected to his character in the usual straight way. Instead, extra swirls and spins visualise the words' eccentric and slightly esoteric nature (Fig. 5.13). In addition, the scene is somewhat removed from the narrative, as the panel background no longer shows the interior of a café but becomes monochromous blue, highlighting those speech bubbles.

Further, Badoux employs braiding in *Klee* to enforce the significance of particular moments and actions.[373] The opening and the closing scenes feature several aspects of braiding. To begin with, the first and the last panel of *Klee*—the establishing and closing shots— each occupying a whole page, show a cityscape of Bern from the exact same angle (Fig. 5.6): from the middle ground, the river Aare bends and flows towards the readers and over a barrage in the foreground, the Old City with the Cathedral of Bern, on the left, and the unblocked riverbank, on the right, are connected by the iron Kirchenfeldbrücke [Kirchenfeld Bridge].[374] The rhyming effect is enhanced by the fact that both panels appear on odd pages.[375] Furthermore, as the first scene continues, young Paul Klee stands in the Aare, his trousers rolled up, picking pebbles from the river and chatting with his friends on the bank.[376] One of them, Fritz Lotmar, helps Klee out of the water and over the fencing (Fig. 5.8), while another friend, Herman Haller, reads to the group from a newspaper with the Kirchenfeldbrücke in the background. In the last scene, the roles are swapped, as Lotmar stands in the Aare, picking up pebbles for his friend at the exact same spot and with a similar

---

[373] Comics Scholar Thierry Groensteen explains the concept of *tressage* in *Systéme de la bande dessinée* (1999), translated as *braiding* in the English translation (Groensteen 2007) used for this research, and "The Art of Braiding. A Clarification" (2016). Groensteen (2007, pp.144-158; 2016) argues that images and icons within a narrative, can communicate with each other within the linearity of a sequence of a single strip or page (a dialogue *in praesentia*) as well as beyond (a dialogue *in absentia*), linking panels (or multi-panel sequences) which can be divided by several pages or even appear in a different publication; a particular type of repetition, braiding focusses on the *appearance* and *disappearance* of an iconic motif, *in praesentia* and *in absentia*, creating dramatic potential, in bridging resurgences which then may create a *series* or *network*; Groensteen (2016, pp.89, 93, 94) insists "braiding is a supplementary, contingent procedure, which is never necessary to the structuring and intelligibility of the narrative," yet if it goes unnoticed the narrative can only be "understood on a simpler, more naïve level", while the enhancement, layering, and deepening of meaning created by braiding, "must have a structuring effect and amount to a gain for the narrative, and for the work."

[374] Badoux 2008, pp.1, 67.

[375] Groensteen (2007, pp.148-149) defines rhyming, a 'distant repetition' that raises the memory of previous occurrences in the reader, as a particular type of braiding.

[376] Ibid., pp.2-3.

posture to that of Klee at the beginning, who is now standing at the bank.[377] Now it is the artist who assists his friend to climb out of the river. When they two talk, the readers see the Kirchenfeldbrücke in the background from the exact same angle as before (Fig. 5.5).

Here the braiding, a quotation, welcomes the readers in the narrative's world and releases them back into reality at the end. Maybe more importantly, it also emphasises the importance of Bern and Switzerland more generally, for Paul Klee. He was born in Germany but grew up and was schooled in Bern, meeting his life-long friend Lotmar, and returned to the city when the National Socialists took over Germany. Further, Klee died in Italy just days before the city council of Bern could award him the Swiss citizenship, and is often perceived as Swiss, including by Badoux, as mentioned below.[378] Also, it is where the co-commissioner Zentrum Paul Klee is located.

Finally, there is another example of braiding in the first scene, focusing on the artistic aspect of Klee's practice. The artist's action of picking a pebble from the river is depicted in a sequence of four panels over two tiers (Fig. 5.14).[379] Over the first three panels, gradually 'zooming out', black lines on grey ground reveal themselves to be patterned pebbles in, and ripples on the water. The fourth panel shows Klee's hand holding a stone, still dripping from the water, between his thumb and index finger. The fifth panel explains the previous four images, showing Klee standing in the river, already discussed above. Halfway through the book, the sequence repeats itself with minor alterations: the pebbles are black—a reference to the deaths of August Macke and Franz Marc during the WW I—while the grey patterns only become visible in the fourth panel, when Klee holds one in exact the same manner as before.[380] The reader has to turn the page to see Klee standing in the river Lech, in Germany, yet this panel's size, composition, and angle are different from the opening scene. As mentioned, the closing scene depicts Lotmar in the Aare back in Bern.

In these cases, the braiding emphasises the importance of the line in Paul Klee's artistic practice and his habit of finding figures in the randomly entangled lines of pieces of marble and pebbles (Fig. 5.1), discussed above.

Naturally, a biographical graphic novel about a canonical painter contains artworks. Deliberately, Badoux reproduces Klee's pieces of art and documents in his *ligne claire*.[381] Some appear on a separate page and are cited in the captions, including the respective title, date, and what seems to be the item's inventory number in the Zentrum Paul Klee's collection.

---

[377] Ibid., p.66.

[378] Badoux 2008, p.70; Badoux in Hangartner 2008, p.39.

[379] Badoux 2007, p.2.

[380] Ibid., p.37.

[381] Badoux 2007b, p.4.

Other works by Klee appear in the narrative and are referenced in the detailed endnotes. Thus, all of Klee's artworks in *Klee* are clearly identifiable and can easily be traced to the original. Unfortunately, Badoux was less diligent regarding works by artists other than Paul Klee, as discussed below.

Except for the very first chapter, all the episodes in *Klee* are inaugurated by one of the artist's works, 'exemplary for the corresponding periods' and in some cases seemingly summarising or commenting on the following chapter and occasionally reappearing.[382] Those artworks have dedicated to them a space to be admired and studied, and they could form another parallel and purely artistic narrative, in addition to the mixed graphic-literary one in the panels and the purely literary one in the captions. However, Badoux does not completely seize this opportunity as he reproduces Klee's artworks relatively small, usually about one-sixth of a page (Fig. 5.15). In one case, he even only dedicates about one-ninth of the page to a copied drawing, and only the very last chapter shows a reproduction of a painting the size of half a page.[383] Consequently, those copied artworks, and hence the originals too, may go unnoticed and thus unappreciated when flipping the pages. This situation is particularly unfortunate, as the artworks' titles could be read like chapter headings, complementing and commenting on the following episode.

On four occasions, the narrative lingers with a particular work of art in including close-ups of it, of which only three are by Klee, the last one being by Wassily Kandinsky.[384] In such cases, the reader becomes a character looking at the artwork, literally adopting their perspective and thus becoming a part of the graphic narrative. It is noticeable that such close-up encounters with artworks appear in a standardised format starting with three panels over two tiers (Fig. 5.16). A fourth panel shows the person whose view the reader just adopted, who comments on the piece of art. In two cases, the three close-up panels show *one* image that occupies several panels—a triptych.[385]

While the detailed endnotes, including citations for Paul Klee's art, allow for a clear and easy fact-fiction division and tracing of sources—except for works not by Klee—some other aspects of *Klee* draw criticism. Maybe most apparent is the inconsistency in the captions' colouring: Except for Klee's letters, the yellow captions reveal additional and purely factual information to the reader, while the main narrative tells the story of Klee's life from a more emotional perspective in white captions and speech bubbles. However, Klee's

---

[382] Ibid.

[383] Badoux 2008, pp.14, 64.

[384] Ibid, pp.24, 32, 41, 63, During Klee's visit to the Musée du Louvre (p.16), three close-ups of canonical works by Leonardo, Rembrandt and Goya are depicted.

[385] Ibid., pp.24, 32.

letters and diary entries, clearly expressing personal thoughts and emotions, appear in yellow-coloured captions, usually reserved for the narrator. Such and other similar examples of inconsistent colouring coupled with the changing narrators lead to some potentially confusing panels when it remains unclear who is talking.

For example, a cited National-Socialist propaganda flyer (Fig. 5.17) and two occasions of additional factual information about a person's death appear in white captions and, therefore, seemingly as quotes by Klee.[386] While the cited flyer would essentially ask for a third, entirely new caption category, the death information should be coded as yellow. Another inconsistency in the caption occurs when Pablo Picasso visits Paul Klee, constituting the only time an artist Klee meets in the narrative has no introductory profile.[387] It is unclear whether this exception is a mistake or Picasso's name is deemed so well-known that its mere mentioning suffices. It certainly would be an odd choice for a publication explicitly targeting a young audience, aiming to be as educational as possible, and trying to convey a biographical and a broader cultural-historical context.

Another point of critique is that often the graphic novel reads like a very factual skimming through the highlights of Paul Klee's life, reduced to showing when and why he is where as well as what he does there. Since the episodes are all closed in themselves, the narrative feels regularly interrupted, lacking coherency. Significant changes occurring in the characters' lives between episodes go unnoticed and can, at best, be briefly mentioned in the captions. The two concepts, from March and November 2007 respectively, reveal a repeated slimming down of complexity, background, and detail in the narrative.[388] While it remains unclear how the decision to do so were reached, it is very possible that it was done on the commissioners' request to reduce the costs or target a specific younger age group.

Further, Badoux's *ligne claire* draws criticism as well, occasionally revealing its shortcomings, as characters, landscapes and depicted artworks appear somewhat flat. Hence, the characters seem to age very little, as the lack of details masks the passage of time usually seen in a person's face. The changes in fashion and receding hairlines become the indicators of a character's stages in life. Here, the line does not make visible.

Indeed, the reduced *ligne claire* also fails to capture and depict the penetrating gaze of Paul Klee, so often seen on photographs of the artist (Fig. 5.18). Similarly, the style paints a far too clean and clear picture of WWI (Fig. 5.18) and the rise of National Socialism in Germany, further enhanced by the fact that Badoux does not use any sound symbolic words

---

[386] Ibid., pp.37, 57.
[387] Badoux 2008, pp.59-63.
[388] Badoux 2007a; b.

or other equivalents. Consequently, unless someone is talking, *Klee*'s world is a silent one, giving it a quiet, almost peaceful, impression that ultimately fails to capture the hectic hustle of cities and the brutalities and horrors of war and fascism. Badoux wishes to 'capture the rational romanticism, dominant in Klee's work', but it would seem that his style is slightly too rational for some episodes and scenes.[389]

Finally, while all of Klee's art used and reproduced is cited in the endnotes, this scrutiny does not extend to works by other artists reproduced in *Klee*. Neither *First Abstract Watercolour* (1910) by Kandinsky, featuring in close-ups, nor any of the works by nineteenth-century French painters or Old Masters, hanging in the Musée du Louvre, or the photographs on which whole or partial panels are based, are cited.[390] On the one hand, it might be a deliberate choice to encourage the reader to find out more and identify those anonymous works. On the other hand, it is inconsistent with the meticulous citing of Paul Klee's oeuvre and in stark contrast to the publication's very educational character.

The targeted audience for *Klee* consists of young readers, starting with pre-teenagers. The book's very educational approach, the cartoony drawing style, and the reference to 'juvenile audience' in Badoux's concepts make this evident.[391] The museum too aims at 'young as well as young at heart' readers while locating the publication in the field of 'children's and youth literature of museum pedagogy.'[392] Basler confirms this when declaring *Klee* was meant for 'adolescents up to adults.'[393] In having been published in three—German, French, and Italian—of the four official languages of Switzerland and having a small print run, *Klee* was mainly focusing on a national audience.

A Swiss museum and publisher commissioning a Swiss comic artist, who writes for a mainly Swiss audience, about an artist often perceived as Swiss (not least by Badoux himself) recalls the Renaissance Tuscan biographies and their autochthonic notions, discussed in Chapter 2.[394] However, Paul Klee was not Swiss, and the graphic novel does not aim to claim Switzerland's cultural or artistic superiority, as the Renaissance biographers did for Tuscany.

The various stakeholders' perceived levels of success and satisfaction are hard to determine in the case of *Klee*. Edition Moderne's satisfactory level is described as 'good,'

---

[389] Badaoux 2007b, p.4.

[390] Ibid, pp.15-16, 23-24, 31, 57.

[391] Badoux 2007a, p.1; 2007b, p.3.

[392] Fumetto 2008.

[393] Basler 2017.

[394] Badoux in Hangartner 2008, p.39.

as the two print runs totalling 3000 copies have sold out.[395] Strategically, the book was a 'very good' fit with the publisher's long-term plans for the simple reason that Badoux had 'already [been] edited by Edition Moderne' before the cooperation with the Zentrum Paul Klee.[396] Basler never comments on the content as he claims he was not involved in its creation, a most unusual situation discussed above. As no lasting contact was successfully established with the museum, whether or not the institution has been satisfied remains unclear. However, CREAVIVA, the children's museum attached to Zentrum Paul Klee, has used some of Badoux's drawings as part of *Paul Klee – Bewegung im Atelier* [Paul Klee – Movement in the Studio] *(13 September 2008 – 18 January 2009)*, indicating that the museum was at least not particularly unsatisfied and saw the book as handy for museum education purposes. *Klee* did not enjoy an overwhelming reception by the commissioners, as it would seem from the lack of publicising efforts. However, one has to keep in mind that at the time of its publications, the Museum Boom was still young, and it was still a novelty for an art museum to commission a graphic novel.

One can assume Badoux was satisfied with *Klee*, as its aftermath created new opportunities for the graphic novelist. During the decade before the biographical graphic novel for the Zentrum Paul Klee, Edition Moderne had released only two books by Badoux, while after the *Klee* project, there has been a new release every two years, altogether four more books. [397] Also, during the *Solothurner Literaturtage 2013* [Solothurn Days of Literature], the exhibition *Graphic Novels - Narrative Comics (9 May — 1 June 2013)* at Künstlerhaus S11 featured four artists who had published with Edition Moderne: Christophe Badoux as well as Daniel Bosshard, Matthias Gnehm and Isabelle Pralong. Badoux's contribution to the show were several black-and-white drawings from *Klee*. All four artists were invited to join a panel discussion as part of the programme. Interestingly, this event that Edition Moderne posted on Facebook to publicise and advertise it.[398]

Christophe Badoux's *Klee* was a unique and new type of book at the time of its publication, possibly even a bit daring, launched at a comics festival. It was the first time that a canonical artist's life became the subject of a modern, twenty-first-century graphic novel. The Zentrum Paul Klee in Bern co-commissioned it to target a young audience and fill a gap in museum education literature. From the available information, the image emerges

---

[395] Basler 2017; However, in January 2021, the publisher still sells copies via its homepage, contradicting Basler's claim.

[396] Ibid.

[397] Edition Moderne published six books by Christophe Badoux: *BUPO SCHOCH - OPERATION "ROTER ZIPFEL"* (1999), *Fatmas Fantastische Reise* (2006), *Klee* (2008), *Die Fünfte Variable* (2010), *Per Fahrrad durch die Galaxis* (2012), *Stan the Hooligan* (2014), *Krank Geschrieben* (2016).

[398] Edition Moderne 2013.

that the museum was the main driving as well as editing force behind *Klee*, while the publisher Edition Moderne was allegedly reduced to the more mechanical and logistical tasks—an unusual comics work arrangement which the researcher considers unlikely. Sadly, none of the available sources revealed further details about the work of colourist Nora Weyermann other than her name.

The book is distinguished by its apparent educational approach, Badoux's characteristically *ligne claire* and his occasional use of infographics. Also, the graphic novelist employs braiding to emphasise the importance of Bern and Switzerland as well as aspects of Paul Klee's artistic practice. Well-researched and based on the life writings by Paul Klee himself, the book includes endnotes revealing the sources. With the artworks pushed slightly to the back, *Klee* is more about Paul Klee's life than his art, yet it presents several key works from his oeuvre. It features several specific art-historical anecdotes and comics genre-specific tropes but does not follow the life-and-work model.

5.3. France: *Le Ciel au-dessus du Louvre*

In November 2009, *Le Ciel au-dessus du Louvre* [The Sky Over The Louvre] by the Belgian comic artist Bernar Yslaire and the French screenwriter Jean-Claude Carrière (1931-2020), aided by French comic artist and colourist Vincent Mézil as documentation assistant, was released. This research mainly references the English edition by NBM Publishing from 2011. The graphic novel was co-commissioned, co-funded and co-published by Fabrice Douar, from the Musée du Louvre, and Sébastian Gnaedig, from the publishing house Futuropolis, as part of the *Louvre Éditions* series, running since 2005.[399] The sixty-six-page narrative of historic fiction is set during the Reign of Terror in the First French Republic and structured into nineteen chapters, each between two and five pages long and usually depicting one scene or episode, and two appendices succeeding the story.[400] The book focuses on the relationship between neoclassical painter Jacques-Louis David and politician Maximilien Robespierre, covering precisely the year before the fall and subsequent execution of Robespierre on 8th Thermidor, Year II (26 July 1794 CE).[401] The significance of this graphic novel for the

---

[399] See Appendix D for a full list of *Louvre Éditions* publications from 2005 until 2019; The series, initiated by Douar and Gnaedig, currently includes more than twenty titles. Recently, Delcourt and the Musée du Louvre released a title under the *Louvre Éditions* label too.

[400] Linton 2006, pp.23-25; Gouch 2010, pp.65-66, 101-103, The Reign of Terror, lasted from June 1793 to July 1794, when the Jacobin Government made terror their official policy, resulting in estimated 250,000 deaths in France.

[401] David was a loyal supporter of Robespierre and held several political posts in the Jacobin Government, yet avoiding execution in July 1794; Edelstein 2009, pp.231-248, Maximilien Robespierre successfully proposed The Cult of the Supreme Being: a combination of Rosseau's theories and idealised perceptions of ancient Greek and Roman civic virtues, providing a much-needed socio-ethical-religious structure after

corpus lies in the early publication date as well as the inclusion in a long-running series by the Musée du Louvre, the very first art museum to commission a graphic novel, while also being a major national museum. Also, the entire narrative has been drawn digitally. Unfortunately, a lack of academic ethos and rigour in the album's production and presentation is all too apparent. Thus, the book also showcases a problematic relationship between comic art and museum art as well as potential risks for art institutions engaging in similar publications. A version of this case study has been developed into a book chapter, investigating several discrepancies between the graphic novel's message and corporate brand and the neoliberalism agenda of the Musée du Louvre.[402]

Unfortunately, neither creator was available to facilitate the research, despite the repeated effort to contact both. Interviews with the creators, available online, were used to counterbalance this. In contrast, Gnaedig, Editorial Director publisher Futuropolis, and Douar, Editorial Manager at the Interpretation and Cultural Programming Department at the Musée du Louvre, were kind enough to answer a short questionnaire.[403] Additionally, their institution's online appearances, press releases and annual reports were scrutinised.

The narrative begins at the Musée du Louvre, at David's studio, when he and Robespierre discuss *The Death of Marat* (1793) (Fig. 5.19). During the opening of the Louvre as a public museum, both men hold speeches, and Jules Stern, a foreign, Slavic, orphaned teenage boy looking for the painter, is introduced. Robespierre orders David to paint the Supreme Being—albeit admitting the impossibility of the task. Against the explicit wish and order of Robespierre, David chooses Stern as the model. When Stern is denounced, arrested, and subsequently guillotined, the painter tracks down the body and head and reassembles his model. Robespierre officially proposes the Cult of the Supreme Being, and the Festival of the Supreme Being is held, with the painting still unfinished. During the denunciation, arrest and execution of Robespierre, David continues working on *Death of Joseph Bara* (1794) (Fig. 5.20), soon after he is arrested too.

The graphic novel features some traditional art-historical anecdotes and comics genre-specific tropes, such as the artist's powerful clients and friends, most obvious Robespierre and Napoleon, David's obsession with his art in general, particularly the painting of Bara and the character of Stern, and the artist taking significant risks in opposing

---

the nation's de-Christianisation; for a further discussion of his and Robespierre's role during the Reign of Terror, see Linton 2013, pp.251, 264; 2006, p.25; Gouch 2010, pp.73-74, 99-101; Smyth 2008, pp.309-310, 316-317; Lajer-Burcharth 1999, pp.8-10; Clark 1973, p.30.

[402] Yu-Kiener, Tobias J. "Musée du Louvre: When The Picture Does Not Fit The Frame. Multiple Problems With The Graphic Novel Le Ciel au-dessus du Louvre" in *Framing [in] Comics: Essays on Aesthetics, History, and Mediality* edited by Johannes C. P. Schmid. Berlin: Ch. A. Bachmann, 2021.

[403] Douar 2018; Gnaedig 2018b.

Robespierre in his artistic choices. In being historic fiction created around a made-up painting, the album does not refer to the art-historical tradition of the life-and-work model. At the same time, it misses the opportunity to present the artist's oeuvre to the reader in a meaningful way, as a large proportion of the features artworks lack citations. Interestingly, in moving away from historical accuracy, claiming authenticity through a historic setting, and showing the artist in a secondary role only—shared with Robespierre—there are several surprising parallels to the modern painter's novel, discussed in Chapter 2.

The *Louvre Éditions* series was initiated by Douar, in 2004, when the Musée du Louvre and Futuropolis signed a contract over a series of four graphic novels to be co-commissioned, co-funded, co-edited and co-published, inaugurating the project in 2005.[404] After separately shortlisting him, the two commissioners approached Yslaire.[405] Already the museum's annual report for 2005 confirms Yslaire as the *third* contributor to this series with a provisional title *L'Atelier de David* [David's Studio].[406] Yslaire asked to bring in Carrière as co-writer after deciding on David as the subject and the revolutionary setting. He based his choice on seeing the movie *Danton* (1983), which Carrière co-wrote, convinced he knows the French Revolution and his views on spirituality can benefit the project.[407] Similarly, the Musée du Louvre accepted Yslaire's request because of Carrière's long career in the film industry and his alleged expertise regarding the French Revolution.[408] Hence, only the 2006 report mentions Carrière's participation for the first time.[409] In the following years, the reports merely state an ongoing collaboration between the artists and the screenwriter, and an expected release for 2008, which eventually is repeatedly postponed.[410] This information matches the one given by Douar, who recalls there were '[a]bout four years between the proposal to Yslaire and the release.'[411]

In October 2006, Douar mentions that the narrative would be advanced enough for Yslaire to start drawing.[412] Regardless, the two creators did not manage to meet the initial publishing deadline of late 2008, nor the updated ones for January 2009 or May the same year.[413] Eventually, the book was only published as the *fourth* book in the series in

---

[404] Douar 2018; Musée du Louvre 2006; Douar 2006

[405] Douar 2018; Gnaedig 2018b.

[406] Musée du Louvre 2006, p.103.

[407] Yslaire and Carriére 2013.

[408] Douar 2018.

[409] Musée du Louvre 2007, p.109.

[410] Musée du Louvre 2008, p.116; 2009b, p.98; 2010, p.127.

[411] Douar 2018.

[412] Douar 2006.

[413] Musée du Louvre 2008, p.116, The annual report 2007 mentions a planned release for 2008; 2010, pp.48-49, 127, The annual report 2009 mentions a planned release for late January 2009, yet clearly states the actual release in November 2009; Douar (2009) confirms the planned publication for late January 2009.

November 2009 under the updated title *Le Ciel au-dessus du Louvre*. The museums and the publisher suggest different reasons for this delay. Gnaedig remembers

> '[t]he collaboration between Bernar Yslaire and Jean-Claude Carrière was more complicated than expected. Because Jean-Claude Carrière had never written for comics and he thought it would be close to writing a movie script. It is not at all the same thing!'[414]

In contrast, Douar recalls Yslaire getting delayed with his drawings, who was working at a different (remarkably similarly titled) series at the same time, discussed below.[415]

Douar also states that each new publication in the series is accompanied by 'an exhibition of the original drawings,' usually in the museum's book shop.[416] After an initial postponement, *Le Ciel au-dessus du Louvre* was expected to be ready for *Le Petit Dessein – Le Louvre invite la bande dessinée (22 January – 13 April 2009)* [The Small Design - The Louvre Invites The Comic] but was once again delayed.[417] Thus, the show included only a few of Yslaire's drawings as a preview.[418] For the actual release in autumn 2009, both commissioning institutions posted updates on their social media accounts, the publisher six times on Twitter in November 2009, the museum twice on Facebook on 9 December 2009.[419] The YouTube channels of both organisations did not contain any related videos. Beyond this, there were no further promotional or marketing actions.

According to the museum and the publisher, their restrictions and demands for Yslaire and Carrière were minimal. Douar claims that all creators receive an initial '*carte blanche*,' including usually publisher-controlled aspects, such as page counts and format.[420] However, the stakeholders 'discuss the scenario—not to censor' though, according to Douar.[421] Gnaedig remembers the partition in chapters and the format, were the results of such discussions.[422] Also, Douar admits to requesting that 'a work, an object, a room, the public, the building, [or] the history [of the Musée du Louvre] … is an integral part of the scenario' and the museum setting not just decorative.[423] Thus, the stakeholders contradict their claims of a *carte blanche*, as evidently, they have still exercised significant control over the various aspects of the book, including the content. Also, it becomes clear that with

---

[414] Gnaedig 2018b.

[415] Douar 2009.

[416] Douar 2006.

[417] Douar 2009.

[418] Musee du Louvre 2009a, p.2; For the exhibition, see Chapter 6.

[419] Les éditions Futuropolis 2009a-f; Musée du Louvre 2009c-f.

[420] Douar 2018

[421] Douar 2018.

[422] Gnaedig 2018b.

[423] Douar 2018.

sharing the financial risks, the publisher had to share part of its gatekeeping powers and influence regarding the editing process.[424]

To facilitate their work, Doaur remembers, 'the authors met the specialists of the museum, specialists for the time of [Jacques-Louis] David, of the French Revolution, and … saw David's original drawings in the Drawings Cabinet.'[425] This *in situ* inspection of the original art mirrors a crucial element of the authorial practice of traditional art-historical monographers, who examined original artworks to become connoisseurs of an individual's oeuvre as part of following the life-and-work model. However, as mentioned, neither the oeuvre nor the life-and-work model feature in the graphic novel.

Yslaire and Carriére were aided in their work by Vincent Mézil, who took the role of Documentation Assistant.[426] Mézil, a comics artist and colourist, had worked with Yslaire before, drawing and colouring the trilogy *La Guerre Des Sambre. Hugo & Iris* (2007, 2008, 2009) and Jean Bastide, as part of Yslaire's *Sambre* series and using a script by him. As the museum provided research assistance and access to sources and original art, Yslaire is credited with the idea, script, text, dialogue, production, drawing, colouring, and layout for *Le Ciel au-dessus du Louvre*, and Ortho is credited with lettering, it remains unclear what Mézil—another *comic artist* in the project—was precisely documenting or contributing. As he was still working with Yslaire on another similar project at the time, he understood his ideas and style. Thus, he might have drawn (less prominent) parts of *Le Ciel au-dessus du Louvre*, such as architectures and backgrounds, while only Yslaire, the workshop leader, got credited—a possible arrangement not unique for comics work.[427]

Yslaire led the project in deciding on David and Robespierre as the subjects.[428] Carrière recalls being asked to respect Yslaire's requirements.[429] This power relation is somewhat unusual, as the artist frequently receives less credit in comics work

[424] Lefèvre (2016, pp.205, 207, 210), who argues for more gatekeeping research within comics studies, explains that publishers, who usually carry the largest financial risk in a new publication project, act as gatekeepers in deciding who, what, when, and how to publish, a decision resulting from many individual choices. As editorial guidelines are often unarticulated and opaque, involving and following formal as well as informal structures, and are usually a company secret, this gatekeeping process is difficult to uncover while have a huge influence on the comics production and market.

[425] Douar 2018; Gnaedig 2018b.

[426] Yslaire & Carrière 2011, title page.

[427] Comics work researchers, such as Brienza and Johnston (2016, pp.1-3), Gray and Wilkins (2016, pp.116, 125-127), and Jameel (2016, pp.175-176), point out, while the authors of comics are credited with creating a comic and sometimes 'canonised', many less visible roles, such as letterer and colourists, are frequently overlooked and unmentioned. Thus, as those comic workers are often invisible, Brienza and Johnston (2016, p.3) suggest looking for and interpreting signs of cooperation and collaboration to get a more accurate impression of a publication's comics workers and their contributions.

[428] Gnaedig 2018b.

[429] Yslaire and Carriére 2013.

collaborations.[430] Even in partnerships, the writer is often perceived as being '"completed" by the artist.'[431] To counter the idea of a "main" creator and express the collaborative nature of a partnership, comics scholar and creator Ahmed Jameel suggests 'thinking of the creative team as a whole identity,' resulting in Yslaire-Carriére or Carriére-Yslaire in the case of *Le Ciel au-dessus du Louvre*—if not considering Mézil a part of the team.[432] However, the partnership between Carriére and Yslaire unfolded within the parameters established by the latter before inviting the former, who was asked to respect these parameters, putting the artist in a stronger position.

At the same time, the creators were also responding to the commissioners' demands. While the earliest title *L'Atelier de David* suggests a plot focused on the painter and his workshop, the final idea is meant as a (visual) representation of the Revolution.[433] However, the book is about The Terror, a period *after* the French Revolution, and a brief close-up of two men. Interestingly, the Musée du Louvre hosted *Gérard, Girodet, Gros – L'Atelier de David (22 September 2005 - 16 January 2006)* [Gérard, Girodet, Gros – David's Workshop].[434] Considering that it was around the same period that the project was mentioned first, it was most likely inspired by the exhibition. Some aspects of the initial focus on the workshop's functioning are still traceable in the book: readers experience picking the model (Fig. 5.21), the preparation of preliminary sketches and a drawing grid (Fig. 5.22) for advanced sketches. Subsequently, the motive is transferred to the canvas by assistants, leading to an under-drawing, which eventually gets developed into a fully-fledged painting with final touches of colours and shadows added by the master's hand (Fig. 5.23). Observant readers can even piece together the entire studio, shown repeatedly and from different angles (Fig. 5.24a-b). Here, the book missed the opportunity to be educational in not explaining what is displayed.

In its final version, the narrative focuses more on the Musée du Louvre as an institution and location. Firstly, as the narrative's key location, with eleven out of the nineteen chapters, including opening and closing scenes, featuring the museum and its

---

[430] Gray and Wilkins (2016, pp.116-127) argue that the world of comics celebrates the genius of the writer while the artist is assigned a subaltern status and seen as an extension of the writer's brain. The authors trace this idea back to Romantic expressionist theory, stressing the genius of narrative conception over the "craft" of materialising the very same.

[431] Ibid., p.120, However, the authors also claim that, in a true partnership, the typically perceived roles of "writer" and "artist" are disrupted and thus the artist receives proper credit. They argue for the negotiation between the creators to be the actual "author" of any collaboratively created comic.

[432] Jameel 2016, pp.186-187.

[433] Yslaire in Yslaire and Carriére 2009c; Yslaire in Yslaire and Carriére 2009b; Gnaedig 2018b; Musée du Louvre 2006, p.103; 2007, p.109.

[434] François Pascal Simon Gérard (1770-1837), Anne-Louis Girodet de Roucy-Trioson (1767-1824), and Antoine-Jean Gros (1771-1835) were pupils of David.

surroundings. Secondly, as a physical and cultural space for David to create his canonical artworks—here, *L'Atelier de David* is still present. Thirdly, as a timeless physical and cultural link between the post-revolutionary plot and contemporary audiences. Fourthly, as an invitation to readers to revisit the art, spaces and places from *Le Ciel au-dessus du Louvre*, as an appendix of some of the reproduced works from the Louvre collection, including their locations, follows the story. While Yslaire and Carrière were following the commissioners' demands in focusing heavily on the museum, the new title was probably based on economic considerations.

Yslaire and Futuropolis very openly used the commission to promote the artist's two-volume graphic novel *Le Ciel au-dessus de Bruxelles* [The Sky over Brussels] (2006-2007). The two projects bear a remarkably similar title, were both published by Futuropolis and feature the same main character: Jules Engell Stern from *Le Ciel au-dessus de Bruxelles* becomes Jules Stern in *Le Ciel au-dessus du Louvre*. They look almost identical, share the backstory of originating from the far-away country of Khazaria, are looking for a family member, and have their speech uniquely lettered as a metaphor for their foreign accent (Fig. 5.25).[435] The two creators commented on Jules Stern's repurposing by framing him as a self-portrait of Yslaire.[436] While Stern vaguely resembles a younger version of Yslaire, the explanation seems more than odd, knowing the names—*Jules* means 'youthful' in French, while *Engel* and *Stern* translate from German 'angel' and 'star'—hint at the character being an angelic or divine existence. This cameo aside, there is no indication that Yslaire's experience as an artist informed the narrative in any way, as it often did with authors of traditional artists' monographs. On the one hand, the title and character were possibly simply chosen to attract Yslaire's usual readership, familiar with *Le Ciel au-dessus de Bruxelles*, and trick online search algorithms, in a thinly veiled attempt to reach an audience usually not attending the Musée du Louvre. On the other hand, it is possible to interpret the title and character as references to the notion of the Supreme Being introduced after Christianity had been abandoned.

Deciding against blending his own style with David's, Yslaire drew and coloured *Le Ciel au-dessus du Louvre* entirely digitally. While the latter is quite usual nowadays, the former singles the book out and allows quick changes to drawings and facilitates placing photographic images into a scene, as discussed below. Several panels appear overly flat and lack depth, and some are barely developed, which might be the desired effect, giving it the appearance of an unfinished sketchbook (Fig. 5.26). On the one hand, this very rudimentary

---

[435] Stampfer 2013, p.1, The Khazar Empire existed from the mid-seventh until the tenth century CE between the Caspian and the Black Seas.

[436] Yslaire and Carriére 2009b.

style brings the artistic aspect of a *graphic* narrative into the foreground, allowing the reader to understand the process of drawing in actually reading the artist's line, furthered by the frequent use of hatching and cross-hatching. On the other hand, when lines and characters exceed their panel and when characters consist of hardly more than a few lines—and considering the repeated delays during the book's creation—the impression of an unfinished and partially very rushed album emerges. It is also possible that in overexposing his line, Yslaire wants to prove that his digital work is still art and equally valuable and worthy of the same level of attention and appreciation as a traditional drawing of pen or ink on paper.

Colour is deployed very scarcely throughout the narrative, mainly taking place in a very sombre atmosphere of black lines on mute grey and yellow pages, with occasional red, blue, and white highlights—the French *Tricolore*. Those colourful highlights are used to channel the readers' attention towards important aspects of a scene or panel. In contrast, the page layout is very orderly, often a simple three-by-three-squares grid and a splash page for each new chapter, with relatively wide and clean gutters—except when the lines spill everywhere. Considering this juxtaposition of drawing style, deliberate use of colours, and traditional design, it might be a metaphorical representation of the Terror's messy and chaotic reality and the clear-cut and idealised interpretation history gives of the French Revolution and its consequences. It would thus be a comment on the ambiguity of the own narrative and established histories as such. However, while this interpretation is possible, the book as a whole does not convey such a nuanced, self-reflexive, and critical impression.

Yslaire exploits the comics medium's potential for visual storytelling only very moderately. Regularly, the visual narrative stops and continues as text, leaving one or two-thirds of the page empty and evoking the impression of an illustrated novel (Fig. 5.26). The scenes showing the creation of the fictional painting of the Supreme Being do depict the creative processes better than a purely literary description. Yet, as an explanation is lacking, the effect is limited. There are several diptychs and triptychs, but they carry no apparent special meaning and would have worked equally well as one larger panel. Possibly, they were chosen to maintain the mostly relatively regular page layout. Groensteen argues that the regular layout allows for sudden changes to the norm and striking effects.[437] Indeed, occasionally the rhythm is disrupted by a variation in the layout and panel size. Certainly, many of the chapter openings leave an impression on the reader, as each is a splash page, offering considerably more space to the scene.

There are also two examples of braiding in *Le Ciel au-dessus du Louvre*. Similar to *Klee*, the opening and the closing scenes rhyme: on the right of a panel, David is shown in

---

[437] Groensteen 2017, p.97.

his studio at the Musée du Louvre in front of an easel on the left, of the painting on it the readers can only see part of the back; the artist talks to someone standing behind him, yet he looks straight at the readers (Fig. 5.19)—the reason for this is that both panels are based on uncited self-portraits; in the closing scene David holds brush and palette.[438] In both cases, turning the page reveals the painting on the easel to the reader. Once again, the braiding welcomes and waves goodbye to the readers while emphasising a location, in this the place of work. Also, the braiding puts the finger on the opportunistic nature of David, who in the opening scene paints *Death of Marat* (1793) and *General Bonaparte* (1797-98) in the closing scene, as well as the meaninglessness of the Terror, as everything is as it was at the start—at least for David.

The other braiding concerns Robespierre, who feels weakened and collapses on his bed, where he looks out of the windows and sees a raven, covering his eyes subsequently.[439] Later, Robespierre is once again tied to the bed due to his illness, this time being tended to by his landlady and her daughter, and sees butterflies through his window—a hallucination—before closing his eyes.[440] Here, the braiding shows Robespierre slowly losing his mind, progressing from a dark omen to hallucinations, and quite literally closing his eyes from the Terror, suffering and chaos he is causing.

Despite its occasional political notions, the narrative offers plenty of space to museum art. The Palais du Louvre's opening as a public museum features a large number of original artworks (Fig. 5.27), some even multiple times. For the rest of the story, the works appear mostly in the panel background. Naturally, Jacques-Louis David's art is woven into the plot and shown prominently. A few paintings receive the privilege of a splash-page: *The Death of Marat* (1793), *The Death of Joseph Bara* (1794) (Fig. 5.20) and *General Bonaparte* (1797-98) (Fig. 5.28). The first two and *Madame Charles-Louis Trudaine* (1791-92) are exclusively honoured with multiple close-ups. Sketches of politicians (Fig. 5.29), the Festival of the Supreme Being, and uniform designs for parades are remaining traces of the idea of representing the Revolution. Gradually, the story of the First Republic becomes a narrative told through Jacques-Louis David's art.

Usually, those artworks are photographs inserted into the digitally drawn panels, sometimes still including their picture frames. Contrasting the sketchy drawings of reduced colour, the museum art is fully coloured and detailed enough to see cracks in the paint, except when an image becomes pixelated. This difference in colour, texture and materiality

---

[438] Yslaire and Carriére 2011, pp.3, 65.
[439] Ibid., pp.22-23.
[440] Ibid., pp.53-54.

emphasises the museum art and makes its appearance and experience fuller and richer.[441] Consequently, characters and artworks inhabit two distinct realities. However, not all original artworks are identifiable straightaway, as Yslaire simply copies several prints, sketches and paintings into the comics medium, appearing as (part of) a panel, discussed below.

Unfortunately, there are several aspects of the publication that draw mild criticism for missing opportunities. For example, occasionally, the graphic novel becomes an illustrated book, with large blocks of texts telling the story instead of drawings (Fig. 5.26), avoiding depicting the brutal, bloody, and dramatic cruelty of The Terror. In such cases, Yslaire loses narrative power and makes little use of the comics medium's potential. His sketchy style and reduced use of colour would allow for a swift and yet not necessarily overly explicit execution. A graphic narrative about The Terror that avoids depicting the subject makes for an odd combination.

On other aspects, *Le Ciel au-dessus du Louvre* invites far more severe criticism: Firstly, for misleading readers in not declaring it is historic fiction; secondly, there are several inconsistencies, mistakes and grave errors in the narrative, revealing a lack of rigorous research; and thirdly, a very questionable artistic ethos in the treatment of artworks.

Yslaire suggested bringing in Carrière due to his alleged knowledge of the times and calls the graphic novel a 'BD historique' [historical comic].[442] However, the screenwriter's alleged expertise was based on co-scripting the movie *Danton* (1983) a quarter of a century earlier.[443] The creators insist that the project is well-researched, with Yslaire claiming historians and original documents were consulted.[444] However, the appendices do not include any references. Thus, the sources' origins remain unclear, as does the fact-fiction divide. Finally, a Documentation Assistant does evoke the impression of the project's accuracy, and faithfulness being considered somewhat important. With its named research staff and appendices, the album appears very evidence-based, giving the impression of a faithful graphic novel adaption of non-fictional events by two famous authors, at least one of them knowledgeable in the topic. Accordingly, Futuropolis advertises the book as 'une page d'histoire' [a page of history] reviewed, corrected, interpreted, and seasoned by the

---

[441] Yslaire was not the first one to do so in the series. Nicolas de Crécy, Enki Bilal, Marc-Antoine Mathieu, Éric Liberge and Christian Durieux set apart narrative and museum art in their albums visually too.

[442] Yslaire in Yslaire and Carriére 2013.

[443] Gnaedig 2018b; Douar 2018; Yslaire and Carriére 2013; Yslaire and Carriére 2009c; Yslaire and Carrière 2009a, second appendix; According to the International Movie Database (URL: https://www.imdb.com /name/nm0140643/?ref_=nmbio_bio_nm, accessed 02/09/2018) Jean-Claude Carrière also contributed to *War in the Highlands* (1999) and *Marie-Antoinette* (2006) set during the French Revolution.

[444] Yslaire in Yslaire and Carriére 2009b; Yslaire in Yslaire and Carriére 2013; Yslaire and Carriére 2009c.

authors. [445] Therefore, even if not officially labelled as a well-researched non-fiction publication, the graphic novel is marketed as such.

The claims of research and expertise, coupled with the museum's brand, trigger certain expectations of quality and accuracy, presenting and promoting a historic fiction publication as non-fictional. As Jameel remarks quite rightfully, 'reception shapes meaning; a work may take on different meanings depending on when and where it appears, and in what form. So authorship is only relevant if it is relevant to the way a viewer or reader chooses to look.'[446] Here authorship should be understood in the context of comics work, as defined by Brienza and Johnston, including 'any labour within the field of the cultural production of comics that contributes or informs a comics' production.'[447] Such a definition incorporates the Musée du Louvre as co-commissioner, who does not just lend its name to, but also very actively shapes and edits, the project, thus carrying significant responsibility for the final product.

Also, from a graphic novel inspired by actual historic events and marketed as well-researched, readers expect the highest degree of academic rigour as well as a noticeable distinction between facts and fiction. In reality, however, the line is invisible. Consequently, not surprising but highly problematic, at least some readers take the album as authentic and accurate, as the reviews on the US Publisher's homepage show: The Huffington Post review thought

> '"The Sky Over The Louvre" provokes … [u]nderstanding - even mastery - of a fascinating historical/art episode, … [d]id I get a better sense of David and Robespierre? Yes, and quickly. Was I grateful for the art history lesson? Yes, and also for the way the paintings in this book are accurately copied and for two pages of artistic references,'

while Andrew Smith from *Scripps Howard* is convinced '[b]oth [authors] demonstrate the surefootedness of their experience in both quality and content.'[448] Clearly, the fact that *Le Ciel au-dessus du Louvre* is a museum publication shapes how it is perceived, read and judged by its audience, and thus its meaning.

In addition to (successfully) marketing it with the wrong label, the publication's image is further tainted by frequent mistakes, errors and inconsistencies. For example, repeatedly design and colour of the characters' waistcoats, trousers and footwear change

---

[445] Futuropolis homepage available URL: http://www.futuropolis.fr/fiche_titre.php?id_article=717120 (Accessed 10/08/2019).

[446] Jameel 2016, p.182-183.

[447] Brienza and Johnston 2016, p.3.

[448] The Huffington Post and Andrew Smith cited after NBM Publishing, available at URL: https://www.nbmpub.com/comicslit/sky/skyhome.html (Accessed 02/09/2018).

within a single scene. [449] The counting of chapters and years—in the revolutionary calendar—switches between Arabic and Roman numbers, from 'Chapter 1' and 'Year 1' to Chapters 'II' and 'Year II'. [450] During a single scene, the paintings, sculptures and sketches on David's studio walls repeatedly change: seemingly magically moving, appearing and disappearing. At least one painting at the Louvre's Grand Gallery is shown twice in the same panel, later appearing at different corners of the painter's studio. [451] When such inconsistencies occur repeatedly, they give the impression none of the various stakeholders was paying any attention to details.

At an entirely different level of inaccuracy are the actual factual errors in the narrative. Indeed most embarrassing, two chapters showing the Musée du Louvre's inauguration display a wrong date (Fig. 5.27). [452] Similarly, the Festival of the Supreme Being is dated wrongly—by a whole decade. [453] Unfortunately, there are more incorrect dates. All chapter headings give a Republican date, with a few having a Georgian one too. However, they do not always match. Some Republican dates were never actually used—including the Louvre opening date—as the republican calendar was only introduced in late 1793, Year II of the Republic. [454] Another grave error concerns David's role in the Jacobin Government: While he was a member of the Committee of General Security and the Committee of Public Instruction, the literature never mentions him as a member of the Committee of Public Safety, as suggested by Yslaire and Carrière in their publications and explicitly mentioned in interviews. [455] Mingling the three separate committees, responsible for entirely different tasks, shows a lack of knowledge, understanding and care. This exceeding deficiency of academic thoroughness was further exemplified in depicting David executing François Gérard's drawing *Maximilien de Robespierre* (undated) (Fig. 5.29), and implying him as the artist of several other sketches in his studio, such as Anatole Devosge's *Lepeletier de Saint-Fargeau* (undated) (Fig. 5.24b). [456]

Yslaire and Carrière see their collaboration as 'une interprétation de l'histoire' [an interpretation of history], suggesting that history is 'une réinvention du passé' [a reinvention

[449] Yslaire and Carrière 2009a, pp.9-16, 36-37, 44-45.

[450] Ibid, pp.3, 9, 12, 17, 20, 24, 27, 30, 33, 38, 40, 42, 46, 49, 52, 55, 59, 62, 64.

[451] Ibid, pp.14, 33-37, 42-45,

[452] Ibid, p.12; The album gives 8 August 1793 as opening day, while the Musée du Louvre was actually inaugurated on 10 August 1793.

[453] Ibid, p.59; The album gives 8 June 1784 as Festival of the Supreme Being, while the year should be 1794.

[454] Gouch 2010, p.55.

[455] Yslaire and Carrière 2009a, p.17; Carrière in Yslaire and Carrière 2009c; Yslaire in Yslaire and Carrière 2009b.

[456] Yslaire and Carrière 2009a, pp.21-22, 33, 36.

of the past] by historians.[457] Instead, the book is a *misinterpretation* of history, despite the alleged research, academic assistance and expertise provided by the museum, and Carrière's claimed expertise. Respectable historians never *invent* but *interpret* the past following a specific work and research ethos. Such working standards exclude the fabrication of suitable histories but include a critical assessment of any new source material. Since the album lacks any references to support the creators' depiction of events, their version remains doubtful at best, and their attempts to appear credible fruitless. When characters change several times per scene, when artworks are repeatedly rearranged and moved while a character is simultaneously painting, when established Georgian dates are wrong, and Republican dates do not match, when information on historic characters and their artistic production is evidently incorrect, *Le Ciel au-dessus du Louvre* stretched the definition of historic fiction to the breaking point.

The worst of the graphic novel's many problems concerns the citation of artworks reproduced as or within a panel. Such works are either photos *distinguishable* in colour and texture or *indistinguishable* copies transferred into the comics medium: In the former case, the appendices list only a fraction of the artworks; in the latter case, the artworks are appropriated and used without accreditation.

Photographic images are *distinguishable*—their qualities mark them as obviously *not drawn*—but readers cannot always find a matching reference in the appendix. There are more than seventy such cases of uncited artworks. Some of those paintings, prints, sketches, and statues are depicted relatively small, while others occupy (almost) an entire panel. Chapters II and III, showing the Louvre's inauguration (Fig. 5.27), constitute an extreme example of inclusion of uncited works: Of at least seventy-three artworks (some appearing multiple times), only twenty-nine are credited—that is less than 40%.[458] The appendix contains a 'list of works chosen by the author,' admitting to cite selected works only but failing to explain the underlying rationale.[459] Given the apparent difference in colour, texture and materiality and efforts to quote *some* artworks, employing an—ironically named— Documentation Assistant, the situation remains very puzzling. In the end, at least half of the photographically reproduced art is refused a citation.

Several prints, paintings and drawings are simply copied into the comics medium, appropriating compositions and content but remaining uncited once again. Such (parts of) panels blend into the narrative seamlessly, *indistinguishable* in colour or texture. In not

[457] Yslaire and Carrière 2013.
[458] Yslaire and Carrière 2009a, pp.9-16, 68-69.
[459] Yslaire and Carrière 2011, p.68.

declaring their origins, those panels appear and claim to be Yslaire's genuine and original creations, while their uncited status made each a case of appropriation. Once more, the museum's inauguration provides striking examples of this practice: The opening panel of Chapter III (Fig. 5.27) is a mere copy of Gabriel Jacques de Saint-Aubin's *Salon at the Louvre in 1753* (1753) (Fig. 5.30). A panel showing Stern wandering through the museum is a simple reproduction of Hubert Robert's *The Grande Galerie of the Louvre* (1794-1796) with a slightly changed architecture. At least six chapters—more than a third—open with such an appropriated and uncredited artwork. The whole album features at least fourteen examples of such artistic sources being used without accreditation.

Yslaire's practice of appropriation without citation shows disrespect for artists and their works, exemplifies a questionable moral stance and, thus, taints the publication and the people and institutions involved. Naturally, even if no longer copyright protected, not citing artworks is a legal issue. However, one has to consider the book's institutional backing and the label it is marketed with: it is against any academic and museological ethos not to give one's sources.[460] It goes against any artistic ethos to claim false credits for somebody else's intellectual property, depriving the original artists of their rightful position as creators.

The commissioners might not be aware of any of the above actions—although they really should—, regardless, their endorsement of the album approves of the involved working practices. In a comics work definition, they participate in the album's wider authorship and thus carry part of the responsibility for its quality, artistic practice and ethos, and treatment of original artworks and their creators. Margaret Flinn suggests the *Louvre Éditions* series wants to prove the comics medium as an art form equal to museum art and worthy of museums' attention.[461] Factual errors in the narrative, incomplete appendices, artistic appropriation in *Le Ciel au-dessus du Louvre* will most certainly not help to achieve this goal.

The stakeholders are not worried about such issues, possibly because they consider them unimportant for the targeted audience. The Musée du Louvre aims to cross-fertilise the worlds of comics fans and museum visitors, but other considerations are also involved.[462]

'The [Musée du] Louvre is one of the largest museums in the world with exceptional collections for the history of art, but which attracts less the young population because it does not understand the works or finds that the museum is "dusty". Inviting the comic strip gives

---

[460] The tradition to cite works, ideas and information one draws from goes already back to Pliny the Elder and Giorgio Vasari.
[461] Flinn 2013, pp.77, 89, 92.
[462] Douar 2009.

a more "young" image of the Louvre and can make a young audience want to come and discover the Louvre.'[463]

This stance assumes an existing distinction between comic readers and museum visitors and shows an enormous, and no longer sustainable, bias against both. However, the museum does think of comics audiences as young, unfamiliar with museums, and unable to engage or even understand (museum) art. In that case, the stakeholders might consider comprehensive appendices, including a complete list of references and an appropriate working ethos, a waste of time. For Futuropolis, '[t]he imagined audience was that of the authors themselves,' and it tried 'to reach a wider audience, interested in the historical period and of course the museum.'[464] Both institutions target comics fans, the museum in general and the publisher those of Yslaire, as suggested by the recycling of *Le Ciel au-dessus de Bruxelles*. Evidently, no one seems to consider that the quality of a product influences its success. Individuals fascinated by the museum, collection or comic artist would not just buy anything regardless of quality, even less so if they consider themselves interested in history. Therefore, Flinn's assessment 'the Louvre albums seem to be better serving the purpose of introducing an elite, museum-going, "high culture" public to the *bande desinee* than they are at attracting the *bande desinee* public to the museum' comes not as a surprise.[465] However, in particular, people still critical and sceptical of the comics medium and its qualities will not be convinced by an erroneous product that shows little to no respect to artworks and artists in appropriating them.

> Consequently, regarding the publisher's satisfaction, Gnaedig has to admit,
>
> '[h]onestly we hoped the book would work better. Because it was also the first cartoon scenario of Jean-Claude Carrière, who is a famous author. And then Bernar Yslaire, with his historical series *Sambre* had a large audience who did not follow this book completely … [b]ut otherwise the book could reach a new audience despite everything.'[466]

Nevertheless, the French print run was an astonishing 35,000 copies, of which the museum sold around 2,000 and the publisher 20,000 copies.[467] The Musée du Louvre does not judge the satisfaction of Yslaire's and Carrière's collaboration individually but sees the entire series as a success. Indeed, 2019 marked the fifteenth anniversary of the *Louvre Éditions* series.

---

[463] Douar 2018.

[464] Gnaedig 2018b.

[465] Flinn 2013, p.72.

[466] Gnaedig 2018b.

[467] Musée du Louvre (2010, p.53) states a print run of 35,000 copies; Gnaedig (2018a) states 'we sold 20,000 copies.'; Douar (2018) recalls French sales were 'around 30,000 copies,' including 'around 2000 copies' sold by the museum; Douar 2009.

Both commissioners did not pay much attention to the single publication. Hence, as an individual graphic novel, *Le Ciel au-dessus du Louvre* does not have any particular afterlife, except for occasionally appearing in exhibitions about the series. For example, for the tenth anniversary of the *Louvre Éditions* in 2015, the museum compiled a touring exhibition, visiting two museums in Taiwan followed by four locations in Japan over almost two years.[468] For Douar, the series, including *Le Ciel au-dessus du Louvre*, has undoubtedly helped his career: he rose from Assistant Head of Publishing to Editorial Manager at the Interpretation and Cultural Programming Department. Seemingly, neither for Carrière nor Yslaire, the commission has had any noticeable influence on their respective careers.

As but one single album in the *Louvre Éditions* series, and due to being released one year behind schedule, missing out on the exhibition, Yslaire's and Carrière's work did not receive special attention. Interestingly, in their partnership, the artist set the parameters which the writer had to respect. Yet, the creators made little use of the potential of the comics medium, as occasionally the graphic novel relies exclusively on paragraphs of text to advance the story. Coupled with Yslaire's sketchy drawings, it leaves the impression of an unfinished or rushed book and misses the opportunity to present David's oeuvre to the readers. While it features a few art-historical anecdotes and comics genre-specific tropes, the main focus lies neither with David's life nor his work, mirroring a modern painter's novel, but with the museum as institutions and location.

The Musée du Louvre co-commissions the graphic novel to attract comic readers, which it considers different from museum visitors. At the same time, Yslaire and the publisher Futuropolis use the publications to promote other works by the comic artist. None of the stakeholders seems to have been particularly concerned about the product's quality, which is questionable at least and can easily constitute a cautioning example of mistakes, errors, and approaches to avoid.

Firstly, the piece of historic fiction is marketed as historically well-researched and accurate while displaying a considerable number of grave and embarrassing mistakes and

---

[468] See URL: https://natalie. mu/comic/news/195285 (Accessed 02/09/2018); URL: https://www.louvre.fr /expositions/du-louvre-tokyo-les-bd-du-louvre-s-exposent-au-japon?ltype=archives (Accessed 22/08/2018); Referring to *Bande Dessinée* as the Ninth Art, *L'OUVRE 9 打開 羅浮宮九號* [L'OUVRE 9 – The Louvre Palace Opens to No. 9] toured two Taiwanese cities: Taipei (Museum of National Taipei University of Education (MoNTUE) (28 November 2015 – 28 February 2016) (URL: http://montue.ntue.edu.tw/exhibit/show/16, accessed 18/02/2020), and Tainan (Tainan Cultural Centre, 30 April – 22 May 2016) (URL: http://digitalarchives.artcenter.ncku.edu.tw/arts/single?id=843, accessed 02/09/2018); Subsequently *ルーヴル No.9 ～漫画、9 番目の芸術* [Louvre No. 9 - Manga, the Ninth Art] was shown in Tokyo (Mori Arts Centre, 22 July - 25 September 2016), Osaka (Granfront Osaka Kitaiban Knowledge Capital Event Laboratory, 1 December 2016 – 29 January 2017), Fukuoka (Fukuoka Art Museum, 15 April – 28 May 2017), and Nagoya (Matsuzakaya Art Museum, 15 July – 3 September 2017); The exhibition has a separate Facebook account, available at URL: https://www.facebook.com/manga9art/ (accessed 05/08/2019).

errors but leaving the impression of an art history lesson. As no references are included, readers are left in the dark about where to draw the facts-fiction divide. Secondly, there is a disproportion of artworks being reproduced and cited, with at least half of the artworks without reference. Thirdly, in multiple cases, Yslaire appropriates paintings, prints and drawings by simply copying the artworks into the comics medium but refusing them a citation. Even though such practices show a lack of academic rigour and artistic ethos as well as disrespect for the original artists and their works, the Musée du Louvre and Futuropolis cannot deny responsibility for their product. As commissioners and editors, thus part of the wider authorship, actively involved in shaping the project, they have endorsed the final product's practices and quality, now standing on bookshelves and sales tables.

5.4. France: *Dalí*

In November 2012, the graphic novel biography *Dalí*, co-commissioned by Jeanne Alechinsky, for Centre Pompidou, Paris, and José-Louis Bocquet, for Éditions Dupuis, was released. The 136-page narrative about the life and art of Spanish painter Salvador Dalí, created by the seasoned French graphic novelist Edmond Baudoin in only eighteen months with the aid of graphic designer Philippe Ghielmetti, features a twenty-page appendix including a biography and bibliography by Alechinsky. It was one of several publications accompanying the large retrospective *Dalí (21 November 2012 – 25 March 2013)* held at the Musée National d'Art Moderne. Parallel, *Dalí par Baudoin* [Dalí by Baudoin] *(21 November 2012 – 24 March 2013)* was hosted at Musée de la Bande Dessinée in Angoulême.[469] *Dalí* inaugurated a series of at least five graphic novels about canonical artists co-published by the museum.[470] However, *Dalí* is mainly seen as an individual graphic novel rather than a part of a series—in contrast to *Le Ciel au-dessus du Louvre*.

Unlike most examples in the corpus, *Dalí* is a full biography, covering an artist's life from childhood to death. In contrast, the narrative's focus on the painter's personality behind his public persona is more common. Baudoin worked in ink and brush, creating a mainly black-and-white narrative with carefully employed coloured highlights, making *Dalí* exceptionally artistic within the Museum Boom. Finally, the visual distinction of the different narrators' and commentators' voices, the interchange and juxtaposition of nested images and open drawings, and the rendering and interpretation of Salvador Dalí's most canonical artworks makes *Dalí* essential for this research.

---

[469] This exhibition is discussed in Chapter 6.

[470] See Appendix D.2 for a full list of graphic novel publications by Centre Pompidou.

Very fortunately, Baudoin kindly made himself available for a face-to-face interview during his residency at Institut français du Royaume-Uni in London in November 2017.[471] Unfortunately, the two commissioners were not available for an interview or questionnaire. Alechinsky left Centre Pompidou, resulting in a lack of first-hand information on the museum's part, while the publisher never responded to attempt to establish a contact. To compensate for lacking primary sources, the commissioners' online appearances and social media channels, and annual reports were consulted, as were interviews in the public domain.

Reminiscent of the subject of *The Three Ages*, well-explored in art history (Fig. 5.31), the narrative is preceded by three portraits of Dalí at three different ages, each occupying a whole page (Fig. 5.32a-c). Dalí, bearing his dead younger brother's name, grows up a lonely, violent, deeply troubled boy, aged twelve he starts painting. His mother dies when he is seventeen. Soon afterwards, he moves to Madrid to attend art school. After his first exhibition in Madrid, Dalí moves to Paris aged twenty-two. He gets more and more immersed in Surrealism, painting famous works, such as *Honey Is Sweeter Than Blood* (1927) and *The Lugubrious Game* (1929). He shoots the movie *Un Chien Andalou* (1929) with Luis Buñuel and meets other Surrealists. Dalí meets his later wife, Gala, but his father disapproves of the relationship, leading to a fallout. The artist goes on several trips to America, holding lectures, having exhibitions, fleeing the Spanish Civil War (1936-139), painting some of his best-known works, such as *Premonition of Civil War* (1935), *Metamorphosis of Narcissus* (1937) and *The Burning Giraffe* (1937). In 1948, the artist reconciles with his father and publishes a manifesto on how to 'save art.'[472] Two years later, his sister Anna Maria publishes *Salvador Dalí as seen by his Sister*. In revenge, Dalí paints *Young Virgin Self-Sodomised by The Horns Of Her Own Chastity* (1954) and disowns her. With the death of Gala in 1982, Dalí's energy seems to die too. He paints his final painting in 1983, dying in 1989.

Dalí is very similar to the traditional art-historical artist's monograph in its approach, relying on anecdotes to tell the artist's life, including his artistic training, and trace the creation of particular artworks. While not depicting any original museum art, it names and discusses major works and features drawings inspired by them, allowing the readers to familiarise themselves with the artist's subjects and symbolism and thus large parts of the artist's oeuvre. The narrative establishes not just a historical but also an emotional link between the two, thus following a life-and-work model. Indeed, as Salvador Dalí's art was autobiographical and full of personal references, the approach seems natural. For example,

---

[471] A special thanks goes to Ms. Laetitia Forst for interpreting during the interview.

[472] Baudoin 2012, p.107.

Young Virgin Auto-Sodomized by the Horns of Her Own Chastity (1954) was a response Dalí's on his sister Anna Maria publishing a book on their shared childhood. *Dalí* uses several traditional anecdotes from art history, such as the constant competition between Dalí, Lorca and Buñuel, conflict with clients, and the development of a certain eccentricity due to fame and wealth.[473] Furthermore, it shows Salvador Dalí placing himself in the lineage of canonical painters (Fig. 5.33), an essential element of the canon of art history: Referring to previous canonical predecessors and their art, trying to gain status as their canonical successor.

Also, the graphic novel contains some of the comics genre-specific tropes, such as artistic destiny—Dalí draws and paints at a young age—, powerful clients and supporters—Dalí meets Pope Pious XII—, obsession and taking financial, artistic, and personal risks—he almost suffocates when giving a lecture wearing a diving helmet. Unsurprisingly, the graphic novel depicts Dalí obsessed with his art and his wife Gala, and himself and his immortality. Finally, in showing Salvador Dalí's moments of triumph and despair, the publication also mirrors an essential aspect of the First Boom.

Alechinsky believes that many museum visitors must feel confused and alone in front of artworks and wall texts.[474] She mentions being fascinated by the easy accessibility of the comics medium, seemingly hoping to use it to make the museum, in general, and the *Dalí* retrospective at Centre Pompidou, in particular, more approachable.[475] According to her, the graphic novel project was proposed, based on the idea to see one great artist (Dalí) through the eyes of another (Baudoin), from one human to another and linked by the artistic process.[476] She considers Baudoin the *l'auteur idéal* [the ideal author] due to his experience in (auto)biography, drawing style, and his ability to withstand the 'atmosphère Dalínienne' [Dalínian atmosphere].[477]

When Centre Pompidou approached Baudoin, in late 2010 or early 2011, it already had 'decided he would be the best and [therefore] he could not say no,' the artist recalls.[478] Constituting 'a great opportunity' for Baudoin, *Dalí* took him 'about one and a half years' to complete.[479] Baudoin and the museum confirm both that research support was provided to Baudoin, who recalls having access to the catalogue during its creation, as well as 'three

---

[473] Already Pliny (1968, pp.106-107, 114-115) records the eccentricity of Zeuxis and Parrhasios, and Vasari (1998, pp.288, 296, 427, 438, 466) does so for Leonardo da Vinci and Michelangelo Buonarotti.

[474] Aleckinsly in La Cité 2012, p.2.

[475] Ibid.

[476] Ibid.

[477] Ibid.

[478] Baudoin 2017.

[479] Ibid.

specialists, initially working on the exhibition [at Centre Pompidou]' making themselves available.[480] As the Centre Pompidou owns only a hand full of works by Dalí as well as a few photographs of him by Man Ray, it remains unclear to what extent Baudoin was given the opportunity to examine Dalí's art *in situ*, an essential step in an author's research for a traditional artist's monograph.[481] Baudoin also remembers hardly any restrictions for the project, calling it '*carte blanche*.'[482] Only on a single occasion, Baudoin's initial idea was rejected—when he 'drew skulls into Dalí's eyes'—which he agreed to change. However, the demand did not come from the French commissioners but the Spanish Gala-Salvador Dalí Foundation, which guards Dalí's 'artistic, cultural and intellectual oeuvre' globally, and apparently held a strong editorial role in the project too while staying otherwise in the background.[483]

The *Dalí* retrospective at Centre Pompidou, accompanied by many publications, such as an exhibition catalogue, illustrated exhibition guide, a monograph, a DVD, a smartphone application as well as the graphic novel, received the usual publicity, while the individual products were not separately promoted. Consequently, Baudoin's *Dalí* was hardly publicised on its own. It was mentioned on the museum's homepage as one of many show-related books. However, the art institution did not mention it on Facebook and tweeted about it just three times around the release date.[484] Alechinsky tweeted a picture of herself holding the book, promoting its upcoming release.[485] Similarly, Éditions Dupuis did not write about Baudoin's graphic novel on Facebook, and mentioned it only twice on Twitter but never on their YouTube channel.[486]

The most attention and publicity, certainly within the comics community, was provided by the Musée de la Bande Dessinée in Angoulême. While it did not post on Facebook or Twitter, it uploaded an interview with Baudoin and a flip through his notebook for *Dalí* on YouTube, respectively in January and February 2013.[487] It also featured eleven separate entries on its homepage, partly forming the press release, including contributions from Alechinsky and Jean-Hubert Martin, the *Dalí* retrospective's head curator, and an interview with Baudoin, while also promoting several related events. It is remarkable that

---

[480] Ibid.; Baudoin in Furino 2016; Alechinsky in La Cité 2012, p.2; Baudoin in La Cité 2012, p.3.

[481] The Centre Pompidou online collection (URL: https://www.centrepompidou.fr/en/recherche/oeuvres? terms=Salvador%20Dal%C3%AD&display=Grid, accessed 23/10/2021).

[482] Baudoin 2017; Baudoin in Baudoin and Vargas 2012.

[483] Baudoin 2017; Baudoin 2013; For its mission, see Fundació Gala-Salvador Dalí (URL: https://www. salvador-dali.org/en/dali-foundation/the-dali-foundation/missio-fundacional/, accessed 06/02/2020).

[484] Centre Pompidou 2012b-d; Centre Pompidou's YouTube channel was only started in 2017.

[485] Alechinsky 2012.

[486] Éditions Dupuis 2012a; b.

[487] La Cité 2013a; b.

the two comics workers with the most financial risks and editing efforts involved, the museum and the publisher, seem to have done little to mitigate their risks and promote the product they have helped to create, in trying to provide maximum publicity to guarantee a successful reception of the graphic novel. Equally interesting, it was a party uninvolved in the production and sale of the comics product, that appears to have put the most effort into promoting it. However, as a museum specialised in comics, it mainly provided exposure to a particular segment of society, comics readers.

Baudoin frequently states he neither liked Salvador Dalí nor his art particularly and just knew basic art-historical facts about the artist before receiving the commission.[488] As he does not believe in the concept of genius, actually detesting it, but did not want to turn down the commission, he had 'to find the Dalí he likes!'[489] Baudoin 'research[ed] the [artist's] art and life,' 'read a lot and watch[ed] some movies' and 'stud[ied] paintings' in preparation for *Dalí*.[490] Thus, Baudoin was following the life-and-work model in his research as well as in the graphic novel. In search of the 'fragile, non-genius', Baudoin tried 'to make the *human* visible,' hidden under the myths, performances and persona of the Spanish Surrealist.[491] An autobiographical artist himself, Baudoin 'put himself into Dalí's shoes,' using his own artistic experience to draw the artist's portrait while remaining cautious of being absorbed by him.[492]

In the publication, Baudoin initially 'distanc[es] himself from Dalí,' using ants, a young couple and talking rocks as parallel narrators comment on the Spanish Surrealist's life of and art (Fig. 5.34)—labelling those proxies 'entrances'—for the first two-thirds of the narrative.[493] He distinguishes the various narrators' voices by different typefaces.[494] Subsequently, having established Dalí sufficiently as person and character, Baudoin himself narrates the story in conversation with the woman from the aforementioned young couple, becoming autobiographical at times in comparing Dalí's and his own private and artistic lives (Fig. 5.35). In 'restricting himself' to this distance and identifying and exploring his weaknesses, problems and fears, Baudoin brought 'Dalí back as a fragile, human being,' thus, learned to like, even love Salvador Dalí.[495]

---

[488] Baudoin 2017; Baudoin in Furino 2016; Baudoin 2013; Baudoin in Delrieux 2013; Baudoin in Baudoin and Vargas 2012.
[489] Baudoin 2017.
[490] Ibid.
[491] Ibid.
[492] Ibid.; Baudoin 2013.
[493] Baudoin 2017; Baudoin 2013; Baudoin in La Cité 2012, p.3.
[494] Baudoin in La Cité 2012, p.3.
[495] Baudoin 2017; Baudoin in Furino 2016; Baudoin 2013.

Whether intended or not, *Dalí* is educational, displaying and critically discussing the life of Salvador Dalí, mentioning his most essential works, and pointing out their symbols and meaning. In its exact chronology of events and artworks—facilitated by the appendix containing a biography and bibliography—it provides a good overview of both, and invites readers to explore the world of Dalí further. *Dalí* decodes the artist Salvador Dalí in naming, explaining and tracing the origins, meanings, and resurgences of the symbols in his art, such as the Tower, the Crutches, the Fish, the Egg, the *Angelus* (1857-1859) by Jean-François Millet and others. However, it is also a testimonial to Baudoin's approach, as he explains his steps and rationale in the creative process, such as the need and measures to achieve distance between Dalí and himself.[496] Thus, *Dalí* is an autobiographical account of its creation, a prevailing feature of Baudoin's oeuvre.[497]

Baudoin's narrative is strong and convincing, digging deep into the psyche of Salvador Dalí, brought to life through the combination with the unique graphic style and the high command of the comics medium and visual storytelling. Mainly working with ink and brush—only occasionally using pencil or pen—Baudoin produced ink drawings for *Dalí*, resulting in very powerful and dramatic black and white aesthetics, with sporadic acrylic and aquarelle colours reserved for Dalí's encounters with Gala (Fig. 5.37).[498] Baudoin's selective use of colour is an excellent example of braiding, as the sudden change from the black and white narrative creates a dramatic effect, highlighting the scene. Thus, those scenes constitute a series of moments that emphasise Gala's importance for Dalí as a human and artist. Further, the motif of Dalí's 'overflowing head', when the artist's head is drawn open in the back and blending with images that seem to 'grow out' of it, is recurring several times (Fig. 5.33). [499] Here, the visual storytelling reveals to the readers what is going on at the back of Dalí's mind, the anxiety he is suppressing and the artistic inspirations feeding into his art. On the other hand, it constitutes another, slightly less obvious, example of 'rhyming' in the corpus.

There is a delicate balance between Baudoin's light and dynamic line, on the one hand, and the at times dark and heavy content, on the other hand. Indeed, some pages need lingering or repeated reading to process the multiple layers and density of surrealist symbolism and artistic details. The former is often hidden or inscribed in the latter (Fig. 5.34), sometimes resembling Renaissance artist Giuseppe Arcimboldo's paintings (Fig.

---

[496] Baudoin 2012, pp.109-112, 121.

[497] Baudoin 2017.

[498] Baudoin in La Cité 2012, p.4.

[499] Baudoin 2012, pp.55, 63, 66, 96-97, 108.

5.37). Dalí's symbolism and its recurring iconic motifs are braided into a most complex self-referencing network spanning the whole graphic novel. Unfortunately, a detailed analysis of this network would exceed the available space. Furthermore, Baudoin employs the collage technique too (Fig. 5.38) and layers the voices of different narrators, placing whole panels and scenes in their speech bubbles (Fig. 5.39) or having them unfold in parallel comments (Fig. 5.34). Much of Baudoin's work is visually striking, and many of his panels and pages would not raise eyebrows if hung in a contemporary art exhibition.

Naturally, Baudoin interprets Dalí's artworks, while also referencing various other artists who influenced the Spanish Surrealist (Fig. 5.33, 5.34, 5.37). In doing this, Baudoin demonstrates his artistic experience and versatility and hints at the large amount of research that must have gone into the project. Despite the entire book not showing a single original, Dalí's artworks guide the story from one highlight to the next. Dalí had based his paintings on his dreams, a technique he called the paranoiac-critical method, and Baudoin tried to trace those dreams, creating pictures of what Dalí had in mind before his works.[500] Reusing this technique, Baudoin illustrates and interprets the origins of Dalí's dreams, describing the graphic novel as the result of his own paranoiac-critical method of Dalí's work.[501] Also, Baudoin admits just copying existing paintings would have felt embarrassing, putting himself into Dalí's shoes instead and representing the artist's inspiration.[502] Thus, Baudoin claims he 'invented the paranoiac-critical method of the paranoiac-critical method.'[503] Besides, the Gala-Salvador Dalí Foundation would have forced Baudoin to pay copyright-fee for each used image, which he also avoids this way. Consequently, there was also no need to cite any artworks.

Although he decides to circumvent any direct copies of Dalí's artworks, Baudoin references, describes and even elaborates on a large number.[504] Those works he chooses to adapt Baudoin defines as key to understanding Dalí as human.[505] Nevertheless, while the book brings forward the human behind the big name, since the underlying considerations are not clearly stated, readers might take interpretations by Baudoin for originals by Dalí.[506] At the same time, the detailed re-interpretations of Dalí's art, the explanation of key subjects and symbols in his art, and the bibliography, including the artworks produced each year, mean that *Dalí* presents much of the Salvador Dalí's oeuvre to the readers, who can easily

---

[500] Baudoin 2017; Baudoin 2013.
[501] Baudoin in Furino 2016.
[502] Baudoin in La Cité 2012, p.3.
[503] Baudoin 2017.
[504] Baudoin 2013.
[505] Baudoin 2017.
[506] Baudoin 2012, pp.111-112.

find references to the originals to complement the graphic novel. Thus, after reading the graphic novel, the audience might even recognise works by Dalí by their style and subject matter when it comes across them in an exhibition. This effect might not be entirely incidental, as, for the graphic novelist, the book is more than just a biography or a dissection of the artist's mind through his art: he also envisions it as a sort of catalogue or exhibition guide, enabling readers to draw parallels between Dali's and Baudoin's versions—a notion in line with Centre Georges Pompidou categorising the book as catalogue, as discussed below.[507]

The meticulously compiled biography and bibliography, including a list of artworks, allow a clear and easy fact-fiction division. Overall, Baudoin's *Dalí* attracts little criticism, with two exceptions. Firstly, the book can be somewhat overwhelming and even confusing, as, at times, readers suddenly encounter dense, multi-layered content and—considering the Dalían symbolism—complex imagery on turning a page. The hectic and sometimes crowded narrative, repeatedly changing pace, might leave readers with a slightly anxious impression. When the story is not immediately straightforward to read, due to parallel narratives unfolding on the same page but at a different point in time and indeed sometimes space, this obscures the reading direction and may possibly deter individual readers. However, for a biography about one of the most prominent Surrealists, those aspects may actually contribute to the overall experience of the narrative and the main character, hence, be intended.

Secondly, despite Baudoin suggesting a dominance of his drawings over the text, the book is heavy on and driven by text.[508] Especially during scenes with multiple parallel narratives, the image-text relationship fades, and the two stand more separated than together. Such scenes or panels focus either on the text or the image but do not work together smoothly. As Baudoin is well-experienced, he certainly knows how to avoid such imbalances, it is thus undoubtedly an odd phenomenon. Possibly, even for him, three to four parallel voices telling different narratives might be too many threads to braid effectively into one solid string.

Without any comments from the commissioners regarding the targeted audience or the level of satisfaction, respective assessments are partly speculative. The publisher's marketing of the book to '12+' readers is an indication but seems very young given the complexity, maturity of the content, and nudity and sexual references—although nothing explicit.[509] Realistically, an audience of late teens and (young) adults appears more appropriate.

---

[507] Baudoin 2013; Baudoin in La Cité 2012, p.4.

[508] Baudoin 2013.

[509] Éditions Dupuis (available at URL: https://www.dupuis.com/biopic-salvador-dali/bd/biopic-salvador-dali-dali-par-baudoin/30946, accessed 14/05/219).

There are indications of disagreements between the museum and the publisher. Most obviously, the series was not continued with Éditions Dupuis. Instead, Centre Pompidou change the partner, publishing the subsequent graphic novels with Actes Sud BD.[510] Also, both institutions hardly promoted *Dalí*. Given that Éditions Dupuis releases Baudoin's *Trois pas vers la Couleur* (2013), it would appear these two stakeholders had no issues. Similarly, it seems that the museum and the comic artist were on good terms, as Alechinsky and Martin contributed short essays for the exhibition in Angouleme. The fact that the museum has commissioned four more graphic narratives by established graphic novelists indicates satisfaction with the first publication.

Baudoin is generally satisfied with the commission and his work. However, he is displeased with the low French sales numbers, as *Dalí* has been treated as a catalogue by the museum, resulting in a single print run only. Once this first edition had sold out, it marked the end of *Dalí* in French, allowing only temporary success in the creator's home country. It is plausible to assume that this arrangement caused a disagreement between the museum and the publisher.

Fortunately for Baudoin, any foreign-language editions have not such a limited print run, resulting in Spanish, English, German, Italian, and even Chinese translations. Several pieces of original art from *Dalí* were offered and sold for €1800 per double-page at Huberty & Breyne Gallery with branches in Brussels and Paris, also offering originals from several other publications by Baudoin, suggesting a standard procedure for his books.[511] Otherwise, the commission by Centre Pompidou and Éditions Dupuis had no prominent afterlife or impact on Baudoin's career, as he was already very well-established on the graphic novel scene and market.

Edmond Baudoin's graphic novel biography *Dalí*, commissioned by Centre Pompidou and Dupuis, is well-researched. It provides a twenty-page appendix comprised of a biography and a bibliography, encouraging and enabling interested readers to continue their journey into the life, mind, and art of Spanish Surrealist artist Salvador Dalí. The museum and the creator intend the graphic novel as a form of catalogue or exhibition guide.

The publication is well-executed, dividing the voices of Baudoin and the other characters, though sometimes the parallel yet separate narratives can confuse some readers. Baudoin managed to fulfil his aim to reveal the fragile, fearful and shy human behind the genius's persona. In following the traditional life-and-work model, presenting a large proportion of the portrayed artist's oeuvre, and the regular use of well-established art-

---

[510] See Appendix D.2 for a full list of graphic novel publications by Centre Pompidou.

[511] Available at URL: https://www.hubertybreyne.com/ (Accessed 19/08/2019).

historical anecdotes, *Dalí* is surprisingly close to a typical art-historical artist's monograph. At the same time, it features several genre-specific tropes of artist's biography comics.

In terms of comics work, it is remarkable that those parties involved with the creation, such as the museum and the publisher, showed only little effort to promote their product. In contrast the Musée de la Bande Dessinée in Angoulême aided considerably with the publicising of *Dalí*. Although otherwise not involved, the Spanish Gala-Salvador Dalí Foundation was apparently editing the drafts.

Artistically, the book is truly unique, fully drawn in ink and only coloured to accentuate certain scenes, constituting an interesting example of braiding. Baudoin chose not to copy any original artworks but to comment on and interpret them, imagining what might have inspired them. This notion possibly confuses some readers into taking the comic artist's representation as an original. Although the use of the comics medium is impressive and masterful for most of the story, on occasions, the album becomes rather text-heavy, which then seems to function alongside the image instead of in junction with it.

The book was the first in a series of at least five graphic narratives co-commissioned by the museum. However, it appears that the collaboration with the publisher was not free of frictions, as *Dalí* has remained the only joint release with Éditions Dupuis.

5.5. Netherlands: *Vincent*

In October 2012, the 141-page biographical graphic novel *Vincent* about the last years in the life of Dutch painter Vincent van Gogh, by Dutch comic artist and *Stripschapprijs* winner Barbara Stok, aided by her partner and colourist Ricky van Duuren, was published in Dutch and English. [512] Gert Jan Pos, *Stripintendant* at the *Fonds voor Beeldende Kunsten, Vormgeving en Bouwkunst* (BKVB [The Netherlands Foundation for Visual Arts, Design and Architecture] (now *Mondriaan Fonds* [Mondriaan Foundation]), had initiated the book.[513] He commissioned *Vincent* together with the Van Gogh Museum and Stok's usual publishing house Nijgh & Van Ditmar in 2009. It was the very first Dutch graphic novel about a canonical visual artist and, with the support of *Nederlands Letterenfonds* [The Dutch Foundation for Literature], it has become the most successful one, currently available in at

---

[512] The *Stripschapprijs* is the most prestigious Dutch comics prize, awarded annually since 1974 to a cartoonist or illustrator for his/her oeuvre.

[513] Mondriaan Fonds 2012a, pp.4-5, In 2011, the BKVB merged with *Mondriaan Fonds*, which took over all the projects and continues to exist. Therefore, although *Mondriaan Fonds* is technically a different organization, it is essentially the same organization that co-funded the *Vincent* project; For a discussion of Gert Jan Pos's role as part of a Dutch governmental campaign promoting comics, see Chapter 7.

least eighteen languages.[514] The launch event also inaugurated the touring exhibition *Barbara Stok tekent Vincent van Gogh* [Barbara Stok Draws Vincent van Gogh] *(19 October 2012 – 30 August 2013)*.[515] The fact that Stok was a frontrunner, her unique drawing and narrative style, the resulting transnational success of *Vincent* and the differing aims of the various stakeholders make it a crucial part of the corpus.[516] A version of this case study has been published as a journal article in 2018, investigating the graphic novel's transnational appeal and its role in the Van Gogh Museum's rebranding campaign.[517]

Stok made herself and her work available most generously, in agreeing to a lengthy phone interview as well as in sharing sketches and photos. Gert Jan Pos, initiator, co-funder and co-commissioner of *Vincent*, also agreed to a phone interview. Suzanne Bogman, Head of Publications at the Van Gogh Museum, was willing to answer a questionnaire. The museum's press releases, annual reports and online appearances were consulted too. Finally, Barbara den Ouden from *Nederlands Letterenfonds* also agreed to a brief interview. Despite repeated attempts, neither the publisher Nijgh & Van Ditmar nor the Mondriaan Fonds could be reached.

The narrative of *Vincent* covers the last two and a half years of the painter's life, concentrating on his mental struggles and the brotherly love between Vincent and Theo van Gogh, expressed in numerous letters. In Arles in Southern France, Vincent dreams of setting up an artists' commune, inviting Paul Gauguin to join and lead it. While waiting for a reply, he creates some of his best-known paintings, such as *Harvest at La Crau* (1888) (Fig. 5.40), *The Yellow House* (1888), and *Madame Augustine Roulin Rocking a Cradle* (1889) (Fig. 5.41). Worried about owing his brother an increasing amount of money, Vincent's mental state deteriorates, further fuelled by loneliness, disagreements with other artists, and the uncertainty about Gauguin's answer. First light, and subsequently, heavier seizures and mental breakdowns occur. A letter from Gauguin, agreeing to come to Arles, stops one particularly severe depressive episode. Full of euphoria, Vincent paints his canonical *Sunflowers in Vase* (1888) (Fig. 5.42). When Gauguin arrives in Arles, the relationship between the two artists is a difficult one, as they disagree over the prospect of the artists' commune. The narrative peaks with a big fight between the two painters, resulting in Gauguin's departure and Vincent's notorious self-mutilation during a particularly bad seizure. At the asylum in Saint-Rémy, his mental state slowly improves, and he paints

---

[514] In comparison, Edward Still (2013) counted 'more than 30 different languages' into which Art Spiegelman's *Maus* had been translated.

[515] This exhibition is discussed in Chapter 6.

[516] For the use of graphic novels from the corpus as PR tools, see Chapter 7.

[517] Yu-Kiener, Tobias J. "Barbara Stok's Graphic Biography Vincent: A Transnational Campaign." *International Journal of Comic Art* Vol.20, No.1 (2018): pp.170-188.

Almond Blossom (1890) for his baby nephew named after himself. In Auvers-sur-Oise in Northern France, under the care of Dr Gachet, his mental health improves significantly. Nevertheless, after a visit from his brother, Vincent paints *Wheatfield With Crows* (1890) (Fig. 5.43) and vanishes into it.

There are several myths and anecdotes about Vincent van Gogh, such as that he was named after his stillborn brother, that he cut off (a piece of) his left ear to present it to a prostitute as a token of love, that he only sold one painting during his lifetime, and that *Wheatfield With Crows* (1890) was his last painting, as well as multiple diagnoses for his mental problems. Most of them can be found in Stok's *Vincent*. The graphic novel also features some well-known classical art-historical anecdotes, such as the competition between artists, particularly van Gogh and Gauguin, and a painter's remarkable speed, appear in *Vincent*. For example, Paul Gauguin comments that van Gogh's 'sunflowers are more beautiful than Monet's' and he remarks, '[a]nother new painting?! I can't keep up with you.'[518] In declaring van Gogh 'a worthy successor to the 17th-century Dutch Masters,' the graphic novel hints towards his genius and canonical status.[519]

Moreover, Stok's graphic novel depicts the painter living on bread and wine, working long hours and refraining from sex to have an early start the next day, and expressing a clear hermit-like vision of the artists' commune (Fig. 5.44).[520] Genre-specific tropes appear in *Vincent* too, such as an obsession with his art and him revolutionising painting with his brushstrokes and colour choices. Further—very prominent indeed—Stok's book features the anecdote of an artist's mental instability, what in former times was described as melancholy and is nowadays often titled the mad genius. In image and text, suggesting a strong emotional connection between van Gogh's life and his art, *Vincent* is exemplary of the life-and-work model frequently used in art-historical artist's monographs. In contrast, another crucial feature of the monograph, the presentation of an artist's oeuvre, only appears to a very limited extent as the artwork in the graphic novel remain uncited. Finally, in focusing on moments of personal and emotional triumph and despair, the book follows the concept of most narratives of the First Boom.

In 2009, in his role at BKVB, Gert Jan Pos aimed to promote Dutch comics on a national and international level, initiating and partly funding, among others, *Vincent*.[521] Aware that the Van Gogh Museum 'was thinking of doing something [a graphic novel],' he contacted the museum, offering to help fund the project on the condition that the comic artist

---

[518] Stok 2014, pp. 70-71.

[519] Stok 2014, pp.120-121.

[520] Stok 2014, pp. 13-14, 29, 31, 17, 48, 50-51.

[521] Pos 2017; For a comprehensive discussion of Pos's role, see Chapters 5 and 6.

would be Dutch.[522] Once his suggestion had been accepted, he proposed Stok, knowing her and liking her 'very modest, very efficient, [and] very optimistic' style.[523] Stok still had to make a pitch but won the assignment.[524] Stok had published several autobiographical books with Nijgh & Van Ditmar since 1998. As already argued for Badoux and *Klee*, publishers usually try to bind a successful author to the company, preventing them from signing up with a competitor. Thus, it should be considered a strong possibility that the publisher and graphic novelist came as a package in this case too. Unfortunately, it remains unclear who was approached first by the museum. Initially, the publication's page count and format were meant to mirror Stok's previous autobiographical graphic novels, but eventually, the book became a bit longer.[525] She remembers 'the period [the book covers] became shorter, and at the same time the book became longer' because she demanded the story 'be able to breathe and have quiet pages as well.'[526] It is remarkable that both commissioners, bearing the financial costs, which inevitably go up with a more extensive narrative, supported Stok's decision seemingly without much hesitation, suggesting excellent cooperation and trust in Stok's abilities. Also, to ensure the quality and avoid rushing the project, Stok asked for sufficient time, guaranteeing her thirteen and a half months spread over three years to finish *Vincent*.[527] While Stok points out during the interview the help she received from her partner, the colourist, there was no further information on Ricky van Duuren and his work available to this research.[528]

Stok states that the Van Gogh Museum had 'no strong demands at all' and that it was an 'absolutely brilliant cooperation' as they shared the 'same ideas about Vincent van Gogh.'[529] However, she admits to some self-censoring, as she 'made sure [she] didn't write anything the museum couldn't agree with.'[530] Bogman confirms that 'the story had to fit into the views of the museum about van Gogh's life and work.'[531] Otherwise, the Van Gogh Museum allowed Stok 'total freedom,' the graphic novelist recalls, turning down the museum's and publisher's 'comments and suggestions for editing' on occasions.[532] The art institution appointed a museum researcher, assisting Stok with research, providing access to

---

[522] Ibid.

[523] Ibid.

[524] Bogman 2017.

[525] Stok 2017, The originally agreed page count was 128, while the final count is 142 pages.

[526] Ibid.

[527] Ibid.

[528] Ibid.

[529] Ibid.

[530] Ibid.

[531] Bogman 2017.

[532] Stok 2017; Bogman 2017.

the library and historical documents, and reproductions of paintings.[533] Given this close collaboration, it would be plausible to assume that Stok had access to the museum's collection and could study at least part of the original artworks *in situ* when preparing for *Vincent*, but it remains unconfirmed. With the researcher and the publisher, Stok regularly discussed and edited her drafts, 'perfected' them as she calls it, into its final shape. Stok's idea was not approved right away only on a single occasion.[534] Thus, due to actively editing various drafts, the publisher and the museum should also be considered part of the wider authorship.

The stakeholder's marketing and publicity efforts for *Vincent* were relatively moderate. Naturally, the Van Gogh Museum was involved in most of the promotion of the graphic novel about the artist.[535] However, the launch of *Vincent* happened at the museum of Stok's hometown Groningen, with the directors of both museums attending and receiving a copy during the event.[536] The location allowed for the accompanying touring exhibition *Barbara Stok tekent Vincent van Gogh,* to be launched simultaneously at the public library in Groningen.[537] Conveniently, the show and the book were promoting each other. Otherwise, *Vincent* received very little marketing and publicising from the Van Gogh Museum, with only six posts on Twitter between August 2009 and October 2013 and another eight on Facebook between September 2012 and October 2013, while no related video was released via the official YouTube channel.[538] In 2009, the Van Gogh Museum had started a large-scale rebranding and outreach campaign, including a new corporate identity, physical structure, online appearance, museum education and outreach programmes, considering *Vincent* as but *one* aspect of this endeavour, not giving it special attention.[539] Gert Jan Pos says the BKVB mentioned *Vincent* in 'press releases and newsletters,' mainly looking to the museum and publisher to advertise it.[540] However, he took Stok to 'conventions and meetings,' as a personal commitment.[541] The other stakeholders briefly mentioned the book launch online.[542]

[533] Stok 2017.

[534] Ibid.

[535] For a detailed discussion on the domestic, inter- and transnational rebranding campaign by the Van Gogh Museum *Vincent* was part of, see Yu-Kiener 2018.

[536] Pos 2017; Bogman 2017; Stok 2017; Alex Rüger (2012), director of the Van Gogh Museum, tweeted about this event.

[537] This exhibition is discussed in Chapter 6.

[538] Van Gogh Museum 2009; 2011; 2012a-g; 2013a-l.

[539] Yu-Kiener 2018.

[540] Pos 2017.

[541] Ibid.

[542] Mondriaan Fonds 2012b; Bieb Groningen 2012; Uitgeverij Nijgh 2012.

Nevertheless, *Vincent* was positively received by the national and international press, with reviews in the *NRC Handelsblad*, *De Volkskrant*, *The Times*, *The Guardian* and *La Repubblica*. Stok herself has been most active in promoting her work, particularly foreign-language editions, admitting that the publicity work has cost a lot of time and energy over the years.[543] She also explains that, after finishing *Vincent*, she had struggled to balance creative and publicity work for some time, not producing new work due to a lack of sufficient time.[544] Interestingly, Stok's *Toch een geluk* (2016) [Happy Anyway] is mostly a book about making *Vincent*, with the artist reappearing and even a panel being reused, which was released in South Korea as *Vincent and me* (2019).[545]

When approaching and writing Vincent, Stok benefited from her decade-long experience with autobiographical newspaper comic strips and graphic novels. On the one hand, she 'didn't want [her] idea of him [Vincent van Gogh] get coloured by ideas of others'; on the other hand, she 'wanted to tell the story from his [Vincent van Gogh] point of view,' creating 'a book Vincent [van Gogh] would approve of [and] recognise [himself] in.'[546] While the graphic novelist consulted just 'two or three very short biographies to know about the highlights' in the canonical painter's life, she refused to watch any movies or to read any extensive monographs or biographies.[547] However, she decided to read 'all the letters'—about 500—by the artist, as 'through his letter, he was sort of speaking to [her] directly.'[548] Taking the letters with her, Stok even conducted a research trip to Arles and Saint-Rémy, reading the letters in the places of their creation.[549] Thus, like Baudoin for Salvador Dalí, Stok was following the life-and-work model during her research as well as in the narrative.

Clearly, van Gogh's letters form the book's basis, as the main characters' correspondence and important narratives feature. Also, Stok did not 'want him [the character] to say things he [the artist] could never have said,' so she based all dialogue on the artist's writings and trying 'to stay as close as possible to his [Vincent van Gogh] letters.'[550] She cites fifteen letters to achieve this, taken from the extensive correspondence between Vincent and Theo van Gogh. Thus, touchingly and intimately, the readers learn about Vincent's psychological and artistic struggles, worries, and fears, as well as his ecstasy and despair, to

---

[543] Stok 2017.
[544] Ibid.
[545] Ibid.
[546] Ibid.
[547] Ibid.
[548] Ibid.
[549] Ibid.
[550] Ibid.

a large extent through his own words, also leaving some space for humorous as well as philosophical encounters.

Stok admits that the adaptations of van Gogh's writings into conversations required some changes. 'Portray[ing] him [Vincent] as a real person' and 'not make[ing] him a caricature' nor a hero, was especially tricky, Stok remembers. [551] Therefore, *Vincent* combines two different biographical writing genres: van Gogh's own life writing, in the form of the letters, and Stok's interpretation of the very same correspondences in the form of the biographical graphic novel.

The compelling drawings and masterful command of the comics medium in *Vincent* are a testimonial of Stok's skills, acquired over many years as an illustrator for newspapers, magazines, and companies, and graphic novelist. The researcher argues elsewhere that this unique drawing and writing style won her the pitch and contributed significantly to the publication's success.[552]

Stok's signature style, which she uses for *Vincent*, can be described as an extreme version of *ligne claire*, the benefits of which, such as easy recognisability and dynamism, are discussed above in the analysis of *Klee* (2008). [553] Certainly, Stok's simplistic and cartoony drawings give a friendly and positive impression and allow the narrative to be easily understood by any person. Thus, it provides a very intuitive reading experience not reliant on any previous comics knowledge, keeping *Vincent* easily accessible for a diverse readership. The bright colour choices, very cleverly inspired by and borrowed from van Gogh himself, enhance the book's appeal and are essential for the recognisability of characters. Regardless of season or weather, Vincent always wears a blue suit (except for his brief time in hospital), while his distinctive orange hair and beard always stick out in a panel (Fig. 5.41). Similarly, his brother Theo is dressed in a dark green suit at all times, even at his wedding (Fig. 5.45), and similar observations are possible for other characters. During a flashback scene, these colour schemes allow identifying and distinguishing the two young van Gogh brothers (Fig. 5.46).

Stok 'wanted people to feel with Vincent,' and she uses the comics medium not only to silently show the passage of time and the painter's daily work-routine but also to emphasise the emotional elements of the narrative.[554] During van Gogh's fits and seizures, the panel shape, size, colouring and background, and the page layout change dramatically,

---

[551] Ibid.
[552] Yu-Kiener 2018, pp.180-181.
[553] McCloud 1994, pp.31-37; Baetens and Surdiacourt 2013, p,354.
[554] Stok 2017.

visualising his declining mental state, constituting powerful examples of visual storytelling (Fig. 5.47a-b). An escalating anxiety level is indicated by dots appearing around the character's head, eventually filling the entire panel. Often the room warps—reminiscent of David B.'s *Epileptic* (2005)—before the background becomes monochromatic, showing erratic arrangements of zigzags, swirls and strokes and encapsulating van Gogh with concentric shapes. Occasionally, the whole panel shows patterns of waves or polka dots, and other people become translucent before eventually disappearing entirely. During van Gogh's two most severe mental breakdowns, the figures become distorted with oversized heads and long arms, and the page layout is literally shattered, showing close-ups of objects or unidentifiable content reminiscent of primaeval soup. Stars around his abdomen and head metaphorically display pain, while his eyes are often just white or replaced by swirls or x-es. Such episodes become even more dramatic and powerful when large parts of them are silent. Particularly the two most severe fits constitute sudden changes from the otherwise orderly page layout of rectangles and squares, thereby those two scenes are braided together in their unique image structures.[555]

On a few occasions, Stok uses the same signifiers to convey a positive notion, indicating that not every anxiety is negative and that her protagonist is equally immersed in his own world during moments of despair as well as joy (Fig. 5.42). Both are closely connected to his paintings, discussed below. Interestingly, the newly wedded Theo and Johanna van Gogh have the same dots around them, yet colourful ones (Fig. 5.45).

Stok's art is powerful and highly unique, but she also refers to van Gogh's artworks throughout the book. Naturally, readers see the creation of artworks, but many paintings are just backdrops, leaning against a wall. In other cases, they become the very landscape the characters inhabited (Fig. 5.48). Unfortunately, none of the original artworks the panels are based on are cited, either on the page or in an appendix. Therefore, while the graphic novel features a large part of van Gogh's oeuvre, the readers might simply miss it, as the artworks blend in and thus easily go unnoticed. However, as van Gogh is implicitly or explicitly implied as a motif's creator, Stok does not try to appropriate art like Yslaire does in *Le Ciel au-dessus du Louvre*. She explains, 'the paintings that have a prominent place in [the] book are the paintings he [Vincent van Gogh] writes about a lot in his letter.'[556]

In blending her own style with the motifs and colours of van Gogh's art, Stok uses impressive visual storytelling. Major artworks appear as metaphors for van Gogh's mental state, such as the canonical *Sunflowers*: After Gauguin announces his arrival, van Gogh

---

[555] Stok 2014, pp.84-87, 93.
[556] Stok 2017.

ecstatically paints blooming sunflowers (Fig. 5.44), expressing euphoria; in contrast, when Gauguin departs after a fight, the sunflowers wither away and lose their petals, symbolizing the artist's despair (Fig. 5.49)—yet another excellent example of braiding. In the case of *The Sower* (1988), Vincent happily remembers his blissful childhood, becoming immersed in his peaceful memories (Fig. 5.46). Gauguin has arrived at this point in the narrative, but there are first disagreements between the two artists. Van Gogh seems to seek the safe haven of his childhood to avoid facing the potentially problematic future of the artists' commune. Finally, the artist walks through *The Starry Night* (1889), seemingly relaxed, joyful and in good spirit, playing the violin with his paintbrush (Fig. 5.48), symbolising that he has regained his balance and joy in life after a seizure-free period.

Also, another example of braiding merits attention. Each of the fifteen letters Stok decides to cite forms one element. The script is regularly interrupted or accompanied by individual panels relating to the content of the respective letter. On such occasions, the text (of the letter) dominates the image, which for the time being, take an illustrative nature. Together those letters create a series of caring and loving conversations between brothers (Fig.5.50).[557]

Finally, a compelling example of braiding concerns the window in van Gogh's room at the hospital in Saint-Rémy. After admitting himself, and a failed attempt to venture outside of the hospital to paint, the artist confines himself to the room. From the outside and always from the same angle, the following pages depict van Gogh first just standing and later painting at the closed window (Fig. 5.50).[558] Finally, he stands at the open window with a paintbrush in his hand.[559] Soon after, the exterior view shows a closed window again with van Gogh in the room surrounded by the signifiers of a fit: he is experiencing a relapse.[560] Through this braiding, the readers witness how van Gogh gradually reopens his window to the world before it closes itself again.

As mentioned, all of the paintings are uncited, as Stok did not want 'Vincent [van Gogh] or the paintings to be "popstars"' in the story.[561] The title also expresses this view, as does Stok's initial idea to 'never use his last name but only use Vincent [so] theoretically it could have been any artist.' It was meant as a homage to the 'many artists [who] work like Vincent [van Gogh] and don't get much appreciation and are struggling.'[562] For Stok, the

---

[557] Stok 2014, pp.15-17, 37, 40, 45-46, 57, 61, 70, 71, 94-95, 104, 106, 107, 109, 117, 123.
[558] Ibid., pp. 104, 107.
[559] Ibid., p.108.
[560] Ibid., p.123.
[561] Stok 2017.
[562] Ibid.

fact that van Gogh 'is now a famous painter is not important,' she wanted it to be 'a story about a man who lived and who painted and who had a certain life.'[563] One can easily see a certain autobiographical meta-reference in this concept, while Stok did not explicitly inform the narrative with her own experience as an artist.

Vincent is an exceptional piece of work, but it has some problems. The lack of a bibliography makes it very difficult, if not impossible, for readers to divide facts from fiction, while the missing citation of artworks means that they easily go unnoticed unless the readers happen to know and recognise a particular piece of art. Furthermore, Stok's approach of almost exclusively using Vincent van Gogh's letters to avoid getting her impression 'coloured by the ideas of others' is flawed. While Theo van Gogh did collect most of his brother's letters, Vincent van Gogh only kept a few of his brother's replies. Besides, after the death of both, Johanna, Theo van Gogh's widow, published the letters, most likely deciding which to keep and to release. Consequently, on the one hand, the available letters are a very one-sided account of a two-way correspondence, which, on the other hand, has been subsequently edited by Johanna, thus coloured in two ways.

While Stok maintains the story is 'not about artworks,' the book itself gives the opposite impression. The graphic novel features at least thirty canonical artworks by van Gogh, one every four to five pages. Several important pieces of art form a crucial part of the narrative in expressing van Gogh's mental state, as discussed above. Also, multiple paintings appear in a full-page panel (Fig. 5.48), and *Wheatfield With Crows* even spreads over two full pages (Fig. 5.43). Therefore, despite Stok's intent to show `the real Vincent van Gogh` and not make it a story about his art, she almost inevitably ended up writing about his illness, built around the theme of his self-mutilation and most canonical works, like many before her. It would seem it is the result of van Gogh's life and work being extensively commercialized on a unique and truly global scale, not least by the Van Gogh Museum, demanding that *Vincent* 'fit[s] into the views of the museum about van Gogh's life and work.'[564]

Stok's use of drawing style and visual language also shows minor issues. A couple of times, *Vincent* is inconsistent in using panel borders: Flashbacks, such as Theo telling Johanna about his life with Vincent, and the latter remembering being rejected by a woman, are drawn with wavy borders (Fig. 5.51). However, van Gogh's childhood memories with Theo (Fig. 5.46) and his vision of the future artists' commune have straight borders, despite

---

[563] Ibid.

[564] Bogman 2017.

portraying thoughts about the past and future. Nevertheless, the narrative is still comprehensible while perhaps momentarily puzzling.

Also, Stok's use of some signifiers is unclear at times: The postman Roulin is always shown with either a swirl or an x for one of his eyes without an identifiable pattern or meaning to this depiction (Fig. 5.41). The only other characters portrayed like this are van Gogh during his fits and his fellow asylum patients. Thus, it remains unclear whether Roulin is living with a dormant condition, in a permanent state of mental instability or intoxication or whether it is just meant to be funny.

The very cartoony drawing style means that the characters' uniqueness suffers. Therefore, when looking at the cover of Stok's *De Omslag* (2015), another biographical graphic novel about H. N. Werkman for Groningen Museum, readers must be excused when thinking they are looking at Theo van Gogh.

Finally, somewhat problematic and at odds with the story's seriousness, the Van Gogh Museum's online shop markets and sells *Vincent* as a children's book.[565] Bogman calls *Vincent van Gogh: An Artist's Struggle* (2011) a graphic novel, when in fact, it is an educational comic book aimed at primary schools and early secondary school.[566] In grouping the two together, she disregards *Vincent*'s narrative qualities, reflecting the museum's lack of differentiation between children's literature, educational comics, and graphic novels (or graphic biographies), resulting in a problematic perception and categorization of Stok's work.

This sales strategy partly contradicts the assignment which Stok remembers very clearly: '[A] graphic novel about Vincent [van Gogh] for adults and young adults [aged 16-40 years] who knew Vincent [van Gogh] a bit but not too much and would like to get to know him better.'[567] In contrast, Gert Jan Pos and the BKVB were not targeting a particular audience but instead aiming for a market as large as possible and a diverse distribution system.[568] The *stripintendant* tried to trigger a snowball effect for Stok, using *Vincent* as a door opener to bring further works by her into High Street bookshops.[569]

Vincent is incredibly successful and available in at least eighteen languages. Baetens and Surdicourt argue that the *ligne claire* can facilitate global popularity in omitting geographic, linguistic, and cultural markers.[570] While the term is historically linked to the Franco-Belgian tradition of *bande dessinée*, Stok's style can be described as an extreme *ligne*

---

[565] Observed by the author in July 2017.

[566] Bogman 2017.

[567] Stok 2017.

[568] Pos 2017.

[569] Ibid.

[570] Baetens and Surdiacourt 2013, p.354.

claire despite her being Dutch. Certainly, Stok's artistic and narrative style makes *Vincent* easy to translate, not just into different languages but maybe more importantly into other cultural contexts, making it an attractive product for the international (comics) book market. On the one hand, the cartoony rendition of the characters and the focus on the human aspect of van Gogh's life suit readers from diverse cultural backgrounds. On the other hand, the facts remain that Vincent van Gogh is a most prominent member of the Western canon of art history, and the story does not feature any BAME characters. Nevertheless, nowadays, more and more people worldwide can relate to challenges, problems, and fears that come with mental health issues. In this sense, *Vincent* can help to reduce the stigmatisation of mental health conditions, which possibly contributes to the transnational success of *Vincent*.

Therefore, it should come as no surprise that everyone working on the project has been very satisfied, however, each for slightly different reasons. The researcher has argued elsewhere that for each stakeholder, *Vincent* managed to become and function as a 'comic as business card,' successfully symbolising and embodying the respective image and mission.[571] For the Van Gogh Museum, the graphic novel represents and promotes what the institution stands for and has to offer: the most extensive collection of letters by the artist, translated into (and interpreted in) many languages; most-famous artworks that have achieved canonical status, not least because of successful and persistent merchandising; and a narrative that is centred around the tragic story of Vincent van Gogh, his mental illness, the relationship to his brother, and a lack of appreciation by the contemporary art community. Bogman confirms that the museum feels 'very positive,' probably because *Vincent* 'has a great appeal to so many people,' received 'great reviews […] even in the classic quality newspapers,' and has helped to reach 'so many readers […] around the globe.'[572] Stok also remembers the museum being 'very satisfied' and the museum researcher even 'very enthusiastic.'[573]

At the same time, *Vincent* embodies the BKVB's mission to promote the artistic and literary qualities of the Dutch comics scene and Dutch culture in being about one of the most canonical Dutch artists and his best-known artworks. The international success is what Gert Jan Pos was aiming for precisely with his strategic approach for targeted domestic and international distributors.

Stok is very enthusiastic about what was a 'big project' for her, acknowledging 'it's not like you get something like this every day.'[574] Her satisfaction is rooted in her knowing

---

[571] Yu-Kiener 2018, p.171.

[572] Bogman 2017.

[573] Stok 2017.

[574] Ibid.

she 'made the best possible book that [she] could make at the moment' before any reviews were published and international success happened.[575] Moreover, although publicity work demanded much time and energy for a while, she describes *Vincent* as 'the best assignment [she] ever had.'[576] In 2018, her 'dream' of a Japanese edition became a reality.

Vincent has a continuous afterlife, not least through numerous foreign-language editions. Also, the Van Gogh Museum has commissioned Stok with an actual illustrated children's book, *Vincent en de zonnebloemen* (2019), available as *Vincent and the Sunflowers* in English. Additionally, Stok won the *Beste Groninger Boeken 2015* [Groningen's Best Book 2015] award for *Vincent*, while the book has recently featured in the exhibition *Artists In Books (12 April – 24 June 2018)* at Hyundai Museum of Kids' Books & Art (HMOKA) Seoul, South Korea.[577] The French bag manufacturer and retailer *Louis-Quatorze* even launched a *Vincent*-themed women's handbag, and there has also been a *Vincent*-themed wine. Finally, Stok's 'unique style [is] the basis for the visual style of the animation' *The Young Vincent* by Submarine, a production company based in Amsterdam.[578]

Artistically, Stok continues to use the colour scheme she developed for *Vincent,* and she draws more landscapes than previously.[579] Economically, she agrees that the book gave her 'extra freedom' while also pointing out it is 'still only a graphic novel … a trivial art form in a lot of countries.'[580] However, she confirms that 'the Vincent project helped' her apply successfully for funding for her new biographical graphic novel, proving that she had already completed another similar and positively received project.[581]

Barbara Stok's *Vincent* was the first graphic novel by a Dutch comic artist about a canonical Dutch artist, and it was the first time that the Dutch government, through the BKVB, funded the production of a comic promoting Dutch culture and graphic narratives.[582] For the Van Gogh Museum, the commission fitted into a broader campaign to reposition and reinvent the art institution in the twenty-first century.

The narrative follows the life-and-work model and features well-known anecdotes and genre-specific tropes. At the same time, the lacking citation for artworks prevents it from presenting van Gogh's successfully to any readers. The graphic novelist invested a

---

[575] Ibid.

[576] Ibid.

[577] Hyundai Museum of Kids' Books & Art (available at URL: https://www.hmoka.org/en/exhibition/past/view012.do, accessed 07/07/2019).

[578] Available at URL: https://www.submarine.nl/about/; URL: https://www.submarine.nl/project/vincent/#synopsis (all accessed 06/02/2020).

[579] Stok 2017.

[580] Ibid.

[581] Ibid.

[582] For the governmental funding for Dutch comics, see Chapter 7.

considerable effort in the research, diligently reading the Van Gogh brothers' correspondence to form the narrative. The museum and the publisher, both actively involved in the editing but far less involved in marketing and publicising, allowed Stok to exceed the previously agreed page count, suggesting particular good cooperation. Her use of the comics medium is most impressive, as is the frequent use of artworks as metaphors to convey the characters' mental states. Also, *Vincent* features remarkable examples of braiding, working not only with iconic motifs but colour, layout, and letters from the Van Gogh brothers. Unfortunately, the lacking references for sources and artworks mean a fact-fiction division is almost impossible, and original art might go unnoticed by the readers.

Remarkably, all the stakeholders were very satisfied with *Vincent*. Stok's cartoony drawing style and easily accessible dialogues have made her book incredibly successful, with new foreign-languages editions continuing to be published. A success that also continues to aid Stok in her latest projects and developed into some *Vincent* merchandise.

5.6. Netherlands: *Rembrandt*

Once again initiated by *stripintendant* Gert Jan Pos, the graphic novel *Rembrandt* was co-commissioned by the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, which has 'all the best Rembrandts,' and created by Dutch comic artist and illustrator Typex (Raymond Koot) in three years, aided by Shamrock International (Jeroen Klaver) with the lettering and Borinka with the design and image editing.[583] In April 2013, for the reopening of the national museum of the Netherlands after a ten-year renovation period, the massive 238-page narrative was released by publisher Oog & Blik | De Bezige Bij.[584] The semi-fictional graphic novel narrates the Old Master Rembrandt van Rijn's life, one of the most prominent figures and contributors to the so-called Dutch Golden Age, whose artworks are the museum's highlights. Each of the eleven chapters is named after either a person (Elsje, Jan, Saskia, Geertje, Hendrickje, Cornelia, Titus, Rembrandt) or an animal (Hansken, Conus Marmoreus, Rattus Rattus) significant for the respective episode as well as Rembrandt, and examines a close relationship or a critical moment in his life, although not in chronological order and varying in length. *Rembrandt*'s significance for this research lies with its scale, size, artistic quality, and narrative depth. It constitutes another example of a national museum engaging with the comics medium, yet very different from the Musée du Louvre commission.

Typex made himself available for an extended interview about his work, as did Gert Jan Pos. Finally, Martijn Pronk, Head of Publishing at the Rijksmuseum at the time, was

---

[583] Pos 2017; For a discussion of Gert Jan Pos's role, see Chapter 7.
[584] Pos 2017.

kind enough to fill out a questionnaire.[585] Unfortunately, no contact could be established with the publisher. The stakeholders' online archives, appearance and social media channels were consulted, complementing the available sources.

The first two chapters, *Hansken* and *Elsje*, taking place in 1642 Amsterdam, follow the elephant Hansken arriving at the port of Amsterdam, where Rembrandt sketches the animal, and Elsje Christiaens, whom the painter meets and spends the night with, and later sketches on the gallows after she is sentenced to death. The subsequent chapter *Jan* takes place in 1629 Leiden, where young Rembrandt shares a studio with Jan Lievens, his life-long artist-friend. The fourth and by far longest chapter, *Saskia,* features episodes from 1631, 1634, 1639 and 1642 and tells of Rembrandt's eponymous first wife. Chapter Five narrates the wet nurse Greetje Dircx's story, who starts a relationship with Rembrandt and raises his son Titus after Saskia's early death. The next section shows the maid Hendrickje Stoffels' part, Rembrandt's long-term partner, after leaving Greetje to avoid losing Saskia's inheritance. *Conus Marmoreus* (Chapter Seven), *Rattus Rattus* (Chapter Eight) and *Titus* (Chapter Ten) are chapters of loss, respectively showing Rembrandt being forced to sell all his possessions, witnessing Hendrickje as well as his adult son Titus dying from the plague. The chapters *Cornelia* (Nine) and *Rembrandt* (Eleven) depict the artist's daughter and only living relative caring for her father, despite him growing increasingly obsessed, quarrelsome, and cantankerous. The final chapter shows a glimpse of the artist's childhood before he slowly fades into his studio's darkness.

Rembrandt mirrors an important aspect of the First Boom in focusing on moments of great triumph and despair. It features several traditional anecdotes from art-historical biographies and contains multiple genre-specific tropes of artist's biography comics: competitions between Rembrandt and other artists, such as Lievens and his apprentice Govert Flinck, the latter fooling his master with a painted guilder (Fig. 5.52); a conflict with clients, such as when he hides from Commander Banning Cocq, lets clients wait, and his paintings get rejected.[586] Uncompromising, Rembrandt causes conflicts with (potential) clients and declines profitable business opportunities.[587] When Rembrandt continues working rather than drinking with his friend Lievens, paints while Saskia is dying, and does not attend the funeral of Hendrickje, he is depicted as hermit-like and obsessed with his art.[588] Finally, as mentioned in the case of Salvador Dalí, Typex's arrogant, eccentric, and

---

[585] Many thanks to Ian Horton for establishing the contact with Mr. Pronk, who is now working at the Van Gogh Museum.

[586] Typex 2013b, pp. 21-22, 27-30, 37-39, 42-59, 83-84, 90-91, 124-125, 136-137, 152-157, 161-163, 197-203, 226-229.

[587] Ibid., pp.48-49, 153-155, 226-229.

[588] Ibid., pp.53, 92-94, 181-193,

stubborn picture of Rembrandt has a long tradition in artists' biographies, while it also leads the artist to take significant personal risks. The graphic novel does not draw an emotional connection between the artist's life and work, but a strictly historical one, thus avoiding the life-and-work model. Another aspect of the traditional artist's monograph, to show the individual's oeuvre, is only somewhat present in *Rembrandt*. Typex redraws many original artworks, placing them outside the narrative similar to Badoux in *Klee*, and the story naturally depicts the Old Master creating paintings too, but none of the featured art is cited. Therefore, significant parts of Rembrandt's oeuvre are shown and clearly identifiable as his work—except for a few landscapes—but if readers try to find out more, they have no further information provided. Interestingly, there are parallels between *Rembrandt* and the modern painter's novel, in showing the artist mainly through the eyes of the people around him, and in being about a painter but not so much about paintings.[589]

Gert Jan Pos and Typex state that the Rijksmuseum wanted a graphic novel to accompany and celebrate its reopening after a lengthy renovation.[590] Pronk recalls 'the Rijksmuseum contacted Mr Gert Jan Pos … [who] involved artist Gerrit de Jager to create a storyboard,' while the *stripintendant* remembers approaching the museum himself, and the book states '*Rembrandt* is an initiative of Gerrit de Jager and the Rijksmuseum.'[591] Regardless, Gert Jan Pos presented his pitch at 'an appointment with the Rijksmuseum's vice-director.'[592] The museum approved of the concept, but as Pronk 'discussed the outline of the book with Gert Jan Pos and Gerrit de Jager … [they] could not agree on the story and had to say goodbye to Gerrit.'[593] Presumably at this point, Pos suggested Typex—'the best you can think of'—as the draughtsman.[594] BKVB funded an exhibition of large charcoal drawings by Typex, which left a positive impression on the decision-makers at the museum.[595] Pronk recalls: 'Together it was decided to ask Typex for the project, […] guarantee[ing] him a certain budget/income for … the complete manuscript.'[596] Also, the museum 'contracted [the] publishing house Oog & Blik (where Typex had signed before).'[597] Pronk and Marijn Schapelhouman, the Senior Curator of Drawing at the Rijksmuseum, offered research assistance and basic editing to 'prevent historical

---

[589] Van Tooren 2012, p.57.

[590] Pos 2017; Typex 2017.

[591] Pronk 2018; Typex 2013b, back endpapers.

[592] Pos 2017.

[593] Pronk 2018.

[594] Pos 2017.

[595] Typex 2017; BKVB 2011, p.94; Some of Typex's large charcoal drawings can be seen at his homepage (URL: https://typex.nl/illustration/, accessed 07/05/2019).

[596] Pronk 2018.

[597] Ibid.

impossibilities,' as Pronk describes it.[598] The three met regularly 'to discuss progress and check on work done.'[599] Yet, the museum claims not to have imposed any artistic restrictions on the artist or interfered with the book's content, and Typex confirms receiving comments but 'hardly anything about the content.'[600] Indeed, Typex is full of praise for Schapelhouman for the help and inspiration she provided in showing him the collection, a mutual feeling, as the curator subsequently wrote the book's blurb, praising Typex and *Rembrandt* in return.[601] Importantly, in examining original museum art *in situ* and acquiring a level of connoisseurship of the oeuvre, Typex's research approach mirrors that of authors of traditional artists' monographs. Also, it seems that the museum was actively involved in the editing, yet the publisher was not. As discussed in the case of *Klee*, it is unusual and remarkable that the stakeholder with possibly the highest financial risk forfeits its right to control the content of one of its products, thus surrenders its gatekeeping positions.

Initially, Typex was only meant to draw *Rembrandt*, while Gert Jan Pos was supposed to write it.[602] The *stripintendant* original pitch has been extended into what Typex describes as a short story, illustrated by him, and now forms the first two chapters.[603] However, after about three months, Typex took over the writing too, first temporarily but eventually becoming fully responsible for the whole book another six months later.[604] This shift in authorship contributed to the *Rembrandt* project taking three instead of the initially planned one and a half years. After the slightly rough start, the project's pace increased: 'The book grew bigger and bigger, with an unstoppable Typex handing in yet another chapter every few weeks,' Pronk remembers.[605] On the one hand, it allowed Typex more control and freedom; on the other hand, it meant great financial difficulties for him, who was not working on anything else during this period: 'I was bankrupt just like Rembrandt' the graphic novelist states.[606] However, as the Rijksmuseum's renovation was delayed too, the graphic novel and the museum were both ready at the same time, in April 2013.[607]

The Rijksmuseum appears not to have been very active in promoting Typex's book. Despite there being a formal launch at the museum, where 'Typex offered the first copy of the book to Mr Jan Six … the 13th generation Six … [decedent of] Jan Six, mayor of

---

[598] Typex 2017; Pronk 2018.

[599] Pronk 2018.

[600] Ibid.; Typex 2017.

[601] Typex 2013b, inside front cover.

[602] Typex 2017.

[603] Pos 2017; Typex 2013, back endpaper, 'The Story is partly based on a short story by Gert Jan Pos.'

[604] Typex 2017.

[605] Pronk 2018.

[606] Typex 2017.

[607] Ibid.

Amsterdam and a close personal friend of Rembrandt,' there was no press release.[608] Typex felt the event was mainly 'for the "bobos" … [and] business relations' but 'wanted something where [he] could invite [his] friends' too. Hence, he organised a second launch party at a club, including live music and a book signing.[609] Attracting much publicity, the party also first screened the short film *Typex Tekent Rembrandt* [Typex Draws Rembrandt] about creating the graphic novel, directed by Lex Reitsma, and produced and supervised by Dutch cartoonist and graphic designer Joost Swarte.[610] The publishing house had commissioned the movie, supported by MMIT, a Dutch IT and marketing company, whose CEO Wiebe Mokken 'himself a big fan of comics, graphic novels and history … [wanted] as many people as possible to come in contact with *Rembrandt*.'[611] The eighteen-minute documentary is included as DVD in a limited luxury edition pack of *Rembrandt* and was shown on the television channel NPO 2, on November 2013. Before his work on *Rembrandt*, Typex had worked as an illustrator—'few newspapers and magazines in Holland have been spared'—being well-established and well-connected.[612] Therefore, Typex knew 'a lot of people at [Dutch] magazines and newspapers,' and remembers doing 'a lot of promotion himself' utilising this network.[613] 'Every big newspaper and magazine wrote about' *Rembrandt,* claims Typex, and Pronk too recalls, 'the publishing of the book attracted huge attention … by major media in the Netherlands and abroad.'[614]

The initially contracted comic book publisher Oog & Blik was bought up by the literary publishing house De Bezige Bij, making possible marketing efforts challenging to track.[615] However, Oog & Blik tweeted extensively about Typex and *Rembrandt*, particularly in the weeks following the release.[616] At the same time, De Bezige Bij merely mentioned the book in a press release about an entirely different publication.[617] Unsatisfied with the publisher's effort and lack of experience with comics, Typex took his *Rembrandt*

---

[608] Pronk 2018.

[609] Typex 2017; Minneboo 2013a; Paradiso (available at URL: https://www.paradiso.nl/nl/programma/typex-tekent-rembrandt/8220/, accessed 06/02/2020).

[610] Paradiso (available at URL: https://www.paradiso.nl/nl/programma/typex-tekent-rembrandt/8220/, accessed 06/02/2020); van Adrichem 2013; 7N60 Communication (available at URL: http://news.smart. pr/7n60/graphic-novel-over-leven-en-werk-hollandse-meester-rembrandt, accessed 30/04/2019); This informal launch party took place on 14 April 2013.

[611] 7N60 Communication (available at URL: http://news.smart. pr/7n60/graphic-novel-over-leven-en-werk-hollandse-meester-rembrandt, accessed 30/04/2019).

[612] Typex (available at URL: https://typex.nl/free/, accessed 07/05/2019).

[613] Typex 2017.

[614] Ibid.; Pronk 2018.

[615] De Bezige Bij (available at URL: https://www.debezigebij.nl/nieuws/overname-oog-blik-door-uitgeverij-de-bezige-bij/, accessed 05/08/2019); For a further discussion about the publishers, see Chapter 7.

[616] Uitgeverij Oog & Blik 2013a-m; 2014a-b.

[617] De Bezige Bij (available at URL: https://www.debezigebij.nl/nieuws/bij-de-heropening-van-het-rijksmuseum/, accessed 05/08/2019).

script to the French comics publisher Casterman, where it was published with an additional twelve-page comic about the making of *Rembrandt*, *Le Grand Van Ryn* [The Great Van Rijn].[618]

Typex's approach was partly dictated by Gert Jan Pos's pitch, aiming to not depict Rembrandt as 'a nice guy [but] a character.'[619] The situation resulted in a noticeable rupture, as the first two chapters take place in 1642, while the story subsequently continues chronologically from 1629 onward. Typex considers Rembrandt's life 'one big hell of a story … because first his wife [Saskia], then his son [Titus] dies, then his new wife [Hendrickje, whom he never married] dies … everybody dies.'[620] He notices that it matches very much 'the whole cliché of the artist [as] the stoic, dark, unhappy artist.'[621] 'Hate[ing] clichés [and] heroism' (in the sense of pre-destined genius tropes), he aimed for 'something really different,' what he calls a Rembrandt of 'flesh and blood.'[622] He studied the numerous self-portraits in preparation, as 'the only way to get really close to Rembrandt is to look at his self-portraits,' he explains.[623] Here, Typex follows the life-and-work model in his research just as nineteenth-century monographers did, trying to understand an artist's personality through their work, convinced that the latter is an expression of the former. As mentioned, the use of the life-and-work model does not extend to the publication.

Typex's Rembrandt 'can't express certain feelings without somebody on whom they can be reflected on like a mirror,' thus, the book is an anthology of anecdotes about the people around him.[624] The result is a relatively silent, sometimes even literally absent, main character, who expresses himself and his moods mainly through body language. With Saskia, Geertje, Hendrickje—literally the woman behind the painter and at the centre of the business (Fig. 5.53a-b)—and Cornelia, featuring very prominently, a fair part of the book is about the women behind the canonical painter, how they experience him, and their sacrifices for his career.[625]

Typex claims 'much of the book is based on anecdotes, but hung on a historically accurate framework of names and dates,' however, it appears to fall apart when it comes to

---

[618] Typex 2017.

[619] Pos 2017.

[620] Typex 2017; After the death of his only wife Saskia van Uylenburgh in 1642, Rembrandt van Rijn did not marry his long-term partner Hendrickje Stoffels, who died in 1663, his son Titus died a year before his father in 1668; Typex in Onians 2013, "He [Rembrandt van Rijn] had a lot of tragedy, everyone around him died, that's how it was in those days … But I didn't want to make just a sad book."

[621] Typex 2017.

[622] Typex 2017.

[623] Ibid.

[624] Ibid.

[625] The narrative involving Elsje is mostly fictional and was therefore not included in the list of women.

the artworks, as discussed below. [626] Pronk states the museum 'never intended the book to be completely accurate in all details, we wished merely to prevent historical impossibilities.'[627] The institution told Typex it does not 'want an educational or traditional book,' the author recalls.[628] Consequently, he freely combines and rearranges various events and dates from Rembrandt's life, making the narrative paramount and not wanting the 'facts to get into the way of the story.'[629] In his defence, he claims, 'a lot is not known about Rembrandt. What's known are the official papers, the property contracts, marriage, and death records.'[630]

As the appearances of many individuals are not well enough documented, Typex used the faces and body language of people he already knows: his daughter for Cornelia, his wife for Titus' wife, and his father for the Old Master himself, while Dutch comic artists—and friends of Typex—feature in a pub scene (Fig. 5.54).[631] Additionally, 'the life of an artist in Amsterdam' has formed an autobiographical 'starting point' for Typex, whose own experience as an artist informs the narrative, an element already found in Vasari's *Lives*.[632]

Typex's utilisation of the comics medium and visual storytelling to enhance the reading experience is extraordinary. On multiple occasions, he builds an architectural construct of panels (Fig. 5.55).[633] In other instances, the panels and their layout mimic the environment in which the narrative is set, such as the arrangement of panels as French windows (Fig. 5.56) and workhouse beds, and are shaped like brush strokes (Fig. 5.57). Some other panel borders resemble a forest (Fig. 5.58). Typex employs a chessboard pattern of colourful framed panels and black and white unframed panels (Fig. 5.59) as well as a split narrative, telling the same episode from two perspectives (Fig. 5.60). Also, he includes single panels in a different drawing style and suddenly changes the page layout to intensify the reading experience, showcasing decades of experience in the field. Also, the rendering of the panels and page layouts stresses the importance of the image, sometimes dominating the text, and emphasises the *graphic* part of Typex's work and vision.

Furthermore, the graphic novelist employs braiding and rhyming, linking episodes from various points in the narrative. For example, the first and one of the last scenes featuring Saskia (Fig. 5.61) both include a panel, depict her face close up and looking and smiling at

---

[626] Typex in Onians 2013.
[627] Pronk 2018.
[628] Typex 2017.
[629] Ibid.
[630] Typex in Onians 2013.
[631] Typex in Minneboo 2013a; Typex 2017.
[632] Typex 2017.
[633] Typex 2013b, pp.66-67, 170-171, 215.

the readers, who take Rembrandt's point of view.[634] The scenes not only start and end the episode about Sakia but also indicate that Rembrandt and his wife still see and look at each other like when they first met. The scenes of Hendrickje meeting adolescent Titus at the market and him dying as a young man (Fig. 5.62a-b) are similarly braided and suggest the importance of Hendrickje for Titus in her motherly capacity.[635] Due to the differences between the two scenes might also be described as rhyming. Yet another very meaningful example of rhyming can be found in the suggested similarities between the elephant Hansken and Rembrandt: Hansken appears out of a ship's dark lower decks in the opening scene while Rembrandt disappears into the darkness of his studio at the end of the book; also, Cornelia, observes the strikingly similar look on their faces (Fig. 5.63), seeing them both as old and tired with fantastic and legendary stories told about them, and both caged in their respective way.[636] Finally, Rembrandt's studio mirror, sometimes taking the shape of a panel border, is an iconic motif braided into the whole narrative.[637] It is a subtle reminder of the importance of self-portraits in Rembrandt's oeuvre as well as in Typex's understanding of him as an artist and human.

Typex explains that while illustration works in different styles, 'in *Rembrandt,* I had one style generally for all the book to evoke the period.'[638] For the palette, he took apparent inspiration from Rembrandt and his artworks, creating the graphic novel in shades of brown, while using colour to highlight important moments in a panel. He chose a paler palette for flashbacks and dream sequences to visually set those scenes apart from the rest of the story (Fig. 5.56). As mentioned, Typex was concerned that his story might end up too dark. Choosing a comical and funny drawing style for most of the book, particularly for people's faces and build, might have been an attempt to prevent this.

Deliberately, *Rembrandt* mimics the appearance of a traditional art-historical artist's monograph through various elements by graphic designer Borinka and letterer Shamrock International, who have collaborated on several cover projects, including comics. This resemblance becomes apparent at first glance, when a leather-covered case, including half-leather on the four corners and gold-embossed lettering on the cover and spine are visible under a torn dust jacket, showing a portrait of Rembrandt by Typex, repaired with tape on the back. The unique design continues inside, revealing a woven bookmark, marked pages, and other apparent signs of frequent use, such as torn, creased and stained pages (Fig. 5.64).

---

[634] Ibid., pp.70, 88.
[635] Ibid., pp.129, 207.
[636] Ibid., pp.9-15, 190, 193, 232-238.
[637] Ibid, pp.94-95, 142, 160, 172-173, 202, 222, 232, 237-238.
[638] Typex 2017.

In fact, these are only *printed* elements designed to give a specific *impression*. On the one hand, the design pretends that the book is an expensive, exclusive, and thus credible publication, leather-bound with an additional dust cover and gilt title. On the other hand, it hints at the book being used regularly to look up information, indicating a particular value and high standing. Therefore, the stakeholders use *Rembrandt* to monumentalise the already canonical Rembrandt van Rijn and his work further.[639] Such a concept is a typical feature of a traditional art-historical artist's monograph as well as the First Boom, which both create canonical feedback loops.

However, Typex's narrative style differs from an artist's monograph, as there is no narrator, and the story is experienced from a strictly neutral and observing third-person point of view. Frequently and for varying lengths, the audience finds themselves in the head of specific individuals, such as Hansken the elephant, a rat, Saskia, Geertje, Cornelia, Titus, and Rembrandt (Fig. 5.65). One notable narrative tool is the close zooming in on individuals before taking their first-person perspective. Another is the extreme close up, focusing the readers' attention on small details. Both techniques are otherwise known from cinematography.

Naturally, Typex was inspired by Rembrandt's artworks and showcases re-drawings of them and the Old Master's artistic influences throughout the book. Unfortunately, none of the original art is cited, neither on the page nor in an appendix. Each chapter is preceded by a full-page matching image depicting the eponymous individual—Typex's copy from the original. In the *Saskia* chapter, spanning more than a decade, such re-drawings also sub-divide the different sections. The actual narrative features several paintings, drawings and etchings, though rarely as prominent, with the exceptions of *The Shooting Company of Frans Banning Cocq and Willem van Ruytenburch* (1642) (commonly known as *The Night Watch*) (Fig. 5.66), *The Descent from the Cross* (c.1632/33) and *The Conspiracy of Claudius Civilis* (1661-62).[640] Other original artworks, such as *The Three Trees* (1643), *The Omval* (1645) and *Six's Bridge* (1645), feature in or as the backgrounds of individual panels (Fig. 5.67).[641] While most artworks are either separated from the narrative or shown as being created or sold by Rembrandt—therefore will not be accidentally attributed to Typex—the landscapes

---

[639] This monumental design and appearance were contrasted by the modest price of just €14.95 for a Dutch softcover edition (in the museum's bookshop). However, for the 350th anniversary of Rembrandt's death in 2019, the German comic publisher Carlsen released a hardcover edition with leather binding, raised bands and gilt title on the spine, a cover with half-leather on the corner and gilt title as well as gilt top, lower and fore edges (available at URL: https://www.carlsen.de/hardcover/rembrandt-graphic-novel/111174#, accessed 11/11/2020).

[640] Typex 2013b, pp.28-29, 59, 192, 197-203

[641] Ibid., p.181.

might accidentally be taken for Typex's creations, as they are not shown in a direct connection to Rembrandt. In those cases, the lacking references cause problems.

On one occasion, Typex inserts a photographic reproduction of an original drawing into the narrative, *Elsje Christiaens Hanging on a Gibbet* (1664) (Fig. 5.68). In putting the seventeenth-century drawing and the twenty-first-century comic art on the same page as equals, Typex and the Rijksmuseum question and negate a presumed difference, assigning the same value to both—a subtle statement about the High Art versus Low Art divide. Typex 'chose the artworks around the storyline,' trying to evoke 'the period, the spirit, the psychology' while also telling 'something about [Rembrandt] through the paintings.'[642] Typex would have wanted to 'circumvent too famous paintings' but admits, '*The Night Watch* is something you can't circumvent when doing a book about Rembrandt.'[643] As the chapter showing the painting is based on Pos's pitch, Typex had not much of a choice.

More apparent than actual artwork or copies of originals is Rembrandt's artistic and stylistic influence on Typex. The colour scheme in shades of brown, mentioned above, is further enhanced by stark light-dark contrasts. Remarkably, there are also references to the Old Master's etching style and his practice of re-working and changing his printing plates, in sequences of moving silhouettes of people, and in the straight-, and cross-hatched shading, both imitating the marks of an etching needle (Fig. 5.59). Also, Rembrandt's large number of self-portraits, as well as his group portraits are referenced (Fig. 5.54, 5.66).

On the one hand, the mirror and some disguises, essential tools for self-portraits, frequently feature throughout the book, as discussed above. The graphic novel also includes the *Self-portrait as Zeuxis Laughing* (1662), which shows that Rembrandt aspired to be seen as the successor of one of the very first canonical painters in the history of art—another example of an artist referring to an established artist to acquire canonical status.[644] In using the painting, Typex enforces Rembrandt's wish. On the other hand, the book cover shows a portrait of Rembrandt, which seems not to be a copy from an original but composed by Typex since the character gazes towards his top left. In contrast, Rembrandt's numerous self-portraits usually feature a straight look as the works were created in front of a mirror.

---

[642] Typex 2017.

[643] Ibid.

[644] Typex 2013b, p.222; The legendary death of Zeuxis, is unfortunately never supported by any source: When painting a picture of Aphrodite, the old lady who had commissioned it also insisted on modelling for the painting. The apparent discrepancy between the supposed divine and youthful beauty of the Goddess of Love and the wrinkled old lady made the artist laugh so hard he died.

Finally, there is a self-portrait of Typex as part of a pub scene in Chapter Two (Fig. 5.54), which also refers to another practice of the Old Master, that of group portraits. Typex has created a group portrait—of friends and acquaintances—, mirroring *The Anatomy Lesson of Dr Nicolaes Tulp* (1632) or *The Sampling Officials* (1662) (commonly known as *Syndics of the Drapers' Guild*). In addition to these references to Rembrandt, the fair scene (Fig. 5.69) is reminiscent of works by Pieter Brueghel the Elder or the Younger, who created famous genre paintings of celebrating crowds of peasants.

As beautiful, impressive and wittily referencing and recreating *Rembrandt* is, both artistically and narratological, it has a similar problem as *Le Ciel Au Dessus Du Louvre*, in not declaring its semi-fictional approach. It is true that in several interviews, Typex mentions the semi-fictionality of the book, but unless readers read them beforehand, they are not aware of the book's nature. The precisely dated chapters in chronological order, Schapelhouman declaring 'Typex lived, breathed and slept Rembrandt,' quotes about Rembrandt by contemporaries, the explicit and repeated citing of the Rijksmuseum as commissioning institution, the book design as an artist's monograph, the density of artworks' reproductions and re-drawings, and the length of more than 200 pages, easily evokes the impression of an accurate adaption of Rembrandt's life vouched for by the 'most prestigious museum' in the Netherlands, as Gert Jan Pos calls it.[645] As remarked already for *Le Ciel Au Dessus Du Louvre*, 'reception shapes meaning,' as time, place and format of a publication changes the way it is perceived.[646] *Rembrandt*'s impression is misleading, as it mingles events and artworks from different decades into single chapters, without any indication of doing so. Apparently, 'prevent[ing] historical impossibilities' did not extend to historical and artistic errors.[647]

Unfortunately, there is neither a biography nor a bibliography, nor a list of artworks. Thus, the average reader probably struggles to detect such inaccuracies. Typex explains he 'like[s] most people [to be] aware that they are reading a "not-so-right" book' and citing artworks would 'burst the bubble [of fictionality]' which he aims to emphasise.[648] 'By going back to the original [artwork], you shatter the impression,' the artist claims.[649] Exactly how Typex emphasises Rembrandt's fictionality to the readers remains unclear. While a semi-fictional account is unproblematic, the lack of a clear mark dividing facts and fiction is not. For most artworks, it is a missed opportunity that readers who try to find out more about

---

[645] Schapelhouman in Typex 2013b, front inside cover; Constantijn Huygens, Andries Pels, and Hendrick van Uylenburgh in Typex 2013b, inside back cover; Pos 2017.

[646] Jameel 2016, p.182-183.

[647] Pronk 2018; Typex 2017; Pos 2017.

[648] Typex 2017

[649] Ibid.

Rembrandt's oeuvre will have no starting references. However, using original artworks so that the creator is no longer apparent while also not citing them is a serious issue and essentially appropriation, even if it concerns just a few works.

Maybe because each stakeholder defines the average reader differently, there are no common concerns regarding such mixed messages. For the museum, 'graphic novels cater to a specific group [it] wished to include' as part of its mission that 'the Rijksmuseum was (and still is) for everybody.'[650] As discussed above, Gert Jan Pos and the BKVB had no targeted audience but a targeted (inter)national distribution system for the future.[651] Finally, Typex saw the project from a primarily personal strategic point of view:

> 'It was the best opportunity I had in my life because I was never able to live off my comics, and this was my only chance. And I wanted to get abroad because there is not enough audience in Holland. So, I needed something appealing! … I know this book was sold with a lot of copies not because of the name Typex, of course, but because of the name Rembrandt, of course. So … how could I refuse?'

Typex's book has 'lived up to the best expectations,' *Rembrandt* has been translated into nine different languages, including Chinese, Spanish, English and French, which means that the graphic novel has achieved the critical point of becoming an 'international publication', reaching a diversified audience.[652] For the same reason and due to a lot of newspaper coverage, BKVB is 'very satisfied' too.[653] The Rijksmuseum is also pleased, with good sales numbers in particular 'internationally <u>outside</u> the museum' and Pronk stating '*Rembrandt* surpassed all expectations. I think it is one of the best graphic novels ever to be published in the Netherlands.'[654] *Rembrandt* 'made a big difference' says Typex, as it provided the opportunity for him to create the book *Andy. A Factual Fairytale. The Life and Times of Andy Warhol* (2018), as Wim Pijbes, at that time director of the Rijksmuseum, established the contact between Typex and the Andy Warhol Foundation in New York.[655]

Typex received much attention for *Rembrandt* in 2013: it was nominated for the *Album van het jaar* [Album of the Year] by *Het Stripschap*, the Dutch Comic Society, shortlisted for the *Cutting Edge Award,* a Belgium prize for cultural output, and won the Dutch *Willy Vandersteenprijs 2013* as best comic of the year, which consisted of prize

---

[650] Pronk 2018.

[651] Pos 2017.

[652] Typex 2017.

[653] Pos 2017.

[654] Pronk 2018, emphasis original.

[655] Typex 2017; Typex in Pollmann (available at URL: http://joostpollmann.nl/volkskrant/groen-licht-voor-typex/, accessed 08/02/2020); According to Typex's homepage, *Andy* is published in at least six languages and thirteen countries. Available at URL: https://typex.nl/ (Accessed 07/08/2020).

money and a temporary exhibition (31 May – 1 June 2014) at the *Stripdagen Haarlem*.[656] The book's afterlife also includes *Adeste Fideles - Kerstverhaal met Rembrandt en Saskia* [All Ye Faithful - A Christmas Story with Rembrandt and Saskia], a four-page comic strip in the Culture section of the Dutch *NRC Handelsblad*, published on 19 December 2013. Furthermore, the *Amsterdam Comics Conference 'Comics Interaction' (1-3 July 2015)* used an altered panel from *Rembrandt* as its official image when publicising the academic event and invited the graphic novelist to hold a Special Guest Presentations, titled *Comics vs. Culture*.[657] In 2019, doubtlessly with *Rembrandt* and *Andy* contributing significantly, Typex won the *stripschapprijs* for his oeuvre.

Rembrandt, co-commissioned by the Rijksmuseum and BKVK, was released for the museum's reopening in 2013. It has a complicated history and large authorship, as the initiators of the project eventually dropped out, and Typex ended up taking over the entire project while continuing with the original pitch. Also, the initial publisher was bought up by another one, but neither of them took a gatekeeping role in editing and shaping the project as it went along. Yet, the original publishing house commissioned a short movie about creating the graphic novel. Neither the museums nor the publisher actively promoted *Rembrandt*, leaving the creator to do much marketing himself.

In focusing on Rembrandt van Rijn's moments of triumph and despair, it is reminiscent of the First Boom. Several art-historical anecdotes, as well as genre-specific tropes, appear prominently in the narrative. Attempting to avoid canonical masterpieces where possible, the narrative does not follow a life-and-work model. However, in his research Typex was close to a monograph in using the life-and-work model and examining original artworks *in situ*. Exploring the artist's life through the eyes of many people around him and not being about his artworks, the graphic novel shares aspects with a modern painter's novel. As none of the featured artworks is cited, the potential to present Rembrandt van Rijn's oeuvre is not realised.

Typex felt free to rearrange historical timelines and dates of artworks to fit the narrative, as the museum was split between preventing historic impossibilities, providing some assistance, editing, and not being interested in an accurate biography. Typex claims the book's fictionality is obvious, and citations would have destroyed the impression. However, the problem is that the fictionality is less than apparent, and the border between facts and fiction seamless, while no biography or bibliography is at hand to aid the readers.

---

[656] Uitgeverij Oog&Blik 2013l; 2014a; 2014b; Het Stripschap 2014; Minneboo 2013b; Stripgids, available at URL: https://stripgids.org/project/willy-vandersteenprijs/ (Accessed 10/10/2020).

[657] Amsterdam Comics Conference homepage, available at URL: http://amsterdamcomics.com/conferences/Summer2015/ (Accessed 10/10/2020).

Almost as if attempting to compensate the audience for this dishonesty, *Rembrandt* is a monumental and immersive experience full of carefully employed braiding and meaningful visual storytelling, enhancing the reading experience with narratological and artistic details, inspired and influenced by Rembrandt van Rijn's art and the design of a traditional artist's monograph.

Rembrandt has been translated into at least nine languages, satisfying Typex and Gert Jan Pos, while also achieving much national publicity, earning Typex various prizes, not least the *stripschapprijs* in 2019.

5.7. Netherlands: *Jan van Scorel. Sede Vacante 1523*

In October 2013, the graphic novel *Jan van Scorel. Sede Vacante 1523*, co-commissioned by Centraal Museum Utrecht three years earlier and subsequently executed by artist Paul Teng and writer Jan Paul Schutten, aided by colourist Dina Kathelyn, letterer Drits Jonker and graphic designer Tessa van der Waals, was published by Lecturis in Dutch and English.[658] The museum holds a large proportion of the surviving sixty works by the painter Jan van Scorel, whose life inspired the narrative.[659] The book launch inaugurated the exhibition *Jan Van Scorel. Sede Vacante 1523 – Paul Teng Aan De Tekentafel* [Jan Van Scorel. Sede Vacante 1523 – Paul Teng At The Drawing Table] *(19 October 2013 – 19 January 2014)* at the museum, which also bought all the original drawings by Teng for their contemporary art collection.[660]

The almost entirely fictional eighty-page story took inspiration from the brief period between August 1522 and May 1524 when the painter worked for Pope Adrian VI in Rome. Artistically and historically, the narrative centres around these two men and the city of Utrecht. Adrian VI originated in the city, while van Scorel trained, worked, died, and was buried there. This highly local focus, Teng's exceptional traditional and realistic drawing style, and the clear fact-fiction division, due to an eight-page appendix of references and artworks, compiled by the exhibition's curator Liesbeth M. Helmus, constitute the publication's unique importance for this research.

Teng and Schutten both agreed to fill out a detailed questionnaire, and Hans van de Willige from Lecturis answered a short questionnaire too. Unfortunately, no one from Centraal Museum Utrecht was available to discuss the project. However, it facilitated the

---

[658] Teng 2018; Schutten 2018, Both mentioned a French edition to be published in 2019, which could not be confirmed.

[659] Sometimes the artist's name is spelled 'Joan van Schoorel.'

[660] This exhibition is discussed in Chapter 6.

research in establishing contact with Teng. The art institution's YouTube, Facebook and Twitter accounts, and its homepage were consulted as well as additional information available online.

The story switches back and forth between two separate narratives. The dominant plot follows van Scorel during his time in Italy and Rome serving Pope Adrian VI between 1522 and 1524. However, one-quarter of the book is set in Utrecht in 1566, featuring the painter's son and former apprentice, Victor van Scorel and Antonie Mor van Dashorst.

The main narrative opens with the death of Pope Adrian VI on 14 September 1523. The story then jumps back to 23 August 1522, when van Scorel is invited to Rome by Adrian VI. Upon meeting the pope, van Scorel becomes head of the papal art collection and receives the commission for a papal portrait (Fig. 5.70). Adrian VI mentions to van Scorel that his predecessor was allegedly murdered. Soon afterwards, the pope's health declines dramatically and he dies—the narrative's start. Van Scorel starts to investigate a murder he suspects. The new pope, Clement VII, is elected on 19 November 1523. Van Scorel is arrested, trialled, and convicted of conspiracy against the church. He signs a contract, guaranteeing his safety in exchange for ending the investigation, and leaves for the Netherlands in May 1524.

The second shorter narrative, set in Utrecht in August 1566 during the iconoclasm, occasionally interrupts the main story. Victor van Scorel and Anthoine Mor van Dashorst find and discuss the contract between Clement VII and Jan van Scorel. Two men steal the document but are confronted by a Protestant mob, suspecting them to be Catholics and throwing them from a bridge, while the contract is blown into a bonfire.

Jan van Scorel. Sede Vacante 1523 hardly features any of the traditional art-historical anecdotes or tropes of the artist's biography comics genre, except for the powerful client, in this case Pope Adrian VI. Carel van Mander, a primary source for the project, as discussed below, merely writes a few sentences about van Scorel's time in Rome but does not indicate any special relationship between the pope and the painter.[661] Towards the end of the narrative, van Dashorst describes van Scorel as 'canon, painter, composer, poet, playwright, architect, … the da Vinci of the North,' hence, a genius—a common genre-specific trope.[662] However, the very brief moment is entirely text-based, as no image shows the product of the

---

[661] Van Mander 1969, pp.163, '[Jan van Schoorel] then went to Venice; but he left this city after a little while and visited other cities in Italy, including Rome, where he worked very hard […] About the same time, Adrian VI was elected pope. He was formerly a cardinal in Spain. He was born in Utrecht. When Schoorel came to Rome, the Pope became acquainted with him and made him director of the Belvedere. Schoorel painted many pictures for the Pope, and made also a portrait of him from life, a work which is still to be seen in Louvain, at the college founded by Pope Adrian VI. This Pope occupied the Holy See one year and thirty-five weeks and then died. Schoorel, after extensive study, returned to the Netherlands.'

[662] Teng and Schutten 2013, p.69.

alleged inventiveness. In being almost wholly fictional and showing hardly any art by van Scorel, the graphic novel neither uses the life-and-work model nor presents his oeuvre. However, it shows several remarkably close similarities to modern painter's novels, in choosing a less well-known individual, being about a painter but not his art, assigning him a secondary role, and having a detective story setting.[663]

While the book contains next to no anecdotes about van Scorel, it does feature some about Adrian VI, such as an extremely frugal lifestyle and funeral, him working on seven desks simultaneously, sadness due to the opposition by the Roman clergy, while always following his vision for the Catholic Church. If stripped of the religious context, those anecdotes would befit a traditional art-historical monograph: an artist living a work-obsessed and frugal but also sad life, very talented—maybe even a genius—he follows his artistic vision despite being unappreciated, as not understood, by his contemporaries. This link is probably unintentionally but a parallel worth mentioning. Finally, the focus of the entire project, the graphic novel as well as the accompanying exhibition, on the city Utrecht is reminiscent of the autochthonic biographical writings of the Tuscan Renaissance.

Centraal Museum Utrecht initiated *Jan van Scorel. Sede Vacante 1523* in 2010, involving Gert Jan Pos, in asking him to propose some suitable comic artists.[664] Knowing the museum wanted a rather traditional style, he suggested, among others, Paul Teng, who subsequently won the pitch due to his 'detailed drawings and historical accuracy.'[665] It is worth noting that Teng's very meticulous, static, and ultimately conservative drawing style does share many elements with that of Jan van Scorel and the sober, stern and strict manner of the Northern Renaissance. Consequently, Centraal Museum Utrecht's choice was possibly based on this resemblance in the two artists' works. Teng 'proposed to bring in Jan Paul [Schutten] as scriptwriter […] a very accomplished writer of youth literature.'[666] They had 'earlier cooperation' and 'Centraal Museum [Utrecht] also liked [Schutten's] other books.'[667] The museum contacted Lecturis, which makes 'publications that coincide with exhibitions' and already knew Teng.[668] The publisher 'immediately liked the idea and the decision to do the publication was a quick one,' once the technical details, such as size, paper,

---

[663] Van Tooren 2012, p.57.

[664] Pos 2017, In this case, Gert Jan Pos's role was strictly advisory.

[665] Ibid.; Teng 2018.

[666] Teng 2018.

[667] Schutten 2018; *Kinderen Van Amsterdam* (2007) and *Kinderen Van Nederland* (2008) were earlier collaborations between Teng and Schutten.

[668] Van de Willige 2017; The publisher knew Teng already form *Strips! 200 Jaar Nederlands Beeldverhaal* [Comics! 200 Years Of Dutch Cartoons] (2013) by Matla, van Eijck, van Helden, Pollman and van Waterschoot, accompanying the exhibition *Strips! 200 Jaar Nederlands Beeldverhaal (28 September 2013 – 2 March 2014)* at Huis van Het Boek | Museum Meermanno in Den Haag.

length, and binding, were agreed, there was no opportunity for renegotiations.[669] For the rest of the project, Teng was the only point of contact for Lecturis.[670] While 2012, the 550th anniversary of Jan van Scorel's death, would have seemed a natural release date, the creators and the museum agreed on 2013, possibly due to the museum's privatisation, but 'also because of the 300th anniversary of the Treaty of Utrecht'—an event entirely unrelated to the graphic novel.[671]

Like in the case of *Le Ciel Au Dessus Du Louvre*, first the artist was appointed, who then suggested bringing in a writer, and who stayed in charge of the project on the creators' side. Also, it is remarkable that apparently, the publisher has only been contacted after the museum had decided on the creator(s). Thus, the usual gatekeeping position of the publishing house was circumvented, and the company was left to accept or decline a partly pre-arranged project.

Teng's assessment, '[Jan] van Scorel is not well known outside of Utrecht, and they [Centraal Museum Utrecht] wished to remedy that,' describes the art institution's approach well.[672] Carried out 'on [Teng's] instructions,' the creators received 'a substantial amount of documentation, which was a solid base for further research' came 'from libraries that [the creators] would not normally have access to' and had been compiled by an assistant at the museum.[673] Schutten confirms 'most of the research was already done by the museum.'[674] The creators also went on a three-day trip to Rome paid for by the museum to see the locations, architecture, and art from the Vatican Museums featured in the book.[675] Teng recalls, '[t]he most difficult, or rather time-consuming, part was figuring out the Vatican's layout, and the condition of the New Saint Peter's Cathedral in that specific year of 1523.'[676] In addition, Schutten read van Mander's biography of Jan van Scorel, while Teng bought 'a good number of books and museum catalogues,' finding a German catalogue 'most helpful.'[677] The comic artist remembers,

> '[t]he original brief was to do a biography of van Scorel, but I talked the museum out of that idea. It would have made a dull album, also because van Scorel's life was spent mostly within the walls of his studio. The interesting part was his journey to Jerusalem and his days in

[669] Van de Willige 2017.

[670] Ibid.

[671] Centraal Museum Utrecht 2012a, On 1 January 2013, CMU transformed from a municipal organisation into an independent foundation.

[672] Teng 2018.

[673] Ibid.; Teng 2013.

[674] Schutten 2018.

[675] Schutten 2018; Teng 2018.

[676] Teng 2018.

[677] Van Mander 1969, p.158-167; Kruse 1998.

Rome, under Pope Adrian VI. So we concentrated on that period, and on the historical rumours surrounding the death of the latter.'[678]

Teng recalls being 'given a free hand in every aspect,' and Schutten also remembers 'no restrictions on any level.'[679] However, Teng mentions that '[i]t was a condition of the museum that the book should be as historically accurate as possible,' allegedly also 'of great importance' to himself.[680] Again, the creators think they were working unrestricted while at the same time admitting that they were given conditions for their work. Furthermore, the fact that the museum had already done the research *for* the creators constitutes a significant editing act, as Teng and Schutten had to work with what they were given. There is no indication that they followed the life-and-work model or examined any original artworks *in situ* in preparation for their work. This is hardly surprising, as both creators clearly struggled with and seemingly even disliked their subject, with Teng thinking 'van Scorel and the Dutch Renaissance aren't sexy subjects,' and Schutten claiming 'Jan van Scorel was a kind of dull and not very likeable person. But he was the protagonist, so that was not easy.'[681] There is no indication that Teng's and Schutten's experiences, as artist and writer respectively, inform the narrative in any way.

A mostly fictional storyline could have solved the creators' issues with their subject. Schutten 'wanted to write an exciting story,' insisting 'nothing in the story could be in contradiction to the [established] facts. So *it could have happened* this way,' while admitting 'for sure it didn't happen this way.'[682] Teng confirms 'nothing in the story is at odds with what we know of [Jan van Scorel], and that is not an awful lot.'[683] However, his statement directly contradicts Centraal Museum Utrecht's director Edwin Jacobs, who writes in the foreword, 'we do know a great deal about his [Jan van Scorel's] life.'[684] The comic artist explains the book's focus on Rome: '[O]nly there could we create some adventure to make an interesting book, without bending the truth too much,' admitting to 'certain liberties' they took while claiming the plot is 'actually close to the then thought truth, but has never been proven.'[685] The result is a graphic detective story in a Renaissance setting. It can be described as a youth-friendly—there is one bare breast—blend of Alejandro Jodorowsky's and Milo Manara's graphic novel series *I Borgia* [The Borgias] (2004, 2006, 2008), about Pope

---

[678] Teng 2018.
[679] Teng 2018; Schutten 2018.
[680] Teng 2018.
[681] Ibid., Schutten 2018.
[682] Schutten 2018, original emphasis.
[683] Teng 2018.
[684] Edwin Jacobs in Teng and Schutten 2013, foreword.
[685] Teng 2018; Teng in van Klinken 2013.

Alexander VI, and Dan Brown's popular Robert Langdon novel series (2000, 2003, 2009, 2013, 2017), turned into the movies *The Da Vinci Code* (2006), *Angels and Demons* (2009) and *Inferno* (2016). It also resembles First Boom comics about sculptor Benvenuto Cellini, rich in sword fights and conspiracies in Rome and the Vatican. Finally, it confirms that Burckhardt's perception of the Renaissance, with 'people giving themselves to sensuality, materialism and the lust for power,' is still influential in current popular culture.[686]

Interestingly, Teng and Schutten's adventure-conspiracy-detective story seems to starkly contradict Centraal Museum Utrecht's idea of the graphic novel as an appealing way to present (art) historical research to a large audience.[687] To comply with the request for 'art-historical information,' the secondary storyline was added, states Teng.[688] Apparently, such efforts were sufficient for the museum, which provided much publicity for the graphic novel. In November 2012, a press release reported that Teng won the *Stripschapprijs* 2013 and included a few black-and-white preview panels of the graphic novel. The director wrote *Jan van Scorel. Sede Vacante 1523*'s foreword, praising it as 'contemporary interpretation' that 'literally and figuratively transported [Jan van Scorel] into the here and now.'[689]

Most publicity was generated by the Centraal Museum Utrecht's exhibition *Jan Van Scorel. Sede Vacante 1523 – Paul Teng At The Drawing Table (19 October 2013 – 19 January 2014)*, including special events.[690] Teng remembers 'a (very short) tv commercial aired several times on national tv, newspaper ads, and an interview with the local television network.'[691] The museum released three short videos produced for the exhibition, featuring Teng, Schutten and the colourist Kathelyn, on its YouTube and ArtTube channels.[692] The art institution, including its director, was also very active on social media, such as Facebook and Twitter, with multiple posts and tweets between October 2013 and January 2014.[693] In comparison, Schutten posted four times about the same topic, respectively in August and October 2013.[694] Nevertheless, he thought 'the publicity could have been better,'

---

[686] Williams 2007, p.36.

[687] Centraal Museum Utrecht (available at URL: https://www.centraalmuseum.nl/en/exhibitions/jan-van-scorel-sede-vacante-1523-paul-teng-aan-de-tekentafel, accessed 29/01/2018).

[688] Ibid.

[689] Edwin Jacobs in Teng and Schutten 2013, foreword.

[690] For this exhibition, see Chapter 6.

[691] Teng 2018.

[692] Centraal Museum Utrecht 2013a; Initially released on 15 October 2013 on YouTube, the videos were also uploaded on ArtTube on 13 November 2013.

[693] Centraal Museum 2013a-z; 2014a-d; Jacobs 2013a-i.

[694] Jan Paul Schutten 2013a-d.

acknowledging the museum's efforts, while Teng said the book 'did receive publicity' but 'wasn't picked up by the press.'[695]

However, various online reviews, articles, and comments look at cultural, legal, Catholic, and Papal history.[696] *Kathostrip*, specialised in religious comic books, considers the publication an accurate depiction of the iconoclasm, acknowledging the large fictionality and suggesting to separate fact from fiction using the appendix.[697] The *Reformatorisch Dagblad* too thinks the publications represent the iconoclasm, the people, and buildings faithfully, but criticises the book's too contemporary feeling regarding some aspects of Christian faith.[698] Other platforms adopt the creators' view in claiming that van Scorel's life is boring and seeing no issue with the fictional representation of events.[699] Art historian Claudia Schipper, who writes mainly about the exhibition, follows the museum's point of view in thinking the comic is the only way to interest adolescents in Jan van Scorel, suggesting it might introduce museum audiences to the comics medium.[700] Utrecht-based Otto Vervaart, on his *Rechtsgeschiedenis Blog* [Legal History Blog], provides extra background about Pope Adrian VI, but questions whether the shown practice of confirming a pope's death was indeed still practised at the time.[701] He likes Teng's realistic and accurate environments and suggests historians should use more images.[702] While not all these critics seem to be talking about their respective fields of expertise, their diversity clearly shows that the graphic novel reached into various parts of society.

Jan Van Scorel. Sede Vacante 1523 is an illustrated story, as the text dominates the images while the comics medium's potential remains under-used. Rare exceptions are the opening scene, with three panels arranged like a winged altar (Fig. 5.71), and some silent scenes (Fig. 5.72). For several episodes, wordless panels would create a much more dramatic effect, but the power of the images is disturbed by the text (Fig. 5.73). Very traditional in style, technically the drawings' quality and details are high, and possibly the reason for commissioning Teng, as his style mirrors Jan van Scorel.

The page layout is very regular, with seven to nine panels, clear gutters, and no splash pages. Only the opening panel showing Rome is larger and depicts an aerial view (Fig. 5.71),

---

[695] Schutten 2018; Teng 2018.

[696] Teng 2013; Another interview with Teng in the *Brabant Strip Magazine No. 199* (March 2014) was not retrievable.

[697] Kathostrip 2013.

[698] de Bruijn 2014.

[699] van Klinken 2013.

[700] Schipper 2014.

[701] Vervaart 2014.

[702] Ibid.

while only Utrecht's cityscape shows its landmarks (Fig. 5.74). In contrast, the introductory panels for Venice and Florence are small and without any form of distinction. Such layout choices might result from the fast pace of the narrative, forcing Teng to squeeze each episode into a small number of panels, leaving little space for atmospheric developments. Characters and events appear less dynamic, as the panels are needed to provide a setting for dialogue. It is worth remembering that no renegotiations were possible once the contract was signed, leaving the creators little leeway as the project progressed.

Schutten is 'certain that Adrian [VI] was murdered by his enemies, although it was never proven,' and opted for a detective story, essentially writing another juvenile book.[703] Thus, van Scorel's character is a naïve, unreasonable and careless detective and papal official but not much of a painter—'dull and not very likeable'—who is in need of an 'attractive, more heroic' counterpart.[704] The educational attempts are stored mainly away in the Utrecht plot set in 1566. However, they are assigned little space and only a minor role, as half of the section is about the contract. Consequently, there are two separate narrative modes: the primary detective story and a secondary forced attempt of (art-historical) fact-delivery.

Interestingly, for a book about an artist who visits Rome and the Vatican during the High Renaissance, very few artworks were depicted, proving that the book is neither about the artists nor the artworks. Van Scorel's portrait of Pope Adrian VI is shown (Fig. 5.70), as Centraal Museum Utrecht has a later copy. Indeed, it is one of only two artworks by van Scorel shown, named and commented on in the narrative—the other being *The Lokhorst Triptych* (1526) (Fig. 5.75). The eight-page appendix features those two and some other artworks. Teng claims he 'tried to include [van Scorel] best-known work, but only the portrait of Pope Adrian [VI] was done within the time frame of the story, so we made references to other paintings wherever possible.'[705]

The small number of actual artworks in the book is just one of many oddities and missed opportunities. The stakeholders were an unusual pairing too: While the museum had a very fact-based approach in mind, wanting and requesting (art-) historical information and research to be present, the two creators thought of Jan van Scorel as boring, unsexy and dull. Therefore, they decided to create what Schutten calls 'faction, a fictional story based on facts.'[706] By writing a fictional narrative, they have moved very far away from the museum's commission, since the only accurate facts are that Jan van Scorel came to Rome where he became Papal curator and portraitist under Adrian VI. Trying to comply with the Centraal

---

[703] Schutten 2018.

[704] Ibid.

[705] Teng 2018.

[706] Schutten 2018.

Museum Utrecht's demands, Teng and Schutten created a loosely connected and extremely clunkily and inelegant written second narrative, squeezing in the educational content, missing in the other three-quarters of the book. Curiously, Schutten names Carel van Mander as the primary source, who dedicates just a few lines to van Scorel's entire time in Italy but writes several pages about the artist's complete travel through Europe and the Middle East.[707]

All this results in a graphic narrative that is neither talking about the life nor the work of Jan van Scorel. Switching between primary and secondary storylines is often confusing, lacking markers such as a change in colour, and unexpected, often lasting but one page before continuing the main story. However, the starkest contrast is between the graphic narrative and the appendix done by the museum. The former is primarily fictional and hardly connects to established histories. In contrast, the latter is meticulously compiled (art) historical information about various featured figures and events, containing references and citations, letting readers quickly pick out the few actual facts in the fictional narrative and compare images of artworks with depictions from the story.

The story also features a relatively large number of inconsistencies. The opening scene at Rome depicts the Papal code of arms of Adrian VI—missing the crossed keys—and the opening at Utrecht shows the city's code of arms. In contrast, neither the events in Venice nor Florence, both independent republics at the time, carry their respective code of arms, nor is Rome's code of arms ever shown. Pope Clement VII chose his unique Papal code of arms with his election, a change also undepicted in the book. Similarly, only some dates are exact, while others are approximations. Another inconsistency concerns the sporadic use of sound-symbolic words, such as the ringing bells in Rome, but the completely silent rioters in Utrecht and sacking soldiers in Rome. Also, the Sack of Rome is set apart from the rest of the narrative as a flashback paler in colour (Fig. 5.76), but the memories of van Dashorst visiting Adrian VI's tombs are indistinguishable from the main story. Further, while the inscription on Adrian VI's first tomb is translated from Latin, the epitaph on his second and final tomb does not receive the same treatment.

Another inconsistency concerns the character of van Scorel, who, for the whole story, tries to find the suspected murderer of Adrian VI no matter the costs but immediately gives up once Clement VII demands it. Finally, the contract that plays such an essential part in the story uses Pope Adrian VI's full name, including birth name and papal name, while Clement VII is only addressed with his Papal name. Such inconsistencies are easily avoidable with a bit more attention to detail.

---

[707] Schutten 2018; van Mander 1969, p.163.

Unfortunately, the creators' bias against Jan van Scorel and his time means the graphic novel misses many opportunities: the painter travelled to Europe, the Mediterranean, and the Middle East. A less fictional but much more diverse and equally exciting—certainly more educational—narrative could have easily been scripted and drawn. The High Renaissance setting, including travel to Florence, would have provided opportunities in abundance to depict great artworks, introducing art-historical research to readers effortlessly. As mentioned above, the comics medium is hardly put to use and work in the publication, repeatedly ignoring possible chances to include large-scale panels with cityscapes and landscapes.

Those mismatches, inconsistencies and missed opportunities are most likely the results of trying to reach too many different audiences, thus, not having *one* straightforward approach. All stakeholders were hoping for a large audience, not least the museum.[708] In contrast, Schutten thinks by 'choosing the medium of graphic novel,' the commissioners were trying to 'interest a larger and younger audience.'[709] Teng even thought 'art students would be triggered by [the book] to explore the Renaissance and van Scorel's role in bringing the Italian art studio system to the Northern Netherlands,' and that the graphic novel would raise van Scorel's profile outside of Utrecht.[710] However, the graphic narrative speaks mainly to children and might attract some young teenagers but is probably ignored by (young) adults. Besides, it is doubtful to trigger any (art) students' interest in the period—lacking actual artworks—as its children's book writing and very rushed narrative leave no space for (convincing) character development. Lecturis states, their 'traditional audience' as well as Paul Teng's 'base' bought the book, while the publisher 'took extra effort to distribute the book through comic shops, which worked out fine.'[711] Writing for children and young teenagers, while also trying to appeal to young adults, readers of traditional museum publications, art students, and attempting to reach as many people as possible, seemed to have targeted a too large and diverse group.

However, with a narrative about two famous locals, and only one foreign-language edition, *Jan van Scorel. Sede Vacante 1523* is effectively not aiming for a large market but mainly a municipal and provincial audience. As a book made by a Utrecht museum, about two famous Utrecht-men, for a primarily Utrecht-based audience, trying to promote and publicise the history and art of (Centraal Museum) Utrecht, the graphic novel resembles

[708] Centraal Museum Utrecht (available at URL: https://www.centraalmuseum.nl/en/exhibitions/jan-van-scorel-sede-vacante-1523-paul-teng-aan-de-tekentafel, accessed 29/01/2018).
[709] Schutten 2018.
[710] Teng 2018.
[711] Van de Willige 2017.

Renaissance Tuscan biographies. While the publication might attempt to trigger notions of local pride, it is not claiming superiority of Utrecht art or history. Similar patterns are observed for Christophe Badoux's *Klee*, discussed above.

Surprisingly, judging from the blurb, the Centraal Museum Utrecht is indeed quite satisfied with the book, which it considers 'based on historical facts,' containing only 'a dash of fiction.'[712] Also, it praises the 'correct historical representations of events, clothing, landscapes and other details.'[713] Lecturis considers the project 'economically … a success' and 'artistically very satisfy[ing].'[714] Indeed, the publisher has released two more graphic novels about famous artists.[715]

Schutten is 'satisfied on all levels, except for the colours,' stating 'the project was considered a success. There was only one problem: the print is very dark, and the colours had to be more vibrant.'[716] Teng is also 'not satisfied with the final printing, which was done on high quality but very absorbing paper,' he explains.[717] Besides, he reports 'mixed feelings about the end result,' since he did not get 'any feedback on sales' from the 'unreliable' publisher and states, 'compared to the efforts … I found the results meagre.'[718] Both creators say they are most successful in other fields and are thus not hard hit by the lack of publicity and sales. Similarly, they have not experienced any boost or facilitation of their career due to the publication.[719] However, according to Teng and Schutten, for 2019, a French edition and an exhibition at Musée de la Chartreuse in Douai was scheduled.[720] Despite respective research, these two claims could not be confirmed.

Teng suggests that the reason why the publication 'drew less attention than was hoped' is that it is 'perhaps too light-footed for the art world and too arty for the average comics reader.'[721] At the same time, Schutten thinks that the fierce competition between museums might be to blame.[722] A far more convincing explanation for the underwhelming results and responses is the lack of a straightforward approach for the project that sits somewhere between a children's book and an art-historical exhibition brochure. Indeed, the

---

[712] Teng and Schutten 2013, back cover

[713] Ibid.

[714] Van de Willige 2017.

[715] Van de Willige 2017, Lecturis also published *Jheronimus* (2015) by Marcel Ruijters and *Pjotr Müller* (2017) by Pjotr Müller.

[716] Schutten 2018.

[717] Teng 2018.

[718] Ibid.; Schutten 2018.

[719] Teng 2018; Schutten 2018.

[720] Teng 2018; Schutten 2018.

[721] Teng 2018.

[722] Schutten 2018.

narratives and appendix, collected and bound in one publication, seem to have two entirely different approaches, existing parallel instead of together.

The almost entirely fictional graphic novel *Jan van Scorel. Sede Vacante 1523* was created by artist Paul Teng and children's book author Jan Paul Schutten for Centraal Museum Utrecht. It is inspired by a brief period in history when the Utrecht-trained painter Jan van Scorel and Utrecht-born Pope Adrian VI met in Rome, and the former worked for the latter. The mostly made-up story is juxtaposed with an appendix meticulously compiled by a curator, telling the reader about the life and art of van Scorel and including a bibliography with sources and further readings.

Interestingly, the research indicates that Teng's role was particularly strong. He was the first member of the creative team, winning the pitch, bringing in Schutten, and acting as the sole contact for the publisher throughout the book project. At the same time, the publisher only joined the museum as commissioner after the decision for Teng (and possibly Schutten) was made, putting it in an unusually weak position. Also, in doing the research *for* the creators, the museum determined what information Teng and Schutten were working with, constituting an act of editing in addition to setting conditions for the content.

While the graphic novel does not feature well-known anecdotes or tropes, except powerful clients or friends, it displays surprising similarities with the modern painter's novel, not least in being a detective story. As the narrative is neither about the artist's life nor his art, it cannot use the life-and-work model or present van Scorel's oeuvre.

Convinced they need to make things up to write an exciting narrative, Teng and Schutten continued their previous work on children's books, in producing an illustrated Dan-Brown-style modern painter's novel for a relatively young audience, containing many oddities and inconsistencies. At the same time, the creators hardly made use of the comics medium's potential for visual storytelling, which could have enhanced the reading experience. However, misjudging the possible readership and appeal of the graphic novel, the stakeholders think the final product can reach children, teenagers, (young) adults, traditional audiences of museum publications, art students, the art world, and comic readers.

5.8. Conclusion

The corpus's comparative analysis reveals a great diversity regarding the stakeholders, reasons for, approaches towards, styles and quality of the individual graphic novels published between 2008 and 2013.

Interviews personally conducted for this study with a large number of individuals form the basis for the analysis. The parties' online appearances, particularly social media channels and institutional archives, and related material accessible online, have been used.

Continuing the developments of the First Boom (1942-1949), discussed in Chapter 3, the graphic novels in the corpus all feature the genre-specific trope of the obsessed artist. Almost all include the ancient art-historical anecdotes of competition between artists, a hermit-like life, and, to a lesser degree, influential friends. The last two are also genre-specific tropes of the artist's biography comics. Interestingly, the notions of a destined or genius artist, prevalent during the First Boom, hardly feature throughout the corpus—at best, they are hinted at but not shown. Publications that try an emotional exploration of the artist, such as *Dalí* and *Vincent*, also tend to follow a life-and-work model. However, several creators followed the artist's monograph in their preparatory research, examining original museum art *in situ* and subsequently trying to understand the artist through his work—the core idea of the life-and-work model. The resulting narratives may be emotional or even dramatic but provide no clear link between an artist's personal story and artistic output, such as *Le Ciel au-dessus du Louvre* and *Rembrandt*. Surprisingly, several graphic novels of the corpus show parallels to a modern painter's novel, in particular *Jan van Scorel. Sede Vacante 1523* and *Le Ciel au-dessus du Louvre*.

For the Dutch examples, Gert Jan Pos is a crucial figure, advising and putting the various stakeholders in contact for all projects, initiating two books himself, and even contributing to one. For the Dutch as well as the Swiss publications in the corpus, the museum decided on the artist without involving the publisher. In contrast, the museums and publishers of the French publications decided together on an artist before approaching him. Only Futuropolis and Nijgh & Van Ditmar were explicitly involved in the editing. At the same time, Editione Moderne and Lecturis allegedly forfeit their gatekeeping positions in staying out of the editing process, which is unusual in the field as well as doubtful in the case of *Klee*. In the cases of Éditions Dupuis and Oog & Blik | De Bezige Bij, it remains unclear to what extent they shaped the content actively.

For all three Dutch museums, co-commissioning a graphic novel coincided with an extensive rebranding, refurbishing, and renovation campaign, as discussed in Chapter 7. Similarly, the two French museums were commissioning their graphic novels as part of a series of publications. Thus, the Dutch and Swiss examples were one-off projects, while the French commissions had a more prolonged impact on the respective museums' strategy and relationship with the comics medium.

Remarkably, in all the cases, the comic artists have published with the same publishing house before. Therefore, it is plausible that artists and publishers came as a package in some cases. Thus, the commissioning and funding stakeholders have limited their risk in hiring well-established creators they were familiar with from previous cooperation. The art institutions rely heavily on the publishers' knowledge of the comics medium and field as well as their distribution networks. In turn, the respective museum brand helps the publications to be more successful in the national and international comic markets. However, as discussed in Chapter 7, sales are not a significant concern for co-commissioning art museums.

The publicity and marketing efforts for individual graphic novels vary hugely. Interestingly, despite investing considerable amounts of money as well as editing time into a product, the museums and publishers are not always very active in promoting their graphic novels. Once again, the Dutch graphic novels are exceptionally well treated. While *Vincent* and *Jan van Scorel. Sede Vacante 1523* had exhibitions created for them, there was a short movie made about Typex creating *Rembrandt*. In contrast, the two French albums, *Le Ciel au-dessus du Louvre* and *Dalí,* are hardly mentioned, neither by the publishers nor the museums, despite both featuring in exhibitions, which both draw much criticism, as discussed in Chapter 6. The Swiss graphic novel *Klee* also featured in an exhibition but was moderately publicised at best by the other stakeholders.

All creators and museums claim that there were no restrictions and absolute freedom regarding the narratives. However, the former remember cases of editorial suggestions that they have usually followed. The latter admit to demanding the book to match their vision of the artist or feature the institution and its collection. Thus, there are at least implicit editorial parameters within which the comic artists and author are free to roam. Also, all the art institutions provided some sort of research support to the graphic novelists, giving access to archives, libraries, and art-historical experts, thus guiding the creators in their approaches. Therefore, the museums, and in some cases the publishers, should belong to the wider authorship, shaping and carrying responsibility for the content of the graphic novel.

The individual creators' approaches are quite different for each graphic novel, with *Le Ciel au-dessus du Louvre* and *Jan van Scorel. Sede Vacante 1523* constituting historical-fiction examples only vaguely inspired by established histories and the individual portrayed artist, thus, being the least biographical graphic novels in the corpus. *Rembrandt* is still semi-fictional, but its narrative is significantly more accurate and focuses on the Old Master's life. It also features a more personal approach, showing the human behind the big name, something it shares with *Vincent* and *Dalí*. These two graphic novels also use the artists' individual artworks to express the internal state of the painters. Very uniquely, *Klee* is an

educational and possibly a bit dry, thus not particular emotional biography, that largely separates the life and the art, showing the latter on separate pages introducing a chapter, and citations in an appendix. It is also the only example in the corpus that does not try to find a new angle on the portrayed individual. In contrast, the others aim to depict an unknown side of the respective painters, which proves difficult in most cases. Three graphic novels, *Dalí*, *Vincent*, and *Rembrandt,* are partly informed by the creator's experience as artists—a feature already found in Vasari's *Lives*—, while Baudoin is the only one whose avatar appears as a narrator.

Interestingly, for the two collaborations in the corpus, and unusual in comics works, the respective artist had a particularly powerful position, being chosen first and subsequently suggesting bringing in the writer. Together, the creators worked within the artist's pre-set parameters, responding to the museum's demand. In the case of *Le Ciel au-dessus du Louvre*, Yslaire seems to have been particularly dominant in explicitly telling Carriére to respect his requirements, while for *Jan van Scorel. Sede Vacante 1523* Teng's role as artist and Schutte's as writer appear to have been separated stricter. Otherwise, the projects conform closer with general observations from comics studies, as usually comics workers, such as colourists, letterers, and graphic designers, are only mentioned in the graphic novels' respective indicia but never in interviews, press releases, annual reports, or articles. Stok is the only graphic novelist who mentions the colourist on the project in the interview, possibly because Ricky van Duuren is her partner. The contribution of comic artist Vincent Mézil to *Le Ciel au-dessus du Louvre* as Documentation Assistant remains especially mysterious.

Similarly, the artistic styles and the comics medium's use differ significantly from one publication to another. The drawings range from a very traditional and detailed one in *Jan van Scorel. Sede Vacante 1523*, to an artistically rich yet light ink drawings of *Dalí*, the monumental pencil-work of *Rembrandt*, the personal cartoony appearance of *Vincent*, the sober, infographics inspired *ligne claire* of *Klee*, and the very sketchy digital pictures of *Le Ciel au-dessus du Louvre*. Except for Yslaire, the comic artists at least partly adopt the portrayed individual's artistic style, blending it with their personal one.

The creators use the comics medium to very different degrees, while most use braiding and rhyming and sudden layout changes to add drama to certain scenes. Stok, Typex, and Baudoin show particular virtuosity and experience in their compelling examples of braiding. Teng—the only artist who does not use any type of braiding—is essentially illustrating a story, displaying little finery, and leaving many opportunities unexplored, occasionally even hindering the narrative. Remarkably, the graphic novels created as a collaboration between an artist and writer make the least use of the comics medium. Again, Christophe Badoux is holding a singular position, opting for a mostly illustrative style but

introducing infographics elements to show, explore and make accessible the artistic ideas and theories of Paul Klee through drawings.

The depiction of original artworks by the portrayed painters and their use in the biographical graphic novels follows various concepts. Stok and Baudoin braid them beautifully and seemingly effortlessly into the narratives to indicate the portrayed artist's mental state. Typex and Badoux redraw art as the inauguration of new chapters or sections, while also placing some in the narrative itself. Yslaire shows many artworks, however mainly as decorative elements thus without engaging. Teng depicts two works in passing—his story is just not about art. Only *Klee* and *Dalí* feature a presentation of the portrayed artist's oeuvre, a crucial element of the traditional art-historical monograph, due to the correct and complete citation of the artworks. While *Vincent* and *Rembrandt* miss the opportunity to familiarise readers with the respective oeuvre in deciding not to cite any of the art in the book, *Le Ciel au-dessus du Louvre* only references a tiny fraction and shows a generally problematic treatment of original art. All graphic novels miss an opportunity of some kind, and most feature oddities and inconsistencies that might momentarily confuse readers but rarely severely disrupt the reading experience. However, graphic novels constituting historic fiction but do not point out the line between facts and fiction draw regular criticism, as the setting of a publication—when, where, how, by whom it is released—affects the meaning of a book, thus easily misleads the readers. The insufficient citation of featured artworks is yet another serious and frequent point of critique. *Ciel au-dessus du Louvre* has the most severe problems due to the recurring appropriation of museum art without citation, showing hardly any attention to details and including grave factual errors, which do disrupt the reading experience, such as when the interior of rooms and the characters' outfits repeatedly change within a single scene.

Klee and *Jan van Scorel. Sede Vacante 1523* mainly target a relatively young audience of children and teenagers, while the stakeholders of the latter clearly struggle to understand the audience the publications can reach. However, all books of the corpus aim at adolescents and (young) adults, a group of visitors, who are challenging to reach for museums and associated with the comics medium by the art institutions. Simultaneously, the graphic novels also try to attract a general comics readership and the comic artist's fanbase.

Generally speaking, museums and publishers seem to be relatively satisfied with the products. While both appreciate considerable media attention, the former are mainly motivated by improving public relations and giving themselves a particular image, as discussed in Chapter 7. The latter usually aim for good sales numbers. Among the creators, the level of satisfaction varies. Typex, Teng, and Schutten experience problems with the publishers not being committed or experienced with comics or their print quality. In contrast,

Baudoin sees the issue with the Centre Pompidou, allowing only a single French print run. Unsurprisingly, Stok is very pleased with the final product and its enormous success.

Interestingly, with a few exceptions, the biographical graphic novels co-commissioned, co-funded, co-edited, and co-published by major European art museums do not leave a mark on the creators' careers or have much of an afterlife. Only for Stok and Typex, their respective work for the Van Gogh Museum and the Rijksmuseum, seem to have made a difference, aiding their international breakthrough and subsequent projects.

Despite the diversity on many levels, one shared aspect of publications of the corpus is that they reconfirm and reinforce a multitude of Western, European, national, and local canons of art history. Another interesting similarity is that the creators seem to have a pre-existing idea of an artist they seem unable to overcome: Teng and Schutten think van Scorel is dull, unlikable and not sexy; Typex and Baudoin do not like Rembrandt and Dalí respectively for their status of genius and their mythologization; Yslaire and Carrière erroneously think they know The Terror and David's role in it; Stok likes van Gogh and has a deep emotional connection to him through his art. Such biases seem to be reflected in the graphic novels, regardless of the amount of research conducted.

This analysis shows that the Museum Boom is anything but homogenous. The art museums share only the perception of comic readers as young and difficult to reach, resulting in the notion that co-commissioning a graphic novel is a viable tool to increase their audiences in the respective segment. Among the creators, the common impression is that a commission from an art museum is a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity, too good to be turned down, even if it means working within the art institution's parameters and writing about an individual they dislike in parts. This inability to turn down a commission matches available research on the economic situation of comics creators.[723] For the publishers, a graphic novel co-commissioned with an art museum is just another publication on the sales table.

---

[723] Lefèvre and di Salvia's survey (2011) about the socio-economic situation of comics authors and illustrators in Belgium, which seems relatable to the French and Dutch comics market as well as the wider European and American industry, confirms that it remains difficult for creators to make a living from their work. It states that many creators work on a freelance basis or as temporary workers and earn less than the country's median income. Most comic authors and illustrators receive little to no extra income from royalties and sales of their work, thus rely on creative grants and artistic commissions from government agencies, NGOs, companies, and the adverting industry.

Fig. 5.1: Christophe Badoux, *Klee* (2008), p.6, showing the young Klee, finding pre-existing figures in the lines on a marble table, constituting the genre-specific trope of revolutionising art.

Fig. 5.2: Christophe Badoux, *Klee* (2008), p.22, showing the artist projecting a drawing on a glass plate onto a paper to distort them, constituting the genre-specific trope of revolutionising art.

Fig. 5.3: Christophe Badoux, *Klee* (2008), p.22, showing the artist working indoors with shut curtains on a sunny day, resembling the genre-specific trope of a hermit-like life.

Fig. 5.4: Albrecht Dürer, *Saint Jerome in His Study* (1514), Engraving (24.6 x 18.9 cm), Metropolitan Museum of Art, the prototypical hermit.

Fig. 5.5: Christophe Badoux, *Klee* (2008), p.66, mirroring an aspect of the First Boom, the idea that an artist's life might be too short to realise all of their artistic visions.

Fig. 5.6: Christophe Badoux, *Klee* (2008), p.1, a cityscape of Bern and different caption types (main narrator, geographical and temporal indicator), while also constituting a case of braiding and rhyming.

Fig. 5.7: Christophe Badoux, *Klee* (2008), Paul Klee's letter (top caption) and concluding caption (bottom caption), p.19.

Fig. 5.8: Christophe Badoux, *Klee* (2008), p.3, showing profile captions with background information.

Fig. 5.9: Christophe Badoux, *Klee* (2008), signed by the author for Martina Kral from Museum Sammlung Rosengart, finding pre-existing figures in patterns like Klee. © Christophe Badoux
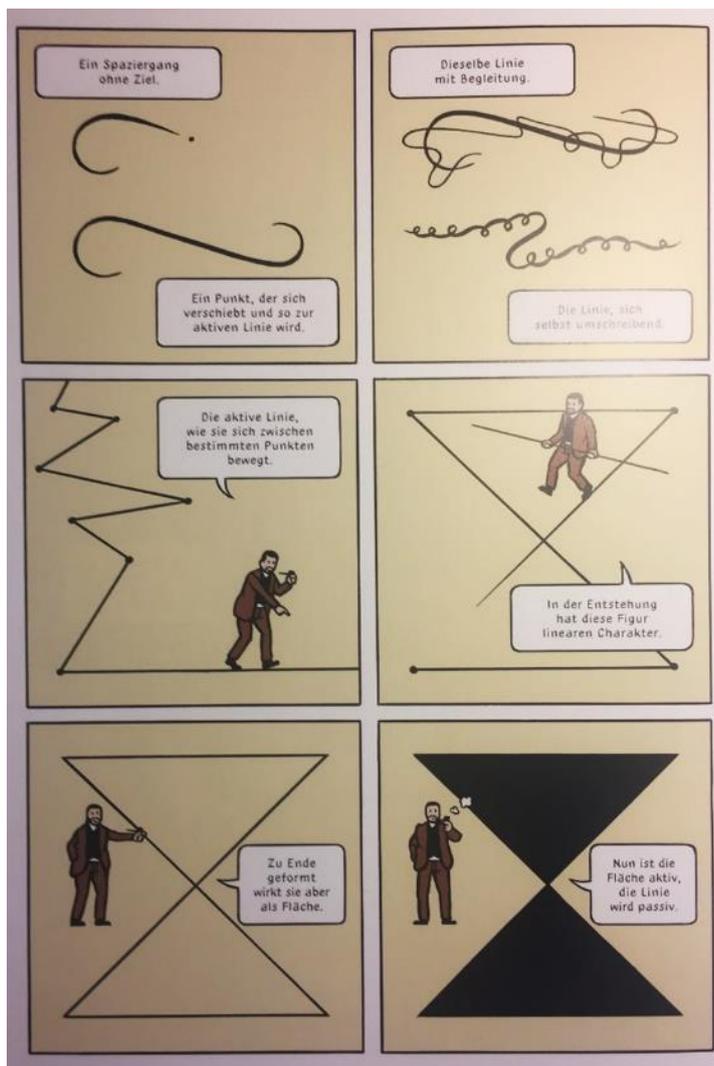
Fig. 5.10: Christophe Badoux, *Klee* (2008), p.44, using infographics when showing Klee entering the realm of his own drawing.
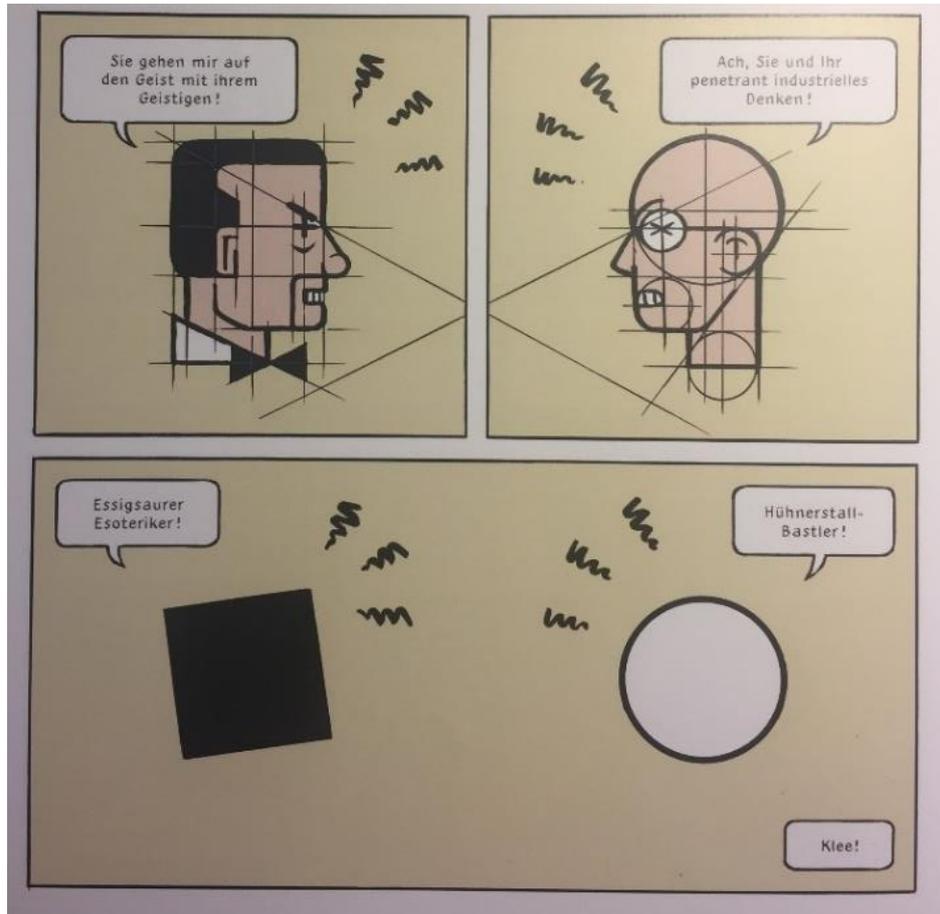
Fig. 5.11: Christophe Badoux, *Klee* (2008), p.46, a powerful demonstration of cognitive and artistic abstraction, indicating fundamental different artistic and philosophical approaches by Gropius and Itten.
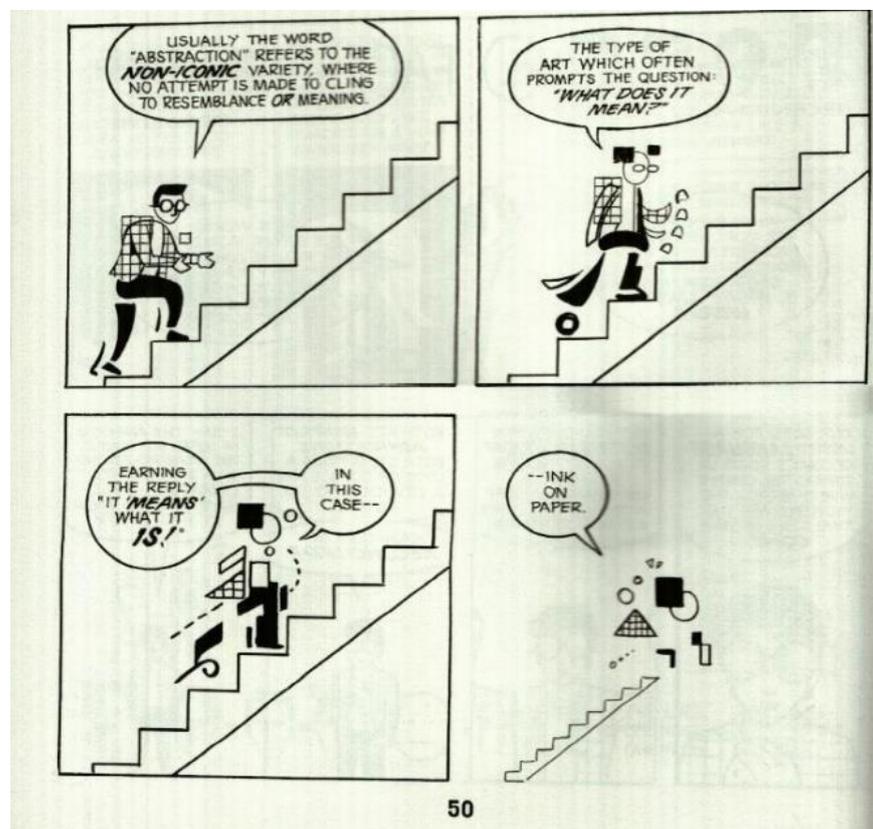
Fig. 5.12: Scott McCloud, *Understanding Comics* (1994), p.50, another example of visual abstraction which works less well due to the lack of juxtaposition.

Fig. 5.13: Christophe Badoux, *Klee* (2008), p.26, using visual storytelling in the speech bubble design to emphasise the words.

Fig.5.14: Christophe Badoux, *Klee* (2008), p.37, showing Klee picking up pebbles, constituting an example of braiding and rhyming that emphasises the importance of the line in his art.
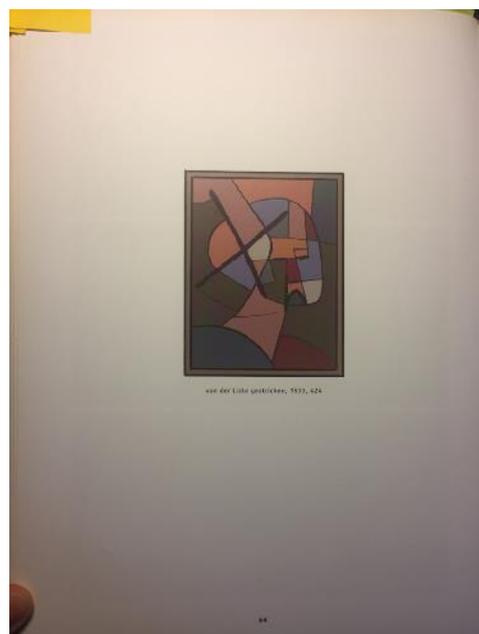
Fig. 5.15: Christophe Badoux, *Klee* (2008), p.54, artwork by Paul Klee reproduced relatively small.

Fig. 5.16: Christophe Badoux, *Klee* (2008), p.32, showing a close-up triptych of one of Klee's drawings.

Fig. 5.17: Christophe Badoux, *Klee* (2008), p.57, featuring an inconsistent caption colouring.

Fig. 5.18: Alexander Eliasberg, *Paul Klee* (1911), photograph (10,3 x 8,5 cm), Zentrum Paul Klee, Bern.
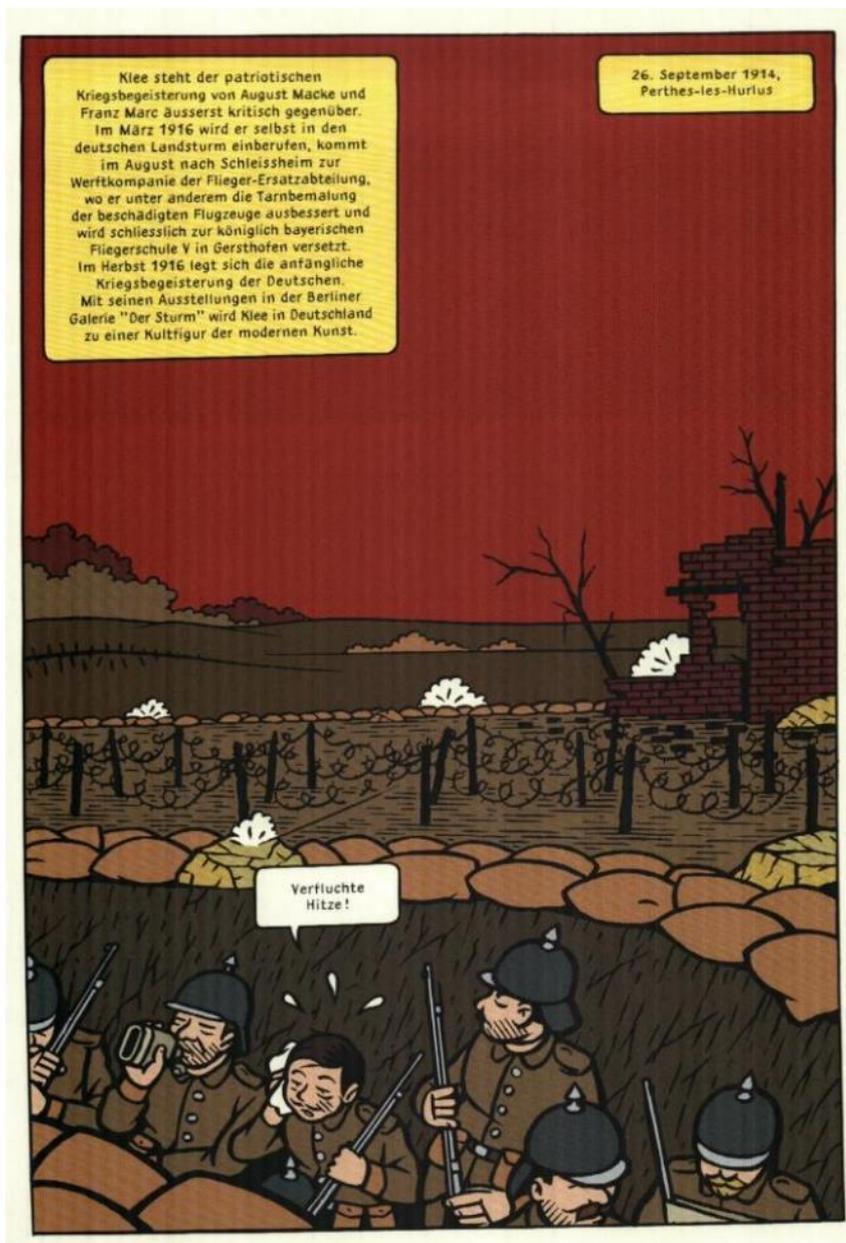
Fig. 5.18: Christophe Badoux, *Klee* (2008), p.35, revealing the shortcomings of *ligne claire*, depicting a far too clean picture of WW I, also due to the lack of sound symbolic words.
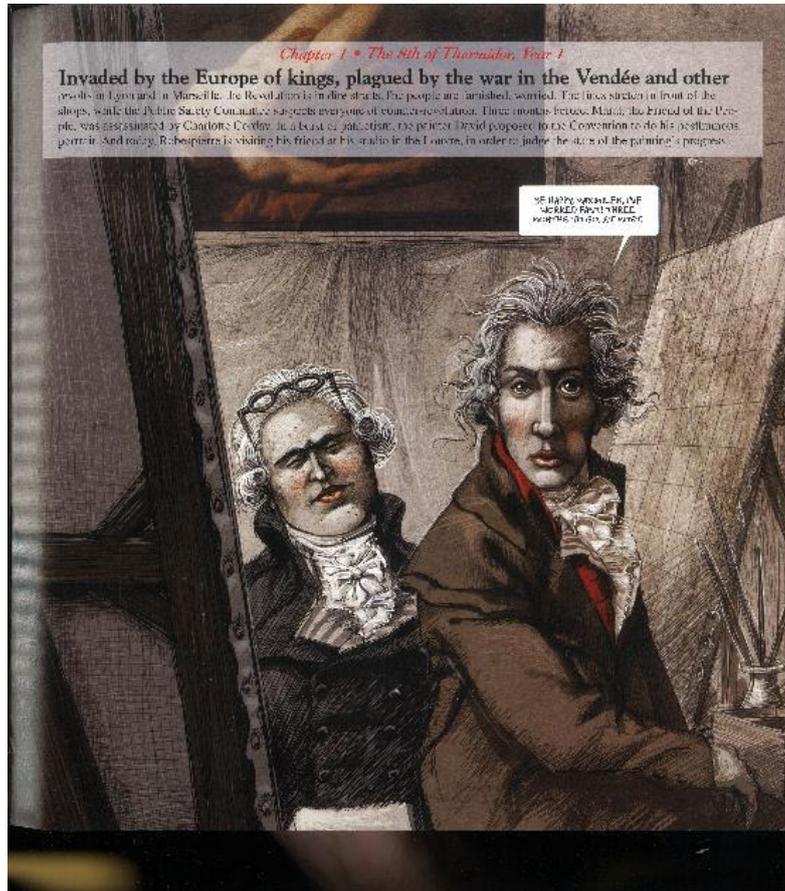
Fig. 5.19: Bernar Yslaire & Jean-Claude Carriére, *The Sky over the Louvre* (2011), p.3, showing Robespierre and David discussing *The Death of Marat*, and constituting an example of braiding and rhyming.
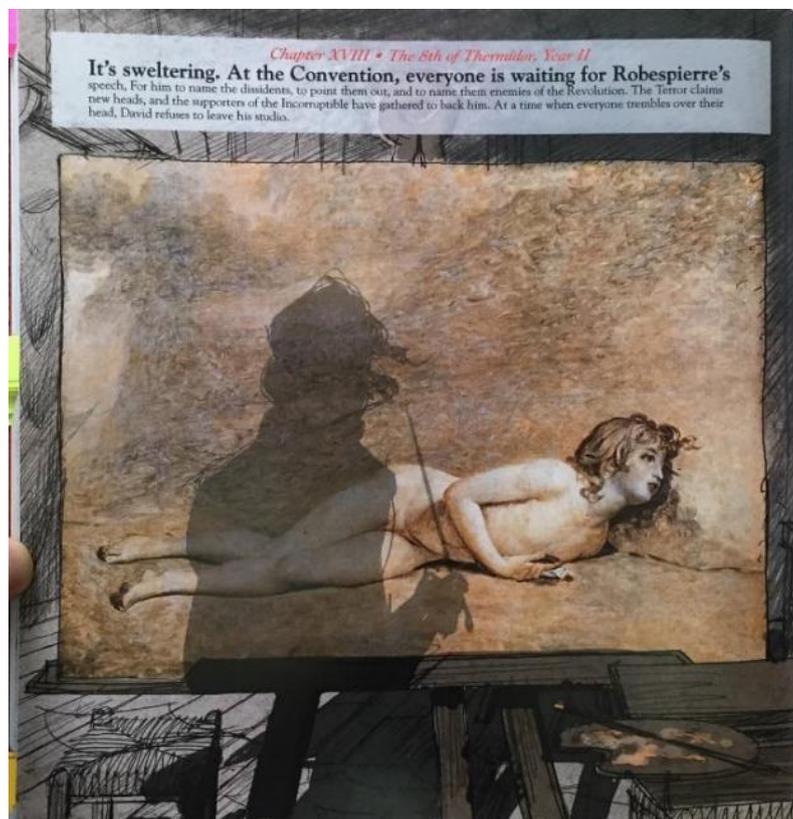
Fig. 5.20: Bernar Yslaire & Jean-Claude Carriére, *The Sky over the Louvre* (2011), p.62, featuring an insertion of original museum art, and David's work for the Republic.
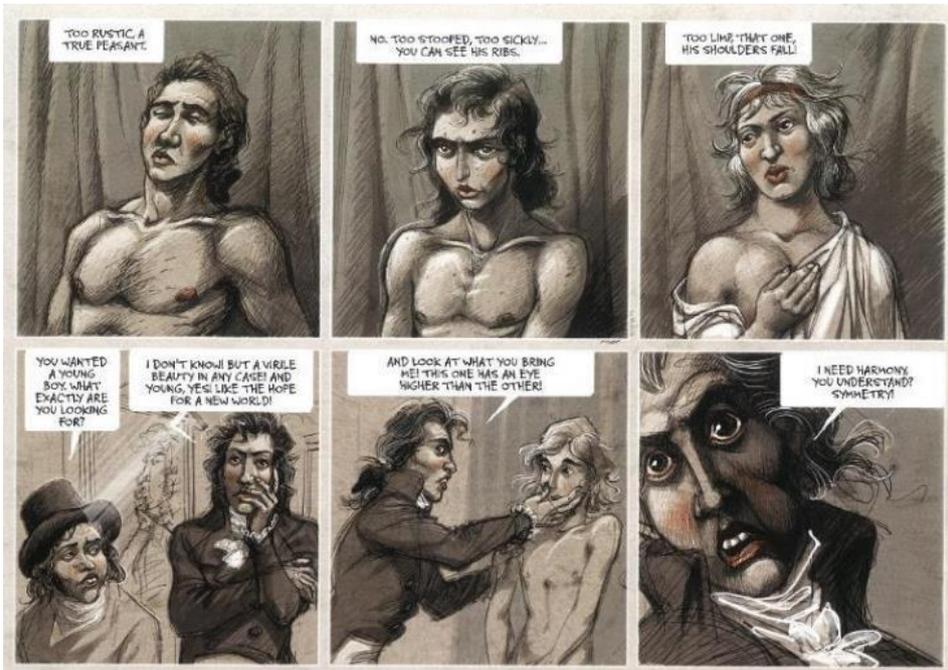
Fig. 5.21: Bernar Yslaire & Jean-Claude Carriére, *The Sky over the Louvre* (2011), p.34, showing the practice of picking the model.
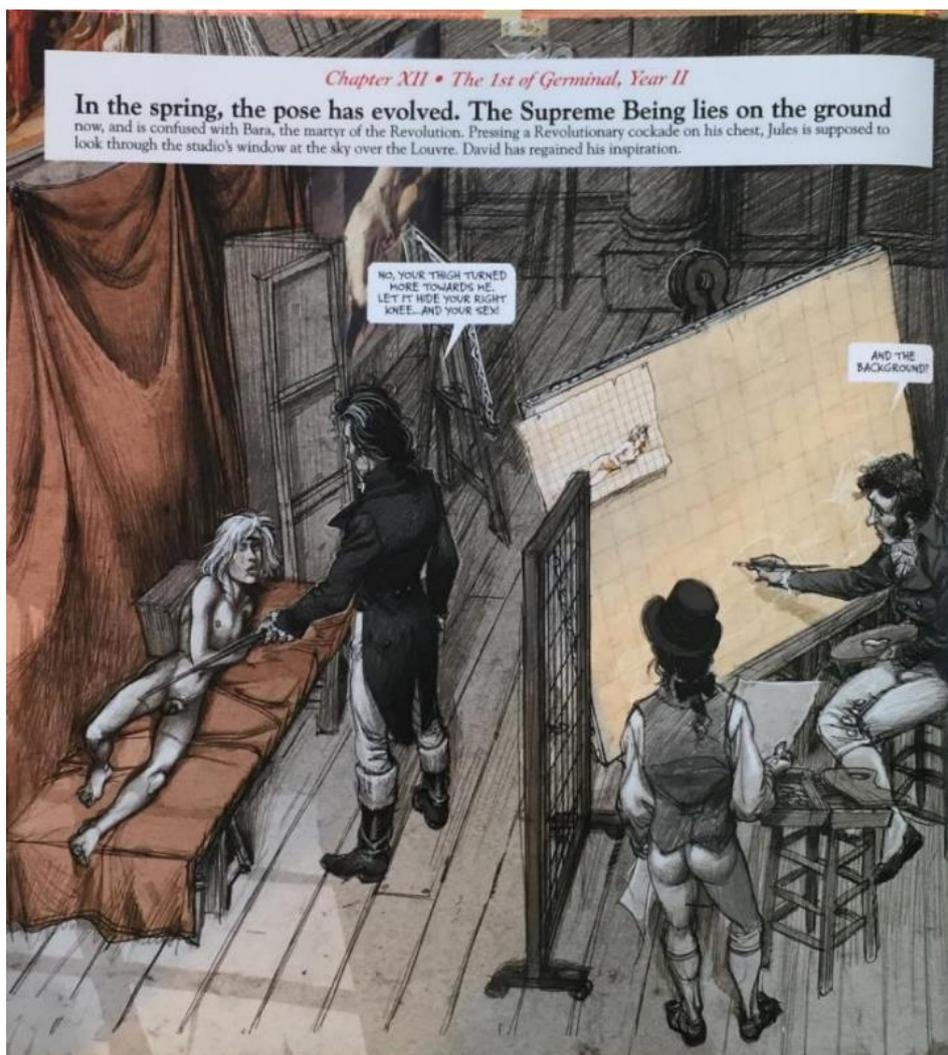
Fig. 5.22: Bernar Yslaire & Jean-Claude Carriére, *The Sky over the Louvre* (2011), p.42, with the execution of preliminary sketches, using a drawing grid and the subsequent transfer on a large canvas.

Fig. 5.23: Bernar Yslaire & Jean-Claude Carriére, *The Sky over the Louvre* (2011), p.63, showing the master's hand giving a finishing touch to a painting.

Fig. 5.24a: Bernar Yslaire & Jean-Claude Carriére, *The Sky over the Louvre* (2011), p.24, revealing the studio from one angle.
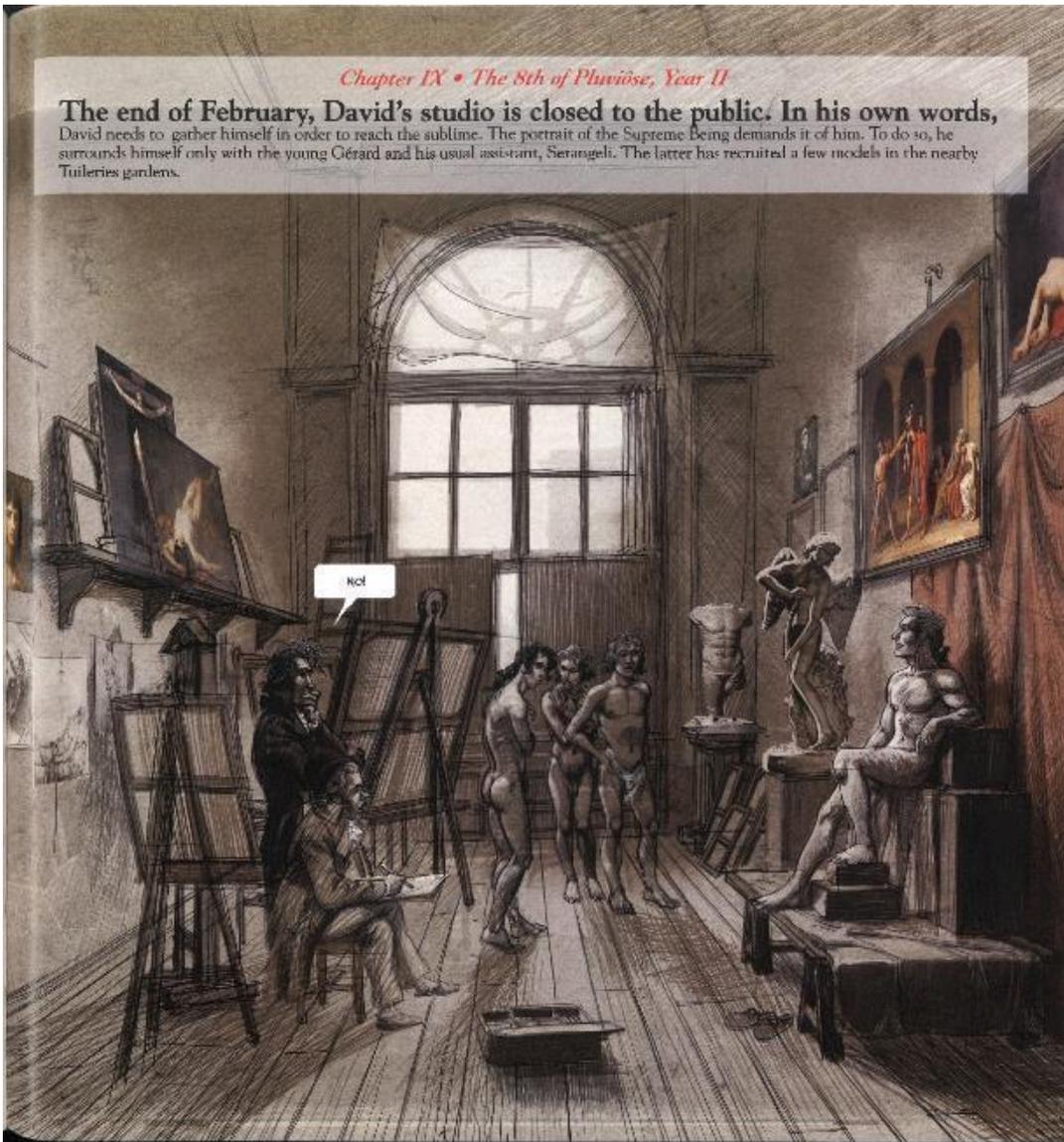
Fig. 5.24b: Bernar Yslaire & Jean-Claude Carriére, *The Sky over the Louvre* (2011), p.33, revealing the studio from another angle.

Fig. 5.25: left, Bernar Yslaire, *Le Ciel au-dessus de Bruxelles*-1 (2006); right, Bernar Yslaire & Jean-Claude Carriére, *Le Ciel au-dessus du Louvre* (2009), p.1, showing the original character Jules Engell Stern (left) and the repurposed version Jules Stern (right) which share not just the name but also their backstory, and are declared to be self-portraits of Bernar Yslaire.
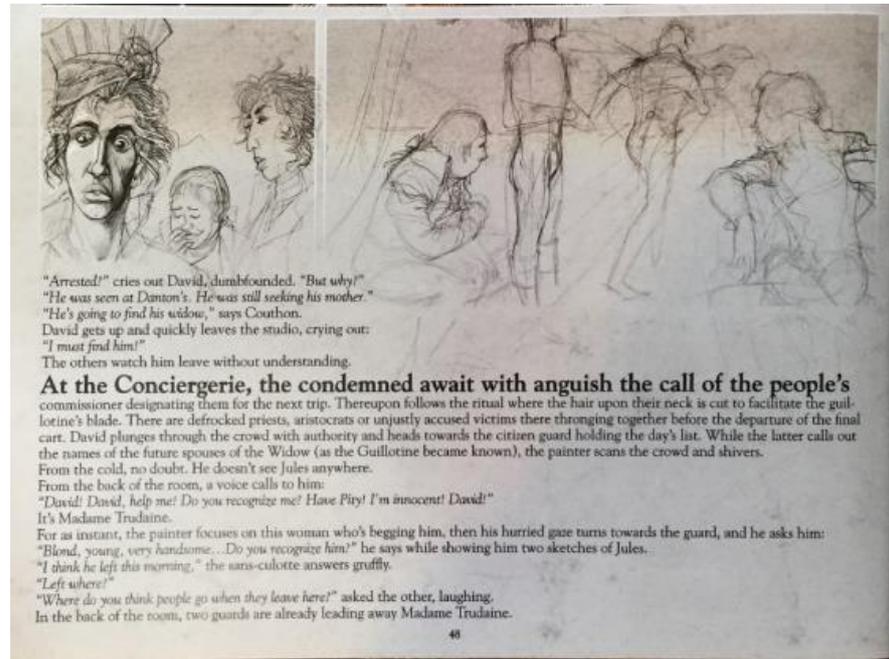
Fig. 5.26: Bernar Yslaire & Jean-Claude Carriére, *The Sky over the Louvre* (2011), p.48, showing a rudimentary drawing giving the impression of an unfinished sketch.
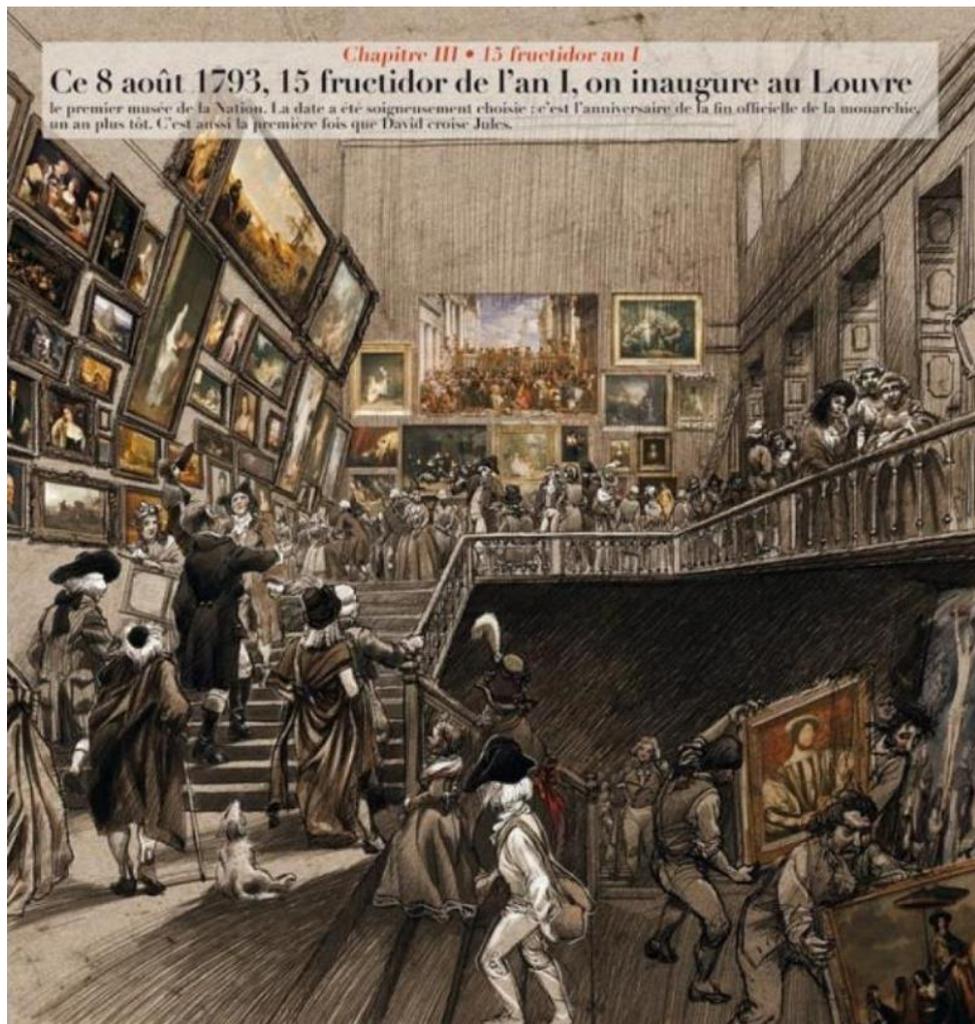
Fig. 5.27: Bernar Yslaire & Jean-Claude Carriére, *Le Ciel au-dessus du Louvre* (2009), p.12, showing the opening of the Palais du Louvre as public museum, featuring a large number of original museum art. The panel composition is an uncited appropriation of Gabriel Jacques de Saint-Aubin's *Salon at the Louvre in 1753* (1753); also, many other artworks shown in the panel remain uncited.

Fig. 5.28: Bernar Yslaire & Jean-Claude Carriére, *The Sky Over the Louvre* (2011), p.66, featuring an insertion of original museum art, and David's work for the Empire.

Fig. 5.29: Bernar Yslaire & Jean-Claude Carriére, *The Sky Over the Louvre* (2011), p.22, showing David drawing Robespierre. However, the piece of art was created by his pupil François Pascal Simon Gérard, constituting another example of an uncited artwork appropriated by Yslaire, while also being wrongly attributed to David.

Fig. 5.30: Gabriel Jacques de Saint-Aubin, *Salon at the Louvre in 1753* (1753), Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, being the original piece of art Yslaire appropriated for the scene in Fig.5.27.

Fig. 5.31: Giorgione, *The Three Ages of Man* (c. 1500-1501), Oil on Canvaas (62.0 × 77.5 cm), Palatine Gallery, The Pitti Palace, Florence.

Fig. 5.32a: Edmond Baudoin, *Dalí* (2012), p.1, showing Dalí as a boy.

Fig. 5.32b: Edmond Baudoin, *Dalí* (2012), p.2, showing Dalí as a young man.

Fig. 5.32c: Edmond Baudoin, *Dalí* (2012), p.3, showing Dalí as an older man.
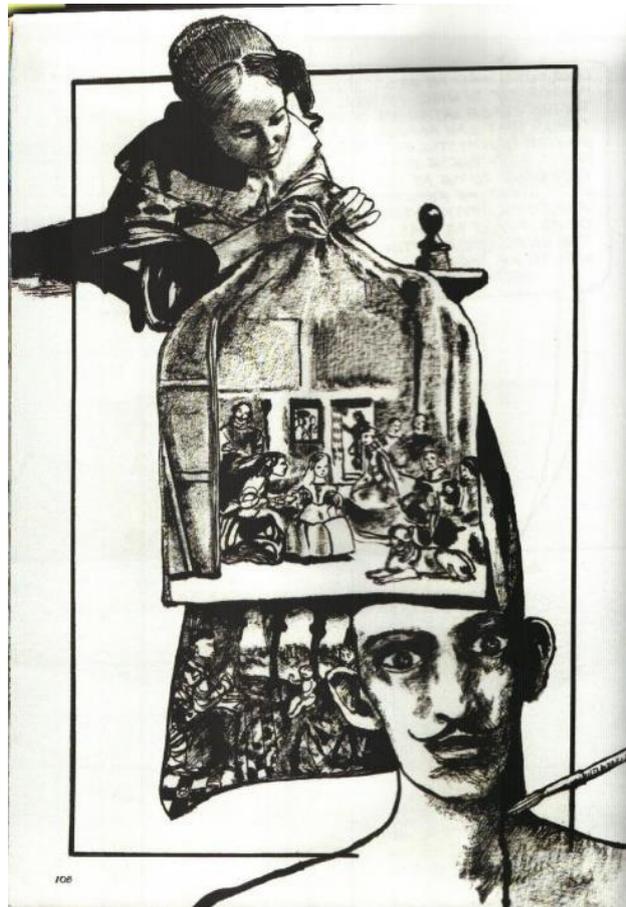
Fig. 5.33: Edmond Baudoin, *Dalí* (2012), p.108, showing how Dalí placed himself in line with canonical predecessors, thus claiming canonical status for himself, while also demonstrating Baudoin's artistic experience and versatility.

Fig. 5.34: Edmond Baudoin, *Dalí* (2012), pp.46-47, when several parallel proxy narrators tell the story distinguishing them by typeface.

Fig. 5.35: Edmond Baudoin, *Dalí* (2012), p.110, having established Dalí sufficiently as person and character, Baudoin himself narrates the story in conversation with a woman.

Fig. 5.36: Edmond Baudoin, *Dalí* (2012), p.64, using sporadic acrylic and aquarelle colours for Dalí's encounters with Gala.
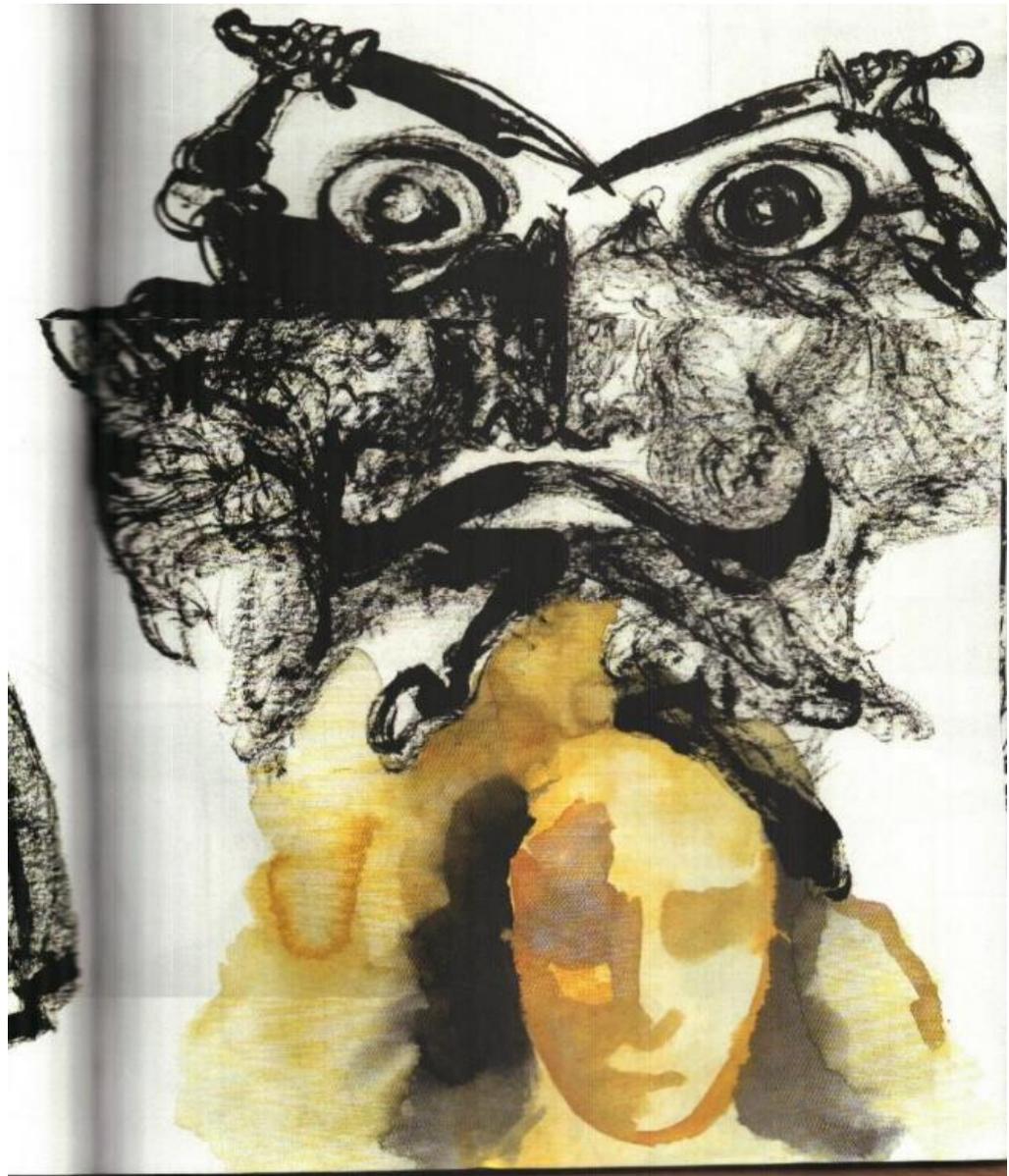
Fig. 5.37: Edmond Baudoin, *Dalí* (2012), p.113, demonstrating Baudoin's use of visual storytelling, artistic experience and versatility in referencing Leonardo da Vinci's *The Battle of Anghiari* (1505).

AT ONE POINT, GALA MUST HAVE MANAGED TO LURE HIM UP ON DECK.

HE IS PHOTOGRAPHED. IN THIS PHOTO, I SEE HIS FRAGILITY, THE EXCITEMENT OF A CHILD BEFORE A GREAT PARTY, A DISCOVERY TO COME, EXALTATION.

I ALSO SEE FATIGUE, FEAR OF NOT MAKING IT AND THE DESIRE TO HASTEN, AFTER THE PHOTO SESSION, BACK TO HIS CABIN AND HIS CANVASES.
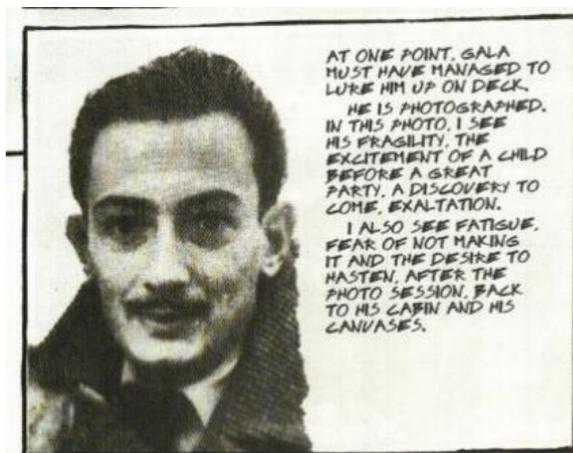
Fig. 5.38: Edmond Baudoin, *Dalí* (2012), p77, demonstrating Baudoin's use of photographs and collage technique.

Fig. 5.39: Edmond Baudoin, *Dalí* (2012), pp.104-105, showing multi-layered and parallel narrators' voices unfolding within the same panel.

Fig. 5.40: Barbara Stok, *Vincent* (2012), p.34, showing van Gogh creating one of his best-known works, *Harvest at La Crau* (1888).
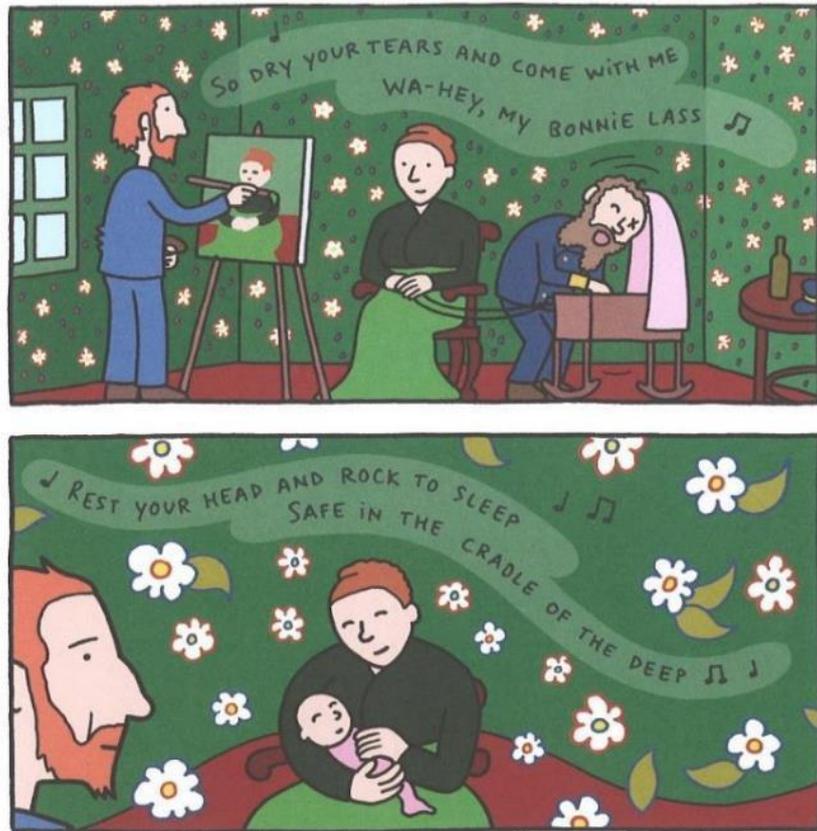
Fig. 5.41: Barbara Stok, *Vincent* (2012), p.52, showing van Gogh creating one of his best-known works, *Madame Augustine Roulin Rocking a Cradle* (1889), used as panel background.

Fig. 5.42: Barbara Stok, *Vincent* (2012), p.63, showing van Gogh painting his famous *Sunflowers in Vase* (1888) during a euphoric moment, and a metaphor for van Gogh's mental state.
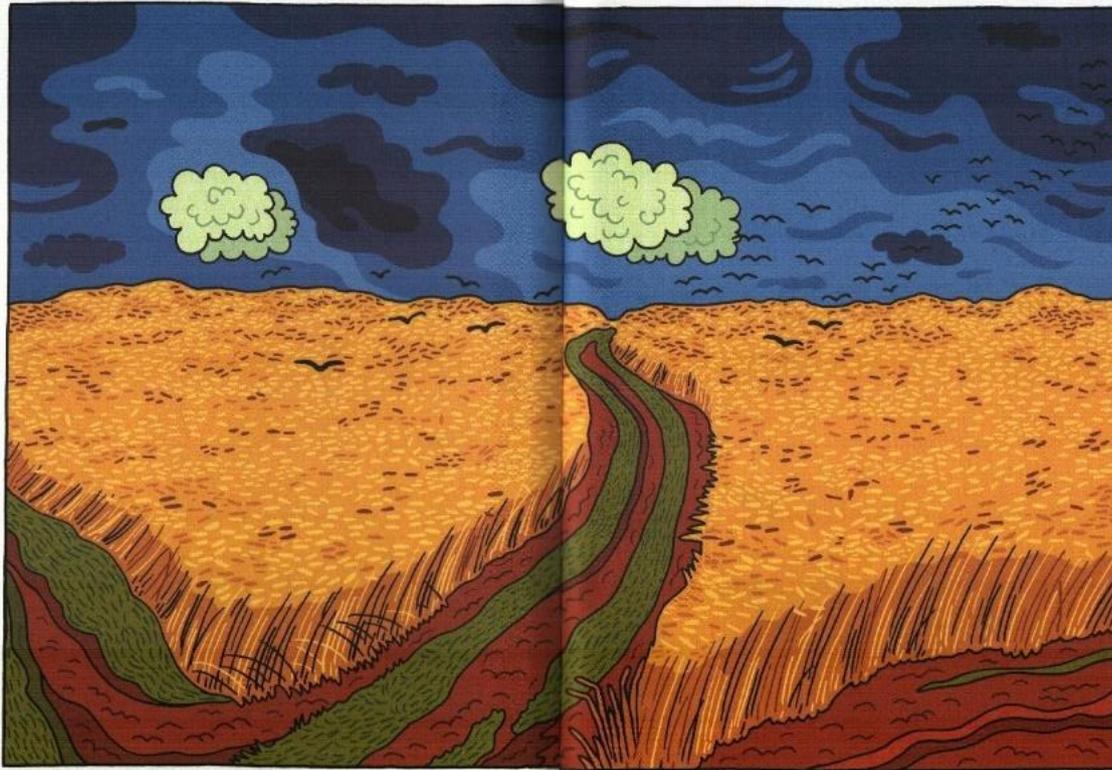
Fig. 5.43: Barbara Stok, *Vincent* (2012), pp.140-141, showing a double-page impression of van Gogh's painting *Wheatfield With Crows* (1890).

Fig. 5.44: Barbara Stok, *Vincent* (2012), p.48, van Gogh expressing the idea of a hermit-like life for the artists' commune.

Fig. 5.45: Barbara Stok, Vincent (2012), p.110, showing Theo van Gogh at his wedding, wearing his distinguishable green suit.
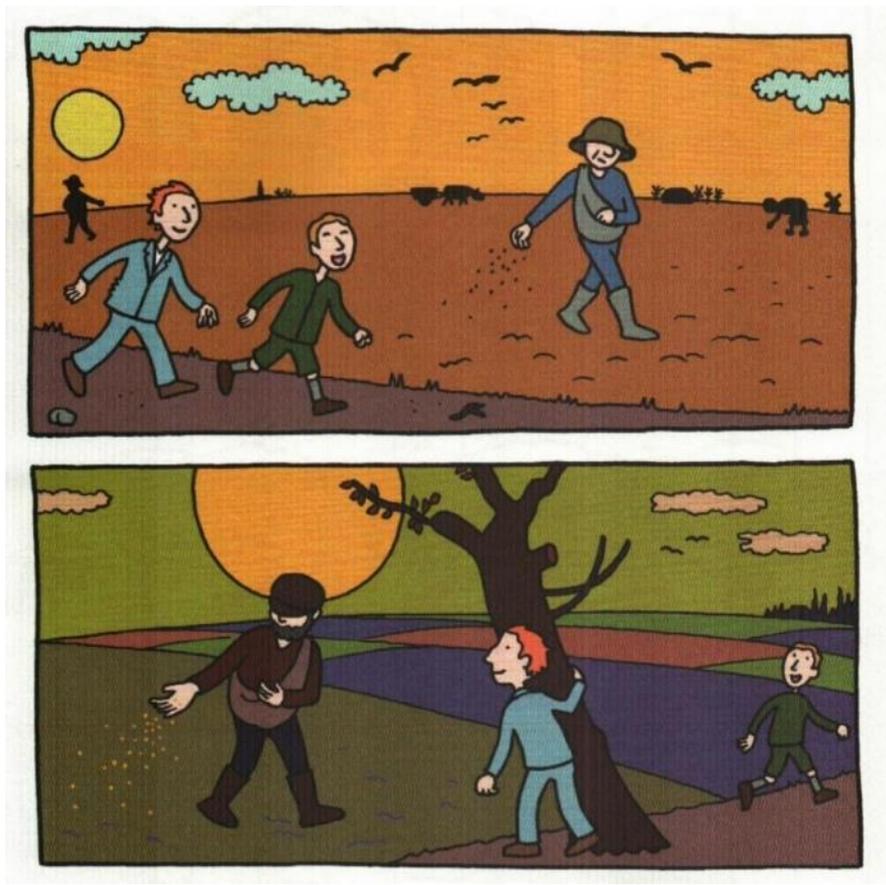
Fig. 5.46: Barbara Stok, *Vincent* (2012), p.77, showing young Vincent and Theo van Gogh, wearing their trademark green and blue outfits.

Fig. 5.47a: Barbara Stok, *Vincent* (2012), p.80, exemplifies visual storytelling during van Gogh's seizures.

Fig. 5.47b: Barbara Stok, *Vincent* (2012), p.83, exemplifies visual storytelling during van Gogh's seizures.
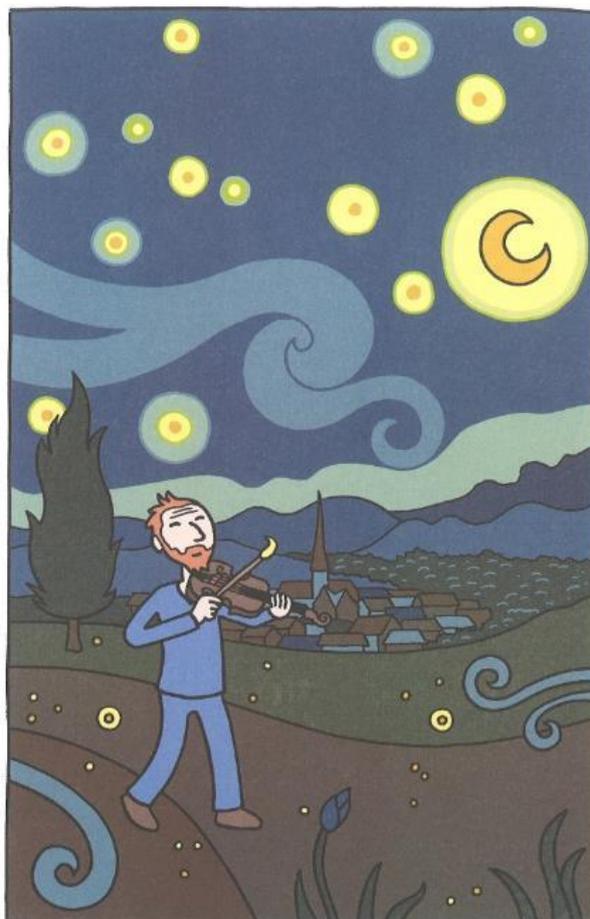
Fig. 5.48: Barbara Stok, *Vincent* (2012), p. 118, showing van Gogh inhabiting one of his artworks.
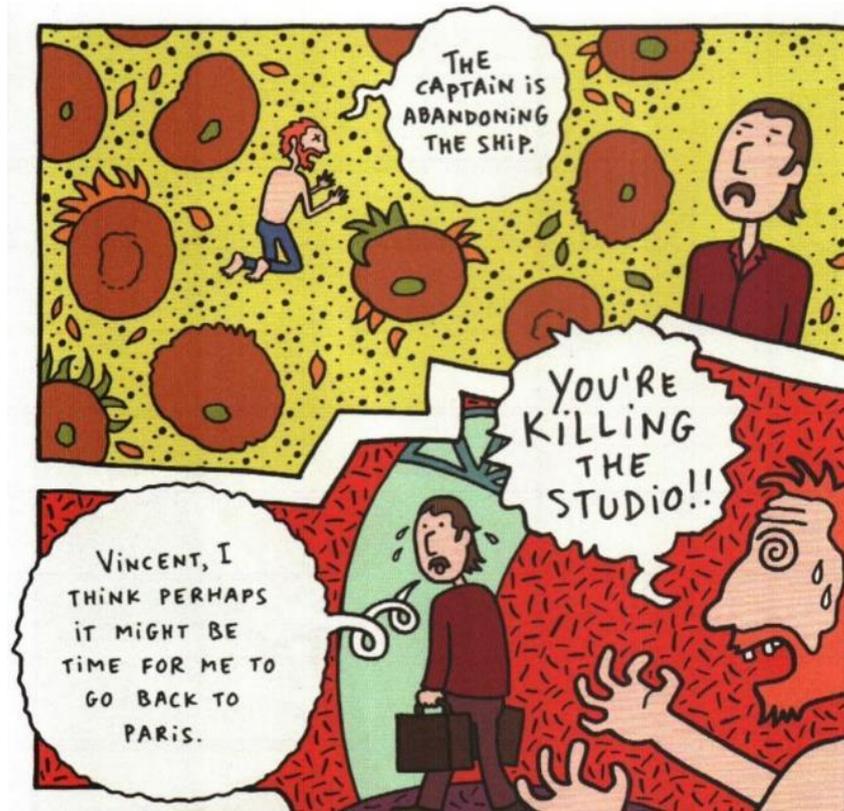
Fig. 5.49: Barbara Stok, *Vincent* (2012), p.85, showing van Gogh's sunflowers wither during a particularly bad seizure, a metaphor for van Gogh's mental state.

Fig. 5.50: Barbara Stok, *Vincent* (2012), p.107, showing van Gogh's standing at the window of his room in Saint-Rémy, constituting examples of braiding in the use of his letters and the motif of the window.

Fig. 5.51: Barbara Stok, *Vincent* (2012), p. 19, demonstrating the different panel borders for flashback scenes and the main narrative.
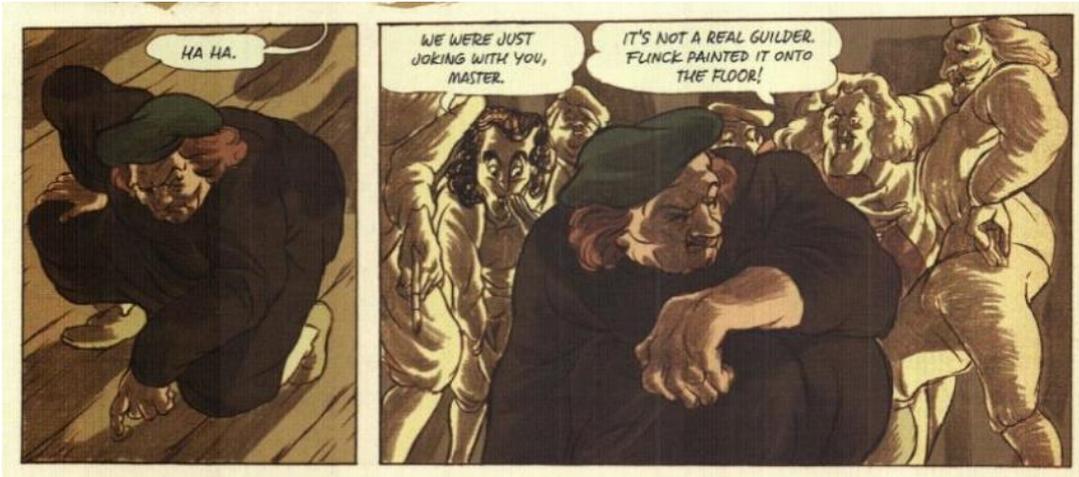
Fig. 5.52: Typex, *Rembrandt* (2013), p.91, showing competition between Rembrandt and his apprentice Govert Flinck, who fools his master with a painted guilder, in reminiscence of anecdotes from Antiquity.

Fig. 5.53a: Typex, *Rembrandt* (2013), p.125, showing Hendrickje the woman behind the painter, who shows around buyers and arranges sales.
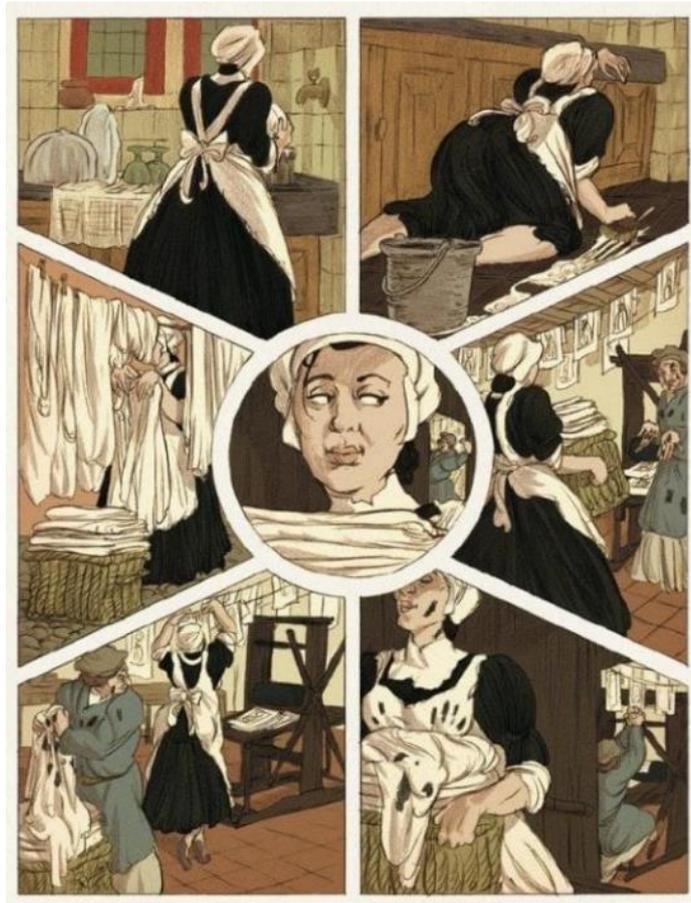
Fig. 5.53b: Typex, *Rembrandt* (2013), p.127, showing Hendrickje who manages the household and attends to Rembrandt various needs.

Fig. 5.54: Typex, *Rembrandt* (2013), p.25, featuring cameos of several of Typex's friends in a pub scene, including a self-portrait, referencing Rembrandt's famous group portraits.
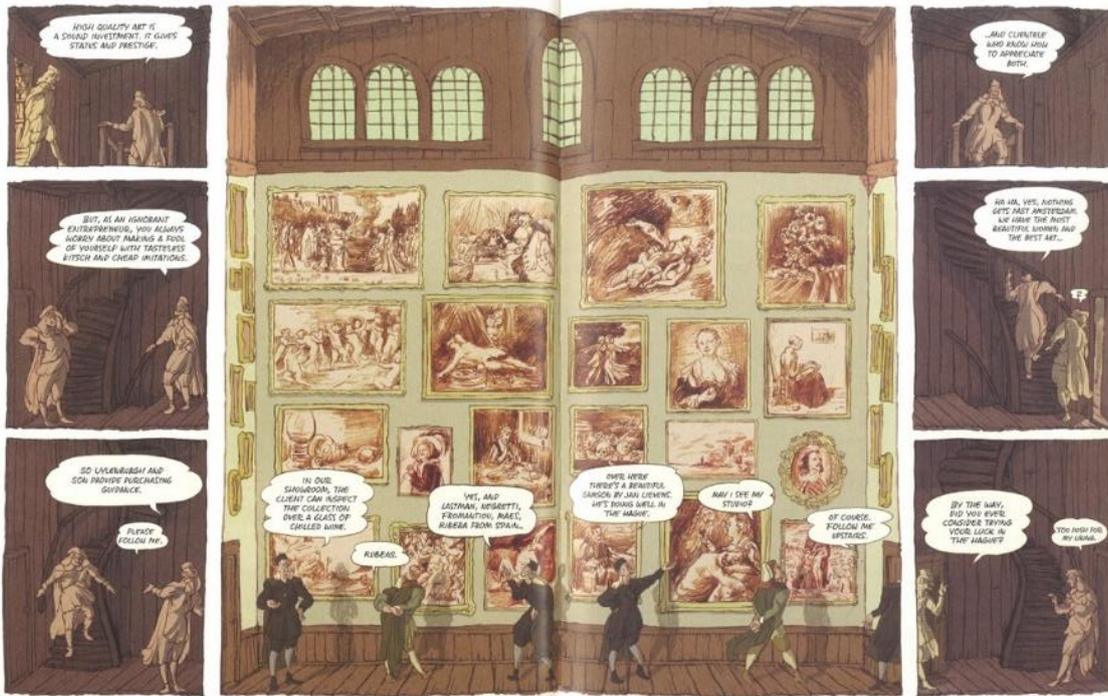
Fig. 5.55: Typex, *Rembrandt* (2013), pp.66-67, showing an architectural structure of panels, with the characters moving through it.
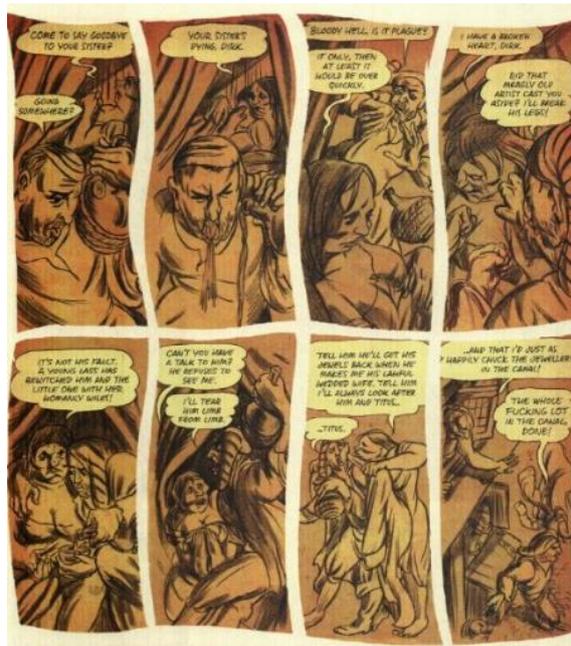
Fig. 5.56: Typex, *Rembrandt* (2013), p.113, showing panel structure mirroring the narrative content.

Fig. 5.57: Typex, *Rembrandt* (2013), p. 91, featuring panels shaped like brush strokes.

Fig. 5.58: Typex, *Rembrandt* (2013), p.79, showing panel border mirroring the narrative content.

Fig. 5.59: Typex, *Rembrandt* (2013), p. 39, chessboard layout with references to the etching technique of Rembrandt.

Fig. 5.60: Typex, *Rembrandt* (2013), pp.170-171, with the narrative being told from two perspectives simultaneously.

Fig. 5.61: Typex, *Rembrandt* (2013), pp.70 (left), 88 (right), showcasing an example of braiding in the look of Saskia during her first and last appearance.

Fig. 5.62a: Typex, *Rembrandt* (2013), p.129, showcasing an example of braiding in the panel sequence.

Fig. 5.62b: Typex, *Rembrandt* (2013), p.207, showcasing an example of braiding in the panel sequence.

Fig. 5.63: Typex, *Rembrandt* (2013), pp. 190 (left), 193 (right), rhyming suggesting similarities between Rembrandt and Hansken, the elephant.

Fig. 5.64: Typex, *Rembrandt* (2013), p.107, featuring a *printed* dog-ear as a design element.
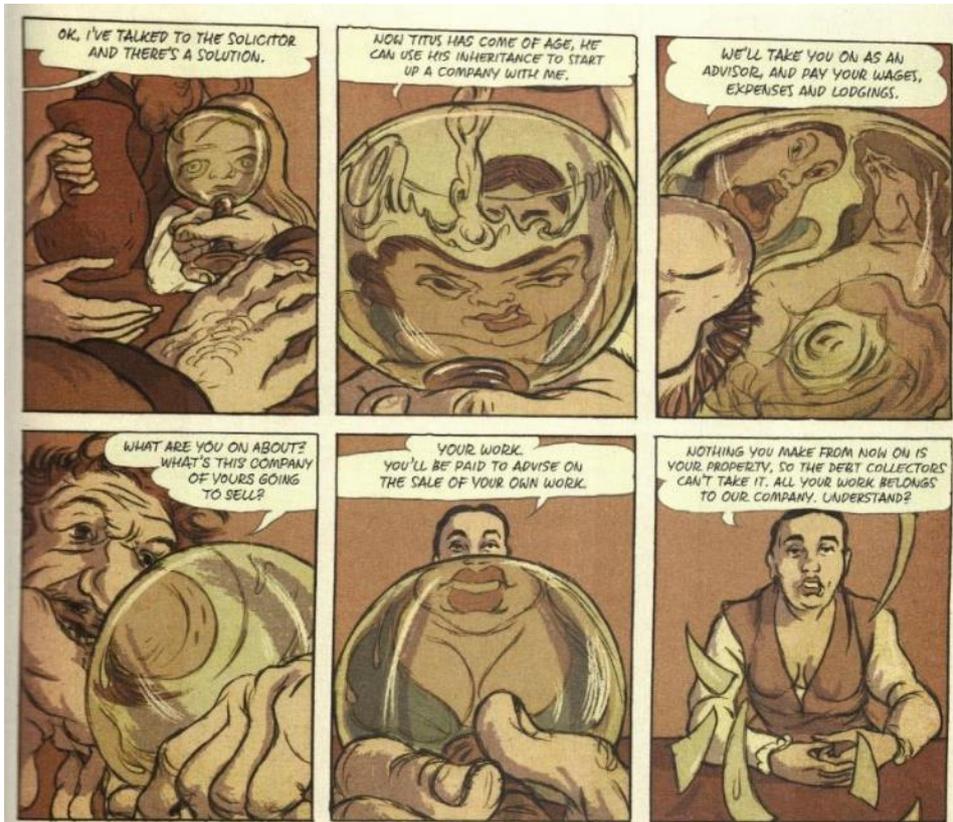
Fig. 5.65: Typex, *Rembrandt* (2013), p.139, showing a scene during which the reader takes Rembrandt's perspective.

Fig. 5.66: Typex, *Rembrandt* (2013), pp.28-29, Typex's interpretation of Rembrandt best-known work, *The Shooting Company of Frans Banning Cocq and Willem van Ruytenburch* (commonly known as T*he Night Watch*) (1642).

Fig. 5.67: Typex, *Rembrandt* (2013), p.181, featuring several of Rembrandt's landscapes in different panels, which are not identifiable as copies of Rembrandt's work.

Fig. 5.68: Typex, *Rembrandt* (2013), p.40, demonstrating Typex's use of collage when he inserts a photographic image of a drawing into the graphic novel.
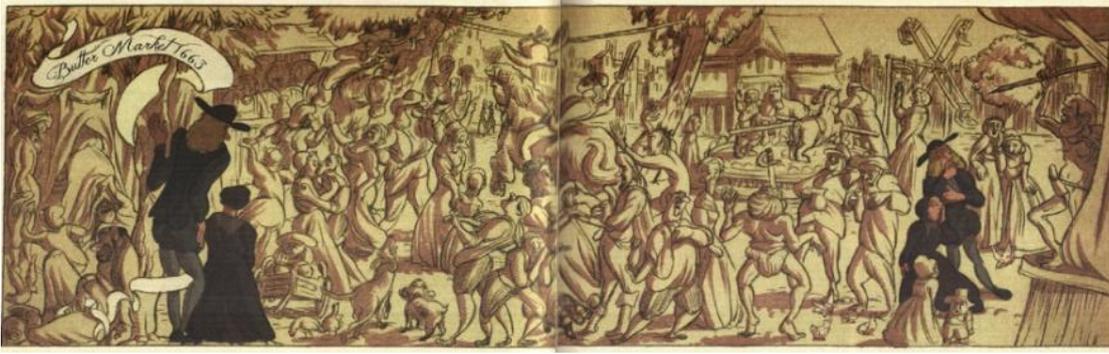
Fig. 5.69: Typex, *Rembrandt* (2013), pp.182-183, a fair scene reminiscent of paintings by Elder or the Younger.

Fig. 5.70: Paul Teng & Jan Paul Schutten, *Jan van Scorel. Sede Vacante 1523* (2013), p.32, featuring van Scorel revealing his papal portrait to Adrian VI.

Fig. 5.71: Paul Teng & Jan Paul Schutten, *Jan van Scorel. Sede Vacante 1523* (2013), p.1, featuring an aerial view of Rome, and an example of an irregular layout, as panels are arranged like a winged altar.

Fig. 5.72: Paul Teng & Jan Paul Schutten, *Jan van Scorel. Sede Vacante 1523* (2013), p.56, showing a rare silent scene when the text does not dominate the images.

Fig. 5.73: Paul Teng & Jan Paul Schutten, *Jan van Scorel. Sede Vacante 1523* (2013), p.35, featuring a dynamic scene that would have had more effect without text.
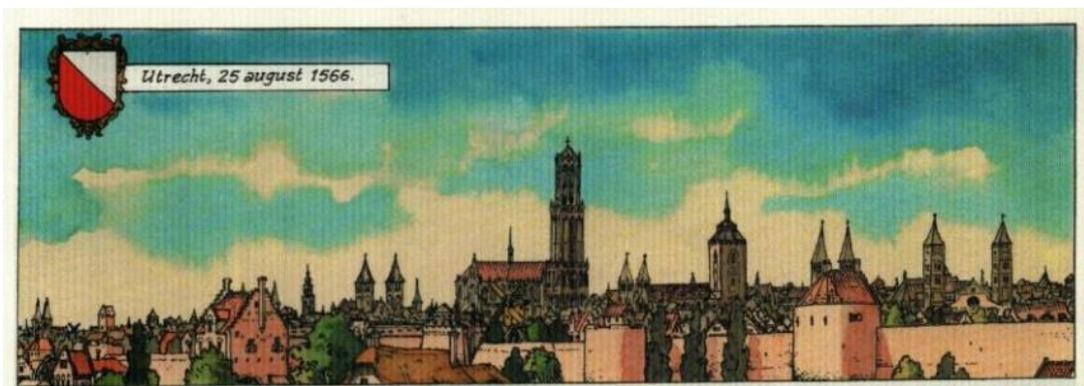
Fig. 5.74: Paul Teng & Jan Paul Schutten, *Jan van Scorel. Sede Vacante 1523* (2013), p.3, showing a cityscape of Utrecht with its code of arms and landmarks.

Fig. 5.75: Paul Teng & Jan Paul Schutten, *Jan van Scorel. Sede Vacante 1523* (2013), p.5, featuring one of only two artworks by van Scorel depicted in the narrative.

Fig. 5.76: Paul Teng & Jan Paul Schutten, *Jan van Scorel. Sede Vacante 1523* (2013), p.79, featuring a flashback scene about the Sack of Rome in a paler colour.

PART III

The Purpose of Graphic Novels in the Context of Art Museums

Chapter 6 - Comic Exhibition

The Museum Boom (2005-2019) and its graphic novels constitute a relatively recent development in the relationship between comics and museums. This chapter provides a brief overview of the history of such comic art exhibitions and the ongoing challenges that come with them. It introduces and analyses shows that have featured examples from the corpus, building on the theoretical frames of Jean-Matthieu Méon, who categorises comic art exhibitions according to their curatorial focus and their distance from the respective (cultural) capital. Finally, a comparison among the individual shows reveals different concepts and aims of the displays as well as various treatments of comic art. Consequently, this allows a judgment regarding the respective museum's attitude towards the comics medium and art.

6.1. Comics Exhibitions: An Historical Overview

It is difficult to identify precisely the first-ever comics exhibition at an art museum, but the earliest known examples are all from the USA. The earliest shows this research is aware of, *The War Cartoons of Louis Raemaeker (28 August – 1 October 1917)* and *Newspaper Artists: War Cartoons and Posters (April 1918)*, were both hosted at the Art Institute of Chicago.[724] *Contemporary Work by Cartoonists and Caricaturists (January-February 1933)* at the Cleveland Museum of Art hinted at the medium's diversity in distinguishing five categories of works: newspapers cartoons, comic strips, humorous drawings, character drawings, and caricatures.[725] With *Cartoons of the Day (2 May – 30 June 1942)*, *Speak Their Language, British and American Cartoons (23 March – 30 June 1943)*, and *American Cartooning (*11 May – 10 June 1951), all hosted at the Metropolitan Museum of Art (MET), comics exhibitions reached the major art institutions.[726]

American Cartoons (6 – 29 September 1956) at the Institute for Contemporary Arts (ICA), London, yet organised by the American Federation of Arts, possibly constitutes the earliest comics exhibition in Europe.[727] Drawing more attention, not least in comics scholarship, was *Bande dessinée et figuration narrative* [Comic Strip and Narrative

---

[724] The Art Institute of Chicago, available at URL: https://www.artic.edu/exhibitions/4868/war-cartoons-by-raemaekers (Accessed 15/10/2020); URL: https://www.artic.edu/exhibitions/4903/newspaper-artists-war-cartoons-and-posters (Accessed 15/10/2020); as mentioned in Chapter 3, there were also publications on war cartoons, such as *The War in Cartoons* (1919) by George J. Hecht, president and publisher of *True Comics*.

[725] Munson 2020c, p.68.

[726] For a history and discussion of US-American comic exhibitions since the 1930s, see Munson 2009; 2017; 2020b; Grünewald (2020) provides a useful overview over the history of comic exhibitions in Germany. However, none of these shows were exhibitions by an art museum and are therefore of lesser relevance to this particular discussion.

[727] ICA 2017, p.12.

Figuration] *(7 April – 12 June 1967)* at the Musée des Arts Décoratifs at Palais du Louvre.[728] Many Scholars, such as Kim Munson, Dietrich Grünewald, and Bart Beaty, in shortening the location to `the Louvre,` have wrongly indicated that the exhibition took place at Musée du Louvre, commonly referred to as `the Louvre`.[729] However, while both museums are located at the rather large Palais du Louvre, the Musée du Louvre and Musée des Arts Décoratifs are two separate institutions. The first comics exhibition at the Musée du Louvre dates from 2009, discussed below. In 1970, the comic artists Jacques Tardi, Philippe Druillet and Jean Giraud (a.k.a. Moebius) declined to participate in an exhibition at Centre Pompidou:

> 'In their minds, the de-coupling of their art from its sequential context, for the purpose of display in a museum exhibit, would constitute a distortion and ultimately a betrayal of the art form. Moreover, the absence of the narrative element would inevitably emphasise the visual element, which, in turn, would diminish their own stature by presenting them as illustrators instead as authors *a part entire*.'[730]

Those three creators have raised an important point: How can a medium whose defining feature is the combination of image and text to form a coherent narrative be accurately exhibited in a museum setting? On the one hand, art museums are intrinsically visual in their displays. On the other hand, they are built around the concept of usually a *single* artwork telling a narrative, whatever the medium. However, a few outtakes or sketches cannot sufficiently represent the entirety of a graphic narrative, dozens or even hundreds of pages in length, risking leaving the literary aspects (almost) entirely unexplored. Indeed, art museums are still struggling with replicating the comics medium's defining feature in exhibitions, as discussed below.

High & Low: Modern Art and Popular Culture (7 October 1990 – 15 January 1991) at the Museum of Modern Art (MoMA), New York, now forms a significant contribution to the discussion about how to (not) exhibit comic art.[731] It was much-criticised for presenting comics as mere inspirational source material for contemporary artists.[732] Consequently, comic artists and their supporters felt that comic art was being disparaged and used only as fodder to be transformed by "real" artists.[733] In particular, the comic artist Art Spiegelman led a 'crusade to gain artistic recognition for comics,' creating the comic strip review *High Art Lowdown (this review of the MoMA's High & Low show is not sponsored by AT&T)*

---

[728] Musée des Arts Décoratifs 1967.

[729] Grünewald 2020, p.41; Munson 2020b, p.65; 2017, p.229-230; Beaty 2012, p.11, 193-194.

[730] Picone 2013, p.45.

[731] Varnedoe and Gopnik 1990.

[732] Munson 2009, pp.286-288

[733] Ibid.; Beaty 2012, p.188.

(1990).[734] In a next step, he invited curators to join him at his New York studio, explaining, educating, and campaigning for comics' legitimacy as an art form. [735] Munson sees Spiegelman as 'instrumental in bringing about changes in the way museums looked at comics, and plant[ing] the seeds for future exhibitions,' such as the much-discussed *Masters of American Comics (20 November 2005 – 28 January 2007).*[736] It toured the Hammer Museum and the Museum of Contemporary Art in Los Angeles, the Milwaukee Art Museum, and The Jewish Museum and the Newark Museum in New York, creating publicity and drawing much criticism at the same time.[737] The exhibition confirmed the fears of Tardi, Druillet and Giraud from decades earlier. It had a noticeable focus on the visual aspects of comics, neglecting writers and storytellers, making no concessions to the comics medium in placing benches in the middle of a room, thus preventing visitors from reading and watching the exhibits properly.[738] Beaty experiences the display as 'frustratingly partial stories in the midst of the white cube museum space as if they were paintings.'[739] Without any women and just on a single person of colour among the fifteen declared 'Masters', the show closely mirrored the traditional art-historical canon(s) in displaying the same biases. Thus, Beaty summarises accurately: 'the legitimation of the comic world can be seen to be completely depending on its ability to mimic the worst aspects of traditional art worlds.'[740]

Anastasia Salter identifies the fact that 'high art demands an artist, and an original, while comics produce collaborations, and indistinguishable copies' as one of the prevailing issues in the discussion of whether comics are considered art.[741] She argues that 'while comics can serve as a collectable fetish object, they lack the exclusivity and aura that the high art world demands for bestowing value.'[742] Beaty points out that museums 'act as chief cultural gatekeepers by filtering the flow of cultural objects as they enter into the museum system,' and that 'by mounting exhibitions, museums and other gatekeeping institutions enact their power to define what is – and is not – art.'[743] He thus concludes that museums would be needed if comics wanted 'to succeed as art.'[744]

---

[734] Munson 2009, p.290.

[735] Ibid.

[736] Ibid.; Carlin, Karasik, and Walker 2005.

[737] Ibid.

[738] Beaty 2012, p.198.

[739] Ibid.

[740] Ibid.

[741] Salter 2017, p.355

[742] Ibid.

[743] Beaty 2012, p.187.

[744] Ibid.

Beaty indicates that becoming museum art equals succeeding as art, but this statement is no longer necessarily true in today's art world. All over the world, art museums are struggling with a decline in visitor numbers and loss of their cultural capital and authority in the age of the internet and social media, trying to hold their position with blockbuster exhibitions. Such gigantic shows that (presumably) guarantee to attract large audiences due to big names, and internationally popular with most visitors at most ages, are very literally *popular culture* shows. Moreover, Postmodernism has allowed, as well as forced, cultural institutions, including art museums, to redefine their concept of culture, now including pop culture and mass culture. Thus, Beaty argues, it was the 'economic logic of the blockbuster' and the 'cultural theory of postmodernism' that went hand in hand with 'the opening of the space of the museum to comics.'

On the one hand, the increase in collaboration between comics and museums has been reciprocally beneficial, with comics helping museums create Blockbuster exhibitions, attracting new audiences and publicity, and lending them a progressive image while receiving institutional, curatorial and art-historical attention and recognition. On the other hand, such relationships have usually been imbalanced, with the museums, as the curating thus editing cultural gatekeeper, generally playing their cards much better and therefore remain the dominant stakeholder. As discussed in the previous chapter for graphic novels co-commissioned by art museums, the comic artist does not always notice such editing yet become part of the wider authorship through it.

As stated, a key challenge has always been giving justice to all aspects of comics, when exhibiting comic art. `Gallery comics`, redrawn or repainted and enlarged comic pages or panels for an exhibition, constitute 'a hybrid of the visual experience of gallery art and that of a comic book page' argues Andrei Molotiu.[745] Once again, this heavily emphasises the craftsmanship and fragments the narrative. However, Molotiu argues the gallery space changes the way of viewing a comic book page, bringing forward the artistic qualities and ignoring the narrative's incompleteness.[746] He suggests that an appreciation for such 'fragmentariness as a positive aesthetic quality' has resulted from the Pop Art technique of isolating, scaling up, and exhibiting single panels.[747] Salter suggests that such a de-contextualisation of a comic, transforming it in denying it its defining features, is necessary for the comic to be accepted into the museum realm in the first place, which consequently

---

[745] Molotiu 2007, p.24.

[746] Ibid., p.26; Picone 2013, p.45.

[747] Molotiu 2007, p.37.

raises the question, whether Pop Art adaptions of comic originals 'are really comic art at all.'[748]

In contrast, Michael Picone argues that almost any form of art in a museum setting suffers from de-contextualisation and fragmentation, particularly in the narrative arts such as history paintings.[749] He points out that, on the one hand, such an image has usually not been created for this form of display. On the other hand—citing the example of Théodore Géricault's *Le Radeau de la Méduse* [The Raft of the Medusa] (1818-1819) (Fig. 5.1)—it only depicts a single moment of a far more extensive and complex story.[750] Consequently, Picone sees little difference between exhibiting history paintings and comic panels, as both are re-contextualised in a museum setting.[751]

However, Picone's argument is seriously flawed, as non-sequential figurative paintings—and history painting in particular—usually depict a narrative's peak, where the whole story is compressed into one single emotionally heightened moment. In the special case of non-sequential religious art, the established iconographic traditions counteract a de-contextualisation in clearly identifying, for example, a crucified man with a crown of thorns as Jesus, evoking the respective narrative. At a museum, while it loses some of its effect on the beholder, such religious art can still be understood without any difficulties.[752] Thus, non-sequential history paintings are intended and function as single-image narratives. Consequently, they do not suffer from de-contextualisation when displayed at museums—in some cases aided by iconographic conventions. Abstract art has often indeed been created to be exhibited in a museum setting and often as an artistic expression of the artist's mind and feelings, not depicting a narrative. In contrast, comics are a sequential art form with a narrative playing out over several panels, pages, chapters or even books. Therefore, they indeed suffer from de-contextualisation if only a single panel or, at best, a few pages are simply placed in a museum setting.

While the removal from their context-giving narratives is particularly problematic for comics including a literary part, as word and image work together to convey the whole story, the issue virtually affects all forms of sequential art. Relevant examples from art history include winged altars, depictions of the Stations of the Cross, and various cycles of

---

[748] Salter 2017, p.352.

[749] Picone 2013, p.46.

[750] Ibid.

[751] Ibid, p.47.

[752] Thomas (1999), exploring the origins of the National Gallery London and its collection, using among others the example of Sebastiano del Piombo's *The Raising of Lazerus* (c.1517-1519) created for the Cathedral of Narbonne, traces the transformation from altarpiece to centrepiece of a collection with the purpose to educate the people and shape public taste.

paintings and tapestries, such as by Peter Paul Rubens. Indeed, if only showing a fraction of a series, only a knowledgeable audience will fully comprehend an artwork, and the same is true for comic art. Regardless of the medium, an audience's understanding is aided by the respective knowledge about the topic or subject depicted. Therefore, the crucial part of an exhibition on sequential art remains contextualisation and interpretation through museums education, regardless of what sort of art and medium is exhibited.

In contrast, Erin La Cour argues for a 'social abstraction of comics,' an entirely new approach reaching beyond the eternal question of what the medium is.[753] She observes comics being removed from their contextual and physical environment to be displayed according to museums art parameters.[754] Thus comics are treated as mere cultural artefacts and sociological archival material but not as art, denying them a voice of their own.[755] Instead of continually trying to prove the cultural value and worth of comics, following the art world's definitions and ideologies, and sacrificing intrinsic features and aspects of comics in the process, a new type of discourse, unrelated to those established criteria, is needed, La Cour argues.[756] When looking at 'Gallery Comics' and reading Beaty, Salter, and Picone, one could hardly agree more that the current discourse around whether comics are an art form focuses mainly on cutting the medium to shape and rationalising the act so that it can fit into an exhibition space. Thus, La Cour proposes to reject the art discourse as well as 'comics' material embodiment in the page and in the book' to enable a new focus on the affective qualities of comics—how they operate, are read and make us feel.[757] Her unique approach shifts the attention from '*what comics are*' to '*what comics do,*' claiming and gaining post-medium status, and thus, of art in their own right.[758] While the idea is fascinating, it remains to be seen how it changes future comic art exhibitions' curatorial approaches.

This thesis builds on the theoretical models of Jean-Matthieu Méon when assessing the exhibitions related to the corpus. He argues, if comics are granted artistic legitimacy, it is only done conditionally while the medium faces a 'consistently reaffirmed hierarchy of art.'[759] Discussing French *bande dessinée* exhibitions between 2006 and 2015, he distinguishes three different, although sometimes overlapping, types of comics exhibitions.

---

[753] La Cour 2019
[754] Ibid.
[755] Ibid.
[756] Ibid.
[757] Ibid., pp.401-402.
[758] Ibid., p.402, original emphasis.
[759] Méon 2018-2019.

1) 'Artistic Exhibitions,' contributing to the artistic recognition of the comics medium as well as its creators, either through monographic shows about a specific comic or creator, or through discursive shows about interactions between, and shared challenges of comic art and other art forms.[760] Often taken out of their narrative and sequential contexts, focusing on the visual aspect of comic art, the fragmented 'works are meant to be seen more than they are read.'[761]

2) 'Exhibitions as Substitutive Experiences,' incredibly popular during the 1980s and 1990s, introduce or commemorate a particular comic through a narrative-reduced multimodal and transmedia spectacle using various narrative-based media, such as sound, light, murals, video, projections and three-dimensional representation such as sculptures. Depending on the visitor and the respective individual previous knowledge, such exhibitions 'can function both upstream and downstream' either 'offer[ing] the key to the discovery of the series or recall[ing] its key moments.'[762]

3) 'A Comic-Specific Museum Approach' is a narrative-conscious show aiming to complement and explain individual comic works while also providing the necessary tools to allow an informed understanding and appreciation.[763]

Furthermore, Méon observes a narrowing of the exhibition spectrum in specific institutional contexts.

> 'The closest the exhibiting institution is to the comic book field (a comic festival for example), the more open are the possibilities for the exhibitions—which means the three kinds of exhibitions can be found. Conversely, the closest the institution is to the cultural field (art museum and art foundation), the more limited are the possibilities – which means only "Artistic Exhibitions" take place in such institutions.'[764]

The notion that the comic book field cannot be part of the cultural field is highly questionable. Graphic narratives combine drawing and text, seeking inspiration in classical and historical literature and myths. They have been adapted for cinema, television, theatre, board and video games, inspiring comic adaptions in return. Thus, comics have evidently long been part of the broader cultural field. Whether they can establish themselves fully in the high culture field remains to be seen. Indeed, the art museum sector has traditionally not been part of the comic book field. The Museum Boom is recently changing this as the institutional wall,

---

[760] Méon 2015, p.447.
[761] Ibid., pp.448-450.
[762] Ibid., pp.450-453.
[763] Ibid., p.453.
[764] Ibid., p.456.

separating the museum and comic fields, has crumbled. Nonetheless, traditional art museums remain alien to the comics medium, as comic art in collections and exhibitions is the exception rather than the rule.

Recently, Méon proposes three variations of a hierarchical relationship that come into play when comics and museums interact, usually following an invitation by the museum:

1) 'Institutional localisation' is essentially based on his concept of closeness to the comic book and cultural fields. However, it includes a geographical factor, where 'more central Parisian (and thus more legitimate) [museums]' might adopt less open approaches towards comics and comics exhibitions than 'geographically peripheral institutions.'[765]

2) 'Intra-institutional localisation' refers to more prestigious and possibly larger exhibition spaces being less likely used for comics exhibitions, which then have to occur in smaller secondary exhibition halls, occasionally also free of entry.[766]

3) 'The tools museum use to connect comics and fine art' range from an actual exhibition—'the most visible and explicitly valorising process available to museums' and drawing the most attention—to accompanying and tie-in products, such as a publication or merchandise product.[767]

While an exhibition is undoubtedly the tool that can be valorising and make comics more visible, the decisive question is always *how* the exhibits are presented and treated, *what* is included and excluded. It is crucial whether comics are expected to conform to the museum norms or are respected as a medium in their own right. Despite looking at France exclusively, Méon's models of different types of exhibitions and hierarchical structures observed in respective shows prove useful and valuable in analysing the shows relating to the research corpus of graphic novels.

6.2. Comic Exhibitions: Analysing the Corpus

This research focuses on analysing the purposes and functions of the graphic novels in the corpus. Exhibitions have formed one such objective. Three categories, distinguishing two different types of display (according to their use in the respective shows), have been established and are discussed in this order.

---

[765] Méon 2018-2019.

[766] Ibid.

[767] Ibid.

Exhibitions *about* a specific graphic novel are genuinely centred on the very same, exploring the creator's visual and sometimes also the narratological style, and research that went into creating the particular work. They constitute an 'Artistic Exhibition' or 'Comic-Specific Museum Approach' following Méon's model. Displays about the graphic novels *Klee*, *Dalí*, *Vincent* and *Jan van Scorel. Sede Vacante 1523* fall under this category.

Exhibitions *including* a particular graphic novel have the very same as but one of many exhibited aspects and objects, usually focusing on a related but different topic, showing several pages from the publication. Consequently, in such cases, the author, their style, narrative and oeuvre are explored very superficially, if at all. This category includes an exhibition featuring *Le Ciel au-dessus du Louvre*.

A single museum chose not to display the previously co-commissioned graphic novel. Specifically, the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam decided against an exhibition about or featuring *Rembrandt*.

Interestingly, in some cases, the shows about a graphic novel were outsourced to a different venue, no longer directly involving the co-commissioning art institutions. Such exhibitions usually still happened in close association and accordance with the co-commissioning museums, promoting them as much as the graphic novel. The exhibition function was not necessarily part of the initial agenda but considered when the museum and comic artists enjoyed a particularly smooth collaboration and a shared vision.

An exhibition about *Klee*

The earliest display featuring a graphic novel from the corpus was hosted at an art gallery in the Swiss city of Lucerne, which constitutes an example of an outsourced exhibition. The launch of *Klee* by Christophe Baudoux, on 13 April 2008, as part of the annual *Fumetto – Internationales Comix-Festival Luzern* [International Comics Festival Lucerne] *(12 – 20 April 2008)*, also marked the private view of a small correspondently themed exhibition at the Sammlung Rosengart (now Museum Sammlung Rosengart), renowned for its extensive collection of works by Paul Klee. [768] The new audiences, including children and parents, and the extra attention and publicity, due to the collaboration with *Fumetto 2008*, was possibly one reason for Angela Rosengart to agree to the exhibition.[769] Once titled *Klee – Die Comicbiographie* [Klee – The Comic Biography], on another occasion named *Christophe Badouxs Klee-Biografie* [Christophe Badoux's Klee-

---

[768] The organisers of *Fumetto* use `comic` and `comix` interchangeably, apparently not assigning the same distinction as the English-speaking comics community; For an analysis of the graphic novel, see Chapter 5.

[769] It has been mentioned off-records, that it was Michael Baumgartner from Zentrum Paul Klee who talked the owner Angela Rosengart into allowing the comics exhibition to be hosted at the museum.

Biography] and in yet another case called *Christophe Badoux – Das Leben von Klee* [Christophe Badoux – The Life of Klee], the show's name remains a mystery.[770]

The press release suggests that Helen Moser, at the time Head of the Shop at the Zentrum Paul Klee and responsible for the *Klee* project, and Martina Kral, a researcher at the Sammlung Rosengart, were the curators.[771] They showed eight enlarged pages, forming four scenes—which Badoux had redrawn in black-and-white specifically for the exhibition—next to some of the artist's sketches (Fig. 6.2a-b).[772] Thus, letting the audience explore the creative process behind multiple scenes from sketch to finished panel, while emphasising the *ligne claire* style by omitting the colouring and resizing the pages. Badoux's sketchbook, containing the whole narrative, was also on display, allowing the audience to grasp the entire story and avoid the narrative's fragmentation.[773] The exhibition contextualised the individual sketches and drawings, allowing people to locate the respective scenes within the story. Simultaneously, the show gave a taste of the narrative's beginning and endpoint, structure, pace, accentuation, and complexity.

Badoux also produced a large, illustrated timeline of Paul Klee's life from birth to death (Fig. 6.3).[774] It depicts on parallel lines 1) the cities the artist lived in, 2) his education and career from primary school onwards, 3) his artistic development and personal life, and 4) important events in world history. This timeline functioned as a summary of the exhibition and the graphic narrative, bringing together the various strands of the artist's life in a single and easily accessible infographic—Badoux's speciality. The provided information helped the audience to put the graphic narrative as well as the life of Paul Klee—on a personal, professional and historical level—in perspective, facilitating the understanding of the story and avoiding the trap of merely displaying several drawings. The temporary display about *Klee* in one room was juxtaposed with three rooms of original artworks by Paul Klee, inviting the audience to compare the graphic narrative with the originals and explore the Sammlung Rosengart.

Despite the relatively short duration of the exhibition, there were several related events. Naturally, most publicity was centred around the book release of *Klee*, one of the highlights of *Fumetto 2008*. Badoux, together with Kral, offered at least three guided tours through the exhibition, helping to gain a deeper understanding of the exhibits. The high

---

[770] Fumettto 2008, p.1; Fumetto no date; Schattenblick (available at URL: http://www.schattenblick.de/infopool/bildkult/ comic/bcfe0084.html, accessed 14/02/2020).

[771] Fumettto 2008, p.1.

[772] Sieber 2008; Badoux 2008, pp.12-13, 16-17, 43-44, 56-57.

[773] Sieber 2008.

[774] Ibid.

frequency of this type of event was undoubtedly due to the ongoing of *Fumetto 2008*, which also brought a large number of children, teenagers, young adults to the Sammlung Rosengart with special family activities, matching the gallery's emphasis on this audience group.[775]

Therefore, the Sammlung Rosengart and the Zentrum Paul Klee adopted the same approach of targeting an audience of young individuals. However, the *Fumetto* and gallery setting catered equally to an audience of (young) adults, broadening the targeted audience further. In providing a less traditional exhibition experience, the show attempted to appeal to an audience less familiar with Paul Klee's works, using the graphic novel as an 'icebreaker'. Consequently, the approach would have been to lure a comics audience into a traditional museum setting, trying to trigger some curiosity for the original art conveniently positioned next door and also suggesting visiting the Zentrum Paul Klee in the future. Hence, bringing the launch event to the Swiss comics community at Lucerne was the logical choice, as it did not require further advertising and publicising to target the right audience group. Fumetto was also an excellent choice for Edition Moderne and Badoux, as launching a graphic novel at a comics festival guaranteed the proper form of publicity and audience. The fact that *Klee* has been published in German and French (and subsequently Italian) and launched at Lucerne clearly shows that the targeted audience was Swiss, for the graphic novel as well as the exhibition. Badoux himself said that Paul Klee 'had a very Swiss personality, despite him never being Swiss citizen,' hence, for the Swiss audience, the exhibition was somewhat retelling Swiss (art) history.[776]

In showing the various steps from start to finish, contextualising everything with the timeline, and juxtaposing comic art and actual museum art, the exhibition was highly educational regarding the artists Klee and Badoux. The timeline summarised the comic artist's efforts on *Klee*, extending the narrative beyond his book or even Paul Klee's life and embedding it in a global—though still Eurocentric—historical setting, while presenting it as an infographic paid tribute to Badoux's most individual style. Thus, the show equally celebrated Paul Klee as well as Christophe Badoux. However, exhibiting black and white re-drawings, it failed to mention the various contribution of comics workers, such as colourist Nora Weyermann. Thus, the graphic novel and the exhibition continue the canonisation of the perceived "main" creator, a focus regularly observed for writers of comics, overlooking other comics workers.[777]

---

[775] Ibid.

[776] Badoux in Hangartner 2008, p.39.

[777] Brienza and Johnston (2016, p.1) note a 'tendency to canonize the writer and to advance a narrow, auteurist vision of production when analyzing and studying comics'; Jameel (2016, p.176), analysing collaboration in comics, sees the idea if a "main" creator deriving from a 'deeply rotted and cultivated notion that works are loaded with authorial intent,' waiting to be uncovered by its readership.

On the one hand, the exhibition followed 'A Comic-Specific Museum Approach,' in being narrative-conscious and trying to complement and explain Badoux's graphic narrative with tools to allow the adequate level of appreciation, indicating support from the *Fumetto* team. The *Fumetto 2008* communication and documentation regularly mentioned the origin and commissioners of the graphic novel, also indicating a close collaboration. On the other hand, consistent with the hosting institution's localisation close to the museum field, there were elements of an 'Artistic Exhibition' present, making the display a blend of the two of Méon's exhibition types. Similarly, its institutional localisation was close to the comics fields (*Fumetto 2008)* and the museum field (the Sammlung Rosengart), while geographically the exhibition was close to the comics field, it was also at the periphery of Basel, often regarded as the country's cultural capital. The Zentrum Paul Klee, located in the *de facto* Swiss capital of Bern but like Fumetto 2008 far away from the national cultural hub, still provided half the curatorial team. Nevertheless, on an intra-institutional level, the location ranked hierarchically low in outsourcing the exhibition, which is unsurprising considering that *Klee* is a companion product for the Zentrum Paul Klee collection. Moreover, while the basement location at Sammlung Rosengart may seem similar in rank, at first sight, it is the location for Paul Klee's works in the collection. Being exhibited next door to the originals then places the display high on the intra-institutional level of the Sammlung Rosengart.

An exhibition about *Vincent*

Barbara Stok Tekent Vincent Van Gogh [Barbara Stok Draws Vincent van Gogh] *(19 October 2012 – 30 August 2013)* was a touring exhibition, celebrating and publicising *Vincent* by Barbara Stok.[778] The Van Gogh Museum took an interest in the afterlife of `their` graphic novel, organising and—even more significant—funding this exhibition. A version of this case study has been published as part of a book chapter in 2020, analysing different comic art exhibitions and their curatorial and didactic approaches.[779]

The private view of the show and the book's release was a single coordinated event in Groningen, the hometown of Stok, on 18 October 2012, when the directors of the Van Gogh Museum and the Groningen Museum were presented with copies of *Vincent*.[780]

---

[778] For an analysis of the graphic novel, see Chapter 5.

[779] Yu-Kiener, Tobias J. "Transnationaler Eurozentrismus. Grafische Künstlerbiografien Im Kontext von Kunstmuseen und Deren Ausstellungspraxis" In *Ran an die Wand. Rein in the Vitrine?! Internationale Positionen zum Ausstellen von Comics in der pädagogischen und musealen Praxis* edited by Barbara Maria Eggert and Anna Maria Loffredo, pp.78-89. Munich: kopaed, 2020.

[780] Pos 2017; Bogman 2017; Stok 2017; Rüger 2012, Alex Rüger, director of the Van Gogh Museum, tweeted about this event.

Organised by the Van Gogh Museum's Educational Department and curated by Gert Jan Pos, the commissioners did retain a high level of control over the show. The display was hosted at the six Dutch public libraries of Groningen, Nijmegen, Maastricht, Breda, Den Haag and Almere between late October 2012 and the beginning of May 2013[781], eventually, it was also shown at an additional venue in Amsterdam.[782] The hosting city's population seemingly determined the duration of the exhibition at each library. In smaller cities, with populations less than 200,000, it was shown thirty days on average. However, Maastricht and Amsterdam, with populations of more than 500,000 and the latter being the capital, hosted the display seven and seventeen weeks respectively. According to Stok, all libraries held 'illustration workshops, lectures, presentations, and other activities,' a few of which were even done by herself.[783]

The exhibition was designed and produced by the Rotterdam-based comic artist and designer Joost Halbertsma, who had previously worked on five other comic and comix shows. His design consisted of three text-boards on easels telling the visitors about Vincent van Gogh, Barbara Stok (Fig. 6.3) and their studios, and a circular pedestal with walls dividing the space into three equally sized parts (Fig. 6.4a; 6.5a). One of those sections simply provided a cushioned opportunity to sit down and read a provided copy of *Vincent* while also naming the organisers. The rest of the display introduced the audience to the creative process of the painter and the comic artist. One-third of the space was dedicated to each artist, showing a 1:1 partial replica of their respective studios, drawing parallels between their working methods in the direct juxtaposition of their art.

The painter's studio was reconstructed from his time in Arles (Fig. 6.4a), showing *The Sower* (1888) on an easel. The scene also included *The Yellow House* (1888) and *Self-Portrait as a Painter* (1887-1888). On a table, a facsimile of a letter from the artist to his brother included a sketch for the artwork in progress (Fig. 6.4b). Along the opposite wall, several inspirational sources were displayed, such as a black-and-white reproduction of *The Sower* (1850) by French painter Jean-Francois Millet next to a drawing by van Gogh from

---

[781] Mondriaan Fonds 2012b, The touring exhibition was initially meant to tour six public libraries in the Netherlands: Groningen Library (19 October - 21 November 2012), Nijmengen Library (23 November – 27 December 2012), Centre Céramique, Maastricht Library (28 December 2012 – 2 February 2013), Breda Library (5 February – 3 March 2013), The Hague Central Library (5 March – 15 April 2013) and Almere Library (16 April – 3 May 2013); Van Gogh Museum (2012a; c; d; f; 2013b-g) publicised each new stop of the exhibition online.

[782] On 6 May 2013, Van Gogh Museum (2013h-j) announces the exhibition to be on display at Openbare Bibliotheek Amsterdam [Public Library Amsterdam] (OBA), again on 30 June 2013, it mentions an extension until 30 August, and eventually points out the end of the exhibition; While the exact venue is never mentioned (OBA has twenty-six branches), it is safe and logical to assume that the exhibition was hosted at OBA Oosterdok, the headquarters and largest Dutch library, reaching the largest possible audience. Therefore, the last stop of the exhibition was OBA Oosterdock (6 May – 30 August 2013).

[783] Stok 2017.

1881 after the very same, as well as the woodblock print *Kameido Umeyashiki (亀戸梅屋舗)* [Plum Park in Kameido] (1857) by Japanese artist Utagawa Hiroshige [歌川広重] (Fig. 6.4c).[784] Except for the artworks and the letter, everything else was exclusively coloured white, emphasising the replica artefacts very effectively in having them stand out.

The comic artist's studio showed her workspace (Fig. 6.5a). On a desk, two oversized pages from the narrative depicted a scene when *The Sower* appears during a flashback (Fig. 6.5b).[785] A preliminary sketch for the double-page's layout with Stok's notes and a line-drawing of one of the pages could be examined above the table. Thus, this wall outlined the whole creative process behind the scene, tracing the line from inspiration—the original artwork—and inception to drawing and colouring (Fig. 6.5c). The top left corner of the same wall showed another finished page from the graphic novel next to a sketch for a double-page and the script, what appears to be the actual letter used for the scene (Fig. 6.5c).[786] Consequently, this set of displays demonstrated Stok's use of letters between the van Gogh brothers for the script. The wall also showed Stok's work schedule for the project and two black-and-white copies of artworks: *Self-Portrait as a Painter* and *Self-Portrait* (1889). Under a window, more visual documentation was displayed, such as photos of the Yellow House and a map of Arles, two pictures of Vincent van Gogh's room at the asylum at Saint Remy de Provence and what appears to be a map of the surroundings of the psychiatric hospital (Fig. 6.5d). Despite giving the graphic novelist much attention and tracing her creative work in detail, the exhibition seems not to have mentioned comics workers. Remarkably, while the show indicated the steps from inception to the finished products, including colouring, Stok's partner Ricky van Duuren, who contributed to *Vincent*'s success significantly through the appealing colouring, seems to have not been named.

Suzanne Bogman labels *Barbara Stok Tekent Vincent Van Gogh* a 'successful outreach program [by] the Education Department,' stressing the project's ties with a department whose activities are overwhelmingly aimed at (very) young visitors.[787] For the art institution, the graphic novel has functioned as a tie-in and accompanying product to its collection, designed to attract a young audience the museum associates with the comics medium. The museum sought help from Gert Jan Pos when curating the touring exhibition, thus masking an apparent lack of understanding of the medium's full potential and its readership. Consequently, *Barbara Stok Tekent Vincent Van Gogh* showed elements of an

---

[784] The print was originally published as part of the *Meisho Edo Hyakkei (名所江戸百景)* [One Hundred Famous Views of Edo] series, first released in serialized form (1856–1859).

[785] Stok 2012, pp.76-77.

[786] Ibid., p.109.

[787] Bogman 2017.

'Artistic Exhibition' in showcasing the interaction and shared challenges of Stok's and Vincent van Gogh's work, as well as 'A Comic-Specific Museum Approach'. It was narrative-conscious and tried to explain and contextualise *Vincent* to allow for its full appreciation.

Similarly, the institutional localisation was close to the cultural and museum field (Van Gogh Museum) and curatorial localisation close to the comics field (Pos). However, geographically, in touring the country, as well as intra-institutionally, in literally being out of the museum, the exhibition could have hardly been more peripheral. Having said this, one has to remember that the last and longest hosting library was in Amsterdam—bringing the display closer to the original commissioning institution and the country's cultural and museological heart. However, since this was not initially planned, it cannot fully represent the museum's original attitude towards the comics medium.

While the display was explicitly a promotional outreach campaign, it was undoubtedly a celebration of the museum, of Stok and her well-researched graphic novel. As six of seven hosting cities were among the ten biggest Dutch cities, *Barbara Stok tekent Vincent van Gogh* targeted an audience of urban, educated and young (adult) Dutch nationals—tourists usually do not flock to public libraries. In aiming at individuals with previous knowledge of van Gogh's artworks and open to learning more, the display mirrored the graphic novel's approach. Like *Vincent*, the exhibition did not emphasise that van Gogh was Dutch and his part in the national (art) history. Due to its travelling nature and longer duration, the exhibition had a nationwide impact, as the people did not need to come to the show—it came to them. The location in a library encouraged the audience to sit down, linger and read *Vincent* for themselves—and maybe make a subsequent trip to the Van Gogh Museum to see the originals and buy a copy of the graphic novel.

At the core of the exhibition were the notions of creation and inspiration. Van Gogh created paintings, being inspired by the art of Millet and Hiroshige, and Stok created a graphic novel about the very same process, being inspired by van Gogh's art and personal correspondence. The differences were in the foci, as van Gogh's studio was centred around artistic inspiration while Stok's office displayed her researching and processing information. However, both displays could be experienced and engaged very immediately, as the usual slightly stiff museum setting—priceless artworks, protected by alarms and guards—was interrupted and negated. Instead, the exhibits could—and were actually supposed to—be examined at close range—how else would visitors read the facsimile letters—and possibly even touched, but this remains uncertain. The display was aimed at people attracted to comics, and individuals who would otherwise not see an exhibition on Vincent van Gogh at a traditional art museum. These groups were targeted by opening up the exhibition

experience, bringing the show to the people instead of waiting for the audiences to come to the Van Gogh Museum. The 1:1 recreation of the two studios conveyed accuracy and intimacy and created a feeling one was able to step into the studios and watch the artists at work, looking right over their shoulders. Therefore, the display mirrored Stok's approach of a very personal encounter with the artists, showing their workspace where they would have spent years in hermit-like isolation and the tools they would have used for their creative endeavours.

An exhibition about *Dalí*

Another example of an outsourced exhibition was the show about Edmond Baudoin's *Dalí*.[788] While in Paris *Dalí (21 November 2012 – 25 March 2013)* was hosted at the Musée National d'Art Moderne at the Centre Pompidou, in the city of Angoulême, the sister exhibition *Dalí par Baudoin* [Dalí by Baudoin] *(21 November 2012 – 24 March 2013)* took place at Musée de la Bande Dessinée. The almost identical dates indicate a high level of coordination and possible collaboration between the two displays. As mentioned in Chapter 5, La Cité Internationale de la Bande Dessinée et de l'image [International City of Comics and Image] (thereafter La Cité), the cultural corporation including Musée de la Bande Dessinée, partly reused material from the museum and publisher, including the corporate identities (Fig. 6.6).[789] However, the repeated promotion for the sister exhibition mainly worked one way, as Centre Pompidou neither mentioned the comic exhibition nor its related events, despite a fifty-nine-page press release and comprehensive online coverage of its display.[790] In two cases, a tweet included a link to the homepage of La Cité, a text by Jeanne Alechinsky, the graphic novel project's director at the museum, and an interview with Baudoin about the graphic novel *Dalí*, thus, once again only leading back to the *Dalí* exhibition at Centre Pompidou.[791]

Dalí par Baudoin's press release either combined several of La Cité's homepage entries or it was split up and put on the homepage as separate entries. Curated by Jean-Philippe Martin and Sébastien Bollut, and designed by Pascal Laumonier, freelancer with substantial experience in staging comics exhibitions who had also worked for Musée de la Bande Dessinée previously, the show was produced by La Cité itself. Located in a single medium-sized room, the show exhibited more than seventy original pages arranged, framed

---

[788] For an analysis of the graphic novel, see Chapter 5.

[789] La Cité 2012a; b; Alechinsky in La Cité 2012, p.2; Martin (available at URL: http://www.citebd.org/spip.php?article4318, accessed 14/02/2020).

[790] Centre Pompidou 2012a.

[791] Centre Pompidou 2012b-c.

and displayed as double-pages (Fig. 6.7), and Baudoin's notebook showing pages 4 and 5 from the narrative (Fig. 6.8), which included his research, preliminary designs, layouts and sketches.[792] Exhibition designer Laumonier produced a short video of himself flipping through the notebook. It is highly probable but not confirmed that the video was part of the exhibition. The video was later posted on La Cité's YouTube channel.[793] Once again, the exhibition seems not to have mentioned any comics workers, such as graphic designer Philippe Ghielmetti.

The organisers of the exhibition in Angoulême also hosted a series of related events—about halfway through the show. For 16 January 2013, they scheduled an evening event with the creator: At the beginning, visitors were invited to meet and talk with Baudoin at the museum, followed by a presentation by the artist—talking about the comic art of other creators on display at the museum, and elaborating on his own (exhibited) original drawings, as well as his reference material and sources—before the evening concluded in a signing session at La Cité's bookstore. A few weeks later, on 2 February 2013, Baudoin was back again at Angoulême for two more events. In the late afternoon, he attended another signing session. In the evening—together with Alechinsky—he talked about *Dalí*, analysing it and speaking about his approach and the numerous symbols he adopted from Salvador *Dalí* himself and their meaning. On 15 February 2013, La Cité released another 14-minutes-video of Baudoin being interviewed about his graphic novel via its YouTube channel, making it available on its homepage.[794] Although not directly connected to its exhibition, the graphic novel and its creation as such, La Cité advertised two appearances of Baudoin on the French station Radio Accord, on 17 and 19 January 2013.

Centre Pompidou, located at France's cultural and museological centre (Paris), seemed incredibly uncomfortable with the comics medium, mentioning *Dalí* only as one of several publications related to the Parisian retrospective while not directly referencing the sister-exhibition in Angoulême.[795] A lack of understanding of the medium's potential was apparent, revealing cultural and institutional schizophrenia and emphasising tensions between high art and low art. The Centre Pompidou hoped to draw new audiences while at the same time did not want to be associated in public with the co-commissioned graphic novel. To achieve this almost impossible split, the exhibition was outsourced to the cultural-geographical periphery and intra-institutionally localised furthest away from Centre Pompidou. Simultaneously, it was attempted to cover the traces leading *there* but not those

---

[792] La Cité 2012a, p.1.

[793] La Cité 2013a.

[794] La Cité 2103b.

[795] Centre Pompidou 2012a, p.15.

leading *back*—making the show the example with the loosest link to the commissioning art institution.

Geographically and institutionally localised in the French capital of comics, naturally, one would have expected 'A Comic-Specific Museum Approach'. However, unexpectedly, the show was not particularly narrative-conscious, and neither contextualised nor complemented or explained Baudoin's work on *Dalí*. In showing just about half of the narrative, the exhibition—probably—allowed the audience to follow the story more or less. However, with only a short wall text available (Fig. 6.8), thus, presuming and requiring a high level of familiarity with Salvador Dali and Edmond Baudoin, possibly many people were prevented from engaging in-depth with the exhibits. In simply putting many pages on the wall, the museum apparently assumed any possible audiences would already be well-educated on comics, Baudoin and Salvador Dalí, not requiring further information. Alternatively, it hoped the understanding and appreciation for the comic art would simply manifest itself by being in the presence of Baudoin's—admittedly artistically very impressive—originals. Therefore, the display at Musée de la Bande Dessinée was precisely that: a display of Baudoin's ink drawings. Except for a brief wall text and two events with Baudoin, the museum provided no information, contextualisation or narrativisation. Since it dealt with an actual biography, covering a whole life, and only presented with about half of the complete narrative, the audience must have felt somewhat lost. This approach might have worked for the comics community traditionally frequenting Angoulême, but it hardly helped to attract new audiences. Although there were some elements of an 'Artistic Exhibition,' the lack of contextualisation meant the exhibition at Musée de la Bande Dessinée about a tie-in product of Centre Pompidou did not fit any of the three forms of shows proposed by Méon.

There was no shared approach between the graphic novel and the exhibition at Angoulême, which was just an advertising and publicising event for the *Dalí* retrospective in Paris, which disproportionally benefitted from the display. Remarkably, there was no proof of any financial contribution from Centre Pompidou towards Musée de la Bande Dessinée for this favour. Like other exhibitions, the commissioners wanted the comic to be noticed by the comics community, trying to convince the visitors at Angoulême to look at the original art in Paris, approaching the targeted audience directly. However, while Baudoin opened several doors to engage with Salvador Dalí, the exhibition about the graphic novel closed them again, only admitting individuals with respective previous knowledge and reducing the number of people who could genuinely celebrate Baudoin and his art.

An exhibition about *Jan Van Scorel. Sede Vacante 1523*

Jan Van Scorel. Sede Vacante 1523. Paul Teng Aan De Tekentafel [Jan Van Scorel. Sede Vacante 1523. Paul Teng At the Drawing Table] *(19 October 2013 – 19 January 2014)* at the Centraal Museum Utrecht was a remarkable example of a comic exhibition.[796] The release of *Jan Van Scorel. Sede Vacante 1523* by Paul Teng and Jan Paul Schutten was scheduled to coincide with the exhibition's inauguration and funded jointly.[797] The graphic narrative as well as the resulting show—at least for the museum—were both conceptualised as '[a]n original and attractive way to bring (art) historical research to the attention of a large audience.'[798]

Curated by Liesbeth M. Helmus, Curator of Old Master Paintings and Drawings at the Centraal Museum Utrecht, the exhibition was designed by DeVrijerVanDongen, an exhibition and graphic design studio based in Haarlem, who had worked for the museum previously, yet never on comic art.[799] It explains: '[i]n particular the creation process of this art historical comic had to be visualised.'[800] Sterk Decoratie, Drukkerij Libertas, and Technische Dienst Centraal Museum realised the design. As the title suggests, the story's graphic aspects were at the centre of the attention, as was the actual narrative: 'We presented the 80 [black-and-white original] drawings [by Teng] in an 18-meter-long, monumental showcase table. It was placed in the middle of the room' (Fig. 6.9).[801] On either side of this central table, along the walls, sixteen drawing tables explored the narrative in detail (Fig. 6.10), focusing on the adaption of the historical and art-historical source material, the development of the storyline and its characters. Three of these tables had built-in screens, each showing a short video about the respective contribution by the Teng, Schutten as well as colourist Dina Kathelyn, now available on the museum's YouTube channel.[802] It is the only case of an exhibition explicitly mentioning the colourist and her work, yet leaving other comics workers unmentioned.

---

[796] For an analysis of the graphic novel, see Chapter 5.

[797] Centraal Museum Utrecht (available at URL: https://www.centraalmuseum.nl/en/exhibitions/jan-van-scorel-sede-vacante-1523-paul-teng-aan-de-tekentafel, accessed 29/01/2018); Centraal Museum Utrecht 2014a, p.54, The museum received €282,000 from BankGiro Loterij to cover the costs for the production of the comic and the hosting of the corresponding show as well as an addition €25,000 from Mondrian Fonds dedicated to the exhibition.

[798] Centraal Museum Utrecht (available at URL: https://www.centraalmuseum.nl/en/exhibitions/jan-van-scorel-sede-vacante-1523-paul-teng-aan-de-tekentafel, accessed 29/01/2018).

[799] DeVrijerVanDongen (URL: https://www.devrijervandongen.nl/expositie, accessed 14/02/2020).

[800] DeVrijerVanDongen (URL: https://www.devrijervandongen.nl/centraal-museum-jan-van-scorel, accessed 14/02/2020).

[801] Ibid.

[802] Centraal Museum Utrecht 2013 d-f.

A series of five large wall panels visualised the different steps in creating a comic page, from scripting to page layout, pencilling and inking and finally colouring (Fig. 6.11). Overlooking the whole exhibition space were five monumental portraits of the main protagonists, introducing them to the public.[803] Several stools allowed visitors to rest while enjoying the exhibits. The exhibition also featured the Bank Giro Lottery Lounge (Fig. 6.12) on the mezzanine, giving extra attention to the sponsor and allowing visitors to sit down and read one of the provided copies of the graphic novel—and maybe buy a copy for themselves at the shop afterwards.[804]

Furthermore, the exhibition included a workshop space, where all visitors could create their own comics and scenarios about artworks from the museum's collection. Based on *De Koppelaarster* [The Matchmaker] (1625) by Gerrit van Honthorst, Teng drew a black-and-white one-page comic, leaving the colouring and filling of speech bubbles to visitors, while Schutten wrote a one-page scenario, asking the audience to create a matching comic. As a more advanced assignment, visitors could write and draw their very own comic based on either the painting *Groupshow* (1993) by Marlene Dumas or the Utrecht legend of Catharina (Trijn) van Leemput. The museum also hosted several workshops with Teng and Schutten themselves, where the participants were invited to imagine a scenario and conceive and draw characters for a graphic narrative.[805] On 24 November 2013, the Centraal Museum Utrecht hosted an hour-long interview by director Edwin Jacobs with the two creators, followed by questions from the audience. The exhibition and the workshops were publicised with great effort by the museum and its director through various social media channels.[806] However, there were no materials, workshops or interviews with colourist Dina Kathelyn.

The show was very obviously celebratory of the graphic novel, showing high appreciation for Teng's work in giving sufficient space and choosing the most prominent time of the year: the Christmas season. The exhibition's approach was similar to that of the book, featuring two parallel narratives and separating facts from fiction. The fictional graphic thread located at the centre and another factual thread of background information

---

[803] DeVrijerVanDongen (URL: https://www.devrijervandongen.nl/centraal-museum-jan-van-scorel, accessed 14/02/2020).

[804] Ibid.

[805] Centraal Museum Utrecht (URL: https://www.centraalmuseum.nl/bezoeken/agenda/workshop-tekentafel-november/; URL: https://www.centraalmuseum.nl/bezoeken/agenda/workshop-tekentafel-januari/, both accessed 29/01/2018) was not entirely clear about the exact number (five or six) and duration (one or two hours) of the workshops as well as their dates, as different entries on its homepage contradicted each other. Therefore, the following data should be regarded as an estimation: 12 September 2013 (two workshops), 3 November 2013 (two workshops), 14 December 2013 (one workshop), 11 January 2014 (one workshop). The usual fee for the workshop was €15, excluding the entrance price. On the so-called Cultural Sundays (12 September 2013 and 3 November 2013) the workshops were free and the standard entrance price of €11 was reduced to €9 too.

[806] Centraal Museum Utrecht 2013g-p; r-s; 2014a-d.

surrounding it, not interacting with each other, readers and visitors needed to go back and forth between the two or look at them one after the other. With Teng, Schutten and Helmus, the people who had worked on the graphic novel also contributed to the display, albeit, this time, the curator was in the lead. The artworks by van Scorel held at the Centraal Museum Utrecht, featuring in the publication's appendix, were exhibited. Less prominent than in other cases of the corpus, the show at the Centraal Museum Utrecht depicted the different stages in the creation of the graphic novel. The high level of audience interaction was unprecedented, with workshops for every level, from amateur to professional. The results were not just pinned against the workshop walls but (some) even published in an extra museum publication, at least online and possibly in print.[807] This remarkable celebration of creativity from everyone involved, from Jan van Scorel to the graphic novelists and even the audiences, was one of the show's unique elements, which certainly did create a strong bond with the (local) visitors and increased the probability of revisits.

Jan van Scorel. Sede Vacante 1523 – Paul Teng Aan De Tekentafel was an excellent example of an 'Artistic Exhibition' in being a monographic show about a graphic novel and its creator, focusing on graphic aspects. It also showed elements of 'A Comic-Specific Museum Approach' in being narrative-conscious, providing a large amount of background information on the (art) historical sources and the artistic process. The exhibition was without doubt close to the culture and museum field, but regardless of this—and without any external personnel from the comics field, it appears—the Centraal Museum Utrecht's staff very successfully curated the show. In granting the exhibition a main gallery space for the traditionally crucial Christmas period, the display ranked exceptionally high in an intra-institutional hierarchy. This extraordinary positive attitude towards comics is consistent with Méon's theory of the institution's geographic localisation, suggesting that in the cultural periphery, more is possible when comics and museums meet. This exceptional and indeed encouraging treatment of *Jan van Scorel. Sede Vacante 1523* by the Centraal Museum Utrecht, meeting the graphic novel at eye level in granting it no less attention and professional curatorship than any other media, is indeed outstanding since it was essentially a tie-in and companion product to the collection.

In contrast to many other museums, the Centraal Museum Utrecht was very vocal about and proud of its graphic novel, even funding an exhibition and buying all the original drawings by Teng, adding them to their contemporary art collection. This high level of confidence and even pride in the graphic novel was most likely due to the strong connection the museum and the city of Utrecht have with Jan van Scorel. This link was a crucial element

---

[807] Centraal Museum Utrecht 2014b; Issuu account of Centraal Museum Utrecht (available at URL: https://issuu.com/centraalmuseum/docs/werkplaatsdetekentafel, accessed 27/11/2020).

in the graphic novel and the show, in many ways. Both were celebrating and advertising national and provincial (art) history, in Jan van Scorel and Adrian VI, and furthering the city of Utrecht and its history, displaying a strong local bond, as well as the Centraal Museum Utrecht and its collection. Moreover, the publication and the show promoted a young, innovative and progressive image the art institution desired.

An exhibition including *Le Ciel au-dessus du Louvre*

There is only one case of the second category of a display in the corpus: an exhibition *including* a particular comic. *Le Petit Dessein – Le Louvre invite la bande dessinée (22 January – 13 April 2009)* [The Small Design – The Louvre Invites the Comic] at the Musée du Louvre is indeed an unusual case, as it included several comic artists but did not genuinely engage with the medium. The promotion and public relations were at its core, not the graphic narratives. A version of this case study has been published as part of a book chapter in 2020, analysing different comic art exhibitions and their curatorial and didactic approaches.[808]

The exhibition was curated by the Musée du Louvre's Deputy Head of Publishing Fabrice Douar and Futuropolis's Editorial Director Sébastien Gnaedig. Constituting the first time the museum exhibited *bandes dessinées*, it showed originals from three released and two forthcoming albums of the *Louvre Éditions* series, including a preview of Bernar Yslaire's and Jean-Claude Carrière's *Le Ciel au-dessus du Louvre*. The delayed graphic novel was eventually published in November 2009.[809]

On the one hand, the display celebrated the near completion of the first series as well as the start of a second one—each consisting of four albums—on the other hand, the show was mainly a campaign to publicise and advertise the *Louvre Éditions* and not so much the individual albums.[810] After its time in Paris, the exhibition toured several national and international comics festivals and exhibitions spaces, advertising the series to a comics audience.[811] Consequently, the show could be described as a retrospective of the first series

---

[808] Yu-Kiener, Tobias J. "Transnationaler Eurozentrismus. Grafische Künstlerbiografien Im Kontext von Kunstmuseen und Deren Ausstellungspraxis" In *Ran an die Wand. Rein in the Vitrine?! Internationale Positionen zum Ausstellen von Comics in der pädagogischen und musealen Praxis* edited by Barbara Maria Eggert and Anna Maria Loffredo, pp.78-89. Munich: kopaed, 2020.

[809] For an analysis of the graphic novel, see Chapter 5.

[810] The first series of the *Louvre Éditions* includes Nicolas de Crécy, *Période glaciaire* (2005), Marc-Antoine Mathieu, *Les Sous-sols du Révolu-Extraits du journal d'un expert* (2006), Éric Liberge, *Aux heures impaires* (2008), Jean-Claude Carrière & Bernar Yslaire, *Le Ciel au-dessus du Louvre* (2009). Hirohiko Araki, *Rohan au Louvre* (2010) was inaugurating the second series, followed by Christian Durieux, *Un Enchantement* (2011), Enki Bilal, *Les fantômes du Louvre* (2012), and David Prudhomme, *La traversée du Louvre* (2012).

[811] Musée du Louvre 2009a, p.1, The show was hosted at the Swiss *Festival de Bande Dessinée Lausanne (11 - 13 September 2009)*, the Brazilian *Festival Internacional de Quadrinhos (FIQ) (6 - 12 October 2009)* in Belo Horizonte, the French *Salon du livre et de la presse jeunesse de Montreuil (25 - 30 November 2009)*

and anticipatory of the forthcoming second one. However, it should more accurately be considered as a more extensive international promotional, public relations and outreach campaign to connect with even wider audiences. Such assessment is confirmed by the press release, explaining '[t]his exhibition [is] celebrating the collaboration between the Louvre and the comic book publisher Futuropolis' and that by '[t]aking up residence at the Louvre, comic strips help to shake off the institution's fusty image,' not honouring the albums particularly.[812] There was no noticeable promotion via any social media channel of the museum.

Marc-Antoine Mathieu designed the exhibition. He also contributed to the official poster showing four interpretations of Leonardo da Vinci's *La Gioconda/ Mona Lisa* (1503-1506) (Fig. 6.13), drawn by all the artists of the first series. The display featured nineteen watercolours from Nicolas de Crécy's *Période glaciaire* (2005), fourteen India ink pages from Mathieu's *Sous-sols du Révolu* (2006), five sketches and corresponding prints from Eric Liberge's *Aux heures impaires* (2008).[813] Additionally, there were two pages and the cover, and three screens with videos depicting Yslaire's digital drawing process on *Le Ciel au-dessus du Louvre* (2009) 'show[ing] the preparation of several plates, from the layout to the application of colours.'[814] Another preview showed Hirohiko Araki's *Rohan au Louvre* (2010).[815] Thus, various working methods, techniques, and materials used in creating and producing a comic were shown.

However, while the museum promised to 'showcase each artist's singular vision from the first to the last plate,' the small number of original artworks and the resulting decision to not display any of the narratives in full length made this an empty promise.[816] As not even the graphic novelists' work could be extensively explored, it is not surprising that there was no space to introduce comics workers and their contributions to the final publications. Also, hosting the exhibition in a small and dark basement room (Fig. 6.14) did undoubtedly not help explore the artists' oeuvres and visions but appeared more to have been

---

and *Festival international de la bande dessinée d'Angoulême (FIBD) (28-31 January 2010)*, and the Belgium *Foire du Livre de Bruxelles (4 - 8 March 2010)*; IMRC (URL: http://imrc.jp/exhivision/2010/11 /5.html,accessed 02/02/2020), Having been renamed マンガ・ミーツ・ルーヴル——美術館に迷い込んだ５人の作家たち /*La bande dessinée revisite le Louvre: 5 auteurs s'emparent du musée* [The Comic revisits the Louvre: 5 authors seize the museum], it was shown at Kyoto International Manga Museum (KIMM) (5 November – 3 December 2010) and BankART Studio NYK (6 – 17 December 2010) in Yokohama (URL: http://www.kyotomm.jp/HP2016/english/event/ exh/bd_meets_2010.html, accessed 14/02/2020).

[812] Musée du Louvre 2009a, p.1.

[813] Ibid., p.2.

[814] Ibid.

[815] Ibid.

[816] Ibid.

showing the comics medium its place in the museum and its position in the hierarchies of the art. Interestingly, this dark and cramped setting seems to have been recreated at all the venues hosting the exhibition (Fig. 6.15a-b).

On the one hand, the exhibition was explicitly 'not intended simply as presentation of original plates' and neither as 'merely provid[ing] a reflection of the museum in comics.'[817] In particular, the latter aim contradicts the series' idea that '[e]ach comic album engages with the Louvre in its own way, interrogating the museum's mission as a place of preservation, memory and transmission,' effectively reflecting on the commissioning art institution in the comics medium.[818] On the other hand, in 'taking [the plates] out of their usual context' to emphasise 'their purely aesthetic qualities' and 'pure graphic art,' the show ignored the narratives' note-worthy literary aspects.[819] Moreover, it also turned into precisely what it allegedly attempted to avoid: a mere display of several de-contextualised original comics pages reflecting on the collection of Musée du Louvre, celebrating the *Louvre Éditions* and the two institutions behind it. This concept was most apparent in the official exhibition poster, a fourfold comics-interpreting of one of the most canonical paintings in the entire collection and Western art history, which was produced exclusively for marketing purposes, but otherwise hardly features in any of the graphic novels exhibited.

In addition to the various stops of the touring exhibition, essentially events in themselves, there were only two related happenings at the Musée du Louvre. On the one hand, there was the obligatory book signing session of the albums already published, on 6 March 2009.[820] On the other hand, a '*temporary graphic installation* by Bernard [sic] Yslaire within the exhibition,' on 6 April 2009.[821] The latter turned out to be a two-hour digital live drawing session with the artist retouching several pages, adding details, shading and colour, remarkably similar to the videos already on display.[822]

Looking at *Le Petit Dessein – Le Louvre invite la bande dessinée* through the lens of Méon reveals a unique image. Despite featuring five comic artists, it was not a show about their comic art and oeuvre but an entire exhibition about a series of companion and tie-in products to the museum's collection. Consequently, it occupied all three levels of hierarchy in terms of tools museums might use to connect the comics field with their own. According

---

[817] Ibid.

[818] Ibid., pp.1-2.

[819] Ibid., p.2.

[820] Ibid., p.1.

[821] Ibid.

[822] Kyoto International Manga Museum (URL: http://www.kyotomm.jp/HP2016/english/event/exh /bd_meets_2010.html, accessed 14/02/2020) also hosted a live-drawing event on 6 November 2010, with Nicolas de Crecy, Marc-Antoine Mathieu and Eric Liberge, the comic artists responsible for the other three albums in the first series of four.

to Douar, 'comics suffer from an entertainment image … are often not taken seriously [and] returning to the [Musée du] Louvre [would give] it a greater legitimacy.'[823] The museum's press release claims the show aimed to bridge the gap between the fields of museums and comics.[824]

Nevertheless, in focusing mainly on the graphic aspects of the various commissions, the show fragmented or ignored the respective narratives, a focus closest to an 'Artistic Exhibition.' Simultaneously, the show was neither monographic about a specific comic or creator nor discursive about shared challenges of comic art and fine art. It could neither qualify as an 'Exhibition as Substitutive Experience' nor as 'A Comic-Specific Museum Approach' despite the inclusion of videos of Yslaire drawing and the life-drawing event were a substitute for the delayed graphic novel. Besides, they were but two elements of the whole show and hardly qualified as experience. The apparent awkwardness in dealing with comics might have been due to the hosting institution being the embodiment of the museum field while also being localised at the geographical epicentre of the Parisian museum and cultural field. Like *Dalí par Baudoin* in Angoulême, the organisers, including Douar himself, seem to have thought simply framing and hanging some original comic art with no further guidance is sufficient to create a comics exhibition that would attract the crowds. Accordingly, the display's intra-institutional localisation in a dark basement room registers as very low. Despite it being undoubtedly a monographic show about the *Louvre Éditions* series, it did not fit any of the three exhibitions models proposed by Méon.

These observations suggest that the exhibition was neither showing appreciation nor genuine interest in the comic artists or their work—let alone contextualising it in positioning it in their respective oeuvres. Instead, the display was mainly using the popular medium to seek out new ways to generate publicity in specifically chosen markets to promote itself and the *Louvre Éditions* project to increase visitor numbers and sales. Moreover, while it might have genuinely been trying to bridge the gap to the comics field, the primary motivation was economic, not the comics medium's appreciation, which was apparently the reason for the attempt's failure. Beaty also argues: '[O]verall, the show was a resounding disappointment, offering few real insights into either comics or the [Musée du] Louvre itself, and sadly reaffirming dominant cultural hierarchies, rather than challenging them.'[825]

In its self-perception, the museum was demonstrating its 'policy of openness to contemporary art.'[826] Similar to other exhibitions discussed above, the Musée du Louvre's

---

[823] Douar 2018.
[824] Musée du Louvre 2009a, p.1
[825] Beaty 2009, pp.161-162.
[826] Musée du Louvre 2009a, p.1.

display aimed to lure comics readers into the museum in showing comic art, hoping to interest them in (real) museum art. The exhibition tried to utilise the image of and appreciation for the Ninth Art in Franco-Belgian society for the museum's purpose, attempting to pose as innovative and progressive. *Le Ciel au-dessus du Louvre* did certainly speak mainly to a French people, depicting the time of the First Republic and one of the best-known artists in the country's (art) history. Nevertheless, Yslaire was only presented as a preview and just one out of five exhibited comic artists, whose work was indeed very diverse. The exhibits were loosely bound together by their shared focus on and representation of Musée du Louvre—the exhibition's actual topic.

No Exhibition for *Rembrandt*

Rembrandt (2013) by Typex, co-commissioned by the Rijksmuseum, was the only book that was not part of an exhibition. Hence, little can be said about the commissioning institution's attitude towards comics in this case. As the graphic novel eventually appeared simultaneously as the art institution reopened after a ten-year restoration period, the opening may have simply overshadowed the publication, with no (extra) resources (made) available to push it. Following Méon's models, the Rijksmuseum is localised at the Dutch cultural and geographic centre, making an exhibition less likely. Also, *Rembrandt* is a companion and tie-in product to the museum's collections.

6.3. Conclusion

Regardless of whether a graphic narrative was eventually exhibited, all museums co-commissioned the respective publication initially to attract a new and often younger audience they associated with the comics medium. An idea expressed by several of the staff involved in the graphic novels:

> 'Indeed, the Louvre … "suffer[s]" from an image problem in public opinion. The Louvre is one of the largest museums in the world with exceptional collections for the history of art, but which attracts less young people because they do not understand the works or find that the museum is "dusty." Inviting the comic book suddenly gives an image of the "younger" Louvre and can make a young audience want to come and discover the Louvre.' [827] (Fabrice Douar, Musée du Louvre)

---

[827] Douar 2018.

'Rijksmuseum was (and still is) for everybody and wishes to express that mission continuously. Graphic novels cater to a specific group the museum wished to include.'[828] (Martijn Pronk, Rijkmuseum)

'Our usual audience are buyers of art books, so this was new for us … Paul Teng …[is] among the best-known comic artists in Holland, so [his] base bought the book. And as an extra, also our traditional audience.'[829] (Hans van de Willige, Lecturis, publisher of *Jan van Scorel. Sede Vacante 1523*)

Beaty observes, initially, during the 1960s, museums were concerned that Pop-Art, such as by Roy Lichtenstein, 'might attract the wrong element – that is, comic book fans – to contemporary art galleries or museums.' [830] About half a century later, the art museums are actively targeting precisely this formerly 'wrong element.' Evidently, the art institutions share an underlying presumption regarding the comics and museum audiences, thinking of them as two distinct groups which would not naturally mingle.

Consequently, assuming that a comics audience would usually not visit a museum, the notion gains ground that comics readers need to be attracted in a particular way. A comic exhibition could offer them something familiar that would not scare them away, and they would be able to comprehend. Once the comics audience has been lured in, using comic art and a non-traditional museum setting, the people would realise that art museums need not be stuffy, dusty and boring, and become interested in museum art. A new audience group would have been created. However, museums would equally assume that their usual visitors would not have seen or been interested in the comics medium and its art—maybe not even read it—as it is perceived as entertainment for the (uncultivated) masses. In some cases, comic art is disguised as museum art—nicely framed and hung with little reference to the comics medium—to not immediately scare off the traditional museum audience. Therefore, by exhibiting comics, the museum would immediately gain a quirky, innovative and progressive image in the eyes of both the traditional museum and the comics audiences, promoting themselves at least as much as the exhibited graphic novel(s).

The individual examples of comics exhibitions make some differences apparent, such as the exhibitions on *Klee* and *Vincent* aiming for a national audience, which together with the show on *Dalí* were also the outsourced examples. Also, these three were (probably in the case of *Klee*) bringing in comics expertise into the curation process. Simultaneously, the Musée du Louvre and the Centraal Museum Utrecht asked their staff to plan the show, resulting in two exhibitions that could have hardly been more different in almost every aspect.

---

[828] Pronk (2018) has since taken up a job at Van Gogh Museum and does no longer work at Rijksmuseum.
[829] Van de Willige 2017
[830] Beaty 2012, pp.62-63.

Nevertheless, all the displays share one crucial element in terms of the hierarchy-model by Méon. In being an *exhibition,* they all constitute examples of the highest available tool to museums to connect comic art and fine art.

Furthermore, the analysis reveals more details about a variety of attitudes towards the graphic narratives, the amount of depth employed in exploring and explaining the medium, the creators' oeuvre, and comic art. To a varying degree of success, the shows tried to trace the respective graphic novelist's creative process, some falling short of it due to the lack of background information. Considering the available data, none of the exhibitions took the opportunity to display or discuss the various comics workers' contributions to the graphic novel, except for *Jan van Scorel. Sede Vacante 1523 – Paul Teng Aan De Tekentafel*, which included a short video about the work of colourist Dina Kathelyn. The exhibitions about *Klee*, *Vincent*, and *Jan van Scorel. Sede Vacante 1523* all juxtaposed the respective original artworks and oeuvres of the portrayed artists with the graphic art they inspired. In contrast, *Dalí par Baudoin* and *Le Petit Dessein – Le Louvre invite la bande dessinée* were utterly detached from the respective original art of Salvador Dalí and Jacques-Louis David. Those two were by far the least ambitious in trying to showcase the process of creating the graphic narrative and the research and artistic work it entailed, despite the former being exhibited at the most comics-specialised venue of the whole country.

Often already expressed in the respective show's title, referring to the comic *artists* and their action of *drawing*, the displays favoured the *graphic* element of the comic while side-lining the narrative. *Barbara Stok Tekent Vincent Van Gogh* [Barbara Stok Draws Vincent Van Gogh] was probably the most balanced in this sense, giving equal space and emphasis to the literary and visual part of Stok's creative work. At the same time, the display on Badoux's *Klee* included a complex timeline narrativising the exhibition and the graphic novel. In contrast, *Le Petit Dessein – Le Louvre invite la bande dessinée* [The Small Design – The Louvre Invites the Comic] and *Jan Van Scorel. Sede Vacante 1523. Paul Teng Aan De Tekentafel* [Jan van Scorel. Sede Vacante 1523. Paul Teng on the Drawing Table] hardly mentioned the respective co-writers Jean-Claude Carriére and Jan Paul Schutten.

Fig. 6.1: Théodore Géricault, *Le Radeau de la Méduse* [The Raft of the Medusa] (1818-1819), Oil on Canvas (491.0 x 716.0 cm), Musée du Louvre.

Fig. 6.2a: Christophe Badoux, redrawn and enlarged pages from *Klee* (2008), Sammlung Rosengart during *Fumetto 2008*, in Sieber 2008.
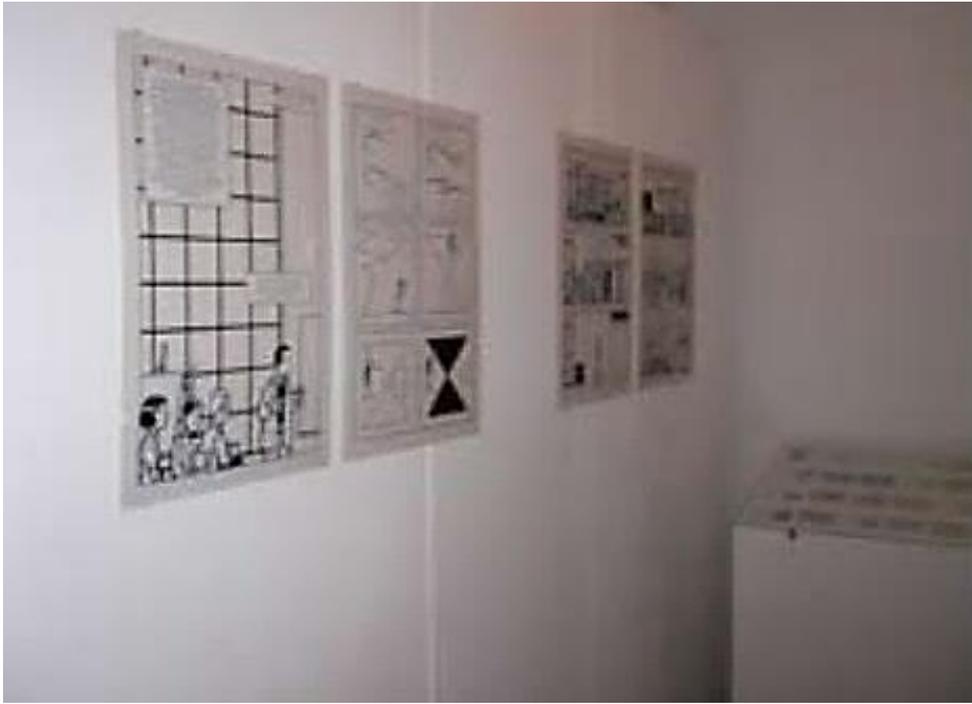
Fig. 6.2b: Christophe Badoux, redrawn and enlarged pages from *Klee* (2008), Sammlung Rosengart during *Fumetto 2008*, in Sieber 2008.
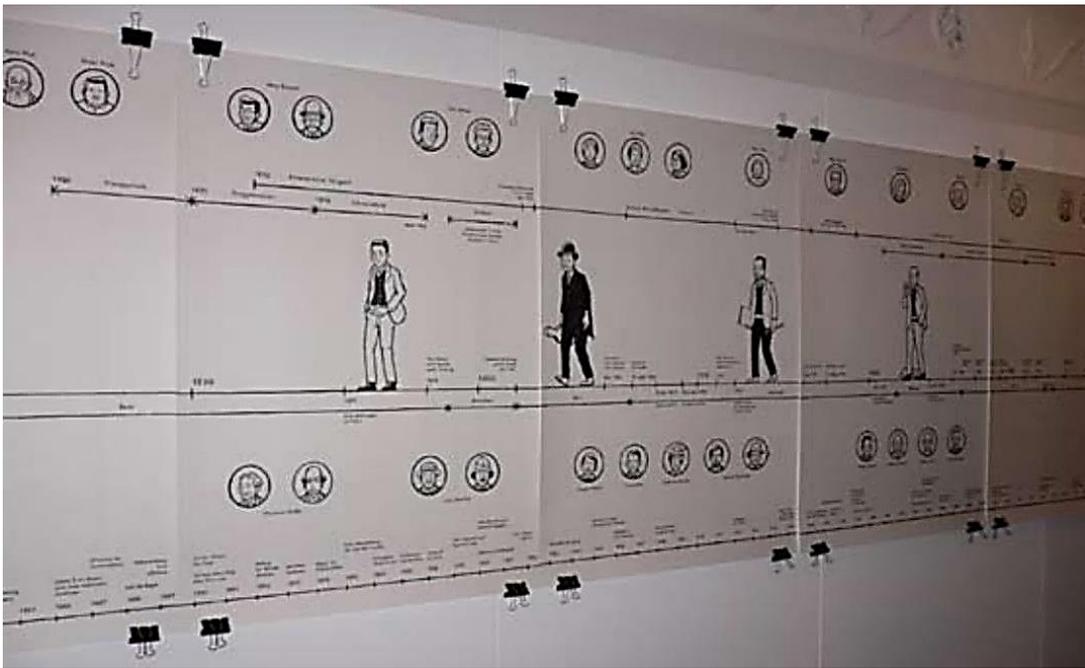
Fig. 6.3: Christophe Badoux, Illustrated timeline of Paul Klee's life (2008), Sammlung Rosengart during *Fumetto 2008*, in Sieber 2008.

Fig. 6.3: *Barbara Stok Tekent Vincent Van Gogh* (2012) at Almere Library, showing informational easels, available at URL: http://www.joosthalbertsma.nl/design.html (accessed 21/08/2019) © Joost Halbertsma

Fig. 6.4a: *Barbara Stok Tekent Vincent Van Gogh* (2012) at Almere Library, showing a recreation of Vincent van Gogh's studio, available at URL: http://www.joosthalbertsma.nl/design.html (accessed 21/08/2019) © Joost Halbertsma

Fig. 6.4b: *Barbara Stok Tekent Vincent Van Gogh* (2012) at Almere Library, showing a facsimile of a letter on the desk in Vincent van Gogh's studio, available at URL: http://www.joosthalbertsma.nl /design.html (accessed 21/08/2019) © Joost Halbertsma
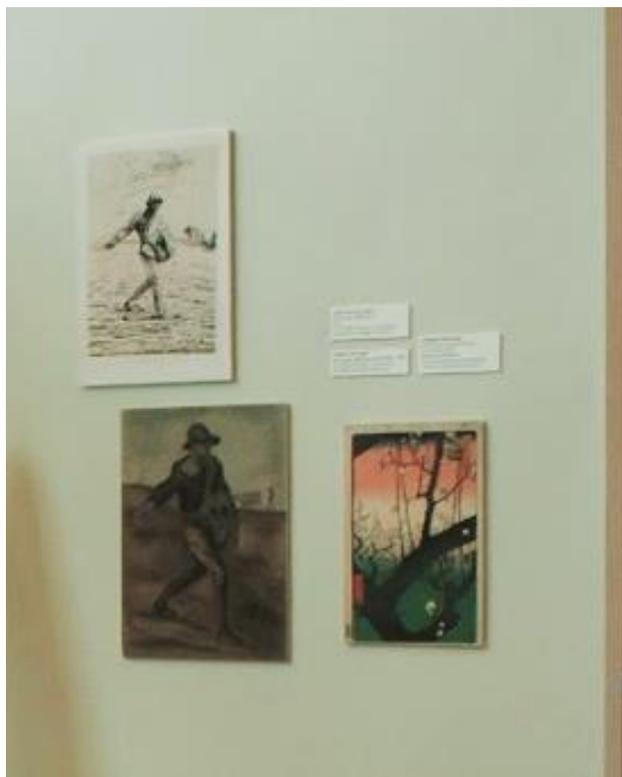
Fig. 6.4c: *Barbara Stok Tekent Vincent Van Gogh* (2012) at Almere Library, showing Vincent van Gogh's studio wall with inspirational material, detail, available at URL: http://www.joosthalbertsma.nl /design.html (accessed 21/08/2019) © Joost Halbertsma

Fig. 6.5a: *Barbara Stok Tekent Vincent Van Gogh* (2012) at Almere Library, showing a recreation of Barbara Stok's studio, available at URL: http://www.joosthalbertsma.nl/design.html (accessed 21/08/2019) © Joost Halbertsma

Fig. 6.5b: *Barbara Stok Tekent Vincent Van Gogh* (2012) at Almere Library, showing the desk in Barbara Stok's studio, available at URL: http://www.joosthalbertsma.nl/design.html (accessed 21/08/2019) © Joost Halbertsma

Fig. 6.5c: *Barbara Stok Tekent Vincent Van Gogh* (2012) at Almere Library, Barbara Stok's studio wall with research material, detail, available at URL: http://www.joosthalbertsma.nl/design.html (accessed 21/08/2019) © Joost Halbertsma

Fig. 6.5d: *Barbara Stok Tekent Vincent Van Gogh* (2012) at Almere Library, Barbara Stok's studio wall with research material, detail, available at URL: http://www.joosthalbertsma.nl/design.html (accessed 21/08/2019) © Joost Halbertsma
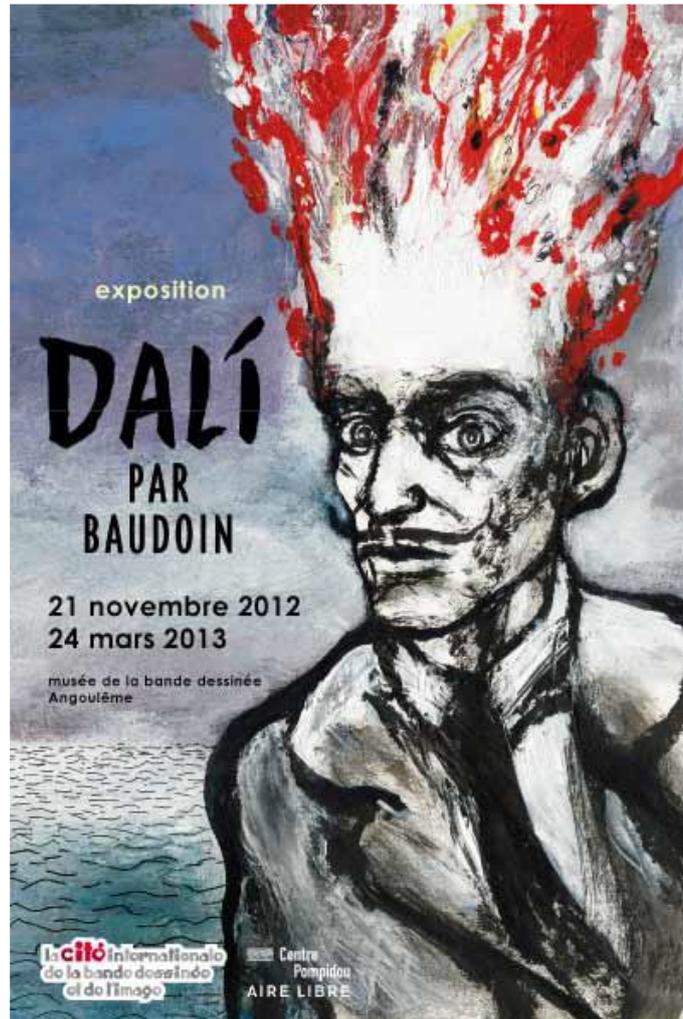
Fig. 6.6: Edmond Baudoin, Exhibition Poster of *Dalí par Baudoin* (2012) showing the corporate idetities of La Cité Internationale de la Bande Dessinée et de l'image, and the Centre Pompidou.

Fig. 6.7: *Dalí par Baudoin* (2012) an impression of the exhibition space at Musée de la Bande Dessinée, available at URL: https://pascallaumonier.wordpress.com/portfolio/187/< (accessed 27/08/2019). © Pascal Laumonier
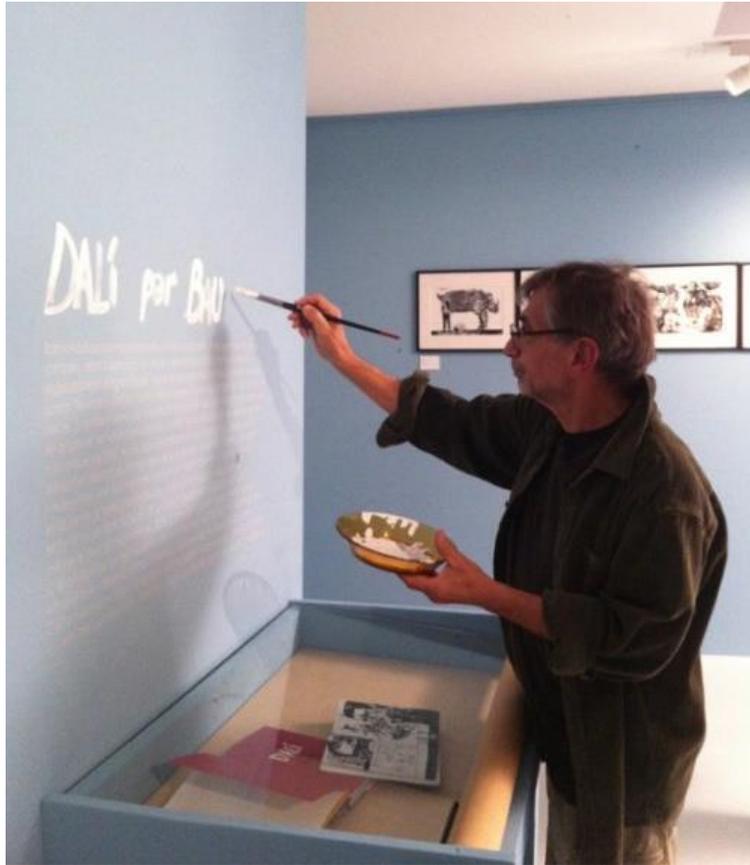
Fig. 6.8: Edmond Baudoin in front of the showcase containing his notebook for Dalí (2012) and putting finishing touches to the only walltext at the Vernissage of *Dalí par Baudoin* (2012) at Musée de la Bande Dessinée, available at URL: http://www.citebd.org/spip.php?page=imprimir_articulo&id_article=4314 (accessed 27/08/2019). © La Cité Internationale de la Bande Dessinée et de l'image

Fig. 6.9: *Jan Van Scorel. Sede Vacante 1523. Paul Teng Aan De Tekentafel* (2013) at the Centraal Museum Utrecht, impression of the exhibition space, available at URL: https://www.devrijervandongen.nl /centraal-museum-jan-van-scorel (accessed 17/05/2019). © DeVrierVanDongen

Fig. 6.10: *Jan Van Scorel. Sede Vacante 1523. Paul Teng Aan De Tekentafel* (2013) at the Centraal Museum Utrecht, drawing tables with background information, available at URL: https://www.devrijervandongen.nl/centraal-museum-jan-van-scorel (accessed 17/05/2019). © DeVrierVanDongen

Fig. 6.11: *Jan Van Scorel. Sede Vacante 1523. Paul Teng Aan De Tekentafel* at the Centraal Museum Utrecht, showing the step by step creation of a comics © Jan Paul Schutten, available at URL: http://janpauls.blogspot.com/2013/10/jan-van-scorel-sede-vacante-1523.html (accessed 21/08/2019).

Fig. 6.12: *Jan Van Scorel. Sede Vacante 1523. Paul Teng Aan De Tekentafel* (2013) at the Centraal Museum Utrecht, Bank Giro Lottery Lounge providing a space to read the graphic narrative, available at URL: https://www.devrijervandongen.nl/centraal-museum-jan-van-scorel (accessed 17/05/2019). © DeVrierVanDongen

Fig. 6.13: Nicolas de Crécy, Marc-Antoine Mathieu, Éric Liberge and Bernar Yslaire, Exhibition poster for *Le Petit Dessein – Le Louvre invite la bande dessinée* (2009) at Musée du Louvre, showing a design unrelated to the exhibited graphic narratives.

Fig. 6.14: Dark basement-exhibition space of *Le Petit Dessein – Le Louvre invite la bande dessinée* at Musée du Louvre, available at URL : https://www.actuabd.com/La-BD-entre-au-Louvre-par-la-petite-porte (accessed 07/08/2019). © ActuaBD

Fig. 6.15a: Dark basement-exhibition space of *Le Petit Dessein – Le Louvre invite la bande dessinée* at *Festival international de la bande dessinée d'Angoulême* (2010), available at URL: http://blogphoto.angouleme.fr/spip.php?article64 (accessed 27/11/2020). © P. Blanchier

Fig. 6.15b.: Dark basement-exhibition space of マンガ・ミーツ・ルーヴル——美術館に迷い込んだ *5 人の作家たち*/*La bande dessinée revisite le Louvre: 5 auteurs s'emparent du musée* (2010) at Kyoto International Manga Museum, available at URL: http://imrc.jp/exhivision/2010/11/5.html# (accessed 30/08/2019). © Kyoto Seika University International Manga Research Center

Chapter 7 – Comics and Public Relations

As already discussed in Chapters 5 and 6, the respective art museums have co-commissioned graphic novels to promote the institution and its collection to new audiences, associated with the comics medium: teenagers and young adults, including the individual artist's fan community. Hoping for a reciprocal effect, the publishers wished that in rubbing shoulders with famous art institutions, some of a museum's cultural legitimacy and brand will help introduce the comics medium to what they perceived as traditional museum audiences, unfamiliar with comics. In addition to engaging with new visitors and buyers, the commissioners also used those graphic novels for public relations purposes.

This chapter is divided into three main sections. First, it briefly retraces the history of promotional, advertising, and public relations comics since the 1930s. Subsequently, it explores the role of the book shop in a museum and the importance of books as products, arguing the advantages and disadvantages of a graphic novel as a museum publication and its effect on the museum's public relations.

Finally, a specific case of graphic novels being used as part of a nationwide promotional, public relations, and social engagement campaign is introduced and discussed. A comics-funding network in the Netherlands, far exceeding the boundaries of a single museum or publisher, and which this thesis, therefore, titles the 'Dutch Comics Network,' allowed *Vincent* (2012), *Rembrandt* (2013) and *Jan van Scorel. Sede Vacante 1523* (2015) to be produced, published, and marketed nationally and internationally. At the same time, those publications also answered the government's calls to define and foster a Dutch (cultural) identity and innovate the national cultural industries and art, thus promoting a Dutch cultural brand.

7.1. Comics as Promotion, Advertisement & Public Relations Tools

Already the magazines of the First Boom (1942-1949) regularly featured advertisements in comic-form, promoting a wide range of products, from books about personal fitness and possible careers, bicycle brands and respective tyres, skincare, and breakfast cereals, to merchandise, cough drops, and of course sweets.[831] Such stories varied in length—from single-panel cartoons and short strips to full page-narratives—and genre, including superheroes, well-known athletes and previously unknown young heroes. A significant number of such comics were suggesting ways to be more popular, very obviously aiming at adolescents' insecurities. As early as 1947 and 1950, Captain Marvel promotional give-away

---

[831] Gabillet (2010, pp.134-138) provides a useful overview of the advertising practices in the US comics industry between the 1930s and the 1970s.

comics books were used by Wheaties (Fig. 7.1) and the Electric Bond and Share Company (Ebasco) (Fig. 7.2), promoting awareness of the dangers of electricity and safe driving. Interestingly, the Catholic magazine *Treasure Chest of Fun & Fact* seems to have been the only one not advertising.

However, Ian Horton points out that already in 1932, *Comic Weekly* sold advertising space, usually in strip form and mirroring a typical sales talk, worth more than $ 1,000,000 annually.[832] In 1933, *Funnies on Parade* was published, comprised of reprints of popular Sunday Funnies comic strips.[833] However, this very first modern comic book, as it is often described, was a free premium for customers of Proctor and Gamble (P&G), which soon commissioned a reprint due to the high demand, popularity and success in raising brand awareness and creating brand loyalty.[834] Maxwell Charles Gaines and Harry I. Wildenberg, at the Eastern Color Printing Company, started to print the eight-page comic strip booklets during shifts with spare capacity, selling the idea to various companies for their respective promotional and public relations campaigns.[835] The usual print run was 100,000 to 250,000 but did on occasion reach 1,000,000 copies.[836]

In 1934, Eastern Color released *Famous Funnies No.1*—selling (out) for the price of $ 0.10 at the newsstands and running successfully for 218 issues until 1955.[837] Despite the modern comic book industry's origins in the promotion and public relations field, the medium was long associated with entertainment. The re-branding of comic books as graphic novels in the late 1980s led to a new popular and academic interest in the medium. Nonetheless, a long under-represented genre-cluster has consisted of promotional and advertising, public relations, and instructional comics.

Few scholars have engaged with this particular type of comics, with the earliest being Will Eisner. On the one hand, he created an enormous oeuvre of instructional comics and founded The American Visual Corporation, producing many educational and instructional comic books.[838] On the other hand, he also made theoretical contributions to the field.

---

[832] Horton 2018, p.35.

[833] Sabin 2002, p.140.

[834] Ibid.; Duncan, Smith & Levitz 2015, p.13; Horton 2018, p.36.

[835] Duncan, Smith & Levitz 2015, pp.13-14; Hajdu 2008, p.21; Davidson 2005, p.340; Companies such as Gulf Oil, Kinney Shoes, Milk-O-Malt, John Wanamaker, Wheatena, Canada Dry and Phillips' Dental Magnesia commissioned comic books for promotional and public relation purposes.

[836] Horton 2018, p.36.

[837] Duncan, Smith & Levitz 2015, pp.14-15.

[838] For the U.S. Army, Eisner created *PS-The Preventive Maintenance Monthly* (1951-1972), and for the U.S. Department of Labor *How to Use The System To Make It!* (1967), *Learn Baby, Learn* (1967), *The Man For Me??* (1967), *The Power Is Green, Baby!* (1967), *Your Hired* (1969) and *The Job Scene* series (1967), Michigan State University Library Special Comics Collection Online Catalogue (available at URL: http://comics.lib.msu.edu/rri/erri/eisner.htm, accessed 14/10/2019); Eisner 2008a, pp.151-155; Horton 2018, pp.36-37.

Admitting to overlaps, he distinguishes between entertainment and instruction, subdivided into technical and behavioural or attitudinal comics, as applications for sequential art.[839]

Sol M. Davidson 'propose[s] the term impact comic for that describes their intent and, in large measure, their success.'[840] Ranging from the early 1940s to the mid-2000s, he lists thirty-eight examples of objectives he identified in such impact comics, as well as comics series and one-shots comics he regards as 'most notable, impactful, or unique special purpose comics.'[841] He admits his ranking—and presumably his comparisons too—is merely his own opinion and not based on any sort of specific method, yet not indicating the parameters, making it a rather eclectic expression of personal taste.[842]

Recently, Ian Horton examined public relations comics, providing a helpful historical overview of the aforementioned genre-cluster. Agreeing that Davidson's term of impact comics has its value, he prefers to distinguish between advertising, promotional and public relations comics.[843] Horton argues that '[t]here is a considerable difference between creating a comic book to directly advertise or promote a product and one that wants to raise awareness of a conviction.'[844] He shows that British Boys magazine between the 1960s and the 1990s regularly featured full-page comic strips for advertisement, promotion and public relations purposes.[845] Horton argues that, in the late 1970s, DC Comics started to exploit their prominent superheroes for advertising, promotional and public relations purposes after it had become a subsidiary of Warner Communications (Fig. 7.3).[846] However, as mentioned above, full-page comic narratives, the licensing of popular characters and the purpose-creation of sidekicks for promotion and public relations purposes could already be found in the US magazines of the 1940s. Thus, the habit probably came to European and UK magazines together with the American comic books.

There is a *possible* early example of an art museum using the comics medium as part of a promotional campaign. Davidson notes the University of Arizona Museum of Art featured a solo-exhibition of cartoonist George Herriman's *Krazy Kat* comic strips in 1972.[847] It produced a twenty-four-page black-and-white exhibition catalogue, featuring the artist's 'illustrations and strips on almost every page' to promote the show.[848] Usually,

---

[839] Eisner 2008a, pp.147-148, 151-155.
[840] Davidson 2005, p.340.
[841] Ibid., pp.341-355.
[842] Ibid., p.343.
[843] Horton 2018.
[844] Ibid., p.34.
[845] Ibid.
[846] Horton 2018, pp.40.
[847] Davidson 2005, p.351.
[848] Ibid.

exhibition catalogues are not promotional material but rather accompanying tie-in products for sale, created with an almost exclusive economic purpose in mind. Through further research, the existence, as well as some details of the exhibition catalogue of *Krazy Kat (5 November–3 December 1972)*, have been confirmed: a page-count of twenty (presumably without the covers), the format of 18 x 26 cm, and the inclusion of the essay "George Herriman and Krazy Kat" by curator Robert M. Quinn in the publication.[849] As the only copies are held at three US libraries, a copy of the catalogue could not yet be examined for this study. Therefore, Davidson's claim of its *promotional* character could neither be verified nor falsified.

7.2. The Museum, Its Book Shop, and Its Graphic Novel

The role of the shop within the museum

To compensate for the squeeze in public funding, a growing number of art museums are offering opportunities to eat, drink and shop, cafes and bookstores are no longer an uncommon sight. The museum world has transformed into a museum industry, and shops have become a standard feature of most (art) museums, selling various books, ranging from guidebooks and catalogues to children's books, academic publications and recently also graphic novels. On the one hand, such stores help to provide a valuable source of income to their institutions. On the other hand, parts of the community perceive them as a threat to the very same institutions and their core mission. Such critics fear economic considerations might outweigh curatorial and educational ones, as discussed below.

Indeed, Museums have engaged in retail activities much earlier than commonly thought. Postcards and reproductions were made available to students and craftsmen by many museums already in the late nineteenth century, and the Metropolitan Museum of Art (MET) in New York offered a mail-order service back in 1908.[850] However, while the museum shop industry's core idea—cross-funding educational museum programmes with shop revenues—has hardly changed, the number and sizes of museum stores have increased significantly—with several major museums opening off-site shopping venues. Also, the shop's role in the visitors' holistic museum experience has been explored over the decades.

Already in 1971, David Krahel asked *Why a Museum Store?*[851] He positions the shop as a means to contribute to and strengthen the museum's educational offers in continuing its

---

849 The University of Arizona Museum of Art 1972.
850 Toepler and Dewees 2005, p.133; Toepler 2006, p.112.
851 Krahel 1971.

exhibitions, with revenues from sales helping to fund non-revenue programmes.[852] He stresses the necessity for the stock to relate to visitors' interests and the nature, programmes and purposes of the museum and its collections.[853] At the same time, warning of a too broad range and 'items that cannot really be justified as suitable for a museum to sell to its visitors.'[854] Krahel concludes that profit alone cannot and should not be the reason to maintain a museum shop.[855] Focusing first and foremost on education, a shop contributes 'honorably and professionally to the programmes and objectives of an institution' and in doing so also generates 'a modest financial surplus.'[856] Krahel's writing is echoed in the Museum Store Association guide for respective retail managers.[857]

Indeed, there is a broad consensus in the field that museums have long been under financial pressure and thus have started to emphasise private revenues and earned incomes to help close funding gaps.[858] From the beginning, this move has regularly been met with objections from the curatorial and educational museum staff, focusing their critique on the museum shop and its products. Already Krahel notices the practice of offering low-quality but high-revenue products, unrelated to the museum.[859] For several decades, the problem has prevailed:

> '[T]he impression [of a museum shop] is often of a cross between a market stall and a discount factory outlet, a lurid inferno of coloured plastic, novelty shopping bags, repackaged fudge and all the rich wonders of centuries of human civilisation reconfigured as the decoration for a mouse pad.'[860]

Nevertheless, curatorially driven products of high educational value but little customer demand, such as exhibition and collections catalogues, academic publications, and high-quality reproductions of artworks, usually do not sell as well as souvenirs and private label products 'with the objective of fulfilling the customer's need for a memento, rather than a desire for additional information or an enriching educational experience.'[861] Shop managers confirm that 'financially oriented marketing decisions are sometimes made with minimal reference to the overall mission of the museum,' as it is perceived as hindering

---

[852] Krahel 1971, p.200.

[853] Ibid., p.201.

[854] Ibid., p.202.

[855] Ibid., p.203.

[856] Ibid., pp.203-204.

[857] Museum Store Association 2015, pp.8-12.

[858] Museum Store Association 2015, p.8; Kent 2010, p.68; Toepler 2006; Toepler and Dewees 2005; Mottner and Ford 2005, pp. 829-830.

[859] Krahel 1971, p.202.

[860] Kennedy 2004, p.28.

[861] Mottner and Ford 2005, p.831.

effective retailing.[862] Some argue that the threat to a museum's core mission and operations due to its commercial activities is a real but necessary risk.[863] However, there are also indications 'that a financial marketing strategy does not impede the achievement of an altruistic, in this case educational, objective' in museum shop operations.[864]

Anxieties regarding museums' commercialisation and resulting tensions between shop staff and curators and educators have been much discussed in scholarship.[865] The friction is at least partly down to the fact that the shop management is often subcontracted—separating commercial and cultural operations—and communications between the retail and the museum departments are poor. Charles McIntrye warns the 'continuing gap between the [museum's] cultural and the commercial aspects' and 'lack of curatorial involvement in the museum shop could, in fact, result in a negative shop contribution' to a holistic museum experience.[866] Close cross-departmental cooperation and commitment to a holistic—educational and profitable—visitor experience minimises possible dangers to cultural and commercial operations.[867]

Visitors seem somewhat ambivalent about museum shops. For some, it forms a mandatory part of their museum visit, while for others, it is optional. Regardless, research suggests many museum visitors do not distinguish between educational environments, such as the exhibition and gallery, and sales-environments, such as the shop and restaurant, perceiving it all as *one* museum experience.[868] The average visitor deems the quality of such sales-environments equally—if not even more—important than the actual exhibition, spending a significant part of their time in the shop where every second visitor purchases something.[869] In fact, the shop's commercial aspects attract certain visitors, while for some individuals, it is even the primary reason to frequent the museum in the first place.[870]

Also, it has been suggested that small, related shops at the exits of individual exhibitions—a common practice in many major museums—are popular with visitors, providing them with a relaxing and regenerative experience, and prolonging their stay,

---

[862] Ibid., p.833.

[863] Kotler and Kotler 2000, p.286.

[864] Mottner and Ford 2005, pp.835.

[865] Museum Store Association 2015, p.9; Falk and Dierking 2012, pp.185-186; Kent 2010, pp.67-68; McIntyre 2010, pp.181-183; Toepler 2006, pp.99-103; Toepler and Dewees 2005; Kotler and Kotler 2000, pp.284-286.

[866] McIntyre 2010, pp.183, 192.

[867] Falk and Dierking 2012, p.264.

[868] McIntyre 2010, p.191; Falk and Dierking 2012, p.186.

[869] Falk and Dierking 2012, p.185; McIntyre 2010, pp.183-184, 194; Kotler and Kotler 2000, p.276.

[870] Kent 2010, pp.71, 74.

increasing the chances of a purchase.[871] Additionally, as a typical final stop before exiting, the shop offers opportunities to leave an overall positive impression in providing the chance to purchase suitable products. Many visitors experience a well-made museum shop as 'a potential intensification and extension of the core visit experience, not only a detached offering for gift or souvenir purchase.'[872] The personalised interaction, sensory engagement with products and their purchase help to recall, remember and relive a visit to a museum, its collections, and exhibitions—turning the shop into a place of informal learning and forming a lasting link between institution and individual.[873]

The role of the book within the museum shop

The impression of the shop as mainly selling cheap souvenirs and label products, loosely linked to the institutional mission at best and holding little to no educational value, is probably one of the main differences to Krahel's initial idea of a museum shop:

> 'First and foremost, the museum store should be an excellent bookstore. Indeed, books may be the most important product the store sells, in terms of reflecting the museum and its programs. The museum visitor should be able to find significant and representative literature in the fields emphasised by the museum.'[874]

He argues for a special ordering service for literature not in stock—within the subject field of the museum—and to focus on publications by museum staff to promote the institution's broad authority and expertise on a variety of topics, while also warning of the dangers of offering too many choices.[875] However, Tony Kent suggests that through a wide range of literature in its shop, a museum demonstrates its role as a 'knowledgeable authority' on various aspects of its respected field.[876] He argues that books are very popular with visitors, offering visual and tactile stimuli—even when just browsing them—hence constituting a complex and interactive object of purchasing, and are seen as informative.[877]

Indeed, books are a perfect product for a museum shop from an educational, academic and PR perspective. They are popular and didactic and a standard product that visitors expect, which can be adapted to different audiences and price points. Besides, affordable art books for a broad audience help the canonisation of artists and art through

[871] McIntyre 2010, p.189-190; Falk and Dierking 2012, p.188; Kent 2010, p.75; Kotler and Kotler 2000, pp.278-279.

[872] McIntyre 2010, pp.195-196.

[873] Falk and Dierking 2012, p.186; Kent 2010, pp.69, 75; McIntyre 2010, p.192.

[874] Krahel 1971, p.201.

[875] Ibid., pp.201-202.

[876] Kent 2010, p.75.

[877] Ibid., pp.72-74; Hughes Sally (2019) *Museum and Gallery Publishing: From Theory to Case Study* has been consulted but found not particular helpful for this analysis.

frequent repetition, thus familiarisation and promotion. Therefore, a book seems to lend itself naturally to balancing education and commerce in museum shops operations. In particular, museum publications allow the institution to communicate its own research to the general public and a specialised audience, thus, contributing to the museum's prestige and professional authority. This heightened publicity likely increases return visits and attracts new audiences. Importantly, if the museum is seen as an expert in its field(s), a contributor to the academic community and a beacon of the municipal and national creative industry, enhancing the respective cultural power, it betters the institution's chances of receiving public funding. However, from a commercial point of view, while 'books represent a very important line in museum stores,' when compared with other products, their typically long turnover time and lower margins but higher freight charges make them less profitable.[878]

Book purchases are often triggered by impulse, and it is thus essential to cater and satisfy the customer's specific personal interest, taste and expertise.[879] To have something for everyone, museum shops stock a range of books, appealing to and targeting different audiences not just with their price points but in containing different levels of research and specialisation. On the one end of this spectrum is children's and juvenile literature, including picture and colouring books, as well as adaptions of books about art and its history. Such products may be linked to the respective collection or exhibition at a museum to a varying degree. Historic fiction provides a similar amount of information about a museum and its collection while being more immersive due to the length of the narrative. The discussion of graphic novels in Chapter 5 has proven this point sufficiently.

The middle ground is covered by guides to an exhibition or collection, aimed at audiences without previous knowledge of the collection, the museum, or the respective display, such as tourists, providing basic and brief information and usually focusing on the highlights. More extensive and comprehensive are publications about history, art history, and topics related to the museum. In concentrating on a specific period or country, an artistic movement or group, a genre or medium, such books convey research and art-historical knowledge for lay audiences with little previous understanding but eager to learn more about a particular aspect, often featuring many pictures.

On the other end of the spectrum, specialised and higher-priced books target professional, academic, and well-informed audiences, who wish to deepen their understanding of the collection, an art historic aspect at the centre of an exhibition, or an artist. One of the most expensive publications a museum can sell is a collection catalogue,

---

[878] Museum Store Association 2015, pp. 52, 56, 67.

[879] Ibid., pp. 48, 54, 67; Falk and Dierking 2012, p.187; McIntyre 2010, p.192; Krahel 1971, p.201.

often a series of several volumes, including essays from the curators and high-resolution images of the artworks. Very similar in nature and price is the *catalogue raisonné*, a complete and annotated list of an artist's entire oeuvre. In contrast, while still containing high-quality reproductions of art as well as essays from curators and experts, exhibition catalogues are usually less costly, trying to strike the perfect balance between a coffee-table book and specialised art-historical publication. Finally, there are publications about specific artists, their lives and art—often divided in periods or phases—, occasionally overlapping with an exhibition catalogue. Naturally, the artist's biography and monograph are the two main types of publications in such cases, ranging in price and length and generally targeting more an audience of professionals and enthusiasts than the general public. Importantly, these two types of publications contribute significantly to the canonisation of artists and artworks, in creating, accepting, enshrining, and publicising such canon(s).

The case for a comic book in the museum shop

Remarkably, graphic novels occupy the entire range of museum shop books. On the one hand, they are inspired by and share elements with art-historical writings and their traditions. Particularly they show similarities to exhibition and collection catalogues as well as the artist's biographies and monographs. On the other hand, many commissioning museums and individual staff consider such graphic novels either explicitly or implicitly as juvenile literature. Both aspects are discussed extensively in the previous chapters. Several examples from the corpus focus on a particular phase in an artist's oeuvre while others are best described as historic fiction, and one publication was somewhat intended as an exhibition catalogue. Thus, a graphic novel occupies a liminal space in museum shops between a memento, a collection or exhibition catalogue, and an artist's biography or monograph. In this liminal role, the graphic novel can cover much ground, which might partly explain the occurrence of the Museum Boom.

As observed in Chapter 5, the art institutions co-commissioning graphic novels imagine the comics and the museum audiences to be two entirely separate groups with little to no shared interests and try to attract a (young) audience they associate with the comics medium.

David Mason and Conal McCarthy suggest art museums and galleries are actively deterring young visitors by making them feel they do not belong, in not catering to the groups' needs, identities, tastes and lifestyles.[880] They also propose that there is 'a dissonance between the culture of museums and the culture and identity of young people' with the two

---

[880] Mason and McCarthy 2006, pp.21-22.

contradicting and sometimes opposing each other.[881] At the same time, Andrew Pekarik, Zahava D. Doering and David A. Karns argue 'it might be possible to expand audiences over time by giving more attention to neglected types of experiences in the museum.'[882] They claim the experience a museum offers shapes its audiences in return.[883] Thus, in adapting the museum and shop experience to cater to specific audiences' interests and characteristics, the art institutions might be able to attract the very same.

Mason and McCarthy also found that if young people could decide what to exhibit in an art museum, they would opt for 'graffiti, street art, pop art, comic animation and fantasy art.'[884] Besides, the object-based presentation of collections and exhibitions, favoured by many art museums, may not always be the most effective way to tell a particular story or explore a specific topic. A different medium might prove appropriate, possibly necessary, for a specific target audience. Consequently, aiming to attract young individuals by commissioning a product relating to the museum and its mission as well as the target group's (presumed) personal interests in popular culture and a particular media format, seems a worthwhile strategy, as discussed for exhibitions in the previous chapter. A graphic narrative about a prominent artist in the collection can benefit from books being popular, offering visual and tactile stimuli, and seen as educational, as mentioned above.

The distribution of museum-commissioned graphic novels through high street bookshops and comic book shops can multiply these effects. When potential audiences come across such a book in a respective store, it might trigger an actual visit to the cultural venue. Similarly, a previously uninterested individual might change their mind after reading a graphic novel supported by an art museum. Thus, the graphic novel can also function as an introduction to individual artists, their lives and oeuvre, or the most prominent pieces of a collection.

Graphic novels occupy a liminal space in the book range speaking to various individuals. At the same time, the production and sale of graphic narratives by a museum might make a young audience feel less alienated in the institution's environment. Also, there is a possible pull-effect on previously unreached audiences through a diversified distribution system. Besides, economic considerations speak in favour of the product too. The smaller format and usually lower page count mean the comic books or graphic novel is lighter than a collection or exhibition catalogue, which reduces the typically high freight charges for books. When using images from the own collection, possible image reproduction rights can

---

[881] Ibid., pp.22-23.
[882] Pekarik, Doering and Karns 1999, pp.170-171.
[883] Ibid.
[884] Mason and McCarthy 2006, p.27.

quickly be sorted internally. Also, As Baudoin has proven with Dalí, it might not even be necessary to reproduce original artwork to make a compelling and attractive graphic novel about an individual and their creative career. If well-enough made, the comics can still achieve a (very) high educational value, primarily through the narrative and further if it includes appendices with notes, literature lists and reproductions of origins artworks. Additionally, the graphic novel's appeal to a broad audience and its low price point compared to other books will possibly decrease its turnover time.

This effect might even be significant, as, in contrast to the museum's presumption, a high-quality graphic novel does not exclusively appeal to a teenage audience but audiences of all ages and professions as well as the fanbase of the respective comic artist and writer. The specific features—style, art, narrative, layout—and the novelty impression as a museum graphic novel might trigger the impulse to buy. For supporters of the author(s), the product caters to their specific interests and taste. At the same time, they might also desire to complete their respective collection of publications by the creator(s). The artwork of a graphic novel can invite a reread, making a possible purchase a *single* investment into *multiple* reading experiences, thus convincing undecided customers to give it a try.

While a graphic novel will unlikely have a better margin than traditional label products, it might still have an above-average markup due to generally lower salaries for the industry's artist, writer, and comics workers. This situation proves once again that the museums and publishers are usually the stakeholders that economically benefit most from a graphic novel. Products associated with a good cause, such as a museum and its brand, traditionally sell better, certainly aiding the graphic novel's retail performance. Finally, a graphic novel commissioned and sold by a museum still occupies a retail niche, which is important when creating a new product.[885]

The Museum Store Association warns museums that it is not easy to produce your own product, in this case, a graphic novel, requiring a considerable amount of money, time and labour.[886] However, the benefits include a higher margin from proprietary products than items from the trade and potential royalties from licensing.[887] Even more permanent and beneficial than the possible royalties 'is the increased recognition and branding of your institution and mission.' [888] Naturally, this additional PR and branding effect will get enhanced with the respective graphic novel's foreign-language editions. A co-publishing arrangement, preferably with a specialised press, is recommended, allowing both partners to

---

[885] Museum Store Association 2015, p.64; Kotler and Kotler 2000, p.273.
[886] Museum Store Association 2015, p.61.
[887] Ibid., pp.49, 64-65.
[888] Ibid., p.65.

share the financial costs and risks and tap into each other's distribution and marketing networks.[889]

As a *new product,* the graphic novel will attract individuals eager to buy something new and '[keep] repeat customers interested and the store's image fresh.'[890] The graphic novel might already be designed as or turn into an *exhibition-related product*, relating to a permanent exhibition or collection and promoting museum and shop's holistic experience.[891] In the best case, the graphic narrative will turn out to be a *popular product*, attracting more and new audiences to the shop and the museum.[892]

While the above suggests that a graphic novel *should* be a valuable addition to any museum shop's book section economically, the research indicates that the main incentive for co-commissioning and co-publishing a graphic novel is to generate and improve PR for the respective museums.

On the one hand, it becomes clear from the typically singular occurrence of (co-) commissioning a graphic novel, indicating that museums see it as a one-off experience.[893] On the other hand, it can be deducted from the usually relative low print runs, exemplified by the figures from the corpus. Indeed, *Klee* is the only publication with a confirmed second print run.[894] It is conceivable that there were several print runs of the softcover edition of *Vincent,* or it is still in print. Regardless there is a 2015 hardcover edition. However, usually, there was just one print run.[895] Also, except for *Le Ciel au-dessus du Louvre,* with a print run of 35,000 copies, relatively small numbers of between 2,500 and 3000 copies are recorded for the entire corpus.[896] Interestingly, from those museums with an online shop, only the Rijksmuseum still sells the graphic novel *Rembrandt* (2013)—albeit only the English edition.[897] However, the publishers of *Klee* (2008) and *Vincent* (2012) continue to sell the respective graphic novels via their homepages. Consequently, while a low print run might keep such graphic novels exclusive, it does not yield high profits in the museum shops.

The graphic novels in the corpus predominantly received national news coverage and publicity as novelties in the country's museum industry, but some of them achieved important international recognition too through foreign-language editions as licensing

---

[889] Ibid., p.64.

[890] Ibid., p.133.

[891] Ibid.

[892] Ibid.

[893] See Appendix D for a full list of museums which started a graphic novel series.

[894] Basler 2017.

[895] Ibid.; Musée du Louvre 2010, p.127; Bogman 2017; van de Willige 2017; Baudoin 2017; Typex 2017.

[896] Basler 2017; Musée du Louvre 2010, p.127; Bogman 2017; van de Willige 2017.

[897] The Zentrum Paul Klee and the Centraal Museum Utrecht do not have an online shop.

products. This national and international coverage makes graphic novels indeed a perfect product for art museum shops from a PR point of view.

Additionally, as the previous chapter has already shown, a graphic novel provides an art museum with an excellent opportunity to stage a respective exhibition, which can successfully be aimed at specific audiences, if done correctly. Thus, a commission holds power to influence the perception of an art institution in the eyes of those groups targeted as well as the wider public, giving the museum a new, provocative and young image of engaging with a popular medium. All the publications of the Museum Boom have been sold through specialised comic book shops, high street bookshops as well as the respective (online) museum shops, thus, increasing the potential readership and, in doing so, the museums' audiences too. This heightened popularity can, in turn, be an essential factor in the successful securing of public and private funding for art institutions, as mentioned above.

Considering the figures of the Second Boom, and more importantly the Museum Boom, discussed in Chapter 4, it becomes evident that the graphic novel has arrived at art museums and their book shops. A revolution has occurred, for which the comics medium, and more specifically the graphic novel, has been granted the status of quality museum literature by major European art institutions. Many museums are commissioning such graphic novels, and even more are selling them, whether to attract younger audiences, give themselves a new image or merely follow the lead of others.

In this context, Beaty argues that postmodernism has allowed for the narrowing of the high/low art divide, for the re-conceptualisation of comics as 'serious artistic creation,' for 'the opening of the space of the museum to comics.'[898] However, while postmodernism may have narrowed the gap, neoliberal and capitalistic demands eventually bridged it. Thus, this research suggests that the new opening up of art museums to comic art and graphic novels has been born out of economic necessities and desires to reach a broader, more diverse and younger audience, associated with the medium, than out of the museum industry's changing perception. Commissioning and exhibiting a graphic novel is mostly seen as a viable public relations tool, available to art museums and targeting a specific (presumed) audience group, which creates and promotes a specific corporate image, to maximise visitor numbers. The opening of the museums' space to comics appears to be more of a side effect than a conscious policy.

In the case of the Dutch examples in the corpus, those public relations and promotion effects, due to the commissioning and exhibiting of a graphic novel by a major art museum,

---

[898] Beaty 2012, pp.13, 140, 147, 187.

exceeded the relatively small frame of a single museum by far, creating a social engagement effect.

7.3. The Dutch Comics Network

In the mid-2000s, a series of educational, economic and, most importantly, political situations occurred in the Netherlands that led to different campaigns, all trying to define and subsequently promote a distinct Dutch cultural identity and national brand nationally and internationally. One part of an indeed substantially larger campaign was a unique nationwide collaboration between the government, several art museums, publishers, funding bodies and comics creators. Titled the Dutch Comics Network in this thesis, it has allowed for the commissioning, production, promotion, and (inter)national distribution of several biographical graphic novels about canonical Dutch painters now part of the corpus: Barbara Stok's *Vincent* (2012), Typex's *Rembrandt* (2013), and *Jan van Scorel-Sede Vacante 1523* (2013) by Paul Teng and Jan Paul Schutten.[899] Under the guidance of Gert Jan Pos at the *Fonds Voor Beeldende Kunsten, Vormgeving En Bouwkunst* [Foundation for Visual Arts, Design and Architecture] (BKVB), the Dutch Comics Network sought and exploited new artistic as well as economic opportunities. It provided new means of funding and new markets for Dutch comics, celebrating Dutch (art) history and heritage, thus promoting the national brand. As discussed in Chapter 5, any stakeholder setting out parameters for the creators, including museums, publishers, and funding bodies, and, more importantly, taking an active editing role, should be considered part of a graphic novel's wider authorship.

What made the Dutch Comics Network so unique was the relatively high level of satisfaction among almost all stakeholders, despite having differing missions, approaches and aims. Elsewhere, the term 'comics as business card' is used by the researcher to describe this phenomenon.[900] The art museums involved were all undergoing major refurbishing and re-branding campaigns and chose to engage with the comics medium as part of this process. The publishers were trying to push into new markets, while for the funding bodies, the graphic novels had a specific promotional aim. For the creators, working for one of the leading art museums in the country with the potential of having their work introduced to a broader audience meant a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity and a possible international breakthrough. For most comic artists portraying the life of a canonical painter turned out to

---

[899] For discussion of the graphic novels, see Chapter 5.

[900] Yu-Kiener 2018, p.171 While initially coined in the specific context of Barbara Stok's graphic novel *Vincent* for the Van Goh Museum, the term can be applied to the whole of the Dutch Comics Network.

be very immersive and challenging at the same time. It comes with little surprise that for the Dutch government, the motives were mainly political and economic.

The Dutch Government

On 2 November 2004, while cycling to work in Amsterdam, the extremely controversial Dutch filmmaker Theo van Gogh, the great-great-grandnephew of canonical Dutch painter Vincent van Gogh, was brutally killed in a targeted attack. A note addressed to the Dutch MP Ayaan Hirsi Ali—the preferred target—was left pinned to his corpse with a knife.[901] The murderer, a radicalised second-generation Muslim immigrant in his mid-twenties, had wanted to die a martyr but was wounded during a shootout with the police, arrested and trialled.[902] The assassination led to protests against violence and for the freedom of speech but also triggered a nationwide series of arson and bomb attacks against Islamic schools and mosques and a few Christian churches.[903]

Ian Buruma remarks that van Gogh had been 'known less for his films than for his provocative statements' and 'a man whose deepest conviction was that freedom of speech included the freedom to insult'—or abuse—Christians, Jews and Muslims.[904] In permanent need for more attention and publicity, and claiming to follow the Dutch literary tradition of *scheldkritieken* [abusive criticism], van Gogh had wanted to be taken seriously while denying responsibility for his actions, calling himself the village idiot.[905] His last short-movie, *Submission* (2004), was a collaboration with Ali, presenting 'the stories of four [Muslim] women who, while saying their prayers, describe to God the sexual and physical abuse they have suffered at the hands of the men in their lives.'[906]

> 'Later in the eleven-minute film we see texts from the Koran projected onto the skin of several naked women, texts that point to the submission of women, submission to their fathers, brothers, husbands, and to Allah. For many Muslims, this was a deliberate provocation.'[907]

It is possible that the film had contributed to, or even triggered, the murder.

---

[901] Buruma 2007, pp.2-5, 151-155; Eyerman 2008, pp.46, 85-93, 113, Ayaab Hirsi Ali is a Somali who fled to the Netherlands as refugee, where she eventually became an MP campaigning vigorously against Islam in general and its treatment of women in particular. Her role as a former Somali Muslim, who turned down her religious and cultural heritage, made her a high-ranking target for extremist Muslims.

[902] Buruma 2007, pp.2-5; Eyerman (2008, pp.59, 73) sees the two-month period the murderer spent in prison 'crucial to his conversion to radical Islam' while also acknowledging the role of the internet in his radicalisation process.'

[903] Buruma 2007, pp.7-8; Eyerman 2008, pp.14, 16.

[904] Buruma 2007, pp.2, 35, 91.

[905] Ibid., pp.92, 97-98, 112.

[906] Simons 2004.

[907] Buruma 2007, p.176.

Van Gogh's assassination sent a shock through Dutch society with its long tradition of welcoming refugees, as '[f]or at least a number of Dutch citizens the murder [was] an example of tolerant immigration gone too far,' even more so when it emerged that the attacker held dual Dutch-Moroccan citizenship.[908]

Ron Eyerman notes that the debate on a Dutch identity has long been muted, leading to a lack of patriotic emotions and a strong collective identity—the only exception being the collective support for national sports teams.[909] According to Buruma, the lacking collective Dutch identity is no surprise, given that 'national history has been more or less wiped off the Dutch history curriculum.'[910] Similarly, Eyerman quotes a grade school principal that 'there was no standard textbook to teach Dutch history [and] that each school could more or less make their own choice.'[911] Theo van Gogh's murder had stirred and heated an ongoing discussion on issues surrounding the immigration, integration, coexistence and assimilation of (African-Muslim) foreigners into Dutch society, its modern definition and values and the meaning of Dutchness, and the search for a genuinely collective national identity.[912] The Dutch government was looking for ways to respond to this crisis of traditional Dutch multiculturalism and growing nationwide islamophobia.

Not explicitly naming van Gogh's murder but still directly referring to it as 'recent shocking events,' is the Dutch Onderwijsraad's [Education Board] *Advies. De Stand Van Educatief Nederland* [Advice. The State Of Educational Netherlands] released in January 2005.[913] According to the report, a 'debate about the cultural identity of [the Netherlands] has flared up,' being 'first and foremost about the relationship between and mixing of traditional Dutch culture and cultures of newcomers.'[914] It suggests

> '[i]n education, this aspect is reflected, among other things, in the search for ways to deal with very different (ethnic) groups of children and young people, and in increasing attention

---

[908] Eyerman 2008, pp.4, 12, Following the former colonies' independence, the first wave of immigrants from the East Indies came to the Netherlands, in the 1950s. As a 'magnet of counterculture,' Amsterdam attracted a second wave during the 1960s. All those immigrants were successfully integrated into Dutch society. However, the guest workers of the 1970s, staying in the country and their families following, and living in separate and poorer communities were more difficult to integrate. In the case of the Netherlands, those guest workers came from Turkey and Morocco, and it were mainly people from the latter countries that have since gained a bad reputation in Dutch society and politics; Buruma (2007, p.18-19) reminds us that Holland's and Amsterdam's history of taking in foreigners dates back to the late sixteenth century, giving refuge to Sephardic Jews from Antwerp, Polish and German Ashkenazim Jews as well as French Huguenots in the late seventeenth century; For a localisation of the Van Gogh murder in the Dutch debate about immigration and multiculturalism, see Eyerman 2008 and Buruma 2007.

[909] Eyerman 2008, pp.115-116.

[910] Buruma 2007, p.255.

[911] Eyerman 2008., pp.115-116.

[912] For a recent discussion on Dutch multiculturalism, see Pellenbarg and van Steen 2015, and Kurth and Glasbergen 2017.

[913] Onderwijsraad 2005, p.21.

[914] Ibid.

to issues such as social skills, citizenship and the living and working together of students with different backgrounds.'[915]

Recognising education's contribution to the youth's socialisation, the report asks whether it 'still sufficiently transfers the (intangible) cultural heritage to new generations?'[916] Notably, the report suggests a lack of a distinct national cultural identity among the youth and calls for a national cultural canon—'the whole of texts, images, artworks and historical events that is the frame of reference for a shared culture'—to help young people, and migrants particularly, to re-discover, understand and become part of a distinct Dutch cultural identity.[917] It is worth noticing that this idea of a national canon has autochthonic elements, potentially creating a mythology and ideology of origins.[918] In being compiled by Dutch writers, scholars, and pedagogues for Dutch juveniles and teachers to promote Dutch culture, history, heritage and art, aiming to create and foster feelings of national cultural pride and belonging among the readers and recipients, there are obvious parallels to Tuscan Renaissance biographies.

It was the task of the Committee for the Development of the Dutch Canon—or Van Oostrom Commission after its chair Frits van Oostrom—to draw up the Cultural Canon of the Netherlands (hereafter Dutch Canon), published in January 2007.[919] It was to be taught at all Dutch primary and secondary schools to children aged seven to fourteen.[920] Consisting of fifty crucial historic events, movements, and figures in the history of the Netherlands, titled windows, aimed to answer the question: 'What basic knowledge of Dutch history and culture should we pass on to future generations of Dutch citizens?'[921] The Dutch Canon is 'truly Dutch,' not just content-wise but because it was created in a typical Dutch bottom-up nationwide collaboration, allowing everyone to suggest aspects of history and culture to be included, and thus constituting 'collective craftsmanship'.[922] The result is a Dutch Canon, which is inclusive in its making and targeting

> 'all Dutch people, […] a story of a country we all live in … not a vehicle of national pride, but rather a canon that evokes involvement … with invitations to the cultural world, market and society … [a] canon as cultural capital with invaluable yields.'[923]

---

[915] Ibid.

[916] Ibid., p.22.

[917] Ibid.

[918] In the context of national canons, also see Dewdney, Dibosa, and Walsh 2013, pp.99-121.

[919] Frits van Oostrom in Committee for the Development of the Dutch Canon 2007, p.13, The commission worked 1 September 2005 to 1 September 2006.

[920] Ibid.

[921] Ibid., p.11.

[922] Ibid.

[923] Committee for the Development of the Dutch Canon, pp.16-17.

Very much aware of the socio-political debate that had led to the creation of the Dutch Canon, the authors repeatedly voice their criticism. They point out that '[s]uch laments about the demise of general knowledge are, of course, nothing new' as well as that 'large numbers of young people elsewhere also left secondary education with an inadequate knowledge of their own country's history.'[924] Adopting a historiographic as well as sociological view, they remark

> '[many people] see (knowledge of) the canon as a way of countering all kinds of internal and external disintegrative factors. […] Such opinions are often accompanied by the insistence that the Netherlands must learn to reassess its identity and that … it would not do any harm if Dutch people, who often tend to be contemptuous of their own culture, were to engage in more open displays of their love and pride for what this country has achieved over the centuries. In this context, the canon becomes a guiding principle.'[925]

The Van Oostrom Commission is very clear about how it perceives the Dutch Canon and its possible function in Dutch society comprised of both natives and immigrants.

> 'It is not acceptable to see the canon and a country's identity as one and the same […] The canon may perhaps mirror a country's collective memory, but never its identity […] At any rate, the fragile knowledge of the canon is a problem for all Dutch people and certainly not specifically for immigrants.'[926]

Suggesting that '[a]rguments for a canon based on identity and/or citizenship appear to be rooted mainly in concern for the current intellectual climate in the Netherlands' and arguing for a 'less defensive and more positive perception of the canon,' the authors yet agree that 'the canon can certainly contribute to citizenship.'[927]

However, the commission does not fail to warn of the potential dangers of the Dutch Canon too, admitting that, if coupled with nationalism, there is a chance it leads to 'distortion, anachronisms, narrow-mindedness and desire for annexation' and ultimately to potentially 'extensive falsification of history.'[928] There is agreement over the impossibility to create '*the* canon,' describing it as 'conceptually vulnerable, ideologically questionable and … even suspect.'[929] Maybe in an attempt to diversify the Dutch Canon and make it deeper rooted in the local communities, each of the twelve Dutch provinces has developed its own regional and many more municipal canons to compliment the national one. Recently, in June 2020, a

---

[924] Ibid., p.20.
[925] Ibid., pp.22-23.
[926] Ibid., pp.27-28.
[927] Ibid., p.28.
[928] Ibid., p.23.
[929] Ibid., pp.23-24, 27.

new updated Dutch Canon was published, now including separate and more windows about the contributions of immigrants and women to Dutch history, heritage, and identity.[930]

The last piece of the puzzle on the Dutch government's side, and directly relevant to the idea of creating and celebrating Dutch cultural, historical and social achievements and heritage, was the *Creative Value. Culture and Economy Policy Paper, 2009*.[931] There, the government acknowledges the contributions by the Dutch creative industries and arts towards the national economy, culture, society, and brand while calling for more innovation, entrepreneurship, self-organisation and new strategic partnership to maximise opportunities.

The paper claims to have identified that 'the creative industries have no overarching strategic vision and plan' and need to improve not just in the creation process but also in subsequent production and distribution. Another issue the document raises is that '[i]ncreased globalisation and the relocation of labour-intensive production has meant that many businesses in the Netherlands can no longer differentiate themselves on the basis of price alone' leading to the need to differentiate themselves as well as their products through non-material characteristics, such as symbolic value.[932] In particular, branding had become 'increasingly important in the battle for customers' favour.'[933] There, the creative industries and arts were involved in the construction and promotion of 'regional and national identities' and 'city marketing and national branding,' as 'a richer cultural environment may increase the attractiveness of places for both businesses and private individuals.'[934] The report acknowledges further that the design, creation, and advertising of brands, products and services generate economic value and contribute to a 'location's creative and cultural climate.'[935]

> '[T]he clustering of creative enterprises can make districts, cities, regions and countries more attractive to businesses and talented people seeking locations to establish themselves. Culture and the arts and cultural heritage also positively affect the general business environment and attract entrepreneurship.'[936]

The paper measures the cultural and social values of the creative and cultural industries in 'provision of cultural content – in the shape of languages of art, images, narrative, sound and form – which shapes our individual and collective identities,'

---

[930] Commissie Herijking Canon van Nederland 2020.
[931] Ministry of Economic Affairs & Ministry of Education, Culture and Science 2009.
[932] Ibid., p.19.
[933] Ibid.
[934] Ibid.
[935] Ibid., p.20.
[936] Ibid., p.23.

contributing to the quality of society and Dutch reputation.[937] In addition to direct effects, such as prosperity, employment, added value and exports, the creative and cultural field have indirect effects, such as placemaking, the solutions of social issues, including education and social cohesion, and additional spending.[938]

Nevertheless, the paper names six specific areas in which the creative and cultural industries need to improve:

1) Strategic orientation, coordination, and collaboration,

2) Awareness of potential and value of intellectual property rights,

3) Entrepreneurship, education, and research,

4) Potential for growth and internationalisation,

5) Access to capital,

6) Physical and digital infrastructure development.[939]

Concluding that 'the potential and added value of the connection between culture and the economy [are] being under-exploited, by both the creative sector themselves and other sectors of society' the Dutch government was determined to assist the national creative and cultural industries in bettering their performances.[940] In the case of state-subsidised institutions, such as museums, this meant becoming 'subject to new norms of self-generated income,' a scheme that would match such income with subsidies, aimed 'to encourage cultural institutions to develop their entrepreneurship.'[941] To achieve higher international recognition of the national brand and products, the government allocated an annual budget of € 2,500,000 to the 'Holland Branding' initiative, 'allow[ing] for the broad exploitation of creativity in Dutch society and develop[ing] the involvement of the creative industries in economic policy.'[942]

The Funding Bodies

In May 2009, the state-funded *Fonds Voor Beeldende Kunsten, Vormgeving En Bouwkunst* [Foundation for Visual Arts, Design and Architecture] (BKVB) appointed the Dutch (comic) journalist and photographer Gert Jan Pos as *stripintendant*.[943] A role he

---

[937] Ibid.

[938] Ibid., pp.20, 23.

[939] Ibid., p.26.

[940] Ibid., pp.37-53.

[941] Ibid., p.42.

[942] Ibid., p.45.

[943] Pos 2017

describes as 'promotor of Dutch comics, in the Netherlands and internationally.'[944] Based on an assessment of the Dutch comics scene before the appointment, the BKVB claims the Dutch comic scene had been lagging behind neighbouring countries in being not investigative enough.[945] However, Gert Jan Pos argues that Dutch comics are exciting and innovative and could effortlessly compete internationally were they better known abroad.[946] Thus, the Dutch comics scene has essentially been lacking visibility and self-confidence.[947] To gain those Dutch comics would need exciting projects that put comic creators in touch with individuals working in other media, such as designers, filmmakers, painters, and graffiti artists, inspiring each other.[948] Gert Jan Pos was hired for two-and-a-half years and provided a total budget of € 250,000 to oversee the implementation of a respective programme.[949] It included, in addition to offering funding, the setting-up of an annual comics prize, the reinforcement of the international image, appearance, recognition and acceptance of Dutch comics as well as the solidification of existing organisations, events and festivals, and the encouraging of an investigative attitude of as well as collaborations between comic artists and the art world.[950] Due to its extent and an ultimate budget of more than € 800,000, more than tripling the initially provided sum, this thesis characterises Gert Jan Pos' work for the BKVB 2009-2011 as a Dutch Comics Campaign.

Due to this thesis's limitation, the research focuses on one specific element of this more extensive campaign that allowed the Dutch examples of the corpus to be commissioned, funded, promoted, published and distributed. As discussed in Chapter 5, in all the cases, Gert Jan Pos approached the museums already knowing that they were looking for ways to promote themselves.[951] He initiated the very first Dutch graphic novel on a canonical painter: Barbara Stok's *Vincent* (2012). Knowing Stok before and liking her work, he personally recommended her to the Van Gogh Museum. Similarly, in the case of Typex's *Rembrandt* (2013), Gert Jan Pos scripted the first chapters, depicting several of Rembrandt van Rijn's most famous artworks, such as *The Night Watch*, convincing the Rijksmuseum of the project. Subsequently, he successfully pitched the illustrator to the museum, curating a small exhibition of seven of Typex's latest large-scale black-and-white charcoal drawings, providing the decision-makers with some visuals.[952] In both cases, the respective museums'

---

[944] Ibid.

[945] Fonds voor beeldende kunsten, vormgeving en bouwkunst 2010, p.40.

[946] Ibid.

[947] Ibid.

[948] Ibid.

[949] Ibid., pp.40-41.

[950] Ibid.

[951] Pos 2017.

[952] Fonds voor beeldende kunsten, vormgeving en bouwkunst 2011, p.94; Typex 2017.

directors were present at the book launch, publicly expressing their appreciation for the final product. Additionally, Gert Jan Pos advised the Centraal Museum Utrecht on their historic fiction graphic novel inspired by a brief period in the life of Jan van Scorel, organising the pitch suggesting three to four comic artists. The museum then chose Paul Teng, who brought in Jan Paul Schutten as the co-writer.

In addition to matching the respective museums, comic artists and stories, fostering and initiating commissions, a vital part of the *stripintendant*'s work was to provide funding for graphic novels. Each publication received € 35,000 to € 40,000 from the BKVB, usually roughly half of the overall costs, leaving the second half to be covered by the museums and publishers.[953] Gert Jan Pos had a straightforward approach towards his role:

Firstly, the large number of at least four biographical graphic novels on canonical painters co-published by major Dutch art institutions resulted possibly from Pos's personal opinion:

> 'If you are talking about [Dutch] cultural heritage, what we [the Netherlands] can be most proud of are [our] painters! We don't have musicians; we don't have writers; we don't have ballet dancers, image-makers are our main talents! […] Really, something you [as a Dutch] can be proud of and show to the world, that's our painters.'[954]

Consequently, Gert Jan Pos approached institutions closely connected with a respective painter due to a (strong) focus in their collections. He considered it crucial to receive the museum's blessing for their graphic novel, as the art institution's brand would aid the research for and the promotion of the final product.[955] Gert Jan Pos left most of the promotional work to the other stakeholders. Nevertheless, he took creators to conventions and meetings, raising awareness for Dutch comics in general.[956]

Secondly, Gert Jan Pos followed a strategic approach, in targeting not so much a specific audience but particular places of distribution, not just on the small Dutch market but well beyond: 'Dutch painters are an attractive topic, so [graphic novels about Dutch painters] have a bigger chance to be picked up by foreign readerships.'[957] His main aim was to explore new avenues of dissemination for graphic novels, going beyond the traditional comic book shop. He explains that while there might be forty to fifty comic book shops in the Netherlands, one could find a book shop in every town.[958] Hence, he was targeting

---

[953] Pos 2017.
[954] Ibid.
[955] Ibid.
[956] Pos 2017.
[957] Ibid.
[958] Ibid.

(international) high street book shops and museum shops—yet another reason for collaborating with art institutions—to open their doors for future publications, possibly by the same creators but really to permanently change the general perception of the comics medium.[959] Thus, similar to Erin La Cour, who advocates the idea to see comics as independent art Gert Jan Pos promotes graphic novels as unique literature.[960] Both want the medium to be assessed independently from established parameters set by the museums and the art world. The *stripintendant* feels that the period of two-and-a-half years was 'too short to [have an] impact on' or affect how (Dutch) comics are perceived in the Netherlands.[961] In 2011, the BKVB was merged with Mondriaan Fonds, and Pos' role was discontinued, following snap elections and a new government in the Netherlands.[962] *Mondriaan Fonds* took over the projects from BKVB, which were only to be published in the following years.

A key element in Gert Jan Pos' international approach was the creation, promotion and distribution of foreign editions of the respective Dutch graphic novels. It was here that another stakeholder in the Dutch Comics Network made a critical appearance and had a contribution, the *Nederlands Letterenfonds* [Dutch Foundation for Literature]. The government-funded organisation provides various grants for the translation of Dutch literature into other languages and the subsequent promotion of such editions.[963] However, for a foreign publisher to be eligible for a translation grant, the original piece of literature 'must have been published by a recognised Dutch or Flemish publishing house' and the foreign publisher must 'ensure good distribution and promotion.'[964] 'For illustrated children's literature and graphic novels of exceptional quality, and poetry, an additional subsidy may be granted. The maximum for poetry is € 1,400 and for illustrated literature € 2,800,' the grant can then be used to cover part of the production costs.[965]

Barbara den Ouden, responsible for translation grants for fiction at the *Nederlands Letterenfonds*, confirms the status of the comic artist, as well as the reception in the Netherlands, are also determining factors for graphic novels when granting a translation subsidy.[966] However, the involved museums are not.[967] When applying for a travel grant of up to € 3,000, it is immanent that 'the author will give a reading or workshop, or take part in

---

[959] Ibid.

[960] La Cour 2019.

[961] Pos 2017.

[962] Ibid.

[963] Nederlands Letternfonds 2016.

[964] Nederlands Letternfonds (available at URL: http://www.letterenfonds.nl/en/translation-subsidy, accessed 18/02/2020).

[965] Nederlands Letternfonds, 2016.

[966] Den Ouden 2018.

[967] Ibid.

other activities that require his or her presence […] the activities concerned must be public in nature, taking place on stage or at festivals.'[968] Den Ouden could not provide exact figures for any of the foreign-language editions of the respective Dutch graphic novels but states the average grant per book is € 1,500.[969]

The Museums

Other essential stakeholders in the commissioning, funding, editing and publishing of graphic narratives about canonical Dutch painters as part of the Dutch Comics Network were the respective art institutions. For all the museums, the decision to support creating a graphic novel formed but one small piece in a much larger campaign. The Van Gogh Museum, the Rijksmuseum and the Centraal Museum Utrecht, were undergoing major re-branding initiatives, which can be a necessary means to achieve more awareness from potential funders and visitors for an art institution.[970] The three museums were trying to speak to a particular younger audience they associated with the comics medium.

In the case of the Van Gogh Museum, Stok's *Vincent* (2012) was but one of many different tools it employed to realise its plan to re-invent and re-position itself in the twenty-first century on various levels, about which the researcher has written elsewhere.[971] Between 2010 and 2015, the museum renewed its entire physical structure, including a new entrance building, offering more retail and service space and even closing for a brief period in 2012.[972] Also, it has adopted its new and current corporate identity (Fig. 7.4).[973] Introducing a new online presence, in 2014, a new website was launched, holding the 'entire collection [… of] 201 paintings, 437 drawings and 31 prints' and aiming to open the world of van Gogh to 'millions of van Gogh fans' worldwide.[974] Finally, the outreach and education programmes have been updated, including the *Meet Vincent Van Gogh Experience*, a travelling,

---

[968] Nederlands Letterenfonds (available at URL: http://www.letterenfonds.nl/en/travel-costs, accessed 18/02/2020).

[969] Den Ouden 2018.

[970] Lord and Blankenberg (2015, p.11-12) argue that museums have adopted an experience-focused approach in their operations and therefore require branding; French and Runyard (2011, p.78-79) state a number of possible reasons for re-branding of a museum, 'cuts in funding and the need to maintain and raise awareness with political as well as private funders' is mention second in the list, only preceded by 'a decline in visitor numbers – a need to target new audiences.'

[971] Yu-Kiener 2018.

[972] Van Gogh Museum (available at URL: http://jaarverslag2013.vangoghmuseum.nl/en#796/event/museum-ready-refitting; URL: http://jaar verslag2015.vangoghmuseum.nl/en#1866/event/spectacular-opening-new-glass-entrance-building, all accessed 23/02/2018).

[973] Van Gogh Museum (available at URL: http://jaarverslag2011.vangoghmuseum.nl/en/event/van-gogh-museum%E2%80%99s-new-corporate-identity, accessed 23/02/2018).

[974] Van Gogh Museum (available at URL: http://jaarverslag2014.vangoghmuseum.nl/en#1470/event/launch-new-website-focus-stories, accessed 23/02/2018).

interactive, multimedia 3D installation 'provid[ing] an innovative way to reach new target groups.'[975]

Similarly, the Centraal Museum Utrecht was undergoing major re-developments of its internal and external structure when it commissioned Teng (and subsequently Schutten) with *Jan van Scorel. Sede Vacante 1523*.[976] In October 2011, the museum adopted its new corporate identity (Fig. 7.5), the design by agency Lesley Moore even won the Dutch Design Award 2012 in the category of Best Graphic Design.[977] The museum also launched a new website, allowing its complete collection to be seen online.[978] In January 2013, the Centraal Museum Utrecht became independent from the municipal government, signing sponsorship agreements with Rabobank Utrecht and BankGiroLotterij the same year.[979] Also in 2013, the graphic novel was published, and an accompanying exhibition hosted. The re-positioning phase ended with the opening of the new Nijntje Museum, the former working place of the creator of the famous and successful *Miffy* picture book character and franchise, as part of the new and extended museum space in 2016, following a three-year renovation.[980]

Also opening after a renovation period, of in this case a rather long ten-year period, and designed by Cruz y Ortiz Architects, was the Rijksmuseum. In a weekend-long festival (13-14 April 2013), the Dutch Queen Beatrix re-opened the museum. It was precisely in time for this massive celebration that Typex's *Rembrandt* was ready for publication too. Already in 2012, the museum had revealed its new corporate identity (Fig. 7.6) by designer Irma Boom and typographic designer Paul van der Laan from Bold Monday, who contributed nine specific fonts, replacing a more than three decades old predecessor.[981] The logo-design renewed use of the typical Dutch IJ-digraph

'found in many examples of Dutch lettering up until the second half of the 20th century, but it has since slowly disappeared […] By reintroducing the use of this glyph, the Rijksmuseum

[975] Van Gogh Museum (available at URL: URL: http://jaarverslag2012.vangoghmuseum.nl/en/event/van-gogh-mile; URL: http://jaarverslag2014.vangoghmuseum.nl/en#1395/node/1395; URL: http://jaarverslag 2014.vangoghmuseum.nl/en#1353/node/1353; URL: http://jaarverslag2015.vangoghmuseum.nl/en#1780/ event/feeling-van-gogh, all accessed 23/02/2018); 2017a, pp.85-87; 2017b, p.5.

[976] Centraal Museum Utrecht 2012b.

[977] Centraal Museum Utrecht 2011a; 2012c; Lesley Moore (available at URL: https://www.lesley-moore.nl/eng/projects/centraal-museum/ (accessed 11/11/2020); Howarth 2012.

[978] Centraal Museum Utrecht 2011b.

[979] Centraal Museum Utrecht 2012a; 2013b; c.

[980] Centraal Museum Utrecht (available at URL: https://www.centraalmuseum.nl/over/over-het-museum/, accessed 29/01/2018; URL: https://www.centraalmuseum.nl/en/about-the-museum/organisation/the-museum/ history-of-the-centraal-museum, accessed 18/02/2020).

[981] Rijksmuseum 2012; Bold Monday (available at URL: https://boldmonday.com/custom/rijksmuseum/, accessed 20/02/2020).

strengthens its Dutch character, and at the same time, preserves a small but unique part of Dutch typographic history.'[982]

All museums were responding to the Dutch Canon and the Dutch government's policy paper in their decision to commission a biographical graphic novel about a canonical Dutch painter. Vincent van Gogh, Rembrandt van Rijn and (admittedly more locally) Jan van Scorel, Pope Adrian VI and the iconoclasm, and their times feature prominently in the Dutch Canon, works by the first two artists were even on its cover (Fig. 7.7). When looking at the critique the government had voiced about the creative industries and arts sector, the museums improved on all six aspects: 1) Strategic orientation, coordination and collaboration, 2) awareness of potential and value of intellectual property rights, 3) entrepreneurship, education and research, 4) potential for growth and internationalisation, 5) access to capital, and 6) physical and digital infrastructure development.[983]

As part of a city, region, and nation, an art institutions hold considerable soft power, contribute to their brands and identities as well as *Holland Branding*.[984] On the one hand, a museum provides the district and city with a landmark building that often functions as a place maker and anchor institution, guarantees and increases employment and tourism, and real estate value.[985] On the other hand, through the loaning of collections and exhibitions and exchange for professional training, a museum is a crucial player in international relations and cultural diplomacy.[986] Finally, it signifies the pride and distinctiveness of a city and nation and thus empowers them.[987]

The Publishers

Unfortunately, out of three publishers of interest in this context, only one, Lecturis, which released *Jan van Scorel. Sede Vacante 1523*, has agreed to answer a brief questionnaire. For the other two, the information regarding the publisher has come from the other stakeholders as well as the company's online appearance. Like the other parties forming the Dutch Comic Network, the publishers responded to the Dutch government's call

---

[982] Bold Monday (available at URL: https://boldmonday.com/custom/rijksmuseum/, accessed 20/02/2020).

[983] Ministry of Economic Affairs & Ministry of Education, Culture and Science 2009, p.26.

[984] Lord and Blankenberg 2015, p.9, define soft power as international relations based neither on military nor on economic might, but influence, using persuasion, attraction, or agendas. Soft power is intangible and manifests for example as ideas, knowledge, values, and culture; Olivares 2015, p.53, 'Through their exhibits and cultural programs, museums are especially capable of creating the symbolic image of a place, be it a nation or a city. This specific expertise of museums allows them to contribute to place-branding, enhancing, or transforming the reputation and perceived image of cities and regions'; For a further discussion on the topic, see Boswell and Evans's 2004.

[985] Jimenez 2015, p.34.

[986] Olivares 2015, p.50; Another recent example of museum and cultural diplomacy, and the use of soft power, is the loan of *Bayeux Tapestry* from France to UK, announced in January 2018.

[987] Lord and Blankenberg 2015, p.19.

to improve performance, seek out new paths and push beyond the relatively small Dutch market, always having mainly economic interests in mind.

Nijgh & Van Ditmar already knew Barbara Stok very well when the Van Gogh Museum decided on the graphic novelist.[988] Bogman from the Van Gogh Museum confirms that the commission was sealed with 'a tripartite contract between the museum, the Fund [BKVB] and the publisher of Barbara Stok,' indicating that the publisher came in a package with the artist.[989] It is thus possible that the publisher had Stok under contract, and not having Nijgh & Van Ditmar as a partner would have caused issues and potentially even prevented the project from happening. However, it is not to indicate that the museum or the BKVB would have preferred a different publisher. Undoubtedly, it has been an advantage to have an experienced publisher, familiar with the comic book market and the high street book market. Most importantly, knowing the artist and her fanbase, thus already having well-established distribution strategies and channels, has undoubtedly helped *Vincent* become so incredibly successful worldwide. The publisher's expertise was even more vital as Bogman categorises educational children's books in a graphic form together with *Vincent*, revealing the art institution's inexperience in understanding and marketing graphic novels.[990]

The situation for Typex's *Rembrandt* has been far more unfortunate, possibly the reason for the publisher Oog & Blik | De Bezige Bij not to participate in any research. The well-established Dutch comic book publisher Oog & Blik, initially contracted by the Rijksmuseum in 2009, became a subsidiary to the Dutch literary publishing house De Bezige Bij in April 2010, resulting in *Rembrandt* being released by a different publisher than initially intended.[991] Not overly satisfied with this new publisher, Typex took his book to the French publisher Castermann once the contract with De Bezige Bij had ended.[992] Apparently, the Rijksmuseum had the same idea as the Van Gogh Museum, in contracting—a much weaker position—a publisher with experience in comics to counter its own lack of knowledge of the field. Unfortunately, the plan did not work out as Oog & Blik was taken over by De Bezige Bij, which then seemed to have largely dropped or at least paused the publishing of comics, possibly to take stock and re-evaluate the business potential of comics.

---

[988] Stok and Nijgh & van Ditmar have been working together for more than a decade prior to the commission by the Van Gogh Museum and continued to do so, resulting in an impressive number of books: *Barbaraal tot op het bot* (1998), *Sex, Drugs & Strips* (2000), *Je Geld Of Je Leven* (2003), *Nu We Hier Toch Zijn* (2005), *Barbara Weet Het Beter* (2006), *Op Tour Door Spanje* (2007), *Dan Maak Ja Maar Zin (2009)*, *Over de levensgenieter die haar angst voor de dood wil verdrijven* (2010), *Vincent* (2012), *Lang Zal Ze Leven. Van 20+ tot 40-* (2013), *De Omslag. H.N. Werkman wordt kunstenaar* (2015), and *Toch Een Geluk* (2016).

[989] Bogman 2017.

[990] Ibid.

[991] De Bezige Bij 2010.

[992] Typex 2017; Earlier works by Typex published by Oog & Blik were *Melkman* (1996), and the short-lived magazine *Chorizo #1-3* (2000-2003).

The takeover and change of publisher might also have been a reason why *Rembrandt* performed not as well as *Vincent*, yet above average with at least eight foreign-language editions.

Lecturis, co-publisher of Teng's and Schutten's historic fiction inspired by Jan van Scorel, mainly focuses on 'publications that coincide with exhibitions' such as catalogues, with a single prior experience of marketing a comic.[993] It had previously worked with Gert Jan Pos and the Centraal Museum Utrecht, likely leading to it being approached by the museum.[994] Trying to make up for the lack of experience with extra enthusiasm, it 'took extra effort to distribute the books through comic shops.'[995] This statement indicates that the primary channel of distribution has been through high street book shops and the museum shop, while specialised comic shops were only secondary. It is worth noting, this pushing *into* the comic book market was a reverse strategy to the other museums, trying to push *out* of a comic-based market into high street bookshops. According to Lecturis, the approach has 'worked out fine,' as Teng's fanbase 'bought the book. And as an extra, also [their] traditional audience […a] win-win situation.'[996]

The publisher was 'satisfied because of the look and feel of the book.'[997] In contrast, the creators were less satisfied with the final print.[998] This discrepancy is remarkable, as Lecturis is specialised in high-quality print and design publications. Yet, the requirements of a graphic novel seemed to have constituted a challenge for them. The artist recalls, '[t]he publisher proved unreliable. I never got any feedback on sales.'[999] The poor communication might have resulted from 'the publisher [going] bankrupt,' as Schutten states.[1000] Again the museum's choice of publisher has turned out to be unfortunate in hindsight, causing the graphic novel to under-perform.

When looking at all the publications of the corpus that resulted from the Dutch Comic Network, only Stok's *Vincent* seemed to have been entirely smooth, probably a result of the long-running prior collaboration between her and Nijgh & Van Ditmar. The choices of the respective publisher for *Rembrandt* and *Jan van Scorel. Sede Vacante 1523*, have both turned out to be slightly unfortunate, with the former being bought by a competitor and the latter bankrupting, leaving the graphic novels not to realise their fullest potential. However, all

---

[993] Van de Willige 2017.

[994] Ibid.; Pos 2017.

[995] Van de Willige 2017.

[996] Ibid.

[997] Van de Willige 2017.

[998] Schutten 2018; Teng 2018.

[999] Teng 2018.

[1000] Schutten 2018.

three publishers showed strategic collaboration, the potential for (international) growth, and knowledge about accessing capital, thus, responding to the governmental policy paper.[1001]

The Creators

The respective creators of the individual graphic novels resulting from the Dutch Comic Network are discussed at length in Chapter 5 and will not be repeated here. However, some summarising remarks shall compare Barbara Stok, Typex and the duo Paul Teng and Jan Paul Schutten to show parallels and differences.

The authors of all three graphic narratives had already been well-established when they were commissioned with the graphic novel for a museum. Stok and Teng had even won the Dutch *Stripschapprijs* for their oeuvre, and Typex won it in 2019 after finishing *Rembrandt* and another graphic novel about Andy Warhol. Schutten, too had won prizes for his children's literature, among others the *Gouden Griffel* [Golden Stylus] 2008 for *Kinderen van Amsterdam* on which he collaborated with Teng. The fact that the authors were no newcomers was helpful in many ways. It smoothed the path into the commission in convincing the museums that those particular creators were the right choice. In turn, the combined fame of museum and creator, each talking to a different audience, has helped the sales of the graphic novel, which subsequently affected the positive decision by *Nederlands Letterenfonds* to award translations grants. Gert Jan Pos's crucial role in initiating the projects and bringing together the future partners must be pointed out here once more!

When looking at the creators' reasons to take the commissions, two answers repeatedly come up: economics and unmissable opportunity. On the one hand, the authors agree that the assignment was exceptionally well-funded. As Teng puts it, '[i]t was well paid. Compensation in my line of work is generally low. So that was a factor.'[1002] On the other hand, to work for a prestigious art museum has often been described as a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity, with Stok remarking 'it's not like you get something like this every day,' and Typex saying 'it was the best opportunity [he] had in [his] life.'

Moreover, while all the authors eventually found the respective project interesting, Stok was the only one who had liked the portrayed artist before the commission.[1003] Typex approached *Rembrandt* most strategically, aiming to produce something internationally appealing to push into new markets outside of the Netherlands.[1004] Stok and Typex could both capitalise on their graphic novel's success for later projects. At the same time, Teng says 'it had no influence on [his] career, as [he] work[s] mostly with Belgian and French

[1001] Ministry of Economic Affairs & Ministry of Education, Culture and Science 2009, p.26.
[1002] Teng 2018.
[1003] Stok 2017.
[1004] Typex 2017.

publishers' and Schutten too states 'I have more success with my other books'—that is children's books.[1005]

In showing 'strategic orientation … and collaboration' and seeing the 'potential for growth and internationalisation,' all four creators responded to the government policy paper.[1006] Stok has been very successful regarding the latter point. The authors also responded to the Dutch Canon and the call to foster a national identity. Vincent van Gogh and Rembrandt van Rijn feature most prominently in the Dutch Canon with their art, had a song written about them as part of the accompanying pedagogical material, and made it on the cover of the publication (Fig. 7.7).[1007] Similarly, Jan van Scorel, Pope Adrian VI and the Iconoclasm of 1566 appear in the canons of the city of Utrecht and various provinces.[1008] In creating a graphic novel about such important figures in Dutch history and art, the authors have provided new ways to approach and explore the respective person's life for a potential audience of young Dutch citizens as well as adults. Through the (international) success of their publications, the authors contributed further to *Holland Branding* and the city branding of Amsterdam and Utrecht. With currently seventeen foreign-language editions, Stok's *Vincent* has achieved the most in this respect, leaving *Rembrandt* and *Jan van Scorel. Sede Vacante 1523*, with respectively seven and one foreign-language editions, far behind.

Forming the Dutch Comics Network

When all the stakeholders came together and started to interact and collaborate, they formed an influential network for comics production. Not always consciously, they responded to the government's *Creative Value Culture and Economy Policy Paper, 2009* with its call for improvements in various areas and *Holland Branding*, as well as the Dutch Canon, also feeding into the latter.[1009] The whole process is somewhat complex and shall, therefore, be visualised in steps.

At the core of the Dutch Comics Network was the commission of the original edition of a graphic novel (Fig. 7.8). The Dutch government created the right atmosphere, commissioning and pushing the Dutch Canon in its concern about the Dutch cultural identity of young citizens and encouraging the creative industries and arts to explore new avenues, not least to participate in *Holland Branding*. At the same time, the government provided parts of the necessary funds: on the one hand, for museums, and on the other hand, for the

---

[1005] Teng 2018; Schutten 2018.

[1006] Ministry of Economic Affairs & Ministry of Education, Culture and Science 2009, p.26.

[1007] Committee for the Development of the Dutch Canon 2007, pp.154-155, 182-183.

[1008] Canon van Nederland (available at URL: https://www.canonvannederland.nl/, accessed 11/11/2020).

[1009] Ministry of Economic Affairs & Ministry of Education, Culture and Science 2009, pp.26, 45; Committee for the Development of the Dutch Canon 2007.

BKVB and Gert Jan Pos in his role of *stripintendant*. The art institutions, the BKVB and the domestic publishers had their respective museological, promotional and economic mission. Together those three organisations commissioned and paid the artist, who set out to create a graphic novel about a specific canonical artist following a personal creative mission—within the parameters of what the commissioners would tolerate. The commissioners shared the production costs for the book. Revenues from the graphic novel's original Dutch edition were split between the creator, museum and publisher, which demonstrates that the role of the BKVB was indeed just that of funder without any economic interests in the projects.

In the cases of the graphic novel inspiring an exhibition (Fig. 7.9), the already existing book and the author's original sketches, layout, and research material were on display delivering content. The museum funded the show while at the same time receiving funds from *Mondriaan Fonds*, which had merged with the BKVB in 2011.[1010]

While so far things are relatively straightforward, the situation becomes more complicated when one examines how foreign-language editions were part of the Dutch Comics Network (Fig. 7.10). At this point, more stakeholders enter the network. Firstly, the government-funded *Nederlands Letterenfonds*, following a mission to support foreign-language editions of Dutch literature in their translation, production and promotion. Secondly, a foreign publisher, naturally also with an economic mission. In addition to paying licencing fees to the original publisher, it also had to pay the translator, cover the production costs and promote its finished product. Parts of these costs the foreign publishing house could get covered by the *Nederlands Letterenfonds* through translation grants and productions grants. A travel grant could be awarded to foreign publishers for promotional travels of the author to advertise the foreign-language edition, giving lectures or workshops. The foreign publisher and the creator received any revenues from sales of the foreign-language edition.

When the domestic publisher released a foreign-language edition of the graphic novel (Fig. 7.11), in addition to the original Dutch edition, it could also ask for funds from the *Nederlands Letterenfonds*. In such cases, the costs for translation and production—of course only for the foreign-language edition—could again be partly covered by the respective grants. At the same time, revenues were split between the publisher and the creator. However, the domestic publisher could not ask for a travel grant to send the author away on a promotion mission abroad.

[1010] On 31 December 2011 BKVB was merged with Mondriaan Fonds, with the latter taking over the projects of the former. Mondriaan Fonds provides the opportunities for museum to apply for funding for exhibitions (available at URL: https://www.mondriaanfonds.nl/en/about/, accessed 20/02/2020).

Combining all those elements and special cases forms a complete picture of the Dutch Comics Network (Fig. 7.12).

Fig. 7.1: *Captain Marvel Adventures* (1947), Fawcett Publishing Inc., Wheaties Giveaway promotional comic repurposing a famous character, cover.

Fig. 7.2a: *Captain Marvel and the Lieutenants of Safety* No.1 (1950), Fawcett Publihing Inc., Electric Bond and Share Company (Ebasco) Giveaway promotional comic repurposing a famous character, cover.

Fig. 7.3: "Let Us Start Working For You!" (1979) promotional campaign by DC Comics repurposing their most successful characters for public relations and advertising campaigns © DC Comics Inc.

Fig. 7.4: The old (left) and new (right) corporate identity of the Van Gogh Museum. Available at URL: https://www.underconsideration.com/brandnew/archives/van_gogh_museum_logo.gif (accessed 17/10/2019).
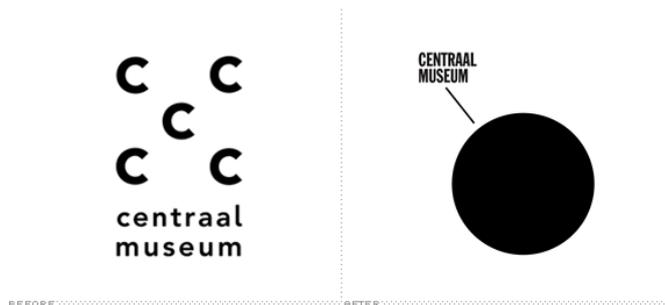
Fig. 7.5: The old (left) and new (right) corporate identity of the Central Museum Utrecht. Available at URL: https://www.underconsideration.com/brandnew/archives/centraal_museum_logo.gif (accessed 17/10/2019).

Fig. 7.6: The old (top) and new (bottom) corporate identity of the Rijksmuseum. Available at URL: https://www.underconsideration.com/brandnew/archives/rijksmuseum_logo.gif (accessed 17/10/2019).
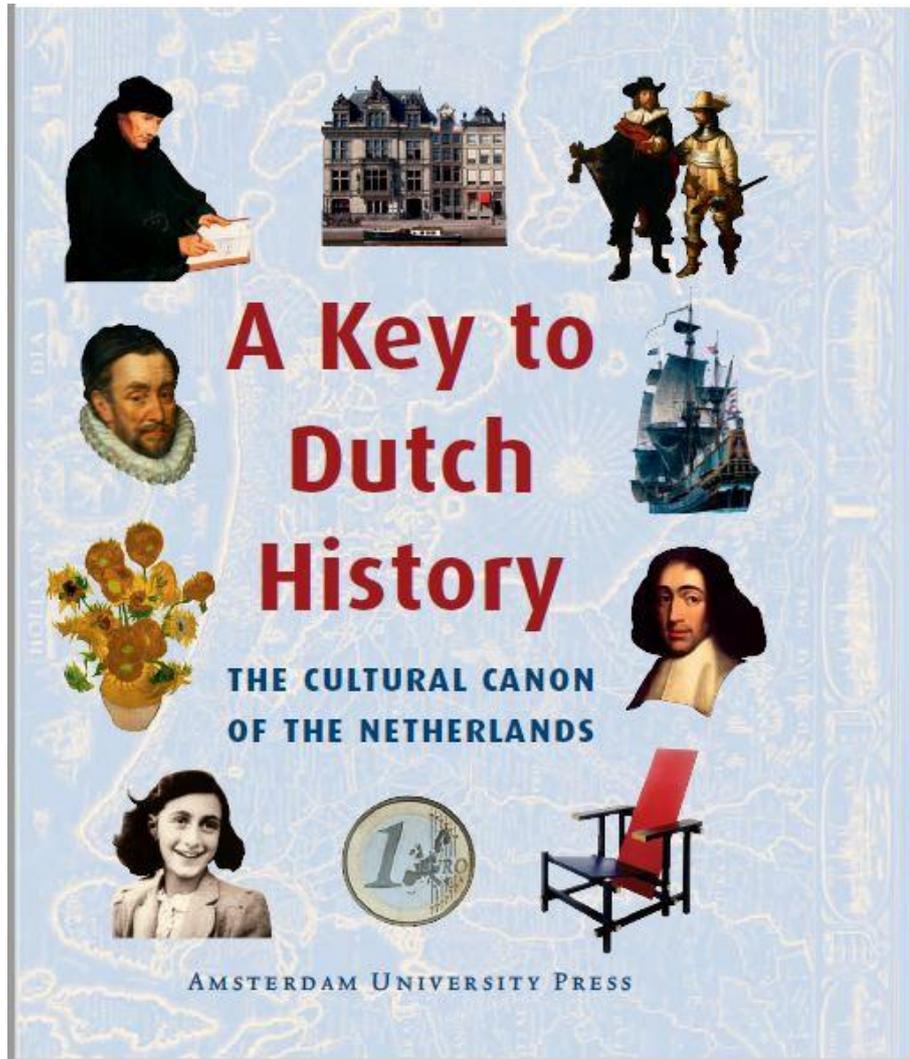
Fig. 7.7: Frits van Oostrom, *A Key to Dutch History. The Cultural Canon of the Netherlands*, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2007, Cover, showing the art of Vincent van Gogh and Rembrandt van Rijn demonstrating their importance for Dutch art, culture and history.
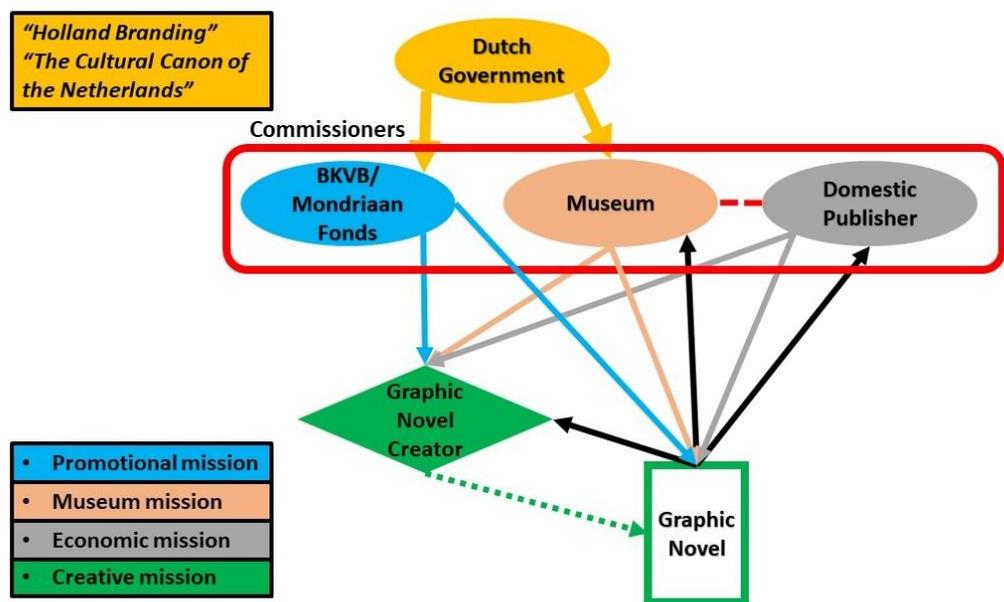
Fig. 7.8: The core Dutch Comics Network. © Tobias J. Yu-Kiener
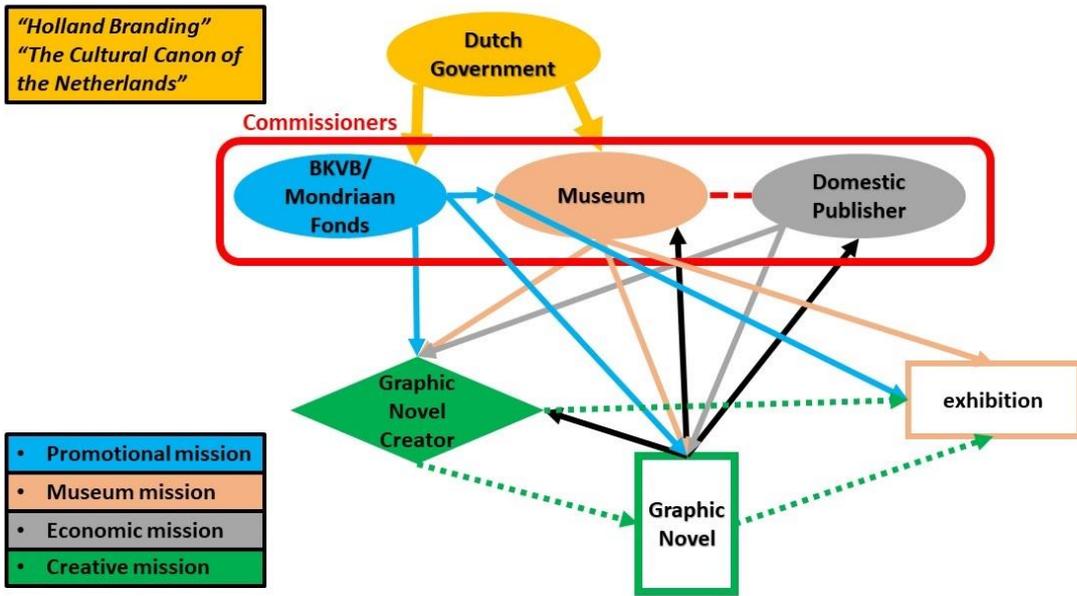
Fig. 7.9: Exhibitions about graphic novels resulting from the Dutch Comics Network.
© Tobias J. Yu-Kiener
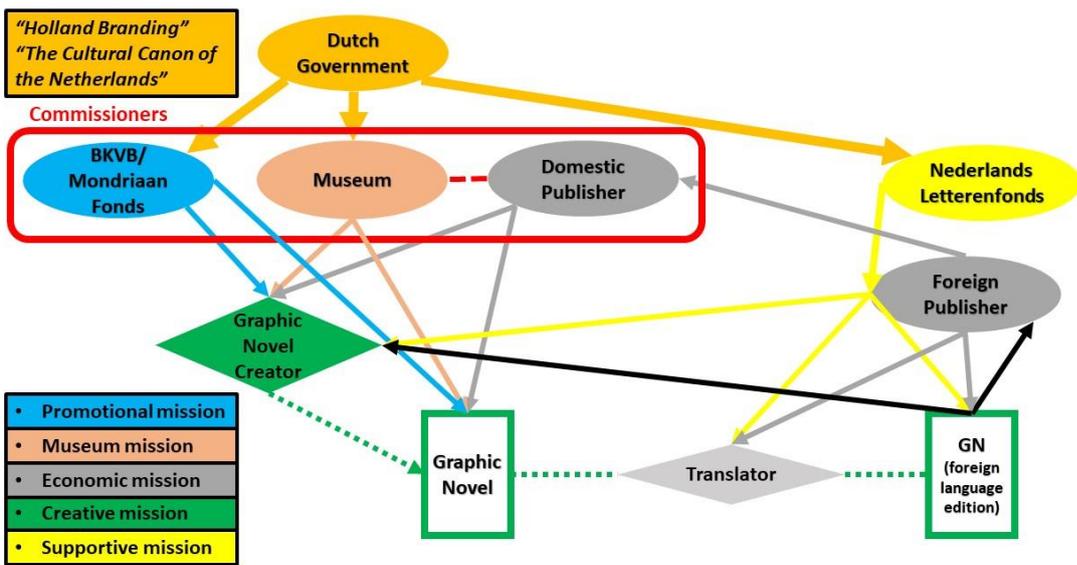
Fig. 7.10: Foreign-language graphic novel editions by a foreign publisher resulting from the Dutch Comics Network. © Tobias J. Yu-Kiener
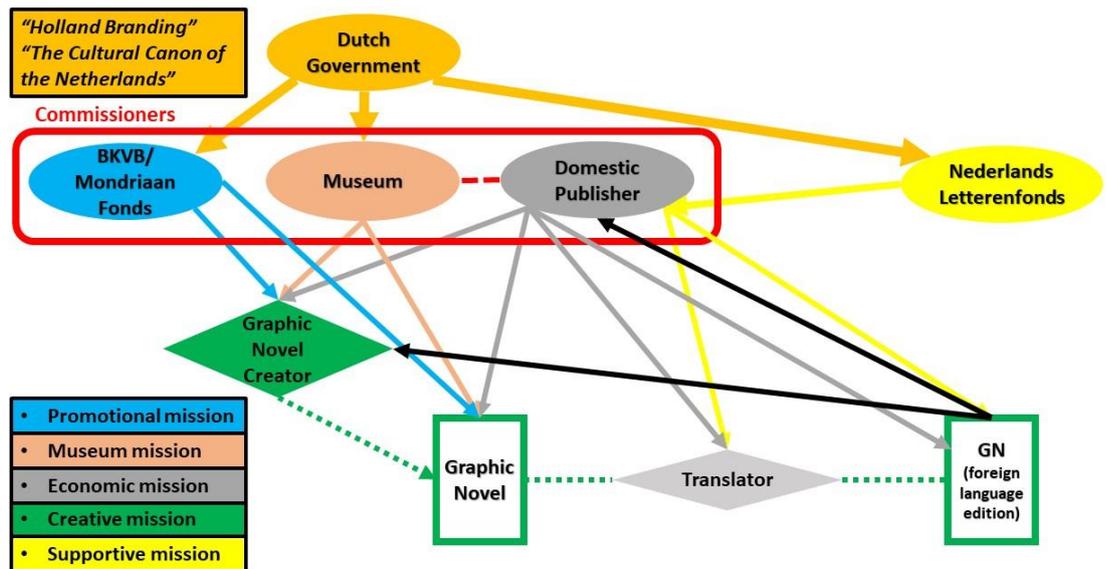
Fig. 7.11: Foreign-language graphic novel editions by a domestic publisher resulting from the Dutch Comics Network. © Tobias J. Yu-Kiener
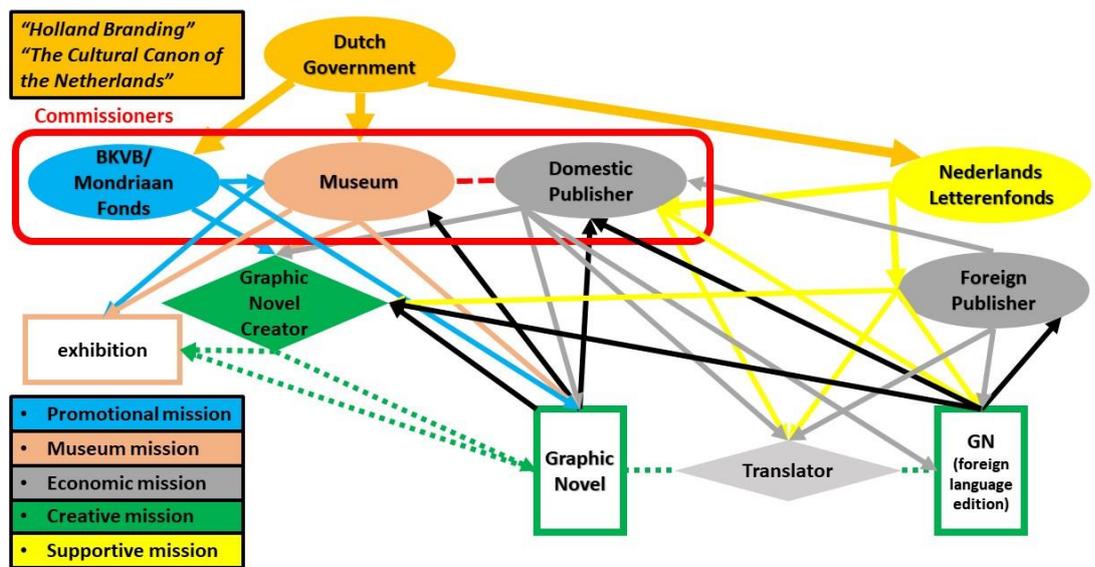
Fig. 7.12: The complete Dutch Comics Network. © Tobias J. Yu-Kiener

Chapter 8 - Conclusion

This research looks at three publishing booms in graphic narratives about the lives of canonical visual artists. The First Boom (1942-1949), taking place exclusively in educational US-American youth magazines, gave birth to a new comics genre, the artist's biography, and was relatively diverse in the range of artists being portrayed, despite the relatively small number of stories and magazines. In contrast, the Second Boom (2000-2019) has been more internationalised yet predominately European regarding the portrayed artists and publishing countries. It has focused primarily on painters and is significantly larger, including more and much longer publications. Six case studies investigate a third publishing phenomenon, the Museum Boom (2005-2019), which overlaps only slightly with the Second Boom. This third publishing boom comprises graphic novels co-commissioned, co-funded, co-edited and co-published by major art institutions, few of which are from outside of Europe. The analysis of the Museum Boom sheds light on how creators manage to combine their personal artistic vision with the economic, museological, and public relations and marketing needs of the other stakeholders. In doing so, the thesis documents the current collision of the realms of comics and traditional art history, a confrontation between prominent proxies: the graphic novel and the art museum.

Three essential methods—semi-structured interviews and questionnaires, extensive (online and physical) archival research, and close reading with subsequent textual and visual analysis—have unlocked the answers to a set of four research aims:

Firstly, to trace the predecessors, development, and scope of the Second Boom (2000-2019) of biographical graphic novels about canonical painters as well as the partly overlapping Museum Boom (2005-2019). Upon discovering the First Boom (1942-1949) of biographical comics about canonical visual artists, identifying its scope and development has also become part of the aim.

Secondly, to consider all three booms within the biographical traditions of art history, that are, the anecdote and the life-and-work model as two crucial narratological tools at the core of each life-writing, as well as the presentation of an artist's oeuvre.

Thirdly, to examine the graphic novel form and its function in different institutional contexts, using a corpus of selected case studies, co-commissioned, co-funded, co-edited and co-published by European art museums.

Fourthly, to explore all stakeholders' different institutional agendas, involved in creating the publications from the corpus, thereby associating themselves with the graphic novel medium.

The first aim—to trace the predecessors, development, and scope of all three publishing booms about canonical visual artists—is achieved in Chapters 3 and 4. In 1942, the new comics genre of the artist's biography was born, triggering the First Boom (1942-1949) of at least twenty-six respective graphic narratives in educational US-American youth magazines. In terms of publishers, magazines, portrayed artists and their preferred medium, the First Boom is very diverse. The earliest stories about Leonardo da Vinci and Benvenuto Cellini's lives formed the prototypes for the new genre of the artist's biography comic, and set important conventions concerning character types, narrative structure, setting, and themes. Further, they acted as blueprints regarding technical aspects, such as length and layout. Two types of stories were distinguishable, those about an artist's life—including a two-issue narrative about art history touching on the lives of several artists—and those about a specific artwork, featuring only a smaller part of the individual's biography. With the 1940s, the First Boom came to an end too. For the next two decades, mostly a single magazine—*Treasure Chest of Fun & Fact*—continued the young genre of the comic artist's biography. The boom itself and its aftermath (1950-1972) featured many canonical artists from the Italian Renaissance, yet, after the 1940s, there was a noticeable shift to include more artists linked to America.

There was a period during which the genre of the comic artist's biography evolved into what this thesis labels proto-graphic novels. The narratives became more complex and extended as well as explicit regarding sexuality, violence, substance abuse, and mental health issues. Thus, the targeted audience gradually shifted too, from children and teenagers to (young) adults. In contrast to the First Boom, these proto-graphic novels constituted a global phenomenon, happening in Asia, North and South America, and Europe. However, the number of publications remained low.

After a relatively silent second half of the twentieth century, the twenty-first century brought along the current Second Boom (2000-2019), divided into two phases. Phase I (2000-2011) was the period of re-discovery and the testing of the comics genre of the artist's biography, marked by fluctuating numbers of annual releases. In contrast, Phase II (2012-2019) represented the boom's heyday, peaking in 2016. In 2018 and 2019, numbers maintained a lower but stable level. It is unclear whether Phase II has ended. The figures for 2020-2025 will determine the future of the artist's biography comics genre. Indeed, there have already been some releases in 2020 and 2021. The fact that it has developed relatively slow yet steady over two decades, comprising almost 200 graphic novels so far, may indicate that the Second Boom has come to stay. If that were the case, the boom would turn into an age, the Age of the artist's biography comics.

Compared to the First Boom, the genre conventions have changed slightly. There is a noticeable shift in character types, as the current publishing phenomenon features mostly modern painters instead of Renaissance individuals working in serval media. As a result, the setting has changed accordingly. The narrative structure has remained largely the same, while the themes—the genre-specific tropes—are unaltered. Most importantly, the publishers and creators of the Second Boom have, for the first time in its history, institutionalised the comics genre of the artist's biography, fully acknowledging its distinctiveness and importance.

In contrast to the American First Boom, the Second Boom is a very European phenomenon in terms of the creators, publishers and subjects. France is the most active country of the Second Boom, with close to 100 publications in twenty years. It is safe to assume this is due to the exceptionally high standing of the Ninth Art in Franco-Belgian society.

 Slightly overlapping with the Second Boom has been a development where art museums are co-commissioning, co-funding, co-editing and co-publishing graphic novel biographies of canonical artists, as well as their respective collections. Two stages of this new Museum Boom (2005-2019) can be identified: Stage I (2005-2011) and Stage II (2012-2019), showing a mirroring of the Second Boom in the onset of the respective second phase and stage. Parallel to the Second Boom, the phenomenon has predominantly included European art museums, contributing to the institutionalisation of the genre too. There is a high French output, which is yet topped by Italy. Remarkably, when focusing only on biographical graphic novels about canonical visual artists, the Netherlands emerges as a country of significance. Whether Stage II has ended remains uncertain. Again, the possibility exists that it might turn into an Age, the comic medium's Museum Age.

The second aim—to consider all three booms, within the biographical traditions of art history, with the anecdote and the life-and-work model as two crucial narratological tools—is achieved over the course of Chapters 2 to 5. The foundation is laid in Chapter 2, tracing the very same art-historical traditions used to analyse biographical graphic narratives about canonical visual artists in Chapters 3 to 5.

The anecdote was already used as a narratological tool in Antiquity by Duris of Samos and Pliny the Elder, recording artists' lives. Renaissance writers, such as Giorgio Vasari and Carl van Mander, continued using anecdotes in their artists' biographies. From the early eighteenth century onwards, the artist's monograph, heavily relying on the Vasarian biographical model, introduced the life-and-work model to art-historical writing about artists. In addition, the presentation of an artist's oeuvre and the *in situ* inspection of original

artworks prior to mentioning them as part of biographical writing or compiling a *catalogue raisonné* have been identified as frequent elements of respective texts. Equipped with the knowledge of these core ideas of art-historical biography-writing, one notices the publishing booms about canonical visual artists have drawn from them.

Chapter 3 reveals that the First Boom (1942-1949) and its aftermath (1950-1972) drew from the Western canon of art history and at the same time contributed to it. In repeating the stories of canonical artists for a non-academic young audience, they solidified their canonical status and created a canonical feedback loop. In the focus on Italian Renaissance artists, the link to early twentieth-century art history was noticeable. The textual analysis shows that this early publishing phenomenon drew directly from the writings of Pliny, Vasari, van Mander and Cellini. Utilising specific anecdotes about individual artists as well as familiar anecdotes about artists in general, The First Boom employed art-historical traditions of biography writing. Initially taken from Vasari's Life of Leonardo da Vinci and Benvenuto Cellini's autobiography, anecdotes fell into one of seven categories. For the duration of the First Boom and its aftermath, those categories were then applied to other artists, thus turning the original anecdotes into genre-specific tropes of the artist's biography comic.

Chapter 4 shows that the Museum Boom and the Second Boom have used these tropes over the last two decades together with traditional anecdotes already described at Pliny, Vasari, and van Mander. Besides, many narratives have been anecdotal in being divided into chapters with a specific incident at the core. Also, these publications have produced canonical feedback loops as well.

In contrast to the First Boom, the life-and-work model, trying to understand the respective artists through their art, has been far more prominent in twenty-first-century graphic novels, which now regularly present an artist's oeuvre. Also, an *in situ* inspection of original artworks is documented for some cases. Like the First Boom and its aftermath, the twenty-first-century booms provide hardly any information about comics workers, contributing to the canonisation of the artists (and the occasional separate writer) while leaving other parties' work unmentioned, except for the publishers and commissioners.

Some creators have assimilated the portrayed artist's style, as in Typex's *Rembrandt* and Barbara Stok's *Vincent*, or expressed the emotional and mental state of an artist through (adaptions of) their most famous artworks, as in *Vincent* and Edmond Baudoin's *Dalí*, as demonstrated through the analysis in Chapter 5. Thus, the Second Boom and biographical publications of the Museum Boom have contributed equally to the canonisation of artists and artworks.

Examining the Museum Boom exclusively, it is evident that the art-historical traditions and positions of the respective art institutions can easily be detected in the individual graphic novels. The creators have been allowed absolute freedom yet within the art institution's general agenda, mission, and vision of the portrayed artist. Thus, the museums should be considered part of the wider authorship due to their editorial role.

The third aim—to examine the graphic novel form and its function in different institutional contexts, using a corpus of selected case studies, co-commissioned, co-funded, co-edited and co-published by European art museums—is successfully explored in Chapters 5 to 7.

Twenty-first-century biographical graphic novels about canonical artists come in various forms, differing in three main aspects: size, accuracy, and audience. On the one end of the size-spectrum sits the *Fumetti nei Musei* series (2018-2019), with publications of small size, format and page count**.** On the other end of the range stand the more than 230 pages of *Rembrandt* (2013) by Dutch creator Typex.

Accuracy is naturally slightly more difficult to measure. Barbara Stok's *Vincent* (2012) and Christophe Badoux's *Klee* (2008) can indeed be described as very accurate, as the creators have used the individual artist's private correspondence as primary sources. However, only the latter includes a list of references. Nonetheless, sufficient research time and an appendix do not necessarily mark a narrative as accurate, as Paul Teng and Jan Paul Schutten's *Jan van Scorel. Sede Vacante 1523* (2013), and Bernar Yslaire and Jean-Claude Carriére's *Le Ciel au-dessus du Louvre* prove. While the individual level of accuracy is a distinguishing factor, it has not been a determining one for success.

Ultimately, every graphic novel tries to target an audience as broad as possible. As it is impossible to cater to all demands, usually, a publication has a group of core readers it tries to reach. If a story has an apparent pedagogical approach, it is more likely to target teenagers, such as *Klee*. The more extensive and complex a narrative is, in its language as well as subject matter, the less it is suitable for younger readers. Explicit and lengthy depictions of sex, violence, mental illness, substance abuse, and related language mark a publication as inappropriate for teenagers. However, a cartoony drawing style, such as in *Vincent*, is by no means an indication for it aiming for a younger readership exclusively. The graphic novels from the corpus claim to aim for a young audience associated with the comics medium by the art institutions. However, they mainly speak to a more mature readership of (young) adults.

Graphic narratives of the Museum Boom (2005-2019) come in two forms, stories about the collection or a particular artist. The latter is the primary concern of this research.

As discussed below, the functions such graphic novels serve for the different stakeholders can be summarised as outreach and public relations tool and sales product.

The fourth and last aim—to explore all stakeholders' different institutional agendas, involved in creating the publications from the corpus—is fulfilled in Chapters 5 to 7.

The various stakeholders involved in creating a graphic novel differ significantly in their agendas, often resulting in at least one dissatisfied party, as discussed over the course of Chapter 5. While the museums and publishers are mainly displeased with a low sales performance, the creators are disappointed by an absence of promotional support and technical issues, such as paper quality or colours.

For the involved art museums, the main agenda is the diversification and broadening of their audiences. The institutions engage with the comics medium to attract its assumed readers, the sought-after groups of young visitors. Closely tied to this agenda, the graphic novels serve three main functions: outreach, exhibition display, and public relations. For potential audiences, reading the graphic might be the trigger to change their mind about an institution and subsequently visit the cultural venue. Here, the publication functions as an outreach tool—introducing readers to the life and work of an artist and most canonical pieces of a collection—attracting previously unconvinced as well as new audiences to the museum.

Graphic novels may also function as display: Stok's *Vincent*, Teng and Schutten's *Jan Van Scorel. Sede Vacante 1523*, Badoux's *Klee*, Yslaire and Carriere's *Le Ciel au-dessus du Louvre*, and Baudoin's *Dalí* have featured in at least one exhibition. The exhibition function is not necessarily part of the initial plan but becomes part of it when the circumstances are right. That is, when art museum, publisher and creator(s) share a relatively harmonious working relationship and a common vision. In both cases, as an outreach tool and as an exhibit, the respective graphic novel is also a public relations tool to an equal extent. It signals to visitors and readers—hopefully, future visitors—that the individual museum is innovative in its approach and not shying away from an engagement with a popular medium. A graphic novel thus aims to encourage (return) visits of people who appreciate such an attitude towards graphic novels, as discussed in Chapters 6 and 7. Ultimately, the sales figures are important for museums, however, not as *revenue* but as a *multiplier* of attention, attraction, and branding. Thus, for art museums, a graphic novel's function lies mainly with its public relation value, targeting specific demographics associated with the medium as part of the institutions' agenda, as discussed in Chapter 7.

Publishers had often published the respective creator before the commission by the museum. They know the medium's readership, operate under heightened economic pressure, and are mainly interested in sales figures and the extension of their retail opportunities by

penetrating new markets, such as museum and high street book shops. To partner up with a well-known (international) museum helps to achieve this agenda. Regardless of the strategy's success, a cooperation with an established art institution does benefit a publisher's public image and brand. Museums and publishers share the agendas to split the costs and risks, utilise their combined expertise and distribution systems and advertising structures, and cross-fertilise their respective individual customer bases.

The creators interviewed for this research share an artistic agenda: trying to get a new angle on the respective artist, to show the person behind the canonical name and works. Most creators desire to create a biography the portrayed artist himself would approve of while also attempting to reach a large readership. All claim to consider proper research highly important, primarily based on art-historical sources and personal writings and consuming a significant amount of time. However, some finished graphic novels contradict this claim. All authors received support from the respective museum staff. These underlying shared patterns explain the art-historical traditions, such as anecdotes and the life-and-work model, in the graphic novels about canonical artists. The creators perceive working for an (international) art museum as a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity and impossible to turn down. Therefore, the commissions do impact a creator's image and publicity, thus, possible future publishing and funding chances.

Chapter 7 introduces and discusses the special case of the Netherlands, where the national government allocated funds to various stakeholders to promote Dutch culture and identity through comics. When these different parties came together, they formed the Dutch Comics Network. The section reveals not only the funding structure and commissioning processes but also provides much information about the Dutch comics industry at the time.

The Dutch government's agenda was two-fold, on an interior level, in fostering a clearly defined Dutch cultural identity among the country's youth, and on an exterior level, in publicising national culture as a distinct brand abroad. In responding directly to the Dutch Canon, the Dutch art museums co-commissioning graphic novels became part of this campaign. Gert Jan Pos, in his role of *stripintendant* at the BKVB, co-commissioned and provided roughly 50% of each publication's funding. The art museums and publishers covered the remaining costs together as co-commissioners, co-funders, co-editors and co-publishers of the respective graphic novels and were responsible for publicising and promoting the finished products. For their work, the creators received a—for the comics industry—generous fee. Publishers of foreign-language editions received money from the *Nederlands Letterenfonds* to translate, produce, and promote the respective books. Thus, the Dutch Comics Network worked particularly well for all stakeholders, reducing the financial risks for museums and publishers while generating new (international) opportunities and

awareness for the creators and strengthening and promoting the Dutch brand and national identity.

This research builds on scholarly frameworks from art history and comics studies to answer these aims. Firstly, art-historical research about the composition and development of the Western canon(s), and traditions of artists' biographies have been consulted. Art-historical methods, such as visual analysis, were used when examining the graphic narratives. At the same time, comics scholarship has been extensively used in the contextualisation, analysis, and critiquing of comics and comics exhibitions. The argument of categorising the artist's biography as a new genre and explaining its development over several decades, including the creation and maintenance of genre-specific tropes, has been built on the most recent research about genres in comics. The analysis of graphic novels from the Museum Boom has been informed by comics scholarship on artistic styles and narrative patterns, particularly the discussion of whether certain ways of drawing are exceptionally well suited for educational content and engaging an international and transnational audience.

Further, this transdisciplinary study has engaged with museum studies and museology, (trans)national identity-making, branding, marketing and public relations, and cultural-economic policies. Moreover, the findings are relevant to cultural studies and cultural history, visual studies, biography studies, and cultural diplomacy too.

In addition to achieving the four research aims, this project produced further findings and new primary resources. Maybe the two most surprising revelations are the respective existences of the Dutch Comic Network and the Italian *Fumetti nei Musei* project. Both campaigns received substantial government funding and promotional support to advertise the respective national cultures to a young audience. Additionally, several series of biographical graphic novels about canonical artists have been confirmed. Multiple creators producing more than just one such publication indicate the long-term appeal of the genre of the artist's biography for comic book publishers and creators in Europe.

In including the lists of confirmed publications, for the First Boom (1942-1949) and its aftermath (1950-1972), the proto-graphic novels (1947-1999), the Second Boom (2000-2019), and the Museum Boom (2005-2019), a valuable and public bibliographic database has been created. As the data might be incomplete, the thesis does not argue for its absoluteness yet considers it a starting point and an invaluable source for future research. Also, in providing the interviews and questionnaires—granting access to the data upon request—new primary sources have become available to the academic community, telling

the story of biographical graphic novels about canonical artists from several stakeholders' viewpoints and making their various contributions visible and explicit.[1011]

This thesis argues for more inclusive art-historical canon(s). Yet, as the existing biographical graphic narratives about visual artists almost exclusively feature canonical individuals in a traditional sense, this thesis inevitably analyses writings about canonical artists using Western art-historical tools, such as established periodisations and academic standards regarding referencing. It thus acknowledges the possibility of unintentionally repeating established tropes and contributing to the canonisation of individuals. However, this is no conscious decision but a result of following the research material.

While the contribution to knowledge through this thesis is significant, restrictions regarding the time, resources, and word count have meant that this project inevitably has to leave some aspects for future research.

A potential field of future research is that of audiences. Indeed, it would enrich the understanding of the Second Boom and Museum Boom, complementing the new primary source provided by this thesis. Comparing targeted with the actual readerships would allow researchers to judge the publications' success and effectiveness more comprehensively. If conducted on an international level, the role of translations and foreign-language editions could be further investigated. Future studies might also provide more details regarding the role and status of such graphic novels in the museum shops, the turnover times, and sales performances with different audiences.

Another suggested future research, building on this thesis' findings, concerns the question of national styles, in particular for France, Italy, and Spain, and the differences between European and non-European publications. A particular fruitful study would concern the Italian *Fumetti nei Musei* project (2018-2019), consisting of fifty-one individual comics co-funded by the national Ministry of Cultural Heritage and Activities. Also, as this thesis concentrates on artists' biographies, a logical step would be to research non-biographical graphic novels co-commissioned by (national) art museums, focusing on the respective institutions' (national) art collections instead.

This thesis provides not enough space to sufficiently explore the role of less mainstream publications about canonical artists' lives, such as webcomics, underground and independent publications. Also, whether the Second Boom has been influencing other

---

[1011] Due to legal reasons, the researcher is required to safekeep the questionnaires and interview files. However, for strictly academic purposes and upon request, access will be granted. To request access, please contact the researcher via the Comics Research Hub (CoRH) homepage URL: http://comicsresearch.arts.ac.uk/people/members/tobias-j-yu-kiener/.

comics genres and where the Museum Boom sits in the broader field of comic productions had to remain unanswered.

Naturally, subject matters and creators of graphic novels about canonical artists could also be explored further. Researching comic artists who (somewhat) specialise in the artist's biography comic genre, such as Willi Bloess, Gradimir Smudja, Joann Sfar, Barbara Stok, and Typex, would yield interesting results. In this context, a critical analysis of *mise en abyme*—the placing of images (famous art) within images (comic panels)— and *Ekphrasis*—the dramatic verbal description of visual art—in biographical graphic novels on canonical visual artists would also reveal information and most likely patterns. A specific analysis of graphic novels about sculptors, architects, draughts people and printmakers, and woman artists would be possible too.

Publications such as *McCay* (2000-2006), *Shotaro Ishinomori* [石ノ森章太郎] (2012), *Wilhelm Busch lässt es krachen* [Wilhelm Busch lets it rip] (2016), and *Truth, Justice and The American Way: The Joe Shuster Story* (2018), form a corpus of graphic novels about comic artists meriting an analysis. Similarly, comparing monographic publications about comic creators, such as Maggie Gray's *Alan Moore. Out from the Underground. Cartooning, Performance, and Dissident* (2017), with canonical artists' biographies and monographs, should be the next step in bringing an art-historical lens to comics studies.

All three publishing phenomena discussed in this thesis are a clear expression of the dominant Western/European canon(s) of art and its history. The creators and art museums, representatives and guardians of those canons, define who is worthy of and important enough for an artist's biography graphic novel as well as which artistic periods are popular. Thus, through the commissioned graphic novels about canonical artists, the various canons of Western art history have been reproduced and reinforced. However, when looking at non-European traditions of biography-writing, from Middle Eastern, African, Oceanian and Asian societies, new patterns would emerge, such as the Chinese very high regard for calligraphy and its practitioners. Researching artistic traditions of depicting canonical artists in their respective studios and (self-)portraits translate into the comics medium, using narrative images, should be the next step in understanding the comic artist's biography.

Finally, to examine the First Boom, the Second Boom, and the Museum Boom from the perspective of cultural history seems to constitute worthwhile future research, revealing insights into how biographical graphic narratives about canonical artists express a society's dominant cultural power and ideologies. Such research would be fascinating, as while this thesis has been researched and written, a noticeable change has been happening in the museum and culture industry. A re-assessment period has started

about how the experiences, lives and views of long-marginalised groups in the history of the arts, such as women and ethnic minorities, can and should be represented best in a twenty-first-century art museum.[1012] Dutch museums critically engage with their country's colonial past and involvement in the slave trade, including the exhibition *Slavery (12 February – 30 May 2021)* at the Rijksmuseum and the Amsterdam Museum officially dropping the term 'Golden Age'.[1013] In Spain, the Museo Nacional del Prado is rearranging its permanent collection to represent women and non-European artists more prominently, while 'colonial art is the subject of one of the most important exhibitions' of 2021: *Return Journey. Ibero-American Art in Spain (5 October 2021 to 13 February 2022).*[1014] At the same time, France is preparing to return artefacts from its national collections to the African countries from where the objects were looted during the French colonial reign.[1015] Whether future graphic novels commissioned by art museums will reflect this new attitude remains to be seen, constituting another possible research topic.

This thesis indicates that whether comics are granted access to art museums still seems to be decided by the host on a case-by-case basis. Michael D. Picone claims that 'the actual commissioning' of comics by museums, 'using as subject matter elements of the museums' collection or the museum in its entirety,' has opened 'an important new chapter' in the story of museums and comic art.[1016] While this is undoubtedly true, the power relations have not changed much over the last decades, with the art world still *granting* a museum status instead of comics successfully *demanding* it. Méon remarks that a comics exhibition happens by invitation from the museum, and the same seems true for graphic novel publications.[1017] This thesis shows that all the art institutions still associate the comics medium with a young and adolescent readership, distinct from a museum audience in their ignorance and indifference towards museum art. Moreover, while graphic novels are now seen as an acceptable type of quality literature and product for a museum book shop, first and foremost, the role of the graphic novel in major art museums is that of an outreach and public relations tool to attract comic readers.

[1012] For a scholarly discussion of these development in Museum Studies, see for example Dewdney, Dibosa and Walsh 2013, pp.149-164; Marstine 2011.

[1013] The Rijskmuseum homepage is available at URL: https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/en/whats-on/exhibitions/slavery (accessed 29/01/2021); Boffey 2019.

[1014] The Museo Nacional del Prado homepage is available at URL: https://www.museodelprado.es/en/whats-on/new/the-museo-del-prado-will-be-rearranging-its/223ec8d3-3991-92bb-d7f3-95cfbaeeb8db (accessed 29/01/2021); Jones 2021.

[1015] Sansom 2020.

[1016] Picone 2013, pp.42-43.

[1017] Méon 2018-2019.

This thesis hopes to reach a broad and large audience in various academic fields and disciplines, first of all, art history and comics studies.

On the one hand, this study argues for the long-overdue reconsider of the comics medium in art history. This study shows the potential of comics in art-historical institutions—from special one-off publications and possible exhibitions to a series of sales products, public relations tools and even ways to celebrate national identities. Thus, after mostly neglecting the comics medium for so long, this study aims to encourage art historians to consider it in their research more regularly. Also, this study wishes to foreground the power and usefulness of artist's biography comics in delivering art-historical content to a broad audience and, in fact, to challenge problematic aspects of Western art history. As the researcher has argued elsewhere, as graphic narrative, the genre is capable to *depict* an artist's life and oeuvre much better than traditional art-historical biographies, which 'attempt to *describe* an artistic output in a literary medium, relying on verbal descriptions of artworks or photographic reproduction, often standing separate from the text.'[1018] John Swogger's argument that archaeology—'a visual science'—has an outdated way of visualising its research and should thus consider the comics medium in its outreach attempts does also apply to art history that is equally visual and narrative.[1019] Also, as a popular medium, graphic novels and comics can reach broader audiences outside the art-historical communities. Furthermore, in choosing non-canonical artists as subjects, the artist's biography comics genre could question, negate, and diversify Western canon(s) of art history.[1020] At the same time, when freeing itself from art-historical traditions, the genre could develop new narrative patterns—beyond the existing tropes dating back to the 1940s and based on anecdotes from the Renaissance, deriving from Antiquity—and thus, change public perception of what defines an artist.[1021]

On the other hand, while filling an obvious gap in comics publishing history, this research encourages comics scholars to reconsider genre definitions. Starting as a small and, at the time, less important type of story and developing into a significant publishing phenomenon of the early twenty-first century, artist's biography comics have, from the very beginning, shown distinct characteristics marking them as a separate genre yet have been

---

[1018] Yu-Kiener 2022.

[1019] Swogger (2019; 2015) argues that archaeology, though visual and narrative nature, has not updated its means of visualising research output, with images merely accompanying or illustrating text. In the medium of comics, and specifically the balance and dynamism between words and images, he sees an opportunity to deliver complex information at a professional level to existing as well as new audiences. He is convinced that comics can help highlight heritage hidden in plain sight and 'undertake outreach outside traditional venues', in 'reinvent[ing] the idea of "show and tell"' and in 'serv[ing] as introduction and a reminder' of a piece of information or knowledge.

[1020] Yu-Kiener 2022.

[1021] Ibid.

largely neglected for almost eighty years. Interestingly, despite being distinct from the start, all identified booms of the genre are relatively small compared to the overall number of comics and museum publications released during the respective period. Therefore, this study hopes to start a discussion about what qualifies a group of architexts as a genre—is it quantity or quality—and what types of stories are consequently researched by academics. At the same time, the study wishes to contribute to ongoing discussions about commissioned and educational comics, the potential instrumentalisation of the medium, and artistic freedom when following the demands of the commissioners, who become part of the wider authorship, thus comics workers, through their editorial roles. Furthermore, it hopes to participate in debates about the comics medium's role in similar projects, taking the artist's biography comic as an example:

> 'neither a straightforward art-historical text nor a clear-cut, purely entertaining leisure reading the genre is still searching for its place. The former would require an academic level of research and execution, including bibliography and referencing [… while] the latter would oppose lengthy research periods,'

as well as the higher costs resulting from extended page counts and appendices. [1022] Moreover, this thesis' findings complement the scholarship about institutional and national funding, commissioning, and editing structures and networks.

Finally, in making available almost eighty years of bibliographic data about the artist's biography comics genre, this study hopes to trigger academic interest and research in the respective and neighbouring genres. Acknowledging the potential incompleteness of the compiled data, it nevertheless aims to facilitate access to the previously neglected material, to help researchers locate relevant narratives, publishers, and magazines, and to stimulate a multitude of inquiries in comics studies, art history and beyond.

[1022] Ibid.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Atkins, Christopher. Interview by Tobias J. Yu-Kiener. November 7, 2017.

Badoux, Christophe. "Klee. Eine Comic-Biografie über Paul Klee." Graphic Novel Concept. March 9, 2007a. Unpublished.

Badoux, Christophe. "Klee. Eine Comic-Biografie über Paul Klee." Graphic Novel Concept. November 16, 2007b. Unpublished.

Badoux, Christophe. *Klee*. Zürich: Edition Moderne, 2008.

Badoux, Christophe. "Interview Christophe Badoux." Interview by Editors. Barbarus. Cultureel webtijdschrift, July 31, 2015. Accessed 02/02/2020 URL: https://www.barbarus.org/single-post/2015/07/31/Interview-Christophe-Badoux.

Basler, David. Interview via Questionnaire by Tobias J. Yu-Kiener. November 7, 2017.

Baudoin, Edmond. *Dalí*. Marcinelle: Éditions Dupuis, 2012.

Baudoin, Edmond & Fred Vargas. "Baudoin & Jo Vargas : « Nos peintures se correspondent, passant du physique à l'intellectuel »." Interview by Charles-Louis Detournay. Actua BD, December 3, 2012. Accessed 16/08/2019. URL: https://www.actuabd.com/Baudoin-Jo-Vargas-Nos-peintures-se.

Baudoin, Edmond. "EDMOND BAUDOIN - "Avec cette BD, j'ai appris à comprendre la fragilité de Dalí." Interview by Vincent Garnier. LePetitJournal.com, May 9, 2013. Accessed 17/08/2019. URL: https://lepetitjournal.com/madrid/actualites/edmond-baudoin-avec-cette-bd-jai-appris-comprendre-la-fragilite-de-dali-23803.

Baudoin, Edmond. *Dalí*. London: SelfMadeHero, 2016.

Baudoin, Edmond. Interview by Tobias J. Yu-Kiener, interpretation by Laetitia Forst. November 15, 2017.

Baudoin, Edmond. Interview via Questionnaire by Tobias J. Yu-Kiener. January 29, 2018.

Bennett, Tony. Interview by Tobias J. Yu-Kiener. January 22, 2018.

Beto, "Frida." *Love and Rockets* No.28 (December 1988). Westlake Virginia, CA.: Fantagraphic Books: p.13-24.

Biret, Jean and Georges River. *La vie de Toulouse Lautrec*. Paris: BD Éditeurs Éditions Robert Laffont, 1985.

Bogman, Suzanne. Interview via Questionnaire Tobias J. Yu-Kiener. December 6, 2017.

Cellini, Benvenuto. Benvenuto Cellini. My Life. Translated with an introduction by Julia Conaway Bondanella and Peter Bondanella, Oxford/New York, N.Y.: Oxford University Press, 2002.

Centraal Museum [Utrecht]. "begeleiders/tekenaars gezocht voor Werkplaats De Hand van de Meester. okt-jan, 6u/pw." Twitter. July 1, 2013a, 10.21am. URL: https://twitter.com/CentraalMuseum/status/351631762155253760.

Centraal Museum [Utrecht]. "*Vacature* We zoeken begeleiders/tekenaars voor de Werkplaats De Hand van de Meester. Jan Paul Schutten en Paul Teng werken aan een beeldroman over de avonturen van Jan van Scorel in 16de-eeuws Italië. In de tentoonstelling zien bezoekers hoe een historische beeldroman tot stand komt. In de Werkplaats gaan ze zelf aan de slag met het maken van een strip. Wil jij ze daarbij begeleiden?" Facebook. July 1, 2013b. URL: https://www.facebook.com/centraalmuseum/photos/a.336987608283/10151520235148284.

Centraal Museum [Utrecht]. "Tadaa! Het eerste stripboek over Jan van Scorel. Door Paul Teng en @JanPaulSchutten." Twitter. October 17, 2013c, 12.57pm. URL: https://twitter.com/CentraalMuseum/status/390808787881168896.

Centraal Museum [Utrecht]. "Hoe maak je een spannende strip over een oude meester? Paul Teng over Jan Van Scorel." Twitter. October 17, 2013d, 1.02pm. URL: https://twitter.com/CentraalMuseum/status/390810072856555520.

Centraal Museum [Utrecht]. "Het Centraal Museum presenteert 'Jan van Scorel, Sede Vacante 1523'. Een 80 pagina's tellend stripboek gebaseerd op historische feiten - en een snufje fictie. De originele tekeningen van Paul Teng zijn vanaf zaterdag te zien" Facebook. October 17, 2013e. URL: https://www.facebook.com/centraalmuseum/posts/10151714114718284.

Centraal Museum [Utrecht]. "Hoe maak je een spannende strip over een oude meester? Tekenaar Paul Teng, schrijver Jan Paul Schutten en inkleurster Dina Kathelyn laten zien hoe zij samen werkten aan het stripboek Jan van Scorel, Sede Vacante 1523." Facebook. October 17, 2013f. Facebook. URL: https://www.facebook.com/centraalmuseum/posts/10151714133213284.

Centraal Museum [Utrecht]. "Schrijver Jan Paul Schutten bezocht als eerste de tentoonstelling over zijn strip 'Jan van Scorel, Sede vacante 1523'" Twitter. October 18, 2013g, 9.10am. URL: https://twitter.com/CentraalMuseum/status/391114019223764992.

Centraal Museum [Utrecht]. "Opening van twee nieuwe tentoonstellingen tegelijkertijd. ARRRGH! Monsters in de mode. En Jan van Scorel, Sede Vacante 1523." Twitter. October 18, 2013h, 2.21pm. URL: https://twitter.com/CentraalMuseum/status/391192279480008704.

Centraal Museum [Utrecht]. "Formeel momentje: presentatie van het stripboek #janvanscorel aan sponsor @BankGiroLoterij." Twitter. October 18, 2013i, 2.24pm. URL: https://twitter.com/CentraalMuseum/status/391193190729932800.

Centraal Museum [Utrecht]. "Maak je eigen strip in Werkplaats de Tekentafel. #janvanscorel." Twitter. October 18, 2013j, 3.03pm. URL: https://twitter.com/CentraalMuseum/status/391202980059688960.

Centraal Museum [Utrecht]. "Schrijver Jan Paul Schutten bezocht gisteren als eerste de tentoonstelling over zijn strip 'Jan van Scorel, Sede vacante 1523'" Facebook. October 18, 2013k. URL: https://www.facebook.com/centraalmuseum/posts/10151716024003284.

Centraal Museum [Utrecht]. "Meld je aan voor een workshop Strips Maken met Jan Paul Schutten en Paul Teng #culturelezondag." Twitter. October 29, 2013l, 2.26pm. URL: https://twitter.com/CentraalMuseum/status/395194954508533760.

Centraal Museum [Utrecht]. "Deze zondag = Culturele Zondag! Met onder meer workshops van Paul Teng en Jan Paul Schutten." Twitter. November 1, 2013m, 4.16pm. URL: https://twitter.com/CentraalMuseum/status/396309660954664960.

Centraal Museum [Utrecht]. "Deze zondag = Culturele Zondag! Het thema is Op bezoek bij het boek. Laten we nou net een tentoonstelling over de strip 'Jan van Scorel' hebben! Tekenaar Paul Teng en schrijver Jan Paul Schutten geven twee gratis workshops. Het complete aanbod vind je op de site." Facebook. November 1, 2013n. URL: https://www.facebook.com/centraalmuseum/posts/10151745538428284.

Centraal Museum [Utrecht]. "Zo ziet de tentoonstelling 'Jan van Sorel, Sede Vacante 1523' eruit net vóórdat het museum opent. In de lange vitrinetafel Paul Tengs originele tekeningen voor het stripboek met dezelfde titel als de tentoonstelling." Facebook. November 8, 2013o. URL: https://www.facebook.com/centraalmuseum/photos/a.336987608283/10151765788963284.

Centraal Museum [Utrecht]. "Er worden prachtige strips gemaakt in werkplaats De Tekentafel. Kunstwerken uit de collectie geven de inspiratie voor drie verschillende schrijf- en tekenopdrachten. Herken jij ze?" Facebook. November 11, 2013p. URL: https://www.facebook.com/centraalmuseum/photos/a.336987608283/10151770384433284.

Centraal Museum [Utrecht]. "Het vakmanschap van Dina Kathelyn werd ingezet voor de laatste fase in de ontwikkeling van de strip 'Jan van Scorel, Sede Vacante 1523'. Als inkleurster bepaalde zij het specifieke kleurgebruik en de balans tussen licht en schaduw. Voor alle personen, gebouwen en landschappen werd vooraf een speciale kleur gemengd met ecoline. Zo was er bijvoorbeeld een potje speciaal voor de huidskleur van Scorel, en een voor de muren in Rome." Facebook. November 11, 2013q. URL: https://www.facebook.com/centraalmuseum/posts/10151770445253284.

Centraal Museum [Utrecht]. "Zondag is er weer een sit-in. Deze keer met Paul Teng en Jan Paul Schutten. Gratis!" Twitter. November 18, 2013r, 11.40am. URL: https://twitter.com/CentraalMuseum/status/402400875835953152.

Centraal Museum [Utrecht]. "Paul Teng en Jan Paul Schutten zijn a.s. zondag zijn te gast bij de maandelijkse Sit-in. Zij spreken met directeur Edwin Jacobs over het maken van het stripboek 'Jan van Scorel, Sede Vacante 1523'. Zondag 24/11, 15.00 uur, gratis! (excl. entree)." Facebook. November 18, 2013s. URL: https://www.facebook.com/centraalmuseum/photos/a.336987608283/10151784201723284.

Centraal Museum [Utrecht]. "Op zoek naar een sinterklaaskado? Het stripboek Jan van Scorel is spannend, mooi én historisch verantwoord. Een voorproefje vind je op Issuu" Facebook. November 21, 2013t. URL: https://www.facebook.com/centraalmuseum/photos/a.336987608283/10151790189683284.

Centraal Museum [Utrecht]. "#StripheldJanvanScorel Voor de kleding baseerde Paul Teng zich op oude kostuumprenten. Rechts zie je de inspiratie voor kledij van kerkelijke figuren. Links hoe hij dit vertaalde in de strip. Hier ging het bijna mis. Paul tekende personen in zomerse kleren, maar het bleek dat het conclaaf had plaats gevonden in een koude wintermaand. Net op tijd kon hij mouwen en bontkragen toevoegen." Facebook. December 9, 2013u. URL: https://www.facebook.com/centraalmuseum/photos/a.336987608283/10151827147373284.

Centraal Museum [Utrecht]. "#StripheldJanvanScorel Het stripboek Jan van Scorel. Sede Vacante 1524 is gebaseerd op talrijke historische feiten. De auteurs kregen stapels boeken, illustraties en bronnen van het Centraal Museum, voor een zo authentiek mogelijke weergave van Scorel en zijn tijdgenoten. De komende weken plaatsen we een aantal weetjes over het stripboek op Facebook." Facebook. December 9, 2013v. URL: https://www.facebook.com/centraalmuseum/photos/a.336987608283/10151827021128284.

Centraal Museum [Utrecht]. "#StripheldJanvanScorel Al eeuwenlang is het ritueel rond het vaststellen van de dood van de paus hetzelfde. De strip toont deze traditie. De camerlengo (kamerheer) moet het overlijden formeel bevestigen. Met een zilveren hamertje tikt hij drie keer tikt op het voorhoofd van de overledene en roept hem hardop bij zijn doopnaam. Als er geen reactie volgt meldt hij: Papa vere mortuus est (de paus is werkelijk dood)." Facebook. December 16, 2013w. URL: https://www.facebook.com/centraalmuseum/photos/a.336987608283/10151827149453284.

Centraal Museum [Utrecht]. "'Hoe ik, Jan van Scorel, in 1523 betrokken raakte bij de moord op de paus'." Facebook. December 20, 2013x. URL: https://www.facebook.com/265613383283/videos/10151847015338284/.

Centraal Museum [Utrecht]. "#StripheldJanvanScorel Jan van Scorel kreeg een grafmonument in de Mariakerk. Van zowel het interieur als het exterieur van deze kerk zijn er een aantal tekeningen bekend van Pieter Jansz Saenredam uit 1636. Tekenaar Paul Teng gebruikte het werk van deze schilder om de Mariakerk accuraat af te beelden in de strip." Facebook. December 23, 2013y. URL: https://www.facebook.com/centraalmuseum/photos/a.336987608283/10151827151663284.

Centraal Museum [Utrecht]. "#StripheldJanvanScorel Wie o wie is Scorel? Scorel portretteerde zichzelf als Jeruzalembroeder op het groepsportret van de Haarlemse Jeruzalembroederschap (collectie Frans Hals Museum, Haarlem). Jan Paul schutten bestudeerde de portretten van Scorel om zijn karakter te beschrijven, zo merkte hij op dat Scorel geen lachebekje was." Facebook. December 30, 2013z. URL: https://www.facebook.com/centraalmuseum/photos/a.336987608283/10151827153508284.

Centraal Museum [Utrecht]. "Reminder: de laatste week van de tentoonstelling Jan van Scorel, Sede Vacante 1523 is aangebroken." Twitter. January 13, 2014a, 9.23am. URL: https://twitter.com/CentraalMuseum/status/422660062180409344.

Centraal Museum [Utrecht]. "Het bijzondere ambacht van een inkleurster. Dina Kathelyn vertelt in deze korte film over het kleurgebruik in het stripboek 'Jan van Scorel, Sede Vacante 1523' De tentoonstelling is nog tot en met zondag te zien." Facebook. January 13, 2014b. URL: https://www.facebook.com/centraalmuseum/posts/724838570873184.

Centraal Museum [Utrecht]. "Laatste weekend voor Jan van Scorel, Sede Vacante 1523. Grijp je kans!" Twitter. January 17, 2014c, 10.54am. URL: https://twitter.com/CentraalMuseum/status/424132646440951809.

Centraal Museum [Utrecht]. "Ook alweer het laatste weekend voor Jan van Scorel, Sede Vacante 1523. Dus grijp die laatste kans om zelf strips te tekenen in de Werkplaats!" Facebook. January 17, 2014d. URL: https://www.facebook.com/centraalmuseum/posts/726998827323825.

Centraal Museum Utrecht. "Het Centraal Museum heft een nieuw gezicht." Press Release. October 11, 2011a. URL: https://www.centraalmuseum.nl/nieuws/centraal-museum-heeft-een-nieuw-gezicht/.

Centraal Museum Utrecht. "Nieuwe Website." Press Release. October 18, 2011b. URL: https://www.centraalmuseum.nl/nieuws/nieuwe-website.

Centraal Museum Utrecht. "Centraal Museum Zelfstandig." Press Release. November 16, 2012a. Accessed 29/01/2018. URL: https://www.centraalmuseum.nl/nieuws/Centraal-Museum-Zelfstandig/.

Centraal Museum Utrecht. "Zuidelijk Museumkwartier: nieuwe gezamenlijke profilering." Press Release. February 21, 2012b. Accessed 29/01/2019. URL: https://www.centraalmuseum.nl/nieuws/zuidelijk-museumkwartier-nieuwe-gezamenlijke-profilering/.

Centraal Museum Utrecht. "Dutch Design Award voor huisstijl Centraal Museum." Press Release. October 22, 2012c. Accessed 29/01/2018. URL: https://www.centraalmuseum.nl/nieuws/Dutch-Design-Award-voor-huisstijl-Centraal-Museum/.

Centraal Museum Utrecht. "Centraal Museum sluit zich aan bij ARTtube." Press Release. November 13, 2013a. Accessed 29/01/2018. URL: https://www.centraalmuseum.nl/nieuws/arttube/.

Centraal Museum Utrecht. "Bank Giro Loterij schenkt €100,000 extra per jaar." Press Release February 6, 2013b. Accessed 29/01/2018. URL: https://www.centraalmuseum.nl/nieuws/BankGiro-Loterij-schenkt-100000/.

Centraal Museum Utrecht. "Meerjarig partnership met Rabobank Utrecht." Press Release. June 24, 2013c. Accessed 29/02/2018. URL: https://www.centraalmuseum.nl/nieuws/partnershap-Rabobank/.

Centraal Museum Utrecht. Paul Teng over het stripboek Jan van Scorel, Sede Vacante 1523. October 15, 2013d. URL: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YHo8BtEoNDE.

Centraal Museum Utrecht. Jan Paul Schutten over het stripboek Jan van Scorel, Sede Vacante 1523. October 15, 2013e. URL: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LFu2vT4R66o.

Centraal Museum Utrecht. Dina Kathelyn over het stripboek Jan Van Scorel, Sede Vacante 1523. October 15, 2013f. URL: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Jm-dIYj9K_A.

Centraal Museum Utrecht. *Financieel Jaarverslag 2013*. 2014a. URL: https://www.centraalmuseum.nl/nl/over-het-museum/organisatie/jaarverslagen/financieel_jaarverslag_2013.pdf.

Centraal Museum Utrecht. "Werkplaats de Tekentafel." Issuu. March 31, 2014b. Accessed 14/02/2020. URL: https://issuu.com/centraalmuseum/docs/werkplaatsdetekentafel.

Centre Pompidou. *Dalí. 21 November 2012- 25 March 2013*. Press Release. December 3, 2012a. URL: https://www.centrepompidou.fr/en/content/download/780/5572/version/17/file/20121203_dali_dp_en.pdf.

Centre Pompidou. "Pourquoi #Dalí par #Baudoin? La directrice de l'ouvrage explique le choix d'Edmond Baudoin pour dessiner la bio de Dalí." Twitter. November 22, 2012b, 12.00pm. URL: https://twitter.com/CentrePompidou/status/271583907722432513.

Centre Pompidou. "Entretien avec Edmond #Baudoin: 'C'est la première fois que le Centre Pompidou travaille avec un auteur de BD'" Twitter. November 24, 2012c, 5.00pm. URL: https://twitter.com/CentrePompidou/status/272384210101235713.

Centre Pompidou. "RT @ericguillaud "Dalí par Baudoin", une #BD Dupuis d'Edmond Baudoin à lire avant de visiter l'expo #Dali." Twitter. December 8, 2012d, 6.01pm. URL: https://twitter.com/CentrePompidou/status/277472893145841664.

Commissie Herijking Canon van Nederland. Open vensters voor onze tijd. De Canon van Nederland Herijkt. Rapport van de commissie herijking canon van nederland. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2020.

Committee for the Development of the Dutch Canon. A Key to Dutch History. The Cultural Canon of the Netherlands. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2007.

Cooper, [Sam] (a) and [Uncredited] (w). "Louis Daguerre. Inventor Of Photography." *Real Life Comics* No.33 (July 1946), New York, N.Y.: Visual Editions, Inc.: [pp.22-25,]no page.

Cooper, [Sam] (a) and [Uncredited] (w). "John James Audubon." *It Really Happened* No.7 (August 1947), New York, N.Y.: Visual Editions, Inc.: pp.[43-47,]1-5.

[Crandall, Reed] (a) and Frances E. Crandall (w). "John Roebling. Artist In Steel And Granite." *Treasure Chest of Fun and Fact* Vol.23, No.9 (December 1967), Dayton, Ohio: George A. Pflaum Publisher, Inc.: pp.3-8.

[Crandall, Reed] (a) and Frances S. Goulart (w). "Eiffel's Tower." *Treasure Chest of Fun and Fact* Vol.24, No.16 (April 1969), Dayton, Ohio: George A. Pflaum Publisher, Inc.: pp.[3-7,]1-5.

Crandall, Reed (a) and Rita G. Brady (w). "Artist in Bronze And Stone. The Life Of Malvina Hoffman." *Treasure Chest of Fun and Fact* Vol.25, No.8 (January 1970), Dayton, Ohio: George A. Pflaum Publisher, Inc.: pp.1-6.

CREAVIVA. "Konzept für die Aktivitäten des Kindermuseums während der Ausstellung 'Bewegung im Atelier' (13. 9. 2008 – 18. 1. 2009)." Exhibition Concept. June 18, 2008. Unpublished.

De Bezige Bij. "Overname Oog & Blik door uitgeverij De Bezige Bij." April 16, 2010. Accessed 08/05/2019. URL: https://www.debezigebij.nl/nieuws/overname-oog-blik-door-uitgeverij-de-bezige-bij/.

Descharnes, Robert, Jeanine Nevers and Jean-Michel Renault. *La vie de Salvador Dali*. Paris: BD Éditeurs Éditions Robert Laffont, 1986.

Douar, Fabrice. "Entretien avec Fabrice Douar. Bienvenue dans les sous-sols imaginaires du Révolu." Interview by Mickael du Gouret. Auracan.com, October 10, 2006. Accessed 05/02/2020. URL: http://www.auracan.com/Interviews/interview.php?item=112.

Douar, Fabrice. "Entretien avec Fabrice Douar « La collection de BD coéditée par le Louvre et Futuropolis comptera huit à dix titres au final. »." Interview by Mickael du Gouret. Auracan.com, February 3, 2009. Accessed 05/02/2020. URL: http://www.auracan.com/Interviews/112-interview-entretien-avec-fabrice-douar.html.

Douar, Fabrice. Interview via Questionnaire by Tobias J. Yu-Kiener. November 5, 2018.

Edition Moderne. "Zum ersten Mal bei den Literaten dabei! An den Solothurner Literaturtagen stellen gleich 4 Autoren der Edition Moderne im künstlerhaus s11 aus: Christophe Badoux, Daniel Bosshart, Matthias Gnehm und Isabelle Pralong. Ausstellungseröffnung ist am Donnerstag (Auffahrt, 9. Mai) um 14 Uhr. Am Freitag folgt im Palais Besenval um 18 Uhr eine Podiumsdiskussion mit den Autoren unter der Leitung von Christian Gasser." Facebook. May 6, 2013. URL: https://www.facebook.com/edition.moderne/posts/530686063655538%20/.

Éditions Dupuis. "Un autre jour est possible : Edmond Baudoin sur #Dali via france_culture http://franceculture.fr/emission-un-autre-jour-est-possible-une-histoire-du-judaisme-edmond-baudoin-sur-dali-2012-11-23 @centrepompidou." Twitter. November 26, 2012a, 3.28pm. URL: https://twitter.com/EditionsDupuis/status/273085894670557184.

Éditions Dupuis. "Edmond Baudoin dans Conduite Accompagnée sur @f_inter pour son ouvrage sur #Dali co-édité par @centrepompidou." Twitter. December 7, 2012b, 10.20am. URL: https://twitter.com/EditionsDupuis/status/276994674693132288.

Fonds voor beeldende kunsten, vormgeving en bouwkunst [BKVB]. Jaarverslag 2009. May 2010. URL: https://www.mondriaanfonds.nl/wp-content/uploads/2012/02/FondsBKVB_jaarverslag_2009.pdf.

Fonds voor beeldende kunsten, vormgeving en bouwkunst [BKVB]. Jaarverslag 2010. June 2011. URL: https://www.mondriaanfonds.nl/wp-content/uploads/2012/02/FondsBKVB_jaarverslag_2010.pdf.

[Froehlich, August] (a) and [Leslie Katz] (w). "Adventures of Cellini." *Classics Illustrated* [US] No.38 (June 1947), New York, N.Y.: Gilberton Company Inc.

[Froehlich, August] (a) and [Uncredited]. "ΟΙ ΠΕΡΙΠΕΤΕΙΕΣ ΤΟΥ ΤΣΕΛΛΙΝΙ [The Adventures of Cellini]." *Κλασσικά Εικονογραφημένα* No.81 (1951), Εκδόσεις Πεχλιβανίδη.

[Froehlich, August] (a) and [Uncredited]. "ΟΙ ΠΕΡΙΠΕΤΕΙΕΣ ΤΟΥ ΤΣΕΛΛΙΝΙ [The Adventures of Cellini]." Reprint. 1947. *Κλασσικά Εικονογραφημένα* No.1109 (1975-80), Εκδόσεις Πεχλιβανίδη.

Fumetto. "KLEE - Die Comicbiographie." Press release. March 3, 2008.

Fumetto. "Christophe Badoux (CH). Das Leben von Paul Klee." Exhibition leaflet. No date.

Gnaedig, Sébastien. Email communication with Tobias J. Yu-Kiener. October 4, 2018a.

Gnaedig, Sébastien. Interview by Tobias J. Yu-Kiener. October 9, 2018b.

Griffiths, [Harley] (a) and [Uncredited] (w). "Augustus St. Gaudens." *Real Life Comics* No.32 (June 1946), New York, N.Y.: Visual Editions, Inc.: pp.[16-21,]1-6.

Harrison, George (a), August M. Froehlich (a), and [Uncredited] (w). "World Hero No.1." *True Comics* Vol.1, No.1 (April 1941), Chicago, Ill./New York, N.Y.: The Parents' Magazine Press, Division of The Parental Institute, Inc.: pp.1-17.

Hayley, Emma. Interview by Tobias J. Yu-Kiener. November 8, 2017a

Hayley, Emma. Interview by Tobias J. Yu-Kiener. November 20, 2017b

Het Stripschap. Bekendmaking van de Bulletje en Boonestaak Schaal 2014 en Bekendmaking van de nominaties voor Album van het jaar 2013. Press Release. February 7, 2014. URL: http://www.stripdagen.nl/archief/persmap/2014/20140207_PERSBERICHT_Bulletje_2014_en_Albums_2013.pdf.

Hunt, Alice and Swogger, John. "Unlocking the Past. Radiocarbon Dating." Carbon Comics No.1. Athens, GA: University of Georgia, Centre for Applied Isotope Studies, 2016.

Hunt, Alice and Swogger, John. "Unlocking the Past. The Science of Archaeometallurgy." Carbon Comics No.2. Athens, GA: University of Georgia, Centre for Applied Isotope Studies, 2017.

Jacobs, Edwin. "Boek meester tekenaar Paul Teng over werk en leven Jan van Scorel bijna gereed. Vanaf oktober groots opgezette expo. Dank BankGiroLoterij!" Twitter. September 14, 2013a, 8.18am. URL: https://twitter.com/EdwinJacobsM/status/378779696122834944.

Jacobs, Edwin. "Naar opening strip tentoonstelling van Paul Teng as vrijdag? Een email aan rsvp@centraalmuseum.nl, voor morgen 12:00 uur en het kan nog." Twitter. October 15, 2013b, 11.12pm. URL: https://twitter.com/EdwinJacobsM/status/390238741501329408.

Jacobs, Edwin. "Nieuwe koffietijd opgenomen over strips en oude kunst, en mode monsters met Bas Kosters. Lauretta Schrijver doet het vol enthousiasme!" Twitter. October 29, 2013c, 12.45pm. URL: https://twitter.com/EdwinJacobsM/status/395169491782754304.

Jacobs, Edwin. "Bomvolle werkplaats verstrippen collectie CM. Meester Paul Teng inspireert met zijn kunst." Twitter. October 29, 2013d, 1.29pm. URL: https://twitter.com/EdwinJacobsM/status/395180603660054528.

Jacobs, Edwin. "Paul Teng en Jan Paul Schutten inspireren veel bezoekers met hun workshop nav de verstripping van het werk en leven van Jan van Scorel." Twitter. November 3, 2013e, 2.38pm. URL: https://twitter.com/EdwinJacobsM/status/397009971734659072.

Jacobs, Edwin. "Tekenaar Paul Teng komt langs voor keuze inkleuring stripboek over Scorel en Heemskerck. Dankzij Bank Giro Loterij een uniek boek in wording." Twitter. November 10, 2013f, 11.32am. URL: https://twitter.com/EdwinJacobsM/status/267228214441693184.

Jacobs, Edwin. "Dankzij aanwijzingen van Paul Teng kijk ik nu geheel anders naar kleuring van strips en graphic novels." Twitter. November 10, 2013g, 11.36m. URL: https://twitter.com/EdwinJacobsM/status/267229139533168642.

Jacobs, Edwin. "Paul Teng en Jan Paul Schutten te gast, Sit In, aula CM. Start om 15:00 uur." Twitter. November 24, 2013h, 1.35pm. URL: https://twitter.com/EdwinJacobsM/status/404604276066238464.

Jacobs, Edwin. "Dankzij Bank Giro Loterij maken we komende weken via TV en andere media vet reclame voor Paul Tengs verstripping van werken Jan van Scorel." Twitter. December 24, 2013i, 11.34pm. URL: https://twitter.com/EdwinJacobsM/status/415445453212098561.

Jason Comic Art Studio [Simon, Joe] (a & w). "John J. Audubon. 1785-1851." *48 Famous Americans* (1947), New York, N.Y.: J. C. Penney Company, Inc.: [p.4,]no page.

[Kiefer, Henry Carl] (a) and [Uncredited] (w). "Cellini And The Statue of Perseus." *Thrilling Adventures in Stamps Comics* Vol.1, No.8 (January 1953), Buffalo, N.Y./New York, N.Y.: Stamp Comics Inc.: pp.[33-36,]1-4.

La Cité [internationale de la bande dessinée et de l'image]. "In Exposition Dalí par Baudoin." Press release. 2012a. URL: http://www.citebd.org/IMG/pdf/dp_dali_par_baudoin.pdf.

La Cité [internationale de la bande dessinée et de l'image]. "Exposition Dalí par Baudoin." Dossier d'accompagnement pour les visites scolaires. 2012b. URL: http://www.citebd.org/IMG/pdf/expo_daliparbaudoin.pdf.

La Cité [internationale de la bande dessinée et de l'image]. « Dali par Baudoin » : le carnet d'Edmond Baudoin. January 24, 2013a. URL: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xQu7h09gn9Y.

La Cité [internationale de la bande dessinée et de l'image]. Edmond Baudoin - le livre « Dali par Baudoin » (2012). February 15, 2013b. URL: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=orvOcGvOvAk.

Les éditions Futuropolis. "J'ai publié 11 photos sur Facebook, dans l'album 'Le ciel au-dessus du Louvre' http://bit.ly/empjA." Twitter. November 11, 2009a, 6.24pm. URL: https://twitter.com/Futuropolis/status/5625599228.

Les éditions Futuropolis. "Bernar YSlaire et Jean-Claude Carrière racontent le 'Ciel au-dessus du Louvre'. Plus de vidéos." Twitter. November 16, 2009b, 10.33pm. URL: https://twitter.com/Futuropolis/status/5778002048.

Les éditions Futuropolis. "'Le Ciel au-dessus du Louvre' / Jules Stern, un ange passe." Twitter. November 22, 2009c, 8.16pm. URL: https://twitter.com/Futuropolis/status/5954250962.

Les éditions Futuropolis. "'LE CIEL AU-DESSUS DU LOUVRE' C'est le genre d'œuvre dont on découvre tous les tiroirs et tous les secrets à force..." Twitter. November 26, 2009d, 8.59pm. URL: https://twitter.com/Futuropolis/status/6092339553.

Les éditions Futuropolis. "'Le Ciel au-dessus du Louvre' / Yslaire - regard croisé." Twitter. November 29, 2009e, 6.28pm. URL: https://twitter.com/Futuropolis/status/6175997208.

Les éditions Futuropolis. "'LE CIEL AU-DESSUS DU LOUVRE' Yslaire raconte sa rencontre avec Jean-Claude Carrière." Twitter. November 29, 2009f, 7.28pm. URL: https://twitter.com/Futuropolis/status/6177407119.

[Mancini, Piero] (a) and [Forina] (w). "Giotto [1]." *Messaggero dei Ragazzi* No.7 (April 1966a), Padova: Edizioni Grafiche Messaggero di S. Antonio.

[Mancini, Piero] (a) and [Forina] (w). "Giotto [2]." *Messaggero dei Ragazzi* No.8 (April 1966b), Padova: Edizioni Grafiche Messaggero di S. Antonio.

[Mancini, Piero] (a) and [Forina] (w). "Giotto [3]." *Messaggero dei Ragazzi* No.9 (April 1966c), Padova: Edizioni Grafiche Messaggero di S. Antonio.

[Mancini, Piero] (a) and [Forina] (w). "Giotto [4]." *Messaggero dei Ragazzi* No.10 (April 1966d), Padova: Edizioni Grafiche Messaggero di S. Antonio.

[Mancini, Piero] (a) and [Forina] (w). "Giotto [5]." *Messaggero dei Ragazzi* No.11 (April 1966e), Padova: Edizioni Grafiche Messaggero di S. Antonio.

van Mander, Carel. Dutch and Flemish Painters, Carel van Mander. Translation and Introduction Constant van de Wall. 1936. Reprint, New York, N.Y.: Arno Press, 1969.

Maneely, [Joe] (a) and [Uncredited] (w). "Design for a Democracy." *Treasure Chest of Fun and Fact* Vol.5, No.5 (November 1949), Dayton, Ohio: George A. Pflaum Publisher, Inc.: pp.29-34.

Manetti, Antonio. The Life of Brunelleschi. Translation by Catherine Enggass. Introduction and Annotation by Howard Saalman. University Park/London: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1970.

Martin, Bill (a) and [Uncredited] (w). "Our Heritage. The Statue Of Freedom." *Treasure Chest of Fun and Fact* Vol.19, No.14 (March 1964), Dayton, Ohio: George A. Pflaum Publisher, Inc.: pp.18-19.

Matena, Dick. *Gauguin en Van Gogh*. Bruxelles: Lombard, 1990.

Matera, Fran (a) and [Uncredited] (w). "The Lady Is 152 Feet Tall." *Treasure Chest of Fun and Fact* Vol.13, No.17 (April 1958), Dayton, Ohio: George A. Pflaum Publisher, Inc.: pp.3-8.

Matera, Fran (a) and [Uncredited] (w). "Leonardo Da Vinci. The Man Of Many Talents." *Treasure Chest of Fun and Fact* Vol.16, No.6 (November 1960), Dayton, Ohio: George A. Pflaum Publisher, Inc.: pp.9-14

Ministry of Economic Affairs & Ministry of Education, Culture and Science. Creative Value. Culture and Economy paper, 2009. The Hague: The Ministry of Economic Affairs & The Ministry of Education, Culture and Science, 2009.

Mondriaan Fonds. Jaarsverslag 2011. 2012a. URL: https://www.mondriaanfonds.nl/wp-content/uploads/2014/08/Jaarverslag_2011.pdf.

Mondriaan Fonds. "Vincent van Gogh verstript door Barbara Stok." Mondriaan Fonds. October 19, 2012b. Accessed Feb. 21, 2018. URL: https://www.mondriaanfonds.nl/2012/10/19/vincent-vangogh-verstript-door-barbara-stok/.

Musée du Louvre. Rapport d'Activité du Musée du Louvre 2004. 2005. URL: https://www.louvre.fr/sites/default/files/medias/medias_fichiers/fichiers/pdf/louvre-rapports-d039activite-2004.pdf.

Musée du Louvre. Rapport d'Activité du Musée du Louvre 2005. 2006. URL: https://www.louvre.fr/sites/default/files/medias/medias_fichiers/fichiers/pdf/louvre-rapports-d039activite-2005.pdf

Musée du Louvre. Rapport d'Activité du Musée du Louvre 2006. 2007. URL: https://www.louvre.fr/sites/default/files/medias/medias_fichiers/fichiers/pdf/louvre-rapports-d039activite-2006.pdf.

Musée du Louvre. Rapport d'Activité du Musée du Louvre 2007. 2008. URL: https://www.louvre.fr/sites/default/files/medias/medias_fichiers/fichiers/pdf/louvre-rapports-d039activite-2007.pdf.

Musée du Louvre. "Le Petit Dessein. The Louvre Invites The Comics." Press Release. 2009a. URL: https://www.louvre.fr/sites/default/files/medias/medias_fichiers/fichiers/pdf/louvre-cartoons-press-release.pdf.

Musée du Louvre. Rapport d'Activité 2008. 2009b. URL: https://www.louvre.fr/sites/default/files/medias/medias_fichiers/fichiers/pdf/louvre-rapports-d039activite-2008.pdf.

Musée du Louvre. "[Link to online museum shop]." Facebook. December 9, 2009c. URL: https://www.facebook.com/museedulouvre/posts/203693841484.

Musée du Louvre. "BD - Le ciel au-dessus du Louvre." Facebook. December 9, 2009d. URL: https://www.facebook.com/museedulouvre/photos/a.196673969925/196675654925/?type=3.

Musée du Louvre. "[no text]." Facebook. December 9, 2009e. URL: https://www.facebook.com/museedulouvre/photos/a.196673969925/196675664925/?type=3.

Musée du Louvre. "[Link to online museum shop]." Facebook. December 9, 2009f. URL: https://www.facebook.com/museedulouvre/photos/a.196673969925/196675659925/?type=3.

Musée du Louvre. Rapport d'Activité 2009. 2010. URL: https://www.louvre.fr/sites/default/files/medias/medias_fichiers/fichiers/pdf/louvre-rapports-d039activite-2009.pdf.

Musée du Louvre. "Archaeology Goes Graphic." Press Release. September 26, 2018. URL: https://petitegalerie.louvre.fr/sites/default/files/comm_press_EN.pdf.

Museum Store Association. Museum Store: The Manager's Guide. Basic Guidelines for the New Museum Store Manager. Fourth Edition. Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press Inc., 2015.

Nantier, Terry. Interview via Questionnaire by Tobias J. Yu-Kiener. November 28, 2017.

[Napoli, Vince] (a) and [Uncredited] (w). "Satan's Pact." *Thrilling Adventures in Stamps Comics* Vol.1, No.8 (January 1953), Buffalo, N.Y./New York, N.Y.: Stamp Comics Inc.: pp.[7-10,]1-4.

Nederlands Letterenfonds. Infosheet. PR Flyer for Frankfurt Book Fair. October 2016. URL: http://www.letterenfonds.nl/download.php?file=NLF-infosheet-2016.pdf.

Okuda, Osamu. Email communication with Tobias J. Yu-Kiener. April 4, 2019.

Onderwijsraad. Advies De stand van educatief Nederland. Den Haag: Uitgave van de Onderwijsraad, 2005.

O'Neill, Josh, Andrew Carl and Chris Stevens (eds). Prometheus Eternal. Philadelphia, PA: Locust Moon Press, 2015.

O'Neill, Joshua. Interview by Tobias J. Yu-Kiener. October 20, 2017.

Ostendorf, Lloyd (a) and [Uncredited] (w). "The Man Who Wondered Why … Leonardo Da Vinci." *Treasure Chest of Fun and Fact* Vol.8, No.2 (September 1952), Dayton, Ohio: George A. Pflaum Publisher, Inc.: pp.28-34.

Ostendorf, Lloyd (a) and [Uncredited] (w). "The Man Who Wondered Why … Leonardo Da Vinci." [September 1952. Reprint.] *Treasure Chest of Fun and Fact* Vol.22, No.4 (October 1966), Dayton, Ohio: George A. Pflaum Publisher, Inc.: pp.27-33.

Ostendorf, Lloyd (a) and Helen L. Gillum (w). "Artist Of The Capitol." *Treasure Chest of Fun and Fact* Vol.21, No.3 (October 1965), Dayton, Ohio: George A. Pflaum Publisher, Inc.: pp.9-11.

Ostendorf, Lloyd (a) and George Straley (w). "The Man Who Followed The Birds. The Story Of John James Audubon." *Treasure Chest of Fun and Fact* Vol.22, No.20 (June 1967), Dayton, Ohio: George A. Pflaum Publisher, Inc.: pp.20-25.

den Ouden, Barbara. Interview by Tobias J. Yu-Kiener. March 13, 2018.

[Paparella, Raffaele] (a) and [Uncredited] (w). "Le avventure di Benvenuto Cellini." *Albo d'ore* No.166 (July 1949), Milan: Periodici Mondadori.

[Paparella, Raffaele] (a) and [Uncredited] (w). "Le avventure di Benvenuto Cellini." Reprint. July 1949. *Albo d'ore* No.166 (August 1974), Milan: Periodici Mondadori.

Pliny [the Elder]. The Elder Pliny's Chapters on the History of Art. Edited and translated by K. Jex-Blake, with commentary and historical introduction by E. Sellers and additional notes by H. L. Urlichs, preface and bibliography by R. V. Schoders, Chicago, Ill.: Argonaut, Inc. Publishers, 1968.

Pos, Gert Jan. Interview by Tobias J. Yu-Kiener. December 11, 2017.

Powell, [Bob] (a) and Frances E. Crandall (w). "John James Audubon." *Treasure Chest of Fun and Fact* Vol.9, No.10 (January 1954), Dayton, Ohio: George A. Pflaum Publisher, Inc.: pp.12-17.

Ridolfi, Carlo. The Life of Titian. Translated by Julia Conaway Bondanella and Peter Bondanella. Edited by Julia Conaway Bondanella and Peter Bondanella, Bruce Cole, and Jody Robin Shiffman. University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1996.

Rijksmuseum. "New logo for the Rijksmuseum." August 22, 2012. Accessed 22/10/2019. URL: https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/en/whats-on/news/new-logo-for-the-rijksmuseum.

Rijksmuseum. Rijksmuseum Jaarverslag 2013. 2014. URL: https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/nl/downloads/443ce976-21b3-4712-9d5b-7877a9973ed7/Rijksmuseum-jaarverslag-2013.pdf.

Rodriguez, Emilio (a) and Ann Richards Taylor (w). "The Giant. The Story of Michelangelo's David." *Treasure Chest of Fun and Fact* Vol.19, No.18 (May 1964), Dayton, Ohio: George A. Pflaum Publisher, Inc.: pp.3-8.

Rodriguez, Emilio (a) and Ann Richards Taylor (w). "The Giant. The Story of Michelangelo's David." [May 1964. Reprint.] *Treasure Chest of Fun and Fact* Vol.27, No.8 (July 1972), Minneapolis, Minn.: Treasure Chest of Fun and Fact (a division of T.S. Denison & Co. Inc.): pp.57-62.

Rüger, Alex. "Just handed the first copy of Barbara Stok's new comic strip "Vincent" to Andreas Blühm of @groningermuseum. Brilliant book!" Twitter. October 19, 2012, 6.18pm. URL: https://twitter.com/AxelRuger/status/259342869301714944.

Pronk, Martijn. Interview via Questionnaire by Tobias J. Yu-Kiener. May 11, 2018.

Ruijters, Marcel. Interview by Tobias J. Yu-Kiener. November 1, 2017.

Schutten, Jan Paul. "Letters ontbreken, maar dit wordt het omslag van 'Jan van Scorel, Sede Vacante 1523' van Paul Teng en ondergetekende." Twitter. August 14, 2013a, 4.37pm. URL: https://twitter.com/janpaulschutten/status/367671316205170688.

Schutten, Jan Paul. "Een stripboek in opdracht van het Centraal Museum. Zij prefereren trouwens de term 'beeldroman' en met zulke tekeningen is dat wel terecht.." Twitter. August 14, 2013b, 4.37pm. URL: https://twitter.com/janpaulschutten/status/367671355405135874.

Schutten, Jan Paul. "Sneak preview van onze tentoonstelling 'Jan van Scorel, Sede vacante 1523' in het Centraal Museum." Twitter. October 17, 2013c, 12.22pm. URL: https://twitter.com/janpaulschutten/status/390799980262612992.

Schutten, Jan Paul. "Eindelijk een museumstuk! Zo ziet onze tentoonstelling in het Centraal Museum er uit. Met Paul Teng en Edwin Jacobs." Facebook. October 18, 2013d. URL: https://www.facebook.com/janpaul.schutten/posts/678043498874065.

[Sciotto, Antonio] (a) and [Salvatico] (w). "Il prigioniero di Castel Sant'Angelo: Benvenuto Cellini [1]." *Messaggero dei Ragazzi* No.1 (January 1964a), Padova: Edizioni Grafiche Messaggero di S. Antonio.

[Sciotto, Antonio] (a) and [Salvatico] (w). "Il prigioniero di Castel Sant'Angelo: Benvenuto Cellini [2]." *Messaggero dei Ragazzi* No.2 (January 1964b), Padova: Edizioni Grafiche Messaggero di S. Antonio.

[Sciotto, Antonio] (a) and [Salvatico] (w). "Il prigioniero di Castel Sant'Angelo: Benvenuto Cellini [3]." *Messaggero dei Ragazzi* No.3 (January 1964c), Padova: Edizioni Grafiche Messaggero di S. Antonio.

[Sciotto, Antonio] (a) and [Salvatico] (w). "Il prigioniero di Castel Sant'Angelo: Benvenuto Cellini [4]." *Messaggero dei Ragazzi* No.4 (January 1964d), Padova: Edizioni Grafiche Messaggero di S. Antonio.

[Sciotto, Antonio] (a) and [Salvatico] (w). "Il prigioniero di Castel Sant'Angelo: Benvenuto Cellini [5]." *Messaggero dei Ragazzi* No.5 (February 1964a), Padova: Edizioni Grafiche Messaggero di S. Antonio.

[Sciotto, Antonio] (a) and [Salvatico] (w). "Il prigioniero di Castel Sant'Angelo: Benvenuto Cellini [6]." *Messaggero dei Ragazzi* No.6 (February 1964b), Padova: Edizioni Grafiche Messaggero di S. Antonio.

[Sciotto, Antonio] (a) and [Salvatico] (w). "Il prigioniero di Castel Sant'Angelo: Benvenuto Cellini [7]." *Messaggero dei Ragazzi* No.7 (February 1964c), Padova: Edizioni Grafiche Messaggero di S. Antonio.

[Sciotto, Antonio] (a) and [Salvatico] (w). "Il prigioniero di Castel Sant'Angelo: Benvenuto Cellini [8]." *Messaggero dei Ragazzi* No.8 (February 1964d), Padova: Edizioni Grafiche Messaggero di S. Antonio.

Schutten, Jan Paul. Interview via Questionnaire by Tobias J. Yu-Kiener. March 17, 2018.

Sieber, Rebekka. Dokumentation über die „Führungen für Familien" am Fumetto 2008 in Luzern. Kuverum Kulturvermittlung. Report. May 2008. Accessed 14/02/2020. URL: https://www.kuverum.ch/cmsfiles/projekte/dokumente/44/_Fumetto.pdf.

Stack, Frank. "No Hope. No Fear. The Unraveling of Caravaggio's Career." Blab! No.8 (Summer 1995). Northhampton, MA.: Kitchen Sink Press: p.73-84.

Stok, Barbara. *Vincent*. Amsterdam: Nijgh & Van Ditmar, 2012.

Stok, Barbara. *Vincent*. London: SelfMadeHero, 2014.

Stok, Barbara. Interview by Tobias J. Yu-Kiener. October 26, 2017.

[Sundel, Alfred] (w) and [Uncredited] (a). "Cellinis eventyr." *Illustrerte Klassikere* No.128 (1961), Illustrerte Klassikere A/S.

Teng, Paul. "Paul Teng over Jan van Scorel." StripSpeciaalzaak.be, December 10, 2013. Accessed 08/02/2020. URL: http://www.stripspeciaalzaak.be/Commentator/Paul-Teng.htm#PaulTeng01.

Teng, Paul & Jan Paul Schutten. *Jan van Scorel. Sede Vacante 1523*. Eindhoven: Lecturis, 2013.

Teng, Paul. Interview via Questionnaire by Tobias J. Yu-Kiener. May 7, 2018.

Tju Cheng, Lim. Interview by Tobias J. Yu-Kiener. June 19, 2019.

Toppi, [Sergio] (a) and E[ugenio] Ventura [Mino Milani] (w). "Benvenuto Cellini. Fuga da Castel Sant'Angelo." *Corriere dei Ragazzi* No.5 (February 1974), Milano: Carriere della Sera: pp.44-52.

Toppi, Sergio (a) and Mino Milani (w). "I Grandi nel Giallo: Leonardo da Vinci." *Corriere dei Ragazzi* Vol.4, No.21 (March 1975), Milano: Carriere della Sera: pp.[1-12].

Toppi, Sergio (a) and Mino Milani (w). "I Grandi nel Giallo: Giotto." *Corriere dei Ragazzi* Vol.4, No.30 (July 1975), Milano: Carriere della Sera: pp.[1-12].

Toppi, Sergio (a) and Mino Milani (w). "I Grandi nel Giallo: Michelangelo." *Corriere dei Ragazzi* Vol.4, No.49 (December 1975), Milano: Carriere della Sera: pp.[1-12].

Toppi, Sergio (a) and Mino Milani (w). "Giotto." Reprint, 1975. In *I Grandi nel Giallo*, *Superba No.2*, pp.15-26. Genoa: Edizioni Ivaldi Editore, 1982a.

Toppi, Sergio (a) and Mino Milani (w). "Michelangelo." Reprint, 1975. In *I Grandi nel Giallo*, *Superba No.2*, pp.39-50. Genoa: Edizioni Ivaldi Editore, 1982b.

Tsurumi, Andrea. Interview by Tobias J. Yu-Kiener. October 25, 2017.

Typex. *Rembrandt*. Amsterdam: Oog & Blik, 2013a.

Typex. *Rembrandt*. London: SelfMadeHero, 2013b.

Typex. Interview by Tobias J. Yu-Kiener. October 30, 2017.

Typographische Gesellschaft München. Christophe Badoux - When infographics meet comics. August 5, 2016. URL: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_TFL1K-oE0w&list=PLSooZfPnyNmGUgcRPd5VmJ4yHNSLFLJ0j&index=10&t=0s.

Uitgeverij Nijgh. "Rechten Vincent - de biografie gemaakt door Barbara Stok al voor verschijnen verkocht aan Engeland." Twitter. October 8, 2012, 4.54pm. URL: https://twitter.com/Nijgh/status/255335382932131840.

Uitgeverij Oog&Blik. "Hij is binnen: REMBRANDT!" Twitter. April 4, 2013a, 4.49pm. URL: https://twitter.com/oog_enblik/status/319839105389326336.

Uitgeverij Oog&Blik. "Typex in het NOS Journaal." Twitter. April 5, 2013b, 9.13pm URL: https://twitter.com/oog_enblik/status/320268048198164480.

Uitgeverij Oog&Blik. "Doe mee en win Rembrandt van Typex!" Twitter. April 5, 2013c, 10.08pm. URL: https://twitter.com/oog_enblik/status/320100521597870080.

Uitgeverij Oog&Blik. "Typex in de Pauw & Witteman zap service." Twitter. April 7, 2013d, 12.49pm. URL: https://twitter.com/oog_enblik/status/320865853073653760.

Uitgeverij Oog&Blik. "Trailer - Typex tekent Rembrandt via @youtube." Twitter. April 11, 2013e 10.41pm. URL: https://twitter.com/oog_enblik/status/322283362440081408.

Uitgeverij Oog&Blik. "WOW!!!! - Rembrandt by Typex – review via @guardian." Twitter. April 15, 2013f, 10.16pm. URL: https://twitter.com/oog_enblik/status/323726462123376641.

Uitgeverij Oog&Blik. "Win een gesigneerde 'Rembrandt' van Typex!" Twitter. April 23, 2013g 12.08pm. URL: https://twitter.com/oog_enblik/status/326653854190030848.

Uitgeverij Oog&Blik. "Zaterdag (Free Comic Day) signeert Typex bij Mekanik Strip in Antwerpen." Twitter. May 1, 2013h, 9.04pm. URL: https://twitter.com/oog_enblik/status/329506718511931392.

Uitgeverij Oog&Blik. "Komende donderdag signeert en spreekt Typex in Londen, bij Waterstones in Covent Garden." Twitter. June 17, 2013i, 3.41pm. URL: https://twitter.com/oog_enblik/status/346638648185348096.

Uitgeverij Oog&Blik. "Erik Kriek, Typex, Peter van Dongen en Jan Cleijne signeren op de Uitmarkt – Oogenblick." Twitter. August 21, 2013j, 4.03pm. URL: https://twitter.com/oog_enblik/status/370199398807912448.

Uitgeverij Oog&Blik. "Rembrandt: 'Prachtig, zeer de moeite waard'." Twitter. November 28, 2013k, 2.57pm. URL: https://twitter.com/oog_enblik/status/406074297858273280.

Uitgeverij Oog&Blik. "Hoera! Rembrandt van Typex wint Willy Vandersteenprijs." Twitter. December 13, 2013l, 9.27pm. URL: https://twitter.com/oog_enblik/status/411608298060644352.

Uitgeverij Oog&Blik. "Speciaal voor #NRC maakte Typex een kerstverhaal over Rembrandt. Vanmiddag in de krant!" Twitter. December 19, 2013m, 3.33pm. URL: https://twitter.com/oog_enblik/status/413936675713998849.

Uitgeverij Oog&Blik. "Rembrandt, Helden van de Tour en Blast 3 staan op de shortlist van de Cutting Edge Awards. Stemmen kan hier:" Twitter. January 14, 2014a, 9.32am. URL: https://twitter.com/oog_enblik/status/422662438664667136

Uitgeverij Oog&Blik. "'Rembrandt' (Typex), 'Verdwaald' (@Shamillustrates) en Blast 3 (Manu Larcenet) genomineerd door Het @Stripschap voor Album van het jaar!" Twitter. February 11, 2014b, 10.32pm. URL: https://twitter.com/oog_enblik/status/433186681911402496.

Uitgeverij Oog&Blik. "Typex, Jan Cleijne en Charles Burns in The Guardian's best graphic novels of 2014!" Twitter. December 8, 2014c, 2.31pm. URL: https://twitter.com/oog_enblik/status/541963343305531392.

[Uncredited] (a & w). "Corporal Collins. 'Infantryman.'" *Blue Ribbon Comics* Vol.1, No.2 (December 1939a), St. Louis, Mo./New York, N.Y.: M. L. J. Magazines, Inc.: [pp.61-65,]no page.

[Uncredited] (a & w). "Air Patrol. 'Sky Raiders Of The Western Front.'" *Top-Notch Comics* Vol.1, No.1 (December 1939b), St. Louis, Mo./New York, N.Y.: M. L. J. Magazines, Inc.: [pp.30-34,]no page

[Uncredited] (a & w). "Leonardo Da Vinci." *Blue Ribbon Comics* Vol.1, No.22 (March 1942), St. Louis, Mo./New York, N.Y.: M. L. J. Magazines, Inc.: pp.[52-57,]1-6.

[Uncredited] (a & w). "Benvenuto Cellini." *Top-Notch Comics* Vol.1, No.26 (April 1942), St. Louis, Mo./New York, N.Y.: M. L. J. Magazines, Inc.: pp.[55-60,]1-6.

[Uncredited] (a & w). "Michelangelo. Maker Of Giants." *True Comics* No.14 (July 1942), Chicago, Ill./New York, N.Y.: The Parents' Magazine Press, Division of The Parental Institute, Inc.: pp.51-58.

[Uncredited] (a & w). "Madame Tussaud's Waxworks." *True Comics* No.15 (August 1942), Chicago, Ill./New York, N.Y.: The Parents' Magazine Press, Division of The Parental Institute, Inc.: pp.54-59.

[Uncredited] (a & w). "Leonardo da Vinci: Painter And Scientist. Pioneer in Engineering." *Real Life Comics* Vol.3, No.2 [No.8] (November 1942), New York, N.Y.: Nedor Publishing: [pp.62-66,]no page.

[Uncredited] (a & w). "Leonardo da Vinci, The Man Who Knew Everything!" *Pioneer Picture Stories* Vol.1, No.6 (March 1943), New York, N.Y.: Street & Smith Publications: [pp.28-35,]no page.

[Uncredited] (a & w). "Benvenuto Cellini." *Real Life Comics* No.26 (November 1945), New York, N.Y.: Nedor Publishing: [pp.9-15,]no page.

[Uncredited] (a & w). "Winslow Homer, Rugged American Painter." *Real Life Comics* No.31 (May 1946a), New York, N.Y.: Nedor Publishing: [pp.37-40,]no page.

[Uncredited] (a & w). "Sir Christopher Wren." *Real Life Comics* No.31 (May 1946b), New York, N.Y.: Nedor Publishing: [pp.41-45,]no page.

[Uncredited] (a & w). "500 Years Too Soon!" *True Comics* No.58 (March 1947), Chicago, Ill./New York, N.Y.: True Comics Inc. (a subsidiary of the publishers of Parents' Magazine) [The Parents' Magazine Press, Division of The Parental Institute, Inc.]: [pp.3-10,]no page.

[Uncredited] (a & w). "Masterpiece In Bronze." *True Comics* No.64 (September 1947), Chicago, Ill./New York, N.Y.: True Comics Inc. (a subsidiary of the publishers of Parents' Magazine) [The Parents' Magazine Press, Division of The Parental Institute, Inc.]: [pp.26-28,]no page.

[Uncredited] (a & w). "The Angelus By Jean Francois Millet." *Treasure Chest of Fun and Facts* Vol.3, No.5 (October 1947), Dayton, Ohio: George A. Pflaum Publisher, Inc.: pp.16-17.

[Uncredited] (a & w). "Artist Of The Vatican: Michelangelo." *Treasure Chest of Fun and Facts* Vol.3, No.13 (February 1948), Dayton, Ohio: George A. Pflaum Publisher, Inc.: pp.10-13.

[Uncredited] (a & w). "The Three Maries at the Tomb." *Treasure Chest of Fun and Fact* Vol.3, No.15 (March 1948), Dayton, Ohio: George A. Pflaum Publisher, Inc.: pp.16-17.

[Uncredited] (a & w). "The Amazing Story Of Walt Disney." *True Comics* No.73 (October 1948a), Chicago, Ill./New York, N.Y.: True Comics Inc. (a subsidiary of the publishers of Parents' Magazine) [The Parents' Magazine Press, Division of The Parental Institute, Inc.]: [pp.22-27,]no page.

[Uncredited] (a & w). "Vagabond: The Story Of Claude Lorraine." *Treasure Chest of Fun and Fact* Vol.4, No.3 (October 1948b), Dayton, Ohio: George A. Pflaum Publisher, Inc.: pp.20-26.

[Uncredited] (a & w). "The Story Of Painting [1]." *Treasure Chest of Fun and Fact* Vol.4, No.13 (February 1949), Dayton, Ohio: George A. Pflaum Publisher, Inc.: pp.20-27.

[Uncredited] (a & w). "The Story Of Painting [2]." *Treasure Chest of Fun and Fact* Vol.4, No.14 (March 1949), Dayton, Ohio: George A. Pflaum Publisher, Inc.: pp.9-13.

[Uncredited] (a & w). "Who Am I?" *Treasure Chest of Fun and Fact* Vol.7, No.11 (January 1952), Dayton, Ohio: George A. Pflaum Publisher, Inc.: p.34.

[Uncredited] (a & w). "Adventures of Cellini." *Classics Illustrated* No.38 (October 1961), New York, N.Y.: Gilberton Company Inc.

[Uncredited] (a & w). "Adventures of Cellini (The Life of Benvenuto Cellini)." *Classics Illustrated* No.155 (1961a) Leicester/London: Thorpe & Porter Ltd.

[Uncredited] (a & w). "Cellinis äventyr." *Illustrerade Klassiker* No.141 (1961b), Centerförlaget.

[Uncredited] (a & w). "Cellinis eventyr." *Illustrerte Klassikere* No.141 (1961c), Forlaget I.K. A/SForlaget I.K. A/S.

[Uncredited] (a & w). "De Avonturenvan Benvenuto Cellini." *Illustrated Classics* No.136 (1961d), Classics Nederland.

[Uncredited] (a & w). "Cellinin Seikkailut." *Kuvitettuja Klassikkoja* No.100 (1962), Kuvajulkaisut.

[Uncredited] (a & w). "Our Heritage. The Shrine Of Democracy." *Treasure Chest of Fun and Fact* Vol.19, No.8 (December 1963a), Dayton, Ohio: George A. Pflaum Publisher, Inc.: pp.18-19.

[Uncredited] (a & w). "The Shrine Of Democracy. The Story Of Mt. Rushmore [1]." *Treasure Chest of Fun and Fact* Vol.19, No.8 (December 1963b), Dayton, Ohio: George A. Pflaum Publisher, Inc.: pp.20-25.

[Uncredited] (a & w). "The Shrine Of Democracy. The Story Of Mt. Rushmore [2]." *Treasure Chest of Fun and Fact* Vol.19, No.9 (January 1964), Dayton, Ohio: George A. Pflaum Publisher, Inc.: pp.20-25.

[Uncredited] (a & w). "Our Heritage. Statue Of Liberty." *Treasure Chest of Fun and Fact* Vol.19, No.18 (May 1964), Dayton, Ohio: George A. Pflaum Publisher, Inc.: pp.18-19.

[Uncredited] (a & w). "Die Abenteur Cellinis. Das Leben des Benvenuto Cellini." *Illustrierte Klassiker* No.114 (September 1965), Aachen: Bildschriftenverlag GmbH.

Walsh, William A. "Bill" (a & w). "Sculptress Of The President." *Treasure Chest of Fun and Fact* Vol.22, No.12 (February 1967), Dayton, Ohio: George A. Pflaum Publisher, Inc.: pp.3-8.

Ward, King (a) and [Uncredited] (w). "Lady Of Liberty." *It Really Happened* No.10 (August 1947), New York, N.Y.: Visual Editions, Inc.: pp.[5-8,]1-4.

van de Willige, Hans. Interview via Questionnaire by Tobias J. Yu-Kiener. December 12, 2017.

Van Gogh Museum. "Barbara Stok, de kersverse winnares van de Stripschapprijs 2009, zal stripbiografie van Vincent van Gogh tekenen." Twitter. August 25, 2009, 1.57pm. URL: https://twitter.com/vangoghmuseum/status/3534102234.

Van Gogh Museum. "TV-tip for tonight: Vrw.zkt.knst at NED2 23:05-23:35 with Barbara Stok and the making of her new comic-book about Vincent van Gogh." Twitter. June 19, 2011, 12.53pm. URL: https://twitter.com/vangoghmuseum/status/82415776988004352.

Van Gogh Museum. "Today is the presentation of the new graphic novel 'Vincent' by Barbara Stok in Groningen Library (Bibliotheek Groningen). So it's available in bookstores from now on, in Dutch and English! There's also a small exhibition travelling to various Dutch public libraries in which you can see how Barbara Stok was inspired by Van Gogh: 19 October 2012 – 21 November 2012: Groningen Library. 23 November 2012 - 27 December 2012: Nijmegen Library. 28 December 2012 – 2 February 2013: Centre Céramique, Maastricht Library. 5 February 2013 – 3 March 2013: Breda Library. 5 March 2013 – 15 April 2013: The Hague Central Library. 16 April 2013 – 3 May 2013: Almere's Library." Facebook. October 19, 2012a. URL: https://www.facebook.com/VanGoghMuseum/photos/a.179281710596/10152181017980597 .

Van Gogh Museum. "Only one week to go until the launch of a new graphic novel by Barbara Stok about Vincent van Gogh. 'Vincent' is about Van Gogh's short, intense period in the southern French city of Arles in 1888-1889. The book will be available in Dutch and English from 19 October. Here's a sneak peek:" Facebook. October 21, 2012b. URL: https://www.facebook.com/VanGoghMuseum/photos/a.179281710596/10152163049880597 /?type=3.

Van Gogh Museum. "From today on the presentation 'Barbara Stok draws Vincent van Gogh' can be viewed at the Nijmegen Library." Facebook. November 23, 2012c. URL: https://www.facebook.com/VanGoghMuseum/photos/a.179281710596/10152269586155597 /?type=3.

Van Gogh Museum. "Vanaf vandaag in de bibliotheek #Nijmegen: de expositie '@BarbaraStok tekent Vincent van Gogh'" Twitter. November 23, 2012d, 3.13pm. URL: https://twitter.com/vangoghmuseum/status/271994824943603712.

Van Gogh Museum. "It's Christmas Eve! Have a wonderful evening. Image: a cartoon by Barbara Stok from the comic book 'Vincent'." Facebook. December 21, 2012e. URL: https://www.facebook.com/VanGoghMuseum/photos/a.179281710596/10152338726740597 /?type=3.

Van Gogh Museum. "Vanaf vandaag in de bibliotheek #Maastricht: de expositie '@BarbaraStok tekent Vincent van Gogh'" Twitter. December 28, 2012f, 3.31p. URL: https://twitter.com/vangoghmuseum/status/284683112611454976.

Van Gogh Museum. "RT @dandidier Book preview: 'Barbara Stok draws Vincent van Gogh' (PDF)." Twitter. December 28, 2012g, 4.02pm. URL: https://twitter.com/vangoghmuseum/status/284690806344925184.

Van Gogh Museum. "It's World Literary Day! Have you taken a look yet at one of our latest publications 'Vincent' by award winning graphic novel artist Barbara Stok?" Facebook. January 8, 2013a. URL: https://www.facebook.com/VanGoghMuseum/photos/a.179281710596/10152389217860597 /?type=3.

Van Gogh Museum. "Today at 2 pm a lecture and workshop by graphic novel artist Barbara Stok at Centre Céramique." Facebook. January 11, 2013b. URL: https://www.facebook.com/VanGoghMuseum/photos/a.179281710596/10152397043300597 /?type=3.

Van Gogh Museum. "Vanaf morgen in @BiebBreda: expositie van @barbarastok over stripverhaal 'Vincent'. meer info." Twitter. February 4, 2013c, p.5.12pm. URL: https://twitter.com/vangoghmuseum/status/298479134508711936.

Van Gogh Museum. "Barbara Stok's graphic novel 'Vincent' takes you on a journey to the brief and intense period of time that Van Gogh spent in the south of France.
A small travelling presentation in various public libraries in the Netherlands reveals the inspiration which Barbara Stok derived from Van Gogh. The exhibition is on view in Breda Library, Molenstraat 6 from 5 February until 3 March. Admission is free." Facebook. February 4, 2013d. URL: https://www.facebook.com/VanGoghMuseum/photos/a.179281710596/10152509398220597 /?type=3.

Van Gogh Museum. "Barbara Stok's graphic novel 'Vincent' takes you on a journey to the brief and intense period of time that Van Gogh spent in the south of France. A small travelling presentation in various public libraries in the Netherlands reveals the inspiration which Barbara Stok derived from Van Gogh. From today on, the presentation is on view in The Hague Central Library, until 15 April." Facebook. March 5, 2013e. URL: https://www.facebook.com/VanGoghMuseum/photos/a.179281710596/10152608886575597 /?type=3.

Van Gogh Museum. "From today on the presentation 'Barbara Stok draws Vincent van Gogh' is on view in The Hague Central Library. Info." Twitter. March 5, 2013f, 3.08pm. URL: https://twitter.com/vangoghmuseum/status/308957225467121664.

Van Gogh Museum. "From this week on the presentation 'Vincent' by @barbarastok is on view in the public library of Almere. More info." Twitter. April 17, 2013g, 4.09pm. URL: https://twitter.com/vangoghmuseum/status/324540043756724225.

Van Gogh Museum. "The travelling presentation of @barbarastok's graphic novel 'Vincent' is on view in @OBAmsterdam till 30 June." Twitter. May 6, 2013h, 3.18pm. URL: https://twitter.com/vangoghmuseum/status/331412772652986369.

Van Gogh Museum. "The travelling presentation 'Barbara Stok draws Vincent van Gogh' has been extended till 30 August @OBAmsterdam." Twitter. June 30, 2013i, 10.10pm. URL: https://twitter.com/vangoghmuseum/status/351266362112491520.

Van Gogh Museum. "Today is your last chance to see the presentation 'Barbara Stok draws Vincent van Gogh' @OBAmsterdam. More info." August 30, 2013j, 12.36pm. URL: https://twitter.com/vangoghmuseum/status/373408958108561409.

Van Gogh Museum. "Vincent van Gogh in his bedroom. Drawing by Barbara Stok from her graphic novel 'Vincent'. Don't you just love this interpretation? Currently, two versions of Van Gogh's painting 'The bedroom' are on view in our exhibition 'Van Gogh at work'." Facebook. September 16, 2013k. URL: https://www.facebook.com/VanGoghMuseum/photos/a.179281710596/10153252170110597/?type=3.

Van Gogh Museum. "Barbara Stok's graphic novel 'Vincent' is now available in Turkish!" Twitter. October 20, 2013l, 3.00pm. URL: https://twitter.com/vangoghmuseum/status/391926787024097280.

Van Gogh Museum. Jaarverslag 2016. 2017a. URL: https://www.vangoghmuseum.nl/download/2e062daa-0e48-4e6b-99fa-be460634140b.pdf.

Van Gogh Museum. Consolidated Management Report 2016. 2017b. URL: https://vangoghmuseum-assetserver.appspot.com/serve?id=5738025774481408&filename=VanGoghMuseum-Management-Report-2016.

Vasari, Giorgio. Giorgio Vasari. The Lives of the Artists. Translated with an Introduction and Notes by Julia Conaway Bondanella and Peter Bondanella. 1991. Reprint, Oxford/New York, N.Y.: Oxford University Press, 1998.

Yslaire, Bernar & Jean-Claude Carrière. *Le Ciel au-dessus du Louvre*. Paris: Futuropolis, 2009a.

Yslaire, Bernar and Jean-Claude Carrière. "Bernar Yslaire & Jean-Claude Carrière : « Derrière chaque tableau, il y a une histoire »." Interview by Morgan di Salvia. ActuaBD, December 14, 2009b. Accessed 02/02/2020. URL: https://www.actuabd.com/Yslaire-J-C-Carriere-Derriere.

Yslaire, Bernar and Jean-Claude Carrière. "La Terreur et la quête de l'Etre supreme." Interview by Anne-Sophie Chevalier. Claire de Plume. Blog littéraire, December 21, 2009c. Accessed 02/02/2020. URL: https://clairdeplume.wordpress.com/tag/le-ciel-au-dessus-du-louvre/.

Yslaire, Bernar and Jean-Claude Carrière. "Jean-Claude Carriére: « L'histoire est toujours une reinvention du passé »." Interview by Direct Matin. CNews (Online), July 24, 2013. Accessed 26/11/2018. URL: https://www.cnews.fr/culture/2013-07-18/jean-claude-carriere-lhistoire-est-toujours-une-reinvention-du-passe-512082.

Yslaire, Bernar & Jean-Claude Carrière. *The Sky Over The Louvre*. New York, N.Y.: NBM Publishing, 2011.

Zentrum Paul Klee. Geschäftsbericht 2007. Stiftung Zentrum Paul Klee. 2008. URL: https://www.zpk.org/admin/data/hosts/zpk/files/page_editorial_paragraph_file/file_en/174/gb_internet.pdf?lm=1380035144.

Zentrum Paul Klee. Geschäftsbericht 2008. Stiftung Zentrum Paul Klee. 2009. URL: https://www.zpk.org/admin/data/hosts/zpk/files/page_editorial_paragraph_file/file_en/173/zpk_gb2008.pdf?lm=1380035086.

Secondary Literature

van Adrichem, Esther. "Zien: Typex voor het Rijksmuseum." *ELLE* (Online), April 13, 2013. Accessed 06/02/2020. URL: https://www.elle.com/nl/lifestyle/uitgaan/a297267/zien-typex-voor-het-rijksmuseum/.

Alaniz, José. "Eastern/Central European Comics." In *The Routledge Companion to Comics*, edited by Frank Bramlett, Roy Cook and Aaron Meskin, pp.98-105. London/New York, N.Y.: Routledge, 2017.

Alechinsky, Jeanne. "Edmond Baudoin et moi, on a fait une BD sur Dali qui sort le 16 nov. Attention c'est très beau <3." Twitter. October 31, 2012, 10.01am. URL: https://twitter.com/JaneAlechinsky/status/263581508516864000.

Aristotle. *De Anima*. Translations, Introduction and Notes by R. D. Hicks. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1907.

Ashkenazi, Ofer & Jacob Dittmar. "Comic as Historiography." *ImageText* Vol.11, No.1 (2019-2020): no page. Accessed 02/02/2020. URL: http://imagetext.english.ufl.edu/archives/v11_1/ashkenazi_dittmar/.

Atkins, Christopher D. M. *The Wrath of the Gods. Masterpieces by Rubens, Michelangelo, and Titian.* Philadelphia, PA: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 12 September – 6 December 2015. Exhibition Catalogue.

Audubon, John James. *The Birds of America*. Published in 4 volumes. London: John James Audubon, 1827-1839.

Audubon, John James. *Ornithological Biography, or An Account of the Habits of the Birds of the United States of America*. Accompanied by Descriptions of the Objects Represented in the Work Entitled *The Birds of America*, and Interspersed with Delineations of American Scenery and Manners. Published in 5 volumes. Edinburgh: Adam Black, 1831-1849.

Baetens, Jan and Hugo Frey. *The Graphic Novel. An Introduction.* New York, N.Y.: Cambridge University Press, 2015.

Baetens, Jan and Steven Surdiacourt. "European Graphic Narratives: Towards a Cultural and Mediological History." In *From Comic Strips to Graphic Novels. Contributions to the Theory and History of Graphic Narrative*, edited by Daniel Stein and Jan-Noel Thon, pp.347-362. Berlin/Boston: DeGruyter, 2013.

Barker, Emma. "Academic into modern: Turner and Leighton." In *Academies, Museums and Canons of Art*, edited by Gill Perry and Colin Cunningham, pp.169-187. New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1999a.

Barker, Emma. "The Making of a Canonical Artist: Vermeer." In *The Changing Status of the Artist*, edited by Emma Barker, Nick Webb & Kim Woods, pp.192-219. New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1999b.

Barker, Emma, Nick Webb & Kim Woods (eds). *The Changing Status of the Artist*. New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1999a.

Barker, Emma, Nick Webb & Kim Woods. "Historical introduction: the idea of the artist." In *The Changing Status of the Artist*, edited by Emma Barker, Nick Webb & Kim Woods, pp.7-25. New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1999b.

Barthes, Roland. "The Death of the Author," In *Authorship. From Plato to the Postmodern: A Reader* edited by Seán Burke, pp.125-130. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1995.

Bätschmann, Oskar. *The Artist in the Modern World. A Conflict Between Market and Self-Expression*. Dumont: Cologne, 1997.

Beaty, Bart. "Musée du Louvre, Paris, Le Petit dessein: Le Louvre s'ouvre au neuvieme art ['Modest Plans: The Louvre Opens up to the Ninth Art'], 22 January to 13 April 2009." Review of the exhibition *Le Petit Dessein. Le Louvre invite la bande dessinée* at Musée du Louvre. *European Comic Art* Vol.2, No.1 (2009): pp.161-162.

Beaty, Bart. *Comics versus Art*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012.

Beaty, Bart and Stephen Weimer (eds). *Critical Survey of Graphic Novels. History, Theme, and Technique*. Ipswich, MA: Salem Press, 2013.

Berenson, Bernard. *Lorenzo Lotto. An Essay in Constructive Art Criticism*. London/New York, N.Y.: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1895.

Bistis, Margo. "Bad Art: The Decline of Academic Art in the Caricatural Salon." *International Journal of Comic Art* Vol.7, No.1 (2005): 126-148.

Bieb Groningen. "Volgende week vrijdag boekpresentatie 'Vincent' en expositie Barbara Stok. Van Gogh Museum start tournee bij ons!" Twitter. October 11, 2012, 2.03pm. URL: https://twitter.com/biebgroningen/status/256379593395683328.

Boffey, Daniel. "End of Golden Age: Dutch museum bans term from exhibits." *The Guardian* (Online), September 13, 2019. URL: https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/sep/13/end-of-golden-age-amsterdam-museum-bans-term-from-exhibits (Accessed 29/01/2021).

Bollom, Brandon W. and Shawn N. McKinney. "Alphonse Marie Mucha: Posters, Panels…and Comic Books?" *International Journal of Comic Art* Vol.7, No.1 (2005): pp.149-179.

Borbein, Adolf H. "Canons. Systems of Proportions in Ancient Egypt, India and Greece." In *Canons and Values. Ancient to Modern*, edited by Larry Silver and Kevin Terraciano, pp.22-41. Los Angeles, Calif.: Getty Publications, 2019.

Bosswell, David and Jessica Evans (eds). *Representing the Nation: A Reader. Histories, Heritage and Museums*. Reprint 1999. London/ New York, N.Y.: Routledge, 2004.

Bourdieu, Pierre. "The Field of Cultural Production, or: The Economic World Reversed." Translated by Richard Nice. *Poetics* No.12 (1983), pp.311-356.

Bourdieu, Pierre. *The Field of Cultural Production. Essays on Art and Literature*. Edited and introduced by Randal Johnson. New York, N.Y.: Columbia University Press, 1993.

Bovey, David. "The Artist Biopic: A Historical Analysis of Narrative Cinema, 1934-2010." (PhD. Diss, University of Westminster, 2015).

Brandl, Mark Staff. "Panels, Covers, and Viewers: My Mongrels of Painting, Installation, and Comics." *International Journal of Comic Art* Vol.9, No.2 (2007): 43-57.

Brienza, Casey and Paddy Johnston. "Introduction: Understanding Comics Work." In *Cultures of Comics Work*, Casey Brienza and Paddy Johnston, pp.1-18. New York, N.Y./London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016.

Brown, Jane. "Dark Tourism shops: selling 'dark' and 'difficult' products." *International Journal of Culture, Tourism and Hospitality Research* Vol.7, No.3 (2013), pp.272-280.

de Bruijn, Enny. "Spotlight: Stripboek over pausen en ketters." *Reformatorisch Dagblad* (Online), January 27, 2014. Accessed 17/05/2019. URL: https://www.rd.nl/boeken/spotlight-stripboek-over-pausen-en-ketters-1.366995.

Buruma, Ian. *Murder in Amsterdam. The Death of Theo van Gogh and the Limits of Tolerance*. London: Atlantic Books, 2007.

Burckhardt, Jacob C. *The Cicerone: Art Guide to Painting in Italy. For the Use of Travellers*. Edited by Albert von Zahn. Translation Mrs A. H. Clough. London: John Murray, 1873.

Burckhardt, Jacob C. *The Civilization of the Period of the Renaissance in Italy*. Volume I & II. Translation by S. G. C. Middlemore. London: C. Kegan Paul & Co, 1879.

Burns, Sarah. *Inventing the Modern Artist – Art and Culture in Gilded Age America*. London/New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996.

Carlin, John, Paul Karasik, and Brian Walker (eds). *Masters of American Comics*. Los Angeles: Hammer Museum and the Museum of Contemporary Art, 20 November 2005 – 12 March 2006, and New Haven/London: Yale University Press. Exhibition Catalogue.

Castaldi, Simone. "A Brief History of Comics in Italy and Spain." In *The Routledge Companion to Comics*, edited by Frank Bramlett, Roy Cook and Aaron Meskin, pp.79-87. London/New York, N.Y.: Routledge, 2017.

Cennini, Cennino. *The Book of the Art Cennini Cennini. A Contemporary Practical Treatise on Quattrocento Painting*. Translation and Notes by Christiana J. Herringham. London: George Allen, 1899.

Charla, Steve. "The International Museum of Cartoon Art." *Animation World Magazine* Vol.2, No.11 (1998): no page. Accessed 14/02/2020. URL: https://www.awn.com/mag/issue2.11/2.11pages/2.11charlacartoon.html.

Clark, Kenneth. *The Romantic Rebellion. Romantic versus Classic Art*. London: John Murray Publishers Ltd, 1973.

Cortsen, Rikke Platz. "Kverneland and Fiske in the Footsteps of Great Artists: Re-tracing as a Tool for Artist Biographies in Comics Form." *ImageText* Vol.10, No.3 (2018-19): no page. Accessed 28/05/2020. URL: http://imagetext.english.ufl.edu/archives/v10_3/cortsen/.

Crow, Thomas E. *Painters and Public Life in Eighteenth-Century Paris*. New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1985.

Csicsery-Ronay, Istvan Jr. "Editorial Introduction: The British SF Boom." *Science Fiction Studies* Vol.30, No. 91 (November 2003): no page. Accessed 07/02/2021. UR: https://www.depauw.edu/sfs/documents/introduction91.htm.

Cyrill, Jasmin. "Honoré Daumier: Caricature and the Conception/Reception of 'Fine Art.'" *International Journal of Comic Art* Vol.19, No.1 (2017): 575-585.

Daures, Pierre-Laurent. "exposure." Updated: June 2014. Accessed 28/05/2020. URL: http://neuviemeart.citebd.org/spip.php?article804.

Davidson, Sol. M. "The Funnies' Neglected Branch: Special Purpose Comics." *International Journal of Comic Art* Vol.7, No.2 (2005): pp.340-357.

Delrieux, Jennifer. "Des bulles de la vie et l'œuvre de Dalí." *SudOuest* (Online), March 23, 2013. URL: https://www.sudouest.fr/2013/03/23/des-bulles-de-la-vie-et-l-oeuvre-de-dali-1003260-4608.php.

Dewdney, Andrew, David Dibosa and Victoria Walsh. *Post-Critical Museology. Theory and Practice in the Art Museum*. London/New York, N.Y.: Routledge, 2013.

Duffy, Damian. "Learning From Comics on the Wall: Sequential Art Narrative Design in Museology and multimodal Education." *Visual Arts Research* Vol.35, No.1 (2009), pp.1-11.

Duncan, Carol. *Civilizing Rituals. Inside Public Art Museums*. 1995. Reprint, London/New York, N.Y.: Routledge, 2005.

Duncan, Randy, Matthew J. Smith, and Paul Levitz. *The Power of Comics. History, Form, and Function*. London/New Delhi/New York, N.Y./Sydney: Bloomsbury, 2015.

Edelstein, Dan. *The Terror of Natural Right. Republicanism, the Cult of Nature and The French Revolution*. Chicago, Ill./London: The University of Chicago Press, 2009.

Eisner, Will. *Comics and Sequential Art. Principles and Practices from the Legendary Cartoonist*. Revised Edition. New York, N.Y./London: W. W. Norton & Company Inc., 2008a.

Eisner, Will. *Graphic Storytelling and Visual Narrative. Principles and Practices from the Legendary Cartoonist*. Revised Edition. New York, N.Y./London: W. W. Norton & Company Inc., 2008b.

Eyerman, Ron. *The Assassination of Theo van Gogh. From Social Drama to Cultural Trauma*. Durham/London: Duke University Press, 2008.

Falk, John H. and Lynn D. Dierking. *The Museum Experience Revisited*. London/New York, N.Y.: Routledge, 2012.

Fastert, Sabine, Alexis Joachimides, and Verena Krieger (eds). *Die Wierkehr des Künstlers. Themen und Positionen der aktuellen Künstler/innenforsschung*. Weimar/Köln/WienÖ Böhlau Verlag 2011.

Fine, Gary Alan, Albert M. Muniz Jr, and Toby Norris. "Marketing Artistic Careers: Pablo Picasso as Brand Manager." *European Journal of Marketing* Vol.48, No.1/2 (2014): pp.68-88.

Flecker, Uwe. "The Naked Fetish. Carl Einstein and the Western Canon of African Art." In *Canons and Values. Ancient to Modern*, edited by Larry Silver and Kevin Terraciano, pp.245-268. Los Angeles, Calif.: Getty Publications, 2019.

Flinn, Margaret C. "High Comic Art. The Louvre and the Bande Dessinée." *European Comic Art* Vol.6, No.2 (2013): pp.69-94.

Foucault, Michel. "What is an Author." In *The Foucault Reader. An Introduction to Foucault's Thoughts* edited by Paul Rabinow, pp.101-120, 1984. Reprint, London: Penguin Books, 1991.

French, Ylva and Sue Runyard. *Marketing and Public Relations for Museums, Galleries, Cultural and Heritage Attractions*. London/New York, N.Y.: Routledge, 2011.

Freud, Sigmund. *Eine Kindheitserinnerung des Leonardo da Vinci*. Vienna: Franz Deuticke, 1910.

Furino, Giaco. "Salvador's Sketchy Life Centers New Graphic Novel 'Dalí'." *VICE,* December 13, 2016. Accessed 08/10/2019. URL: https://www.vice.com/en_us/article/nz4amx/salvador-dali-graphic-novel-baudoin.

Gabilliet, Jean-Paul. *Of Comics and Men. A Cultural History of American Comic Books*. Translated by Bart Beaty and Nick Nguyen. Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi, 2010.

Gaertner, Johannes A. "Myth and Pattern in the Lives of Artists." *Art Journal* Vol.30, No.1 (1970): pp.27-30.

Gardner, Jeanne Emerson. "She Got Her Man, But Could She Keep Him? Love and Marriage in American Romance Comics, 1947-1954." *The Journal of American Culture* Vol.36, No.1 (2013): pp.16-24.

Gombrich, Ernst H. "*In Search of Cultural History. The Philip Maurice Deneke Lecture 1967*" Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969.

Goodnow, Trischa and James J. Kimble (eds). *The 10 cent war: Comic Books, Propaganda, and World War II*. Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi, 2016.

Gouch, Hugh. *The Terror in the French Revolution*. Second Edition. New York, N.Y./London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.

Gray, Brenna Clarke and Peter Wilkins. "The Case of the Missing Author: Toward an Anatomy of Collaboration in Comics." In *Cultures of Comics Work*, Casey Brienza and Paddy Johnston, pp.115-130. New York, N.Y./London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016.

Gray, Brenna Clarke. "Canadian Comics." In *The Routledge Companion to Comics*, edited by Frank Bramlett, Roy Cook and Aaron Meskin, pp.62-69. London/New York, N.Y.: Routledge, 2017.

Gregory, Sharon. "'The outer man tends to be a guide to the inner': the woodcut portraits in Vasari's *Lives* as parallel texts." *The Rise of the Image: Essays on the History of the Illustrated Art Book*, edited by Thomas Frangenberg, pp.51-85. London/New York, N.Y.: Routledge, 2016.

Gray, Maggie. *Alan Moore. Out from the Underground. Cartooning, Performance, and Dissident*. New York, N.Y./London: Palgrave Macmillan (2017).

Groensteen, Thierry. "un maître à dessiner: Egon Schiele." *Neuf et demi. Le blog de Thierry Groensteen* (blog). April 23, 2010. Accessed 28/05/2020. URL: http://neuviemeart.citebd.org/spip.php?article234.

Groensteen, Thierry. "quand la bande dessinée parle d'art... l'insolence du dominé." Updated: May 2015a. Accessed 28/05/2020. URL: http://neuviemeart.citebd.org/spip.php?article920.

Groensteen, Thierry. "quand la bande dessinée parle d'art... figures de l'artiste." Updated: May 2015b. Accessed 28/05/2020. URL: http://neuviemeart.citebd.org/spip.php?article928.

Groensteen, Thierry. "quand la bande dessinée parle d'art... convergences et questionnements." Updated: May 2015c. Accessed 28/05/2020. URL: http://neuviemeart.citebd.org/spip.php?article929.

Groensteen, Thierry. "Biographies of Famous Painters in Comics: What Becomes of the Paintings?" *ImageText* Vol.9, No.2 (2017-2018): no page. URL: http://imagetext.english.ufl.edu/archives/v9_2/groensteen/.

Grünewald, Dietrich (translated by Christina Little). "Crossing Borders: Graphic Novels Quoting Art." *International Journal of Comic Art* Vol.21, No.1 (2019): pp.242-274.

Grünewald, Dietrich. "Muss das sein? Das muss! Comicausstellungen und Ausstellungskataloge." In *Ran an die Wand. Rein in the Vitrine?! Internationale Positionen zum Ausstellen von Comics in der pädagogischen und musealen Praxis* edited by Barbara Maria Eggert and Anna Maria Loffredo, pp.40-. Munich: kopaed, 2020.

Guerico, Gabriele. *Art as Existence. The Artist's Monograph and Its Project*. Massachusetts/London: The MIT Press, 2006.

Hague, Ian. "Comics and Cultural Studies." In *The Routledge Companion to Comics*, edited by Frank Bramlett, Roy Cook and Aaron Meskin, pp.424-432. London/New York, N.Y.: Routledge, 2017.

Hajdu, David. *The-Cent Plague. The Great Comic-Book Scare and How it Changed America*. New York, N.Y.: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2008.

Hangartner, Urs. "Klee, der gezeichnete Zeichner." *Neue Luzerner Zeitung, April 12,* 2008: p.39.

Hansen, Bert. "True-Adventure Comic Book and American Popular Culture in the 1940s: An Annotated Research Bibliography of the Medical Heroes." *International Journal of Comic Art* Vol.6, No.1 (2004): pp.117-147.

Hecht, George J. (ed.). *The War in Cartoons. A History of the War in 100 Cartoons by 27 of the Most Prominent American Cartoonists*. New York, N.Y.: E. P. Dutton & Company, 1919.

Hill, C. "Gallery Comics: The Beginnings." *International Journal of Comic Art* Vol.9, No.2 (2007): pp.6-12.

Holbo, John. "Caricature and Comics." In *The Routledge Companion to Comics*, edited by Frank Bramlett, Roy Cook and Aaron Meskin, pp.367-379. London/New York, N.Y.: Routledge, 2017.

Horton, Ian. "The Historians of the Art Form." In *The Secret Origins of Comic Studies*, edited by Matthew J. Smith & Randy Duncan, pp.56-70. New York, N.Y./London: Routledge, 2017.

Horton, Ian. "Comic books, science (fiction) and public relations." In *Visual Public Relations: Strategic Communication Beyond Text*, edited by Simon Collister and Sarah Roberts-Bowman, pp. 29-52. London/New York, N.Y.: Routledge, 2018.

Howarth, Dan. "Winners of the Dutch Design Awards 2012." October 22, 2012. Accessed 18/02/2020. URL: https://www.dezeen.com/2012/10/22/winners-of-the-dutch-design-awards-2012/.

Howell, David R. "The Mystery of Museums in Graphic Novels." *Journal of Graphic Novels and Comics* Vol.6, No.4 (2015): pp.419-429.

Inge, M. Thomas. "Origins of early comics and proto-comics." In *The Routledge Companion to Comics*, edited by Frank Bramlett, Roy Cook and Aaron Meskin, pp.9-15. London/New York, N.Y.: Routledge, 2017.

Institute for Contemporary Art (ICA). "Complete ICA Exhibitions List 1948 - Present - July 2017." July 5, 2017. Accessed//14/02/2020. URL: https://archive.ica.art/sites/default/files/downloads/Complete%20ICA%20Exhibitions%20List%201948%20-%20Present%20-%20July%202017.pdf.

Jameel, Ahmed. "Negotiating Artistic Identity in Comics Collaborations." In *Cultures of Comics Work*, Casey Brienza and Paddy Johnston, pp.175-188. New York, N.Y./London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016.

Jimenez, Javier. "The Economics of Museums and Cities." In *Cities, Museums and Soft Power* edited by Gail Dexter Lord and Ngaire Blankenberg, pp.29-48. Washington, DC: AAM Press, 2015.

Jones, Sam. "Madrid's Prado museum to display more female and foreign artists." *The Guardian* (Online), January 21, 2021. URL: https://www.theguardian.com/world/2021/jan/21/madrid-prado-museum-to-display-more-female-and-foreign-artists (Accessed 29/01/2021).

Kaenel, Philippe. "le rêve romantique et comique après füssli et goya: caricatures et récits graphiques." Updated: November 2014. Accessed 28/05/2020. URL: http://neuviemeart.citebd.org/spip.php?article857.

Kathostrip. "Sede Vacante 1523." November 2, 2013. Accessed 17/05/2019. URL: https://kathostrip.com/2013/11/02/sede-vacante-1523/.

Kennedy, Gabrielle. "Irma Boom and 'The Rijks.'" *Design.nl*, September 6, 2012. Accessed 20/02/2020. URL: http://www.design.nl/item/irma_boom_and_the_rijks.

Kennedy, Maev. "Shopping and Looking." *Museum Journal* April (2004), pp.28-31.

Kent, Tony. "The role of the museum shop in extending the visitor experience." *International Journal of Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Marketing* No.15 (2010), pp.67-77.

Kern, Adam L. "East Asian Comix. Intermingling Japanese Manga and Euro-American Comics." In *The Routledge Companion to Comics*, edited by Frank Bramlett, Roy Cook and Aaron Meskin, pp.106-115. London/New York, N.Y.: Routledge, 2017.

King, Catherine. "Italian artists in Search of Virtue, fame and honour c.1450-c.1650." In *The Changing Status of the Artist*, edited Emma Barker, Nick Webb & Kim Woods, pp.56-87. New Haven/London: Yale University Press,1999.

Kisters, Sandra. *The Lure of the Biographical. On the (Self-)Representation of Modern Artists*. Amsterdam: Valiz, 2017.

Kitschen, Friederike. "Making the Canon Visible. Art Historical Book Series in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries." In *Canons and Values. Ancient to Modern*, edited by Larry Silver and Kevin Terraciano, pp.216-244. Los Angeles, Calif.: Getty Publications, 2019.

van Klinken, Hans. "Paul Teng verstript Jan van Scorel." *Incognito Comics*. October 25, 2013, Accessed 08/02/2020. URL: http://incognito-comics.blogspot.com/2013/10/paul-teng-verstript-jan-van-scorel.html.

Kotler, Neil and Philip Kotler. "Can Museums be All Things to All People?: Missions, Goals, and Marketing's Role." *Museum Management and Curatorship* Vol.18, No.3 (2000), pp.271-287.

Krahel, David Hendry. "Why a Museum Store?" *Curator* Vol.14, No.3 (1971), pp.200-204.

Krauss, Rosalind. "Who Comes After the Subject?" In *The Life & The Work. Art and Biography*, edited by Charles G. Salas, pp.28-33. Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2007.

Kris, Ernst and Otto Kurz. *Die Legende vom Künstler. Ein Geschichtlicher Versuch*. Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1980.

Kruse, Petra. *Hochrenaissance im Vatikan: 1503-1534. Kunst und Kultur im Rom der Päpste I*. Bonn: Kunst- und Ausstellungshalle der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, 11 December 1998 – 11 April 1999. Exhibition catalogue.

Kunzle, David. *The History of the Comic Strip. Vol.1: The Early Comic Strip: Narrative Strips and Picture Stories in the European Broadsheet from c.1450 to 1825*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973.

Kunzle, David. *The History of the Comic Strip. Vol.2: The Nineteenth Century*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990.

Kurth, Laura and Pieter Glasberge. "The influence of populism on tolerance: a thematic content analysis of the Dutch Islam debate." *Culture and Religion* Vol.18, No.3 (2017): pp.212-231.

Kyaga, Simon. *Creativity And Mental Illness. The Mad Genius in Question*. Basingstoke/ New York, N.Y./London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2015.

Labarre, Nicolas. *Understanding Genre in Comics*. New York, N.Y./London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020.

La Cour, Erin. "Social Abstraction: Toward Exhibiting Comics as Comics." In *Bande dessinée et abstraction - Abstraction and comics* [Volume II] edited by Aarnoud Rommens, with the collaboration of Benoît Crucifix, Björn-Olav Dozo, Erwin Dejasse & Pablo Turnes, pp.401-417. Liège: Presses Universitaires de Liège, 2019.

Lajer-Burcharth, Ewa, *Necklines. The Art of Jacques-Louis David after the Terror*. New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1999.

Lefèvre, Pascal. "Gatekeeping at two main Belgian comics publishers, Dupuis and Lombard, at a time of transition (in the 1980s)." *Studies in Comics* Vol.6, No.1 (2015): pp.109-119.

Lefèvre, Pascal. "Gatekeeping in Comics Publishing: A Practical Guide to Gatekeeping Research." In *Cultures of Comics Work*, Casey Brienza and Paddy Johnston, pp.205-218. New York, N.Y./London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016.

Lefèvre, Pascal and Morgan di Salvia. "A Creative Culture Where It Is Hard to Make a Living: The Socio-Economic Situation of Comics Authors and Illustrators in Belgium." *European Comic Art* Vol.4, No.1 (2011): pp.59-80.

Lefèvre, Pascal. "Newspaper Strips." In *The Routledge Companion to Comics*, edited by Frank Bramlett, Roy Cook and Aaron Meskin, pp.16-34. London/New York, N.Y.: Routledge, 2017.

Lejeune, Marion. "Galerie." Updated: March 2015. Accessed 28/05/2020. URL: http://neuviemeart.citebd.org/spip.php?article909.

Leroy, Fabrice. "Joann Sfar Conjures Marc Chagall: The Politics of Visual Representation in *The Rabbi's Cat*." *European Comic Art* Vol.4, No.1 (2011): pp.39-57.

Leroy, Fabrice. "Painting the Painter: Meta-Representation and Magic Realism in Joann Sfar's *Chagall en Russie*." *European Comic Art* Vol.5, No.2 (2012): 8-22.

Linton, Marisa. "Robespierre and the Terror." *History Today* Vol. 56, No.8 (2006): pp. 23-29.

Linton, Marisa. *Choosing Terror. Virtue, Friendship, and Authenticity in the French Revolution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.

Lladó, Francisca. "El Perdón y la furia and José de Ribera's Journey from Faith to Magic. Historical Fiction by Altarriba and Keko." *European Comic Art* Vol. 13, No. 2 (Autumn 2020): pp.64–90.

Lord, Gail Dexter and Ngaire Blankenberg. "Introduction: Why Cities, Museums and Soft Power." In *Cities, Museums and Soft Power* edited by Gail Dexter Lord and Ngaire Blankenberg, pp.5-28. Washington, DC: AAM Press, 2015.

Lüthi, Daniel. "Humor hat keine Grenzen." *Schweizerische Ärztezeitung* Vol. 95, No.16/17 (2014): pp.670-672.

Manzanera, Jean-Jacques. "La Bande Dessinée au risque de l'art contemporain/Comics and the Museum" *Art-Press* No.454 (2018), pp.64-69.

Marstine, Janet (ed.). *The Routledge Companion to Museum Ethics. Redefining Ethics of the Twenty-First-Century Museum*, New York, N.Y.: Routledge, 2011.

Mason, David D. M. and Conal McCarthy. "'The feeling of exclusion': Young peoples' perception of art galleries." *Museum Management and Curatorship* Vol.21, No.1 (2006), pp.20-31.

Matla, Hans, Rob van Eijck, Willem van Helden, Joost Pollman and Jos van Waterschoot. *Strips! Twee Eeuwen Beeldverhaal In Nederland*. Eindhoven: Lecturis, 2013.

McClellan, Andrew. "Musée du Louvre, Paris: Palace of the people, art for all." In *The First Modern Museums of Art. The Birth of an Institution in 18th- and early 19th-Century Europe*, edited by Carole Paul, pp.212-235. Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 2012.

McCloud, Scott. *Understanding Comics. The Invisible Art*. New York, N.Y.: Willian Morrow, Imprint of HarperCollins Publishers, 1994.

McIntyre, Charles. "Designing museum and gallery shops as integral, co-creative retail space within the overall visitor experience." *Museum Management and Curatorship* Vol.25, No.2 (2010), pp.181-198.

McKinney, Mark. "French and Belgian Comics." In *The Routledge Companion to Comics*, edited by Frank Bramlett, Roy Cook and Aaron Meskin, pp.53-61. London/New York, N.Y.: Routledge, 2017.

Melion, Walter S. *Shaping the Netherlandish Canon. Karel van Mander's Schilder-Boeck*. Chicago/London: The University of Chicago Press, 1991.

Mendonça, Penelope. "Graphic Facilitation, Sketchnoting, Journalism and 'The Doodle Revolution': New Dimensions in Comics Scholarship." *Studies in Comics* Vol.7, No.1 (2016): pp.127-152.

Mendonça, Penelope." A Scarlet A-Line Skirt, Independent and Critical Visual Practice, and the Brit(ish)line: Representing Women's Leadership in Education Through Values-Based Cartooning." *Frontiers in Education* Vol.6 (April 2021): pp.1-18.

Méon, Jean-Matthieu. "Comics Exhibitions in Contemporary France. Diversity and Symbolic Ambivalence." *International Journal of Comic* Art Vol.17, No.1 (2015): pp.446-464.

Méon, Jean-Matthieu. "Comics in Museums and at their Periphery: Hierarchical Reaffirmation and Domination Adjustments in French Art Museums." *ImageText* Vol. 10, No.3 (2018-2019): no page. Accessed 02/02/2020. URL: http://imagetext.english.ufl.edu/archives/v10_3/meon/.

Meskin, Aaron. "Defining Comics." In *The Routledge Companion to Comics*, edited by Frank Bramlett, Roy Cook and Aaron Meskin. London/New York, N.Y.: Routledge, 2017, pp.221-229.

Merino, Ana. "Comics in Latin America." In *The Routledge Companion to Comics*, edited by Frank Bramlett, Roy Cook and Aaron Meskin, pp.70-78. London/New York, N.Y.: Routledge, 2017.

Minneboo, Michael. "Typex' Rembrandt." *VPRO* (Online), April 9, 2013a. Accessed 06/02/2020. URL: https://www.vpro.nl/boeken/artikelen/vpro-gids/2013/april/typex-rembrandt.html.

Minneboo, Michael. "Typex' Rembrandt wint Willy Vandersteenprijs." *Michael Minneboo* (blog). December 13, 2013b. Accessed 10/10/2020. URL: https://www.michaelminneboo.nl/2013/12/typex-rembrandt-wint-willy-vandersteenprijs/.

Molotiu, Andrei. "Permanent Ink: Comic Book and Comic Strip Original Art as Aesthetic Object." *International Journal of Comic Art* Vol.9, No.2 (2007): pp.24-42.

Molotiu, Andrei. "Art Comics." In *The Routledge Companion to Comics*, edited by Frank Bramlett, Roy Cook and Aaron Meskin, pp.119-127. London/New York, N.Y.: Routledge, 2017.

Mottner, Sandra and John B. Ford. "Measuring nonprofit marketing strategy performance: the case of the museum stores." *Journal of Business Research* No.58 (2005), pp.829-840.

Munson, Kim, "Beyond High and Low. How Comics and Museums learned to coexist." *International Journal of Comics* Vol.11, No.2 (2009): pp.283-298.

Munson, Kim. "The Galleries." In *The Secret Origins of Comic Studies*, edited by Matthew J. Smith & Randy Duncan, pp.226-245. London/New York, N.Y.: Routledge, 2017.

Munson, Kim (ed). *Comic Art in Museums*. Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi, 2020a.

Munson, Kim. "Pioneers: Comic Art Exhibitions, 1930-1967." In *Comic Art in Museums* edited by Kim Munson, pp. 63-65. Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi, 2020b

Munson, Kim. "The Evolution of Comic Art Exhibitions, 1934–1951." In *Comic Art in Museums* edited by Kim Munson, pp. 66-87. Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi, 2020c.

Musée des Arts Decoratifes. *Bande dessinée et figuration narrative. Histoire, esthétique, production et sociologie de la bande dessinée mondiale, procédés narratifs et structure de l'image dans la peinture contemporaine*. Paris: Musée des Arts Décoratifs, 7 April – 12 June 1967. Exhibition catalogue.

Murry, Chris. "British Comics." In *The Routledge Companion to Comics*, edited by Frank Bramlett, Roy Cook and Aaron Meskin, pp.44-52. London/New York, N.Y.: Routledge, 2017.

Nochlin, Linda. "Why Have There Been No Great Women Artists?" In *Art and Sexual Politics*, edited by Thomas B. Hess and Elizabeth Baker, pp.194-205. New York, N.Y.: Collier Books, 1973.

Nyberg, Amy Kiste. "The Comic Code." In *The Routledge Companion to Comics*, edited by Frank Bramlett, Roy Cook and Aaron Meskin, pp.16-24. London/New York, N.Y.: Routledge, 2017.

Olivarez, Federica. "Museums in Public Diplomacy." In *Cities, Museums and Soft Power* edited by Gail Dexter Lord and Ngaire Blankenberg, pp.49-58. Washington, DC: AAM Press, 2015.

Onians, Charles. "Rembrandt's dark genius in graphic novel." Agence France-Presse, April 14, 2013. Accessed 08/02/2020. URL: https://www.rappler.com/life-and-style/26212-rembrandt-typex-graphic-novel.

Orton, Fred, John R. R. Christie, and Griselda Pollock. *Avant-Gardes and Partisans Reviewed*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996.

Palmer, David K. "The Tail That Wags the Dog: The Impact of Distribution on the Development and Direction of the American Comic Book Industry." In *Cultures of Comics Work*, Casey Brienza and Paddy Johnston, pp.235-250. New York, N.Y./London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016.

Papadopoulos, John K. "Object(s)-Value(s)-Canon(s)." In *Canons and Values. Ancient to Modern*, edited by Larry Silver and Kevin Terraciano, pp.42-68. Los Angeles, Calif.: Getty Publications, 2019.

Paul, Carole. "Towards a Collective History." In *The First Modern Museums of Art. The Birth of an Institution in 18th- and early 19th-Century Europe*, edited by Carole Paul, pp.vii-xxi. Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 2012.

Pekarik, Andrew. "Museum Consumerism." *Curator* Vol.46, No.1 (2003), pp.15-18.

Pekarik, Andrew, Zahava D Doering and David A. Karns. "Exploring Satisfying Experiences in Museums." *Curator* Vol.42, No.2 (1999), pp.152-173.

Pellenbarg, Piet H. and Paul J. M. van Steen. "The Netherlands in Maps. The Foreign Born Population of the Netherlands." *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie* Vol. 106, No.1 (2015): pp.130-132.

Pendergast, Natalie B. "Frida[2]." *Journal of Graphic Novels and Comics* Vol.7, No.2 (2016): pp.178-196.

Perry, Gill. "Preface." In *Academies, Museums and Canons of Art*, edited by Gill Perry and Colin Cunningham, pp.6-17. New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1999.

Perry, Gill and Colin Cunningham (eds). *Academies, Museums and Canons of Art*. New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1999.

Picone, Michael D. "Comic Art in Museums and Museums in Comic Art." *European Comic Art* Vol.6 No.2 (2013): pp.40-68.

Plato. *Meno*. Twelfth Edition. Translated by Benjamin Jowett. Introduction by Fulton H. Anderson. Indianapolis/New York, N.Y.: The Liberal Arts Press Inc., 1949.

Pollock, Griselda and Fred Orton. *Vincent van Gogh: Artist of his Time*. Oxford: Phaidon, 1978.

Pollock, Griselda. "Artists mythologies and media genius, madness and art history." In *Picture This. Media Representation of Visual Art & Artists*, edited by Philip Hayward, pp.101-140. Second Revised Edition. Luton: University of Luton Press, 1998.

Pollock, Griselda. *Differencing the Canon. Feminist Desire and the Writing of Art Histories*. London/New York, N.Y.: Routledge, 1999.

Pollock, Griselda. *Vision and Difference: Feminism, Femininity and the Histories of Art*. London: Routledge, 2003.

Posselt, Christina. *Das Portät in den Viten Vasaris. Kunsttheorie, Rhetorik und Gattungsgeschichte*. Weimar/Köln/Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 2013.

Press, Alexander. "Zur narrativen Verwendung kunsthistorischer Vorbilder." In *Geschichte in Comic*, edited by Bernd Dolle-Weinkauf, Anke Harms and Luke Springman, pp.95-106. Berlin: Ch. A. Bachmann, 2017.

Ricca, Brad. "The Historians of the Creators." In *The Secret Origins of Comic Studies*, edited by Matthew J. Smith & Randy Duncan, pp.33-42. London/New York, N.Y.: Routledge, 2017.

Roche, Joanna. "Gallery Comics: Contemporary Contexts." *International Journal of Comic Art* Vol.9, No.2 (2007): pp.13-23.

Roeder, Katherine. "Looking High and Low at Comic Art." *American Art* Vol.22, No.1 (2008), pp.2-9.

Sabin, Roger. *Adult Comics. An Introduction*. London/New York, N.Y.: Routledge, 1993.

Sabin, Roger. *Comics, Comix & Graphic Novels. A History of Comic Art*. 1996. Reprint. London/New York, N.Y.: Phaidon Press Ltd., 2002.

Salas, Charles G (ed.). *The Life & The Work. Art and Biography*. Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2007a.

Salas, Charles G. "Introduction: The Essential Myth?" In *The Life & The Work. Art and Biography*, edited by Charles G. Salas, pp.1-27. Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2007b.

Sally, Hughes. *Museum and Gallery Publishing: From Theory to Case Study*. London: Routledge, 2019.

Salter, Anastasia. "Comics and Art." In *The Routledge Companion to Comics*, edited by Frank Bramlett, Roy Cook and Aaron Meskin, pp.348-357. London/New York, N.Y.: Routledge, 2017.

Sansom, Anna. "France's National Assembly votes to return colonial-era artefacts to Benin and Senegal." *The Art Newspapers* (online), October 7, 2020. URL: https://www.theartnewspaper.com/news/france-s-national-assembly-votes-to-return-colonial-era-artefacts-to-benin-and-senegal (Accessed 29/01/2021).

Schapiro, Meyer. "Leonardo and Freud: An Art-Historical Study." *Journal of the History of Ideas* Vol. 17, No. 2 (1956) pp. 147-178.

Schapiro, Meyer. "Two Slips of Leonardo and a Slip of Freud" *Psychoanalysis. Journal of Psychoanalytic Psychology, Vol.4, No.2* (1955-56), pp.3-8.

Schipper, Claudia. "Jan van Scorel als held in een stripverhaal." *Kukullus*, January 19, 2014. Accessed 17/05/2019. URL: https://www.kukullus.nl/index.php/nl/culturele-tips/cultuurtip-archief/171-jan-van-scorel-als-held-in-een-stripverhaal.

Screech, Matthew. "Gauguin and Van Gogh Meet the Ninth Art. Postmodernism and Myths about Great Artists." *European Comic Art* Vol.13, No.1 (2020): pp.21-44.

Silver, Larry. "Introduction. Canons in World Perspective—Definitions, Deformations, and Discourses." In *Canons and Values. Ancient to Modern*, edited by Larry Silver and Kevin Terraciano, pp.1-21. Los Angeles, Calif.: Getty Publications, 2019.

Silver, Larry and Kevin Terraciano (eds). *Canons and Values. Ancient to Modern.* Los Angeles, Calif.: Getty Publications, 2019.

Simons, Marlise. "Dutch Filmmaker, an Islam Critic, Is Killed." *The New York Times* (Online), November 3, 2004. Accessed 17/02/2020. URL: https://www.nytimes.com/2004/11/03/world/europe/dutch-filmmaker-an-islam-critic-is-killed.html.

Smyth, Jonathan. "The Continuing Historiographical Debate on the Cult and Festival of the Supreme Being." In *Historicing the French Revolution*, edited by Carolina Armenteros, Tim Blanning, Isabel di Vanna & Dawn Dodds, pp.308-321. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2008.

Sousslouff, Catherine M. *The Absolute Artist. A Historiography of a Concept*. Minneapolis/London: University of Minnesota Press, 1997.

Stampfer, Shaul. "Did the Khazars Convert to Judaism?" *Jewish Social Studies* Vol.19, No.3 (Spring/Summer 2013), pp.1-72.

Stein, Daniel and Jan-Noel Thon. "Introduction: From Comic Strips to Graphic Novels." In *From Comic Strips to Graphic Novels. Contributions to the Theory and History of Graphic Narrative*, edited by Daniel Stein and Jan-Noel Thon, pp.1-23. Berlin/Boston: DeGruyter, 2013.

Still, Edward. "*Maus*: A Work of Graphic Sincerity." *The Oxonian Review* Vol.23, No.6 (2013): no page. Accessed 21/07/2017. URL: http://www.oxonianreview.org/wp/maus-a-work-of-graphic-sincerity/.

Stoll, Jeremy. "Comics in India." In *The Routledge Companion to Comics*, edited by Frank Bramlett, Roy Cook and Aaron Meskin, pp.88-97. London/New York, N.Y.: Routledge, 2017.

Swogger, John. "Ceramics, Polity and Comics. Visually re-presenting formal archaeological publication." *Advances in Archaeological Practice* Vol. 3 No. 1 (February 2015).

Swogger, John. "Comics, Narrative and the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East". *ANE (The Ancient Near East) Today* Vol. VI, No. 10 (October 2018), np. Accessed 20/12/2021.: https://www.asor.org/anetoday/2018/09/Comics-Narrative-and-Archaeology.

Swogger, John. "Making Earthworks Visible: The Example of the Oswestry Heritage Comics Project," *Offa's Dyke Journal* Vol.1 (2019), pp.137–156.

Terraciano, Kevin. "Canons seen and unseen in colonial Mexico". In *Canons and Values. Ancient to Modern*, edited by Larry Silver and Kevin Terraciano, pp.163-188. Los Angeles, Calif.: Getty Publications, 2019.

Theisen, Nicholas A. "Manga Studies, A History." In *The Secret Origins of Comic Studies*, edited by Matthew J. Smith & Randy Duncan, pp.190-201. London/New York, N.Y.: Routledge, 2017.

Thomas, Anabel. "The National Gallery's first 50 Years:'cut the cloth to suit the purse'" In *The Changing Status of the Artist*, edited by Emma Barker, Nick Webb & Kim Woods, pp.207-237. New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1999b.

Toepler, Stefan. "Caveat Venditor? Museum Merchandising, Nonprofit Commercialization, and the Case of the Metropolitan Museum in New York." *Voluntas* No.17 (2006), pp.99-113.

Toepler, Stefan and Sarah Dewees. "Are there Limits to Financing Culture through the Market? Evidence from the U.S. Museum Field." *Journal of Public Administration* No. 28 (2005), pp.131-146.

van Tooren, Marjolein. "Gefascineerd door het(voort)levenMargriet de MoorsDe schilder en het meisjeals schildersroman." *Kunstlicht* Vol.33, No.2/3 (2012), pp.55-63.

van Tooren, Marjolein. "Nostalgie, chiffres de vente ou retour au réalisme? Les impressionnistes dans le roman de peintre contemporain." In *Rethinking The Real. Fiction, Art and Theatre in the time of Emile Zola*, edited by Patrick Pollard and Valérie Minogue, pp.95-108. London: The Émile Zola Society London, 2014.

University of Arizona Museum of Art. *Krazy Kat*. Tucson: University of Arizona Museum of Art, 5 November–3 December 1972. Exhibition catalogue.

Varnedoe, Kirk and Adam Gopnik. *High & Low: Modern Art and Popular Culture*. New York, N.Y.: The Museum of Modern Art, 7 October 1990 – 15 January 1991. Exhibition Catalogue.

Vervaart, Otto. "An early detective? Jan van Scorel and a supposed papal murder case." *Rechtsgeschiedenis Blog*, January 4, 2014. Accessed 29/01/2018. URL: https://rechtsgeschiedenis.wordpress.com/2014/01/04/an-early-detective-jan-van-scorel-and-a-supposed-papal-murder-case/.

Walsh, Linda. "Subjects, society, style: changing evaluations of Watteau and his art." In *The Changing Status of the Artist*, edited by Emma Barker, Nick Webb & Kim Woods, pp.220-248. New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1999.

Wertham, Fredric. *Seduction of the Innocent. The Influence of Comic Books on Today's Youth*. New York, N.Y.: Rinehart & Company, 1954.

Williams, Robert. "Leonardo's Modernity: Subjectivity as Symptom." In *The Life & The Work. Art and Biography*, edited by Charles G. Salas, pp.34-44. Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2007.

Williams, Paul. *Dreaming the Graphic Novel. The Novelization of Comics.* Camden, NB/Newark, NJ/London: Rutgers University Press, 2020.

Wittkower, Rudolf and Margot Wittkower. *Born Under Saturn. The Character and Conduct of Artists: A Documented History from Antiquity to the French Revolution*. London/New York, N.Y.: W. W. Norton & Company, 1969.

Woods, Kim. "Biography and the Image of the Artist. Introduction." In *The Changing Status of the Artist*, edited by Emma Barker, Nick Webb & Kim Woods, pp.27-31. New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1999a.

Woods, Kim. "Northern Europe in the Sixteenth Century. Introduction." In *The Changing Status of the Artist*, edited by Emma Barker, Nick Webb & Kim Woods, pp.102-108. New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1999b.

Woods, Kim. "The Status of the Artist in Northern Europe in the sixteenth century." In *The Changing Status of the Artist*, edited by Emma Barker, Nick Webb & Kim Woods, pp.109-128. New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1999c.

Wood, Paul, 1999, *Genius and Melancholy: The art of Dürer*, In *The Changing Status of the Artist*, edited by Emma Barker, Nick Webb & Kim Woods, pp.146-168. New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1999.

Yu-Kiener, Tobias J. "Barbara Stok's Graphic Biography *Vincent*: A Transnational Campaign." *International Journal of Comic Art* Vol.20, No.1 (2018): pp.170-188.

Yu-Kiener, Tobias J. "Transnationaler Eurozentrismus. Grafische Künstlerbiografien Im Kontext von Kunstmuseen und Deren Ausstellungspraxis" In *Ran an die Wand. Rein in the Vitrine?! Internationale Positionen zum Ausstellen von Comics in der pädagogischen und musealen Praxis* edited by Barbara Maria Eggert and Anna Maria Loffredo, pp.78-89. Munich: kopaed, 2020.

Yu-Kiener, Tobias J. "Musée du Louvre: When The Picture Does Not Fit The Frame. Multiple Problems With The Graphic Novel *Le Ciel au-dessus du Louvre*" in *Framing [in] Comics: Essays on Aesthetics, History, and Mediality* edited by Johannes C. P. Schmid. Berlin: Ch. A. Bachmann, 2021.

Yu-Kiener, Tobias J. "Lives of the Artists." In *Seeing Comics through Art History: Alternative Approaches to the Form*, edited by Ian Horton and Maggie Gray. New York, N.Y./London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2022 (forthcoming).

APPENDICES

Appendix A – US Educational Youth Comics (1942-1972)

<u>Focus codes:</u>

A = Artwork

H = History of Art

L = Life.

Please note: initially titled *Treasure Chest,* the magazine's title changed to *Treasure Chest of Fun and Facts* with Vol.1 No.2. (March 1946) and again to *Treasure Chest of Fun and Fact* with Vol.4 No.1 (September 1948).

A.1. The First Boom (dates as given in the indicia)

Year	Month	Title	Magazine	Volume	Issue	Pages	Focus	Publisher
1942	3	Leonardo Da Vinci	Blue Ribbon Mystery Comics	1	22	6	L	M. L. J. Magazines Inc., St. Louis, Missouri / Editorial Office in New York City
1942	4	Benvenuto Cellini	Top-Notch Comics	1	26	6	L	M. L. J. Magazines Inc., St. Louis, Missouri / Editorial Office in New York City
1942	7	Michelangelo. Maker of Giants	True Comics		14	8	L	The Parents' Magazine Press/ The Parents' Institute Inc., Chicago/New York
1942	8	150th Birthday of the Nation's Capital [Pierre L'Enfant]	True Comics		15	7	L	The Parents' Magazine Press/ The Parents' Institute Inc., Chicago/New York
1942	8	Madame Tussaud's Wax-Works	True Comics		15	6	L	The Parents' Magazine Press/ The Parents' Institute Inc., Chicago/New York
1942	11	Leonardo Da Vinci. Painter and Scientist, Pioneer in Engineering	Real Life Comics		8	5	L	Nedor Publishing Company, New York
1943	3	Leonardo da Vinci. The Man Who Knew Everything!	Pioneer Picture Stories	1	6	8	L	Street & Smith Publications Inc., New York
1944	1	The Man Who Had Everything [Leonardo da Vinci]	Famous Funnies		114	1	L	Famous Funnies Inc., New York
1945	11	Benvenuto Cellini	Real Life Comics		26	7	L	Nedor Publishing Company, New York
1946	5	Sir Christopher Wren	Real Life Comics		31	5	L	Nedor Publishing Company, New York
1946	5	Winslow Homer. Rugged Painter of Rugged America	Real Life Comics		31	4	L	Nedor Publishing Company, New York

Year	Month	Title	Magazine	Volume	Issue	Pages	Focus	Publisher
1946	6	Augustus St. Gaudens	Real Life Comics		32	6	L	Visual Editions Inc., New York
1946	7	Louis Daguerre. Inventor of Photography	Real Life Comics		33	4	L	Visual Editions Inc., New York
1947	2	John James Audubon	It really happened		7	5	L	Visual Editions Inc., New York
1947	3	500 Years Too Soon! [Leonardo da Vinci]	True Comics		58	8	L	True Comics Inc., subsidiary of The Parents' Magazine Press/ The Parents' Institute Inc., Chicago/New York
1947	8	Lady of Liberty [Frédéric Auguste Bartholdi]	It really happened		10	4	A	Visual Editions Inc., New York
1947	9	Masterpiece in Bronze [Benvenuto Cellini]	True Comics		64	3	A	True Comics Inc., subsidiary of The Parents' Magazine Press/ The Parents' Institute Inc., Chicago/New York
1947	10	The Angelus by Jean Francois Millet	Treasure Chest of Fun and Facts	3	5	2	A	Geo. A. Pflaum Publisher Inc., Dayton, Ohio
1947		John J. Audubon 1758-1851	48 Famous Americans			1	L	Edwin H. Stroh, J. C. Penney Company, Inc.
1948	2	Michelangelo. Artist of the Vatican	Treasure Chest of Fun and Facts	3	13	3	L	Geo. A. Pflaum Publisher Inc., Dayton, Ohio
1948	3	The Three Maries at the Tomb [Hubert van Eyck]	Treasure Chest of Fun and Facts	3	15	2	A	Geo. A. Pflaum Publisher Inc., Dayton, Ohio
1948	10	The Amazing Story of Walt Disney	True Comics		73	6	L	True Comics Inc., subsidiary of The Parents' Magazine Press/ The Parents' Institute Inc., Chicago/New York
1948	10	Vagabond. The Story of Claude Lorraine	Treasure Chest of Fun and Fact	4	3	6	L	Geo. A. Pflaum Publisher Inc., Dayton, Ohio
1949	2	The Story of Painting [1]	Treasure Chest of Fun and Fact	4	13	6	H	Geo. A. Pflaum Publisher Inc., Dayton, Ohio
1949	3	The Story of Painting [2]	Treasure Chest of Fun and Fact	4	14	6	H	Geo. A. Pflaum Publisher Inc., Dayton, Ohio
1949	11	Design for a Democracy [Pierre L'Enfant]	Treasure Chest of Fun and Fact	5	5	6	L	Geo. A. Pflaum Publisher Inc., Dayton, Ohio

A.2. The Aftermath of the First Boom (dates as given in the indicia)

Year	Month	Title	Magazine	Volume	Issue	Pages	Focus	Publisher
1952	1	Who Am I? [Michelangelo]	Treasure Chest of Fun and Fact	7	11	1	L	Geo. A. Pflaum Publisher Inc., Dayton, Ohio
1952	9	The Man Who Wondered Why… Leonardo Da Vinci	Treasure Chest of Fun and Fact	8	2	7	L	Geo. A. Pflaum Publisher Inc., Dayton, Ohio
1953	1	Cellini and the Statue of Perseus	Thrilling Adventures in Stamps		8	4	A	Stamp Comics Inc., Buffalo New York
1953	1	Satan's Pact [Cathedral of Cologne]	Thrilling Adventures in Stamps		8	4	A	Stamp Comics Inc., Buffalo New York
1954	1	Heroes of Science. John James Audubon	Treasure Chest of Fun and Fact	9	10	6	L	Geo. A. Pflaum Publisher Inc., Dayton, Ohio
1958	4	The Lady is 152 feet tall [Frédéric Auguste Bartholdi]	Treasure Chest of Fun and Fact	13	17	6	A	Geo. A. Pflaum Publisher Inc., Dayton, Ohio
1960	11	Leonardo Da Vinci. The Man of Many Talents	Treasure Chest of Fun and Fact	16	6	6	L	Geo. A. Pflaum Publisher Inc., Dayton, Ohio
1963	12	Our Heritage. Shrine of Democracy [Gutzon Borglum]	Treasure Chest of Fun and Fact	19	8	2	A	Geo. A. Pflaum Publisher Inc., Dayton, Ohio
1963	12	The Shrine of Democracy. The Story of Mt. Rushmore [1] [Gutzon Borglum]	Treasure Chest of Fun and Fact	19	8	6	A	Geo. A. Pflaum Publisher Inc., Dayton, Ohio
1964	1	The Shrine of Democracy. The Story of Mt. Rushmore [2] [Gutzon Borglum]	Treasure Chest of Fun and Fact	19	9	6	A	Geo. A. Pflaum Publisher Inc., Dayton, Ohio
1964	3	Our Heritage. The Statue of Freedom [Thomas Gibson Crawford]	Treasure Chest of Fun and Fact	19	14	2	A	Geo. A. Pflaum Publisher Inc., Dayton, Ohio
1964	5	The Giant. The Story of Michelangelo's David	Treasure Chest of Fun and Fact	19	18	6	L	Geo. A. Pflaum Publisher Inc., Dayton, Ohio
1964	5	Our Heritage. The Statue of Liberty [Frédéric Auguste Bartholdi, Alexander Gustave Eiffel, Richard M. Hunt]	Treasure Chest of Fun and Fact	19	18	2	A	Geo. A. Pflaum Publisher Inc., Dayton, Ohio
1965	10	Artist of the Capitol [Constantino Brumidi]	Treasure Chest of Fun and Fact	21	3	3	A	Geo. A. Pflaum Publisher Inc., Dayton, Ohio
1966	10	The Man Who Wondered Why… Leonardo Da Vinci [reprint]	Treasure Chest of Fun and Fact	22	4	7	L	Geo. A. Pflaum Publisher Inc., Dayton, Ohio

Year	Month	Title	Magazine	Volume	Issue	Pages	Focus	Publisher
1967	2	Sculptress of the President [Vinnie Ream]	Treasure Chest of Fun and Fact	22	12	6	L	Geo. A. Pflaum Publisher Inc., Dayton, Ohio
1967	6	The Man Who Followed the Birds. The Story of John James Audubon	Treasure Chest of Fun and Fact	22	20	6	L	Geo. A. Pflaum Publisher Inc., Dayton, Ohio
1968	12	John Roebling. Artist in Steel and Granite	Treasure Chest of Fun and Fact	23	9	6	L	Geo. A. Pflaum Publisher Inc., Dayton, Ohio
1969	4	Eiffel's Tower [Alexander Gustave Eiffel]	Treasure Chest of Fun and Fact	24	16	5	A	Geo. A. Pflaum Publisher Inc., Dayton, Ohio
1970	1	Artist in Bronze and Stone. The Life of Malvina Hoffman	Treasure Chest of Fun and Fact	25	8	6	L	Geo. A. Pflaum Publisher Inc., Dayton, Ohio
1972	7	The Giant. The Story of Michelangelo's David [reprint]	Treasure Chest of Fun and Fact	27	8	6	L	Treasure Chest of Fun and Fact (a division of T.S. Denison&Co. Inc., Minneapolis, Minnesota)

Appendix B – Proto-Graphic Novels

Country codes:

AU = Australia

DE = Germany

DK = Denmark

FI = Finland

GR = Greece

NL = Netherlands

NO = Norway

SE = Sweden

UK = United Kingdom

US = United States of America

Media codes:

A = Architecture

D = Drawing

Pa = Painting

Ph = Photography

Pr = Print

Sc = Sculpture

St = Street Art

Author codes:

a = artist

c = cover artist

w = writer

B.1. Classics Illustrated (dates as given in the indicia)

Year	Title	Creator(s)	Magazine	Issue	Pages	Publisher	Medium
1947	Adventures of Cellini	August M. Froehlich (a) and [Leslie Katz] (w)	Classics Illustrated (US)	38	52 +4 +4	Gilberton Company Inc.	Sc
1951	ΟΙ ΠΕΡΙΠΕΤΕΙΕΣ ΤΟΥ ΤΣΕΛΛΙΝΙ [The Adventures of Cellini]	August M. Froehlich (a) and [Uncredited] (w)	Κλασσικά Εικονογραφημένα (Klassiká Eikonografiména) (GR)	81	52 +4 +4	Εκδόσεις Πεχλιβανίδη [Ekdóseis Pechlivanídi]	Sc
1961	Adventures of Cellini	[Uncredited] (a & w)	Classics Illustrated (US)	38	45 +3 +4	Gilberton Company Inc.	Sc
1961	Adventures of Cellini (The Life of Benvenuto Cellini)	[Uncredited] (a & w)	Classics Illustrated (UK)	155	45 +3 +5	Thorpe & Porter	Sc
1961	Cellinis äventyr [Cellini's Adventure]	[Uncredited] (a & w)	Illustrerade Klassiker (SE)	141	45 +3 +4	Centerförlaget	Sc
1961	Cellinis eventyr [Cellini's Adventure]	[Alfred Sundel (w)] & [Uncredited] (a)	Illustrerte Klassikere (NO)	128	45 +3 +4	Illustrerte Klassikere A/S	Sc
1961	Kunstner og vovehals. Efter Benvenuto Cellini [Artist and Daredevil. After Benvenuto Cellini]	[Uncredited] (a & w)	Illustrerede Klassikere (DK)	141	45 +3 +4	Forlaget I.K. A/S	Sc
1961	De Avonturen van Benvenuto Cellini [The Adventures of Benvenuto Cellini]	[Uncredited] (a & w)	Illustrated Classics (NL)	136	45 +3 +4	Classics Nederland	Sc
1962	Cellinin Seikkailut [Cellini's Adventure]	[Uncredited] (a & w)	Kuvitettuja Klassikkoja (FI)	100	45 +3 +4	Kuvajulkaisut	Sc

Year	Title	Creator(s)	Magazine	Issue	Pages	Publisher	Medium
1965	Die Abenteur Cellinis [The Adventures Cellini]	[Uncredited] (a & w)	Illustrierte Klassiker (DE)	114	45 +3 +4	Bildschriften-verlag GmbH	Sc
1970	Adventures of Cellini	August M. Froehlich (a) and [Leslie Katz] (w)	Classics Illustrated (US)	38	45 +3 +4	Gilberton Company Inc.	Sc
1970s	Adventures of Cellini	[Uncredited] (a & w)	Classics Illustrated (UK)	155	45 +3 +4	Thorpe & Porter (UK) [Gilberton World-Wide Publications]	Sc
1970s	Adventures of Cellini	[Uncredited] (a & w)	Classics Illustrated (AU)	155	45 +3 +4	James Pty (AU) [Gilberton World-Wide Publications]	Sc
1975-1980	ΟΙ ΠΕΡΙΠΕΤΕΙΕΣ ΤΟΥ ΤΣΕΛΛΙΝΙ [The Adventures of Cellini] [reprint]	August M. Froehlich (a) and [Uncredited] (w)	Κλασσικά Εικονογραφημένα (Klassiká Eikonografiména) (GR)	1109	52 +4 +4	Εκδόσεις Πεχλιβανίδη [Ekdóseis Pechlivanídi]	Sc

B.2. Italy (dates as given in the indicia)

Year	Title	Creator(s)	Magazine	Issue(s)	Pages	Publisher	Medium
1949	Le advventure di Benvenuto Cellini	Raffaele Paparella (a) and [Uncredited] (w)	Albo d'oro	166	32+4	Periodici Mondadori	Sc
1964	Il prigioniero di Castel Sant'Angelo: Benvenuto Cellini [1-8]	Antonio Sciotti (a) and Salvatico (w)	Messaggero dei Ragazzi	1-8	20	Messaggero di Sant'Antonio Editrice	Sc
1966	Giotto [di Bondone] [1-5]	Piero Mancini (a) & Forina (w)	Messaggero dei Ragazzi	7-11	20	Messaggero di Sant'Antonio Editrice	Pa
1974	Le advventure di Benvenuto Cellini	Raffaele Paparella (a) and [Uncredited] (w)	Albo d'oro [reprint]	166	32+4	Periodici Mondadori	Sc
2012 - 2014	Caravaggio [1-66]	Paolo Ongaro (a), [Roberto] Recchioni (w) and [Giulio Antonio] Gualtieri (w)	Scorpio	Vol.36 No.14 – Vol.38 No.37	989	Editotiale Aurea	Pa

B.3. Spain (dates as given in the indicia)

Year	Title	Creator (s)	Magazine	Issue	Pages	Publisher	Medium
1969	Leonardo da Vinci	Antonio Guerrero Pinín (a), Salvador Dulcet Altés (w) & Rafael Cortiella Juancomartí (c)	Hombres Famosos [Famous Men]	15	68	Ediciones Toray S.A.	Pa, Sc, D
1969	Francisco de Goya	Antonio Guerrero Pinín (a), Salvador Dulcet Altés (w) & Rafael Cortiella Juancomartí (c)	Hombres Famosos [Famous Men]	19	68	Ediciones Toray S.A.	Pa, D
1977	Leonardo da Vinci [1969 comic reprint embedded into a novel]	Antonio Guerrero Pinín (a), Salvador Dulcet Altés (w [comic]), Eugenio Sotillos Torrent (w [novel]) & Antonio Bosch Penalva (c)	Hombres Famosos [Famous Men]	6	173	Ediciones Toray S.A.	Pa, Sc, D
1977	Francisco de Goya [1969 comic reprint embedded into a novel]	Antonio Guerrero Pinín (a), Salvador Dulcet Altés (w [comic]), S.Pascal (w [novel]) & Antonio Bosch Penalva (c)	Hombres Famosos [Famous Men]	13	176	Ediciones Toray S.A.	Pa, D
1981	Michelangelo [Buonarotti] [comic embedded into a novel]	Antonio Campillo (a) & Eugenio Sotillos Torrent (w) & Antonio Bosch Penalva (c)	Hombres Famosos [Famous Men]	23	176	Ediciones Toray S.A.	Pa, Sc, D
1983	Michelangelo [Buonarotti]	Carlos Prunés Álvarez (a), Arturo Pascual (w) & Marta Cardona Blasi	Comic Biografias. Serie Arte	2	36	Editorial Bruguera, S.A.	Pa, Sc, D
1983	Leonardo da Vinci	Jaume / Jaime Marzal Canós (a), Montserrat Vives Malondro (w), Marta Cardona Blasi & José María / Josep Maria Miralles (c)	Comic Biografias. Serie Arte	4	36	Editorial Bruguera, S.A.	Pa, Sc, D
1990	Leonardo da Vinci [1977 reprint]	Antonio Guerrero Pinín (a), Salvador Dulcet Altés (w [comic]), Eugenio Sotillos Torrent (w [novel]) & Carlos Prunés Álvarez (c)	Hombres Famosos [Famous Men]		172	Ediciones Toray S.A.	Pa, Sc, D
1991	Michelangelo [Buonarotti] [1981 reprint]	Antonio Campillo (a) & Eugenio Sotillos Torrent (w), Carlos Prunés Álvarez (c)	Hombres Famosos [Famous Men]		176	Ediciones Toray S.A.	Pa, Sc, D
2003	Leonardo da Vinci [comic embedded into a novel]	[Uncredited] (a) & S. Pascual (w)	Hombres Famosos [Famous Men]		168	Libro Hobby Club Sa	Pa, Sc, D

B.4. Mexico (dates as given in the indicia)

Year	Title	Creator(s)	Magazine	Issue	Pages	Publisher	Medium
1959	August Rodin	[M.] Isabel Camberos (a), Nils Castro (w) & Federico Santiago (c)	Vidas Illustres [Illustrious Lives]	45	32 +4	Ediciones Recreativas, S.A., of Organizacion Editorial Novaro, S.A.	Sc
1960	Leonardo de Vinci	Antonia Elena Martinez (a), Juan Almudi (w) & Joaquin Ruy (c)	Vidas Illustres [Illustrious Lives]	53	32 +4	Ediciones Recreativas, S.A., of Organizacion Editorial Novaro, S.A.	Pa, Sc, D
1961	Gainsborough. El pintor de Inglaterra	Carlos Neve (a), Francisco Anguiano (w) & [Joaquin] Ruy (c)	Vidas Illustres [Illustrious Lives]	62	32 +4	Ediciones Recreativas, S.A., of Organizacion Editorial Novaro, S.A.	Pa
1961	Hokusai	Ramón Alonso (a), Mario Marin (w) & Lisandra Chávez Alfaro (c)	Vidas Illustres [Illustrious Lives]	66	32 +4	Ediciones Recreativas, S.A., of Organizacion Editorial Novaro, S.A.	Pr, D
1962	Paul Gauguin	[Uncredited] (a & w)	Vidas Illustres [Illustrious Lives]	73	32 +4	Ediciones Recreativas, S.A., of Organizacion Editorial Novaro, S.A.	Pa
1962	El Greco. Pintor de Espana	M. I[sabel] Camberos (a), M. E. Lecuona (a), Ruby Cardós (w) & [Joaquin] Ruy (c)	Vidas Illustres [Illustrious Lives]	78	32 +4	Ediciones Recreativas, S.A., of Organizacion Editorial Novaro, S.A.	Pa
1963	El Gelio de Goya	M. I[sabel] Camberos (a), M. E. Lecuona (a), Javier Penalosa (w) & Victor Manuel Carrillo (c)	Vidas Illustres [Illustrious Lives]	93	32 +4	Organizacion Editorial Novaro, S.A.	Pa, Pr
1964	Rembrandt	Antonio Cardoso (a & c), Javier Penalosa (w) & Arq. Fernando Gay (w)	Vidas Illustres [Illustrious Lives]	100	32 +4	Organizacion Editorial Novaro, S.A.	Pa, Pr
1965	Velázquez. Pintor de Reyes	Antonio Cardoso (a), Fernando Macotela (w) & E. Velázquez M. (c)	Vidas Illustres [Illustrious Lives]	108	32 +4	Organizacion Editorial Novaro, S.A.	Pa
1965	El Giorgione	M. I[sabel] Camberos (a) & [Uncredited] (w)	Vidas Illustres [Illustrious Lives]	114	32 +4	Organizacion Editorial Novaro, S.A.	Pa
1965	[Frank] Lloyd Wright. Arquitecto del Futuro	Luis Hernández (a), Fernando Macotela (w) & Luis Vera (c)	Vidas Illustres [Illustrious Lives]	121	32 +4	Organizacion Editorial Novaro, S.A.	A
1966	Le Corbusier	M. I[sabel] Camberos (a), Arq. Fernando Gay (w) & Demetrio Llordén (c)	Vidas Illustres [Illustrious Lives]	139	32 +4	Organizacion Editorial Novaro, S.A.	A
1966	Gustave Eiffel. El Constructor de la Torre	Felipe Nevárez (a), Arq. Fernando Gay (w) & Demetrio Llordén (c)	Vidas Illustres [Illustrious Lives]	141	32 +4	Organizacion Editorial Novaro, S.A.	A
1966	Toulouse-Lautrec	Eduardo Martinez (a), Rosa Maria Phillips (w) & Demetrio Llordén (c)	Vidas Illustres [Illustrious Lives]	151	32 +4	Organizacion Editorial Novaro, S.A.	Pa, D
1967	Hokusai (reprint)	Ramón Alonso (a), Mario Marin (w) & Lisandra Chávez Alfaro (c)	Vidas Illustres [Illustrious Lives]	159	32 +4	Organizacion Editorial Novaro, S.A.	Pr, D
1968	Rabindranath Tagore	[Uncredited]	Vidas Illustres [Illustrious Lives]	178	32 +4	Organizacion Editorial Novaro, S.A.	Pa

Year	Title	Creator(s)	Magazine	Issue	Pages	Publisher	Medium
1968	Miguel Angel	[Uncredited] (a & w)	Vidas Illustres [Illustrious Lives]	185	32 +4	Organizacion Editorial Novaro, S.A.	Pa, Sc, D
1968	José Clemente Orozco	Antonio Cardoso (a) & [Uncredited] (w)	Vidas Illustres [Illustrious Lives]	190	32 +4	Organizacion Editorial Novaro, S.A.	Pa, D
1968	Pablo Picasso	[Uncredited] (a & w)	Vidas Illustres [Illustrious Lives]	194	32 +4	Organizacion Editorial Novaro, S.A.	Pa
1968	J[ose] Guadalupe Posada	[Uncredited] (a & w)	Vidas Illustres [Illustrious Lives]	198	32 +4	Organizacion Editorial Novaro, S.A.	Pr, D
1969	Rembrandt (reprint)	Antonio Cardoso (a & c), Javier Penalosa (w) & Arq. Fernando Gay (w)	Vidas Illustres [Illustrious Lives]	205	32 +4	Organizacion Editorial Novaro, S.A.	Pa, Pr
1969	Antonio Gaudi. El Genial Arquitecto Espanol	Pablo Marcos (a) & Norma Martinez (w)	Vidas Illustres [Illustrious Lives]	209	32 +4	Organizacion Editorial Novaro, S.A.	A
1970	Leonardo de Vinci [1]	Gonzalo Hayo (a) & Vilo Arias (w)	Vidas Illustres [Illustrious Lives]	235	32 +4	Organizacion Editorial Novaro, S.A.	Pa, Sc, D
1970	Leonardo de Vinci [2]	Gonzalo Hayo (a) & Vilo Arias (w)	Vidas Illustres [Illustrious Lives]	236	32 +4	Organizacion Editorial Novaro, S.A.	Pa, Sc, D
1972	Frank Lloyd Wright [reprint]	[Luis Hernández] (a), [Fernando Macotela] (w) & [Luis Vera] (c)	Vidas Illustres [Illustrious Lives]	284	32 +4	Organizacion Editorial Novaro, S.A.	A
1972	El Pintor más Loco de Paris [Amadeo Modigliani]	Luis Maghare (a & w)	Vidas Illustres [Illustrious Lives]	287	32 +4	Organizacion Editorial Novaro, S.A.	Pa
1973	Toulouse-Lautrec (reprint)	[Eduardo Martinez] (a), [Rosa Maria Phillips] (w) & [Demetrio Llordén] (c)	Vidas Illustres [Illustrious Lives]	306	32 +4	Organizacion Editorial Novaro, S.A.	Pa, D
1973	Goya. Le Pintor de los Monstruos [reprint]	M. I[sabel] Camberos (a), M. E. Lecuona (a) & Javier Penalosa (w)	Vidas Illustres [Illustrious Lives]	308	32 +4	Organizacion Editorial Novaro, S.A.	Pa, Pr

B.5. United States of America (dates as given in the indicia)

Year	Title	Creator(s)	Magazine	Issue	Pages	Publisher	Medium
1980	Two-Fisted Painters. The Matisse Falcon	Art Spiegelman	RAW (insert)	1	12	RAW Books	Pa
1987	The Show of Violence [Robert George Irwin]	Daniel Clowes (adapted from Frederic Wertham, M.D.)	Blab!	2	1	Monte Beauchamp	Sc
1988	Frida [Kahlo]	Beto	Love and Rockets	28	12	Fantagraphics Books	Pa
1995	No Hope No Fear: The Unravelling of [Michelangelo Merisi da] Caravaggio's Career	Frank Stack	Blab!	8	12	Monte Beauchamp, Kitchen Sink Press	Pa
1995	Salvador Dalí	Frank Quitely (a) and Carl Posey (w)	The Big Book Of Weirdos		3	Paradox Press	Pa
1995	Vincent van Gogh	Russel Braun (a) and Carl Posey (w)	The Big Book Of Weirdos		4	Paradox Press	Pa
1995	Andy Warhol	Zina Saunders (a) and Carl Posey (w)	The Big Book Of Weirdos		3	Paradox Press	Pa
1998	The Proof is in the Painting (Margaret & Walter Keane)	D'Isareli D'Emon Draughtsman (a) and [Anina Bennett] (w)	The Big Book of Bad		3	Paradox Press	Pa
1998	Jeff Koons	Danny Hellman (a) and [Anina Bennett] (w)	The Big Book of Bad		2	Paradox Press	Pa

B.6. India (dates as given in the indicia)

Year	Title	Creator(s)	Magazine	Issue	Pages	Publisher	Medium
1977	रविंद्रनाथ टैगोर [Rabindranath Tagore]	Souren Roy (a) and Kayanaksha Banerjee (w)	Amar Chitra Katha	136	31 +3	Amar Chitra Katha PvT Ltd	Pa
1977	রবীন্দ্রনাথ ঠাকুর [Rabindranath Tagore]	Souren Roy (a) and Kayanaksha Banerjee (w)	Amar Chitra Katha	136	31 +3	Amar Chitra Katha PvT Ltd	Pa
1977	Rabindranath Tagore	Souren Roy (a) and Kayanaksha Banerjee (w)	Amar Chitra Katha	136	31 +3	Amar Chitra Katha PvT Ltd	Pa
1986	Rabindranath Tagore	H. C. Jayal	Bharat Ke Gaurav Chitra Katha Mala		30 +2 +4	Publications Division Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India	Pa
1988	Rabindranath Tagore [Reprint]	H. C. Jayal	Bharat Ke Gaurav Chitra Katha Mala		30 +2 +4	Publications Division Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India	Pa
2009	રવીન્દ્રનાથ ટાગોર [Rabindranath Tagore. India's Gentle Torch-Bearer] [Reprint]	Souren Roy (a) and Kayanaksha Banerjee (w)	Amar Chitra Katha	548	31 +3	Amar Chitra Katha PvT Ltd	Pa
2009	Rabindranath Tagore. India's Gentle Torch-Bearer [Reprint]	Souren Roy (a) and Kayanaksha Banerjee (w)	Amar Chitra Katha	548	31 +3	Amar Chitra Katha PvT Ltd	Pa
2016	Rabindranath Tagore. India's Gentle Torch-Bearer [Reprint]	Souren Roy (a) and Kayanaksha Banerjee (w)	Amar Chitra Katha	548	31 +3	Amar Chitra Katha PvT Ltd	Pa
2019	Rabindranath Tagore. India's Gentle Torch-Bearer [Reprint]	Souren Roy (a) and Kayanaksha Banerjee (w)	Amar Chitra Katha	548	31 +3	Amar Chitra Katha PvT Ltd	Pa

The original Amar Chitra Katha story (1977) has certainly been translated into several more languages of the Indo-Pacific region, but further details could not be confirmed. Also, there might have been even more reprints (in 1993, 2006, 2010, 2012), but they could not be confirmed with certainty and have thus not been included.

Appendix C – The Second Boom (2000-2019)

CODE for <u>country</u>:

AT = Austria

BE = Belgium

CH = Switzerland

DE = Germany

ES = Spain

FR = France

IT = Italy

JP = Japan

MX = Mexico

NL = Netherlands

NO = Norway

SG = Singapore

UK = United Kingdom

US = United States of America

CODE for <u>medium</u>:

A = Architecture

D = Drawing

Pa = Painting

Pf = Performance Art

Ph = Photography

Pr = Print

Sc = Sculpture

St = Street Art

V = Video Art

C.1. Leading up to the Second Boom (1973-1999)

Year	Title	Creator(s)	Publisher	Series	Country	Artist	Medium
1973	狂人関係 [Madman Relationship] [1]	上村 一夫 [Kazuo Kamimura]	Action Comics / P-Press	狂人関係 [Madman Relationship]	JP	Katsushika Ōi [葛飾 応為]	Pa, Pr
1973	狂人関係 [Madman Relationship] [2]	上村 一夫 [Kazuo Kamimura]	Action Comics / P-Press	狂人関係 [Madman Relationship]	JP	Katsushika Ōi [葛飾 応為]	Pa, Pr
1973	狂人関係 [Madman Relationship] [3]	上村 一夫 [Kazuo Kamimura]	Action Comics / P-Press	狂人関係 [Madman Relationship]	JP	Katsushika Ōi [葛飾 応為]	Pa, Pr
1980	L'Art Moderne	Joost Swarte	Humanoïdes associés		FR	multiple	Pa
1983	百日紅 [Hundred Flowers] [1]	杉浦日向子 [Sugiura Hinako]	実業之日本社 [Jitsugyo no Nihon Sha, Ltd.] The same publisher also serialised the story in 週刊漫画サンデー(*Weekly Manga Sunday*, 1983-1987)	[Hundred Flowers]	JP	Katsushika Ōi [葛飾 応為]	Pa, Pr
1985	La vie de Toulouse Lautrec	Jean Biret & Georges River	BD Éditeurs Éditions Robert Laffont	La vie de …	FR	Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec	Pa, Pr

Year	Title	Creator(s)	Publisher	Series	Country	Artist	Medium
1985	百日紅 [Hundred Flowers] [2]	杉浦日向子 [Sugiura Hinako]	実業之日本社 [Jitsugyo no Nihon Sha, Ltd.] The same publisher also serialised the story in 週刊漫画サンデー (*Weekly Manga Sunday*, 1983-1987)	[Hundred Flowers]	JP	Katsushika Ōi [葛飾 応為]	Pa, Pr
1986	La vie de Salvador Dali	Robert Descharnes, Jeanine Nevers & Jean-Michel Renault	BD Éditeurs Éditions Robert Laffont	La vie de …	FR	Salvador Dali	Pa
1987	北斎 [Hokusai] [1]	石ノ森 章太郎 [Shotaro Ishinomori]	世界文化社 [Sekai Bunka]	北斎 [Hokusai]	JP	Katsushika Hokusai [葛飾 北斎]	Pa, Pr
1987	北斎 [Hokusai] [2]	石ノ森 章太郎 [Shotaro Ishinomori]	世界文化社 [Sekai Bunka]	北斎 [Hokusai]	JP	Katsushika Hokusai [葛飾 北斎]	Pa, Pr
1987	北斎 [Hokusai] [3]	石ノ森 章太郎 [Shotaro Ishinomori]	世界文化社 [Sekai Bunka]	北斎 [Hokusai]	JP	Katsushika Hokusai [葛飾 北斎]	Pa, Pr
1987	百日紅 [Hundred Flowers] [3]	杉浦日向子 [Sugiura Hinako]	実業之日本社 [Jitsugyo no Nihon Sha, Ltd.] The same publisher also serialised the story in 週刊漫画サンデー (*Weekly Manga Sunday*, 1983-1987)	[Hundred Flowers]	JP	Katsushika Ōi [葛飾 応為]	Pa, Pr
1988	運慶 [Unkei]	さいとう たかを [Saito Takao]	リイド社 [Leed]		JP	Unkei [運慶]	Sc
1990	Gauguin en Van Gogh	Dick Matena	Lombard	Verhalen en Legenden	NL	multiple	Pa
1990	Jünglingserwachen	Sambal Oelek (Andreas Müller)	Curti Medien AG		CH	Le Corbusier (Charles-Édouard Jeanneret)	A
1990	La fosse aux serpents	Chantal Montellier	Casterman	Une aventure de Julie Bristol	FR	Camille Claudel	Sc
1991	Circo dell'Arte	Gradimir Smudja	Nebelspalter Verlag		CH	multiple	Pa
1992	Faux sanglant	Chantal Montellier	Casterman	Une aventure de Julie Bristol	FR	Artemisia Gentileschi	Pa
1993	Der Sprayer von Zürich	Sambal Oelek (Andreas Müller)	Zytglogge		CH	Harald Naegeli	St

Year	Title	Creator(s)	Publisher	Series	Country	Artist	Medium
1995	Chiaroscuro. The Private Lives of Leonardo da Vinci [1]	Pat McGreal, David Rawson, Chas Truog & Rafael Kayanan	DC Vertigo	Chiaroscuro. The Private Lives of Leonardo da Vinci	US	Leonardo da Vinci	Pa, Sc, D
1995	Chiaroscuro. The Private Lives of Leonardo da Vinci [2]	Pat McGreal, David Rawson, Chas Truog & Rafael Kayanan	DC Vertigo	Chiaroscuro. The Private Lives of Leonardo da Vinci	US	Leonardo da Vinci	Pa, Sc, D
1995	Chiaroscuro. The Private Lives of Leonardo da Vinci [3]	Pat McGreal, David Rawson, Chas Truog & Rafael Kayanan	DC Vertigo	Chiaroscuro. The Private Lives of Leonardo da Vinci	US	Leonardo da Vinci	Pa, Sc, D
1995	Chiaroscuro. The Private Lives of Leonardo da Vinci [4]	Pat McGreal, David Rawson, Chas Truog & Rafael Kayanan	DC Vertigo	Chiaroscuro. The Private Lives of Leonardo da Vinci	US	Leonardo da Vinci	Pa, Sc, D
1995	Chiaroscuro. The Private Lives of Leonardo da Vinci [5]	Pat McGreal, David Rawson, Chas Truog & Rafael Kayanan	DC Vertigo	Chiaroscuro. The Private Lives of Leonardo da Vinci	US	Leonardo da Vinci	Pa, Sc, D
1995	Chiaroscuro. The Private Lives of Leonardo da Vinci [6]	Pat McGreal, David Rawson, Chas Truog & Rafael Kayanan	DC Vertigo	Chiaroscuro. The Private Lives of Leonardo da Vinci	US	Leonardo da Vinci	Pa, Sc, D
1996	Chiaroscuro. The Private Lives of Leonardo da Vinci [7]	Pat McGreal, David Rawson, Chas Truog & Rafael Kayanan	DC Vertigo	Chiaroscuro. The Private Lives of Leonardo da Vinci	US	Leonardo da Vinci	Pa, Sc, D
1996	Chiaroscuro. The Private Lives of Leonardo da Vinci [8]	Pat McGreal, David Rawson, Chas Truog & Rafael Kayanan	DC Vertigo	Chiaroscuro. The Private Lives of Leonardo da Vinci	US	Leonardo da Vinci	Pa, Sc, D
1996	Chiaroscuro. The Private Lives of Leonardo da Vinci [9]	Pat McGreal, David Rawson, Chas Truog & Rafael Kayanan	DC Vertigo	Chiaroscuro. The Private Lives of Leonardo da Vinci	US	Leonardo da Vinci	Pa, Sc, D
1996	Chiaroscuro. The Private Lives of Leonardo da Vinci [10]	Pat McGreal, David Rawson, Chas Truog & Rafael Kayanan	DC Vertigo	Chiaroscuro. The Private Lives of Leonardo da Vinci	US	Leonardo da Vinci	Pa, Sc, D
1997	Ernst Ludwig Kirchner - Eine Leidensgeschichte	Sambal Oelek (Andreas Müller)	Bündner Monatsblatt		CH	Ernst Ludwig Kirchner	Pa
1999	Les Aventures d' Hergé	José-Louis Bocquet, Jean-Luc Fromental, Stanislas Barthélémy	Reporter		FR	Herge (Georges Prosper Remi)	D
1999	Pascin [Tome 1]	Joann Sfar	L'Association		FR	Jules Pascin	Pa

C.2. Phase I (2000-2011)

Year	Title	Creator(s)	Publisher	Series	Country	Artist	Medium
2000	La Balançoire hantée [1]	Thierry Smolderen & Jean-Philippe Bramanti	Delcourt	[Winsor] McCay	FR	Winsor McCay	D
2000	El juego lúgubre	Paco Roca	La Cúpula		ES	Salvador Dali	Pa
2000	Pascin [Tome 2]	Joann Sfar	L'Association	[Jules] Pascin	FR	Jules Pascin	Pa
2000	Pascin [Tome 3]	Joann Sfar	L'Association	[Jules] Pascin	FR	Jules Pascin	Pa
2000	茶箱広重 [Tea Box Hiroshige]	一ノ関圭 [Ichinoseki Kei]	小学館文庫 [Shogakkan Bunko]		JP	Chinpei Suzuki [鈴木鎮平] "Shigenobu" Hiroshige II (二代目 歌川広重 [Ni-daime Utagawa Hiroshige])	Pa, Pr
2001	Frida Kahlo. Une biographie surréelle	Marco Corona	Rackham		FR	Frida Kahlo	Pa
2002	Andy Warhol. Die Fabrik	Willi Bloess	Willi Blöß Verlag	Künstler-Comic-Biografien	DE	Andy Warhol	Pa
2002	Hieronymus Bosch. Teufelswerk	Willi Bloess	Willi Blöß Verlag	Künstler-Comic-Biografien	DE	Hieronymus Bosch	Pa
2002	Joseph Beuys. Der lächende Schamane	Willi Bloess	Willi Blöß Verlag	Künstler-Comic-Biografien	DE	Joseph Beuys	Pa
2002	Les Coeurs Retournés [2]	Thierry Smolderen & Jean-Philippe Bramanti	Delcourt	[Winsor] McCay	FR	Winsor McCay	D
2002	Pablo Picasso. Ich der König	Willi Bloess	Willi Blöß Verlag	Künstler-Comic-Biografien	DE	Pablo Picasso	Pa
2002	Pascin [Tome 4]	Joann Sfar	L'Association	[Jules] Pascin	FR	Jules Pascin	Pa
2002	Pascin [Tome 5]	Joann Sfar	L'Association	[Jules] Pascin	FR	Jules Pascin	Pa
2002	Pascin [Tome 6]	Joann Sfar	L'Association	[Jules] Pascin	FR	Jules Pascin	Pa

Year	Title	Creator(s)	Publisher	Series	Country	Artist	Medium
2002	Vincent van Gogh. Rabenjagd	Willi Bloess	Willi Blöß Verlag	Künstler-Comic-Biografien	DE	Vincent van Gogh	Pa
2003	Vincent et Van Gogh [1]	Gradimir Smudja	Delcourt	Vincent et Van Gogh	FR	Vincent van Gogh	Pa
2003	Alberto G.	Eric Lambé & Philippe de Pierpont	Seuil		FR	Alberto Giacometti	Pa
2004	Frida Kahlo. Viva Mexico	Willi Bloess	Willi Blöß Verlag	Künstler-Comic-Biografien	DE	Frida Kahlo	Pa
2004	Keith Haring. Nächste Haltestelle Kunst	Willi Bloess	Willi Blöß Verlag	Künstler-Comic-Biografien	DE	Keith Haring	Sc, St, Pa
2004	Les Gardiens de l'aube [3]	Thierry Smolderen & Jean-Philippe Bramanti	Delcourt	[Winsor] McCay	FR	Winsor McCay	D
2004	Niki de Saint Phalle. Nanas und Papas	Willi Bloess	Willi Blöß Verlag	Künstler-Comic-Biografien	DE	Niki de Saint Phalle	Pa, Sc
2004	Olaf G.	Steffen Kverneland & Lars Fiske	No Comprendo Press		NO	Olaf Gulbransson	Pa
2004	Au Moulin-Rouge [Tome 1]	Gradimir Smudja	Delcourt	Le Bordel des Muses	FR	Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec	Pa, Pr
2004	Vincent van Gogh - La Ligne De Front	Manu Larcenet & Patrice Larcenet	Dargaud	Une aventure rocambolesque … (Tome 2)	FR	Vincent van Gogh	Pa
2005	Chiaroscuro. The Private Lives of Leonardo da Vinci (#1-10)	Pat McGreal, David Rawson, Chas Truog & Rafael Kayanan	DC Vertigo	Chiaroscuro. The Private Lives of Leonardo da Vinci	US	Leonardo da Vinci	Pa, Sc, D
2005	Egon Schiele. In Wien ist Schatten	Willi Bloess	Willi Blöß Verlag	Künstler-Comic-Biografien	DE	Egon Schiele	Pa, D
2005	Pascin Intégrale (#1-6)	Joann Sfar	L'Association	[Jules] Pascin	FR	Jules Pascin	Pa
2005	Pascin: La Java Bleue (Pascin #7)	Joann Sfar	L'Association	[Jules] Pascin	FR	Jules Pascin	Pa
2005	Paul Cézanne, un rebelle en Provence	Alain Exiga, Olivier Bauza & Bernard Pâris de Bollardière	Cerises & Coquelicots		FR	Paul Cézanne	Pa
2005	Salvador Dali. Die Paranoia-Methode	Willi Bloess	Willi Blöß Verlag	Künstler-Comic-Biografien	DE	Salvador Dali	Pa

Year	Title	Creator(s)	Publisher	Series	Country	Artist	Medium
2005	Mimi-Henri [Tome 2]	Gradimir Smudja	Delcourt	Le Bordel des Muses	FR	Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec	Pa, Pr
2006	Het Geheime Schilderij van Rembrandt	Bert van de Meij	Sherpa		NL	Rembrandt van Rijn	Pa, D, Pr
2006	Horst Janssen. Messerwetzel	Willi Bloess	Willi Blöß Verlag	Künstler-Comic-Biografien	DE	Horst Janssen	Pa
2006	La quatrième dimension [4]	Thierry Smolderen & Jean-Philippe Bramanti	Delcourt	[Winsor] McCay	FR	Winsor McCay	D
2006	Nam June Paik. Electric Warrior	Willi Bloess	Willi Blöß Verlag	Künstler-Comic-Biografien	DE	Nam June Paik	V
2006	Otmar Alt. Graf Öppenpöller gibt sich die Ehre	Willi Bloess	Willi Blöß Verlag	Künstler-Comic-Biografien	DE	Otmar Alt	Pa
2007	Der Blaue Reiter. Münchner Gespann	Willi Bloess	Willi Blöß Verlag	Künstler-Comic-Biografien	DE	multiple	Pa
2007	The Salon	Nick Bertozzi	St. Martin's Griffin		US	multiple	Pa
2007	Allez, Darling [Tome 3]	Gradimir Smudja	Delcourt	Les Cabaret des Muses	FR	Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec	Pa, Pr
2008	George Grosz. Der Krawall der Irren	Willi Bloess	Willi Blöß Verlag	Künstler-Comic-Biografien	DE	George Grosz	Pa
2008	Klaus Staeck. Schluss mit Lustig	Willi Bloess	Willi Blöß Verlag	Künstler-Comic-Biografien	DE	Klaus Staeck	Pa
2008	Klee	Christophe Badoux	Edition Moderne		CH	Paul Klee	Pa
2008	Rembrandt	Denis Deprez & Olivier Deprez	Casterman		FR	Rembrandt van Rijn	Pa, D, Pr
2008	Darling, pour toujours [Tome 4]	Gradimir Smudja	Delcourt	Les Cabaret des Muses	FR	Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec	Pa, Pr
2008	Vinci - L'ange brisée [Tome 1]	Didier Convard & Gilles Chaillet	Glénat	[Leonardo da] Vinci	FR	Leonardo da Vinci	Pa, Sc, D
2009	Interno Metafisico con Biscotti	Sebastiano Vilella	Coconino Press		IT	Giorgio de Chirico	Pa

Year	Title	Creator(s)	Publisher	Series	Country	Artist	Medium
2009	Le Ciel au-dessus du Louvre	Jean-Claude Carriere & Bernar Yslaire	Futuropolis / Musée du Louvre	Editions du Musée du Louvre	FR	Jacque-Louis David	Pa
2009	Romantik. Casper David Friedrich William Turner	Willi Bloess	Willi Blöß Verlag	Künstler-Comic-Biografien	DE	multiple	Pa
2009	Vinci - Ombre et lumière [Tome 2]	Didier Convard & Gilles Chaillet	Glénat	[Leonardo da] Vinci	FR	Leonardo da Vinci	Pa, Sc, D
2010	Trois Lunes [2]	Gradimir Smudja	Delcourt	Vincent et Van Gogh	FR	Vincent van Gogh	Pa
2010	Chagall en Russie [Tome 1]	Joann Sfar	Gallimard	[Marc] Chagall	FR	Marc Chagall	Pa
2010	Gauguin. Deux voyages à Tahiti	Li-An & Laurence Croix	Vents d'Ouest		FR	Paul Gauguin	Pa
2010	Le Corbusier. Architecte Parmi Les Hommes	Jean-Marc Thévenet, Frédéric Rébéna & Rémi Baudouï	Dupuis / Cité de l'A / Le Corbusier Foundation		FR	Le Corbusier (Charles-Édouard Jeanneret)	A
2010	Matisse Manga	Christophe Girard	Les Enfants Rouges		FR	Henri Matisse	Pa
2010	Paula Modersohn Becker. Und von Wortswede / sei die Rede	Willi Bloess	Willi Blöß Verlag	Künstler-Comic-Biografien	DE	Paula Modersohn Becker	Pa
2010	Who is Ana Mendieta?	Christine Redfern & Caro Caron	The Feminist Press at CUNY		US	Ana Mendieta	Pf, Sc, Pa, V
2011	Chagall en Russie [Tome 2]	Joann Sfar	Gallimard	[Marc] Chagall	FR	Marc Chagall	Pa
2011	Chagall in Russia [#1-2]	Joann Sfar	451 Editores	[Marc] Chagall	ES	Marc Chagall	Pa
2011	Hundertwasser	Willi Bloess	Willi Blöß Verlag	Künstler-Comic-Biografien	DE	Friedrichreich Hundertwasser	Pa
2011	Vincent Van Gogh. De Worsteling van een Kunstenaar	Marc Verhaegen & Jan Kragt	Eureducation		NL	Vincent van Gogh	Pa
2011	Vinci - Intégrale	Didier Convard & Gilles Chaillet	Glénat	[Leonardo da] Vinci	FR	Leonardo da Vinci	Pa, Sc, D

C.3. Phase II (2012-2019)

Year	Title	Creator(s)	Publisher	Series	Country	Artist	Medium
2012	Am Pool mit David Hockney	Willi Bloess	Willi Blöß Verlag	Künstler-Comic-Biografien	DE	David Hockney	Pa
2012	Au fil de l'art [Tome 1]	Ivana Smudja & Gradimir Smudja	Delcourt	Au fil de l'art	FR	multiple	Pa
2012	Dali	Edmond Baudoin	Dupuis / Editions du Centre Pompidou	Aire Libre / Editions du Centre Pompidou	FR	Salvador Dali	Pa
2012	Edward Hopper. Nighthawks	Willi Bloess	Willi Blöß Verlag	Künstler-Comic-Biografien	DE	Salvador Dali	Pa
2012	Egon Schiele vivre et mourir	Xavier Coste	Casterman		FR	Egon Schiele	Pa, D
2012	El Greco	Pedro Iznaola, Beatriz-Moreno Cervera & Carlos Rodrigo	Celya		ES	El Greco (Doménikos Theotolópulos)	Pa
2012	Goya	Diego Olmos	Ediciones B		ES	Francisco de Goya	Pa, Pr
2012	Gustav Klimt und der Jugendstil	Willi Bloess	Willi Blöß Verlag	Künstler-Comic-Biografien	DE	Gustav Klimt	Pa
2012	Herr Merz. Kurt Schwitter: Na Kaller Jeg Met Selv Merz	Lars Fiske	No Comprendo Press		NO	Kurt (Hermann Eduard Karl Julius) Schwitters	Pa
2012	Pablo: Max Jacob [Tome 1]	Clement Oubrerie & Julie Birmant	Dargaud	Pablo [Picasso]	FR	Pablo Picasso	Pa
2012	Pablo: Apollinaire [Tome 2]	Clement Oubrerie & Julie Birmant	Dargaud	Pablo [Picasso]	FR	Pablo Picasso	Pa
2012	Salvador Dali to madness!	Robert Descharnes, Jeanine Nevers & Jean-Michel Renault	Pat a Pan		FR	Salvador Dali	Pa
2012	Vincent	Barbara Stok	Nijgh & Van Ditmar		NL	Vincent van Gogh	Pa
2012	Vincent Van Gogh: de vroege jaren	Teun Berserik	De Bezige Bij		NL	Vincent van Gogh	Pa
2012	石ノ森章太郎 [Shotaro Ishinomori]	シュガー佐藤 [Sugar Sato]	ポプラ社 [Poplar Publishing House]	コミック版世界の伝記 [Biography of the World for Comics]	JP	Shotaro Ishinomori	D

Year	Title	Creator(s)	Publisher	Series	Country	Artist	Medium
2013	Die Kriege des Robert Capa	Willi Bloess	Willi Blöß Verlag	Künstler-Comic-Biografien	DE	Robert Capa	Ph
2013	Gauguin, Loin de la Route	Maxilien Le Roy & Christophe Gaultier	Le Lombard		FR	Paul Gauguin	Pa
2013	Jan van Scorel. Sede vacante 1523	Paul Teng & Jan Paul Schutten	Lecturis		NL	Jan van Scorel	Pa
2013	La Visison de Bacchus	Jean Dytar	Delcourt	Delcourt/Mirages	FR	Francisco de Goya	Pa, Pr
2013	Munch	Steffen Kverneland	No Comprendo Press		NO	Edward Munch	Pa
2013	Pablo: Matisse [Tome 3]	Clement Oubrerie & Julie Birmant	Dargaud	Pablo [Picasso]	FR	Pablo Picasso	Pa
2013	Rembrandt	Typex	Oog en Blik | De Bezige Bij		NL	Rembrandt van Rijn	Pa, D, Pr
2013	ウォルト・ディズニー [Walt Disney]	中 祥人 [Shosei Naka] & 星井 博文 [Hirofumi Hoshii]	ポプラ社 [Poplar Publishing House]	コミック版世界の伝記 [Biography of the World for Comics]	JP	Walt Disney	D
2014	Donatello	Guglielmo Favilla & Alessandro Balluchi	Kleiner Flug		IT	Donatello (Donato di Niccolò di Betto Bardi)	Sc
2014	Giotto	Claudia Tulifero & Francesco Frongia	Kleiner Flug		IT	Giotto (di Bondone)	Pa
2014	Harpignies	François Darnaudet & Elric	Paquet		FR	Henri Harpignies	Pa
2014	I Know what I am: Part 1. The True Story of Artemisia Gentileschi	Gina Siciliano	Mend My Dress Press	[I Know what I am]	US	Artemisia Gentileschi	Pa
2014	I Know what I am: Part 2. The True Story of Artemisia Gentileschi. The Trial of 1612	Gina Siciliano	Mend My Dress Press	[I Know what I am]	US	Artemisia Gentileschi	Pa
2014	La Casa Azul	Tyto Alba	Astiberri Ediciones		ES	Frida Kahlo	Pa
2014	Las Meninas	Santiago Garcia & Javier Olivares	Astiberri Ediciones		ES	Diego (Rodríguez de Silva y) Velázquez	Pa
2014	Leonard & Salai [1]. Il Salaino	Benjamin Lacombe & Paul Echegoyen	Soleil Productions	Leonard & Salai	FR	Leonardo da Vinci	Pa, Sc, D

Year	Title	Creator(s)	Publisher	Series	Country	Artist	Medium
2014	Marcel Duchamp: Un petit jeu entre moi et je	François Olislaeger	Actes Sud / Centre Pompidou		FR	Marcel Duchamp	Pa, Sc
2014	Modigliani, prince de la bohème	Laurent Seksik & Fabrice Le Henanff	Casterman		FR	Amedeo (Clemente) Modigliani	Pa
2014	Munch before Munch	Giorgia Marras	Tuss		IT	Edward Munch	Pa
2014	Niki de Saint Phalle: Le jardin des secrets	Dominique Osuch & Sandrine Martin	Casterman		FR	Niki de Saint Phalle	Pa, Sc
2014	Pablo: Picasso [Tome 4]	Clement Oubrerie & Julie Birmant	Dargaud	Pablo [Picasso]	FR	Pablo Picasso	Pa
2014	Robert Moses: Le maître caché de New York	Pierre Chistin & Olivier Balez	Glénat		FR	Robert Moses	A
2014	Rubens	Willi Bloess	Willi Blöß Verlag	Künstler-Comic-Biografien	DE	Peter Paul Rubens	Pa
2014	Warm Night, Deathless Days: The Life of Georgette Chen	Sonny Liew	National Gallery of Singapore	Dreaming Arts Series	SG	Georgette Chen	Pa
2015	Au fil de l'art [Tome 2]	Ivana Smudja & Gradimir Smudja	Delcourt	Au fil de l'art	FR	multiple	Pa
2015	Bosch. Le Jugement dernier	Griffo	Glénat	Les Grands Peintres	FR	Hieronymus Bosch	Pa
2015	Camille Claudel trifft Auguste Rodin	Willi Bloess	Willi Blöß Verlag	Künstler-Comic-Biografien	DE	multiple	Sc
2015	Caravaggio. La tavolozza e la spada	Milo Manara	Panini Spa - Socio Unico		IT	(Michelangelo Meresi da) Caravaggio	Pa
2015	Challenging the Gods: Rubens Becoming Rubens (in: Prometheus Eternal)	Andrea Tsurumi	Locust Moon Press/ Philadelphia Museum of Art		US	Peter Paul Rubens	Pa
2015	Courbet. L'Origine du monde	Fabien Lacaf	Glénat	Les Grands Peintres	FR	Gustave Courbet	Pa
2015	David. Portait de Pierre Seriziat et Les Sabines	Francois Dimberton	Glénat	Les Grands Peintres	FR	Jacque-Louis David	Pa
2015	De Omslag. H.N. Werkman wordt kumstenaar	Barbara Stok	Nijgh & Van Ditmar		NL	Hendrik Nicolaas Werkman	Pr

Year	Title	Creator(s)	Publisher	Series	Country	Artist	Medium
2015	El Loro de Frida Kahlo	Jason	Magikon Forlag		NO	Frida Kahlo	Pa
2015	Els fantasmes de Gaudí	Juan El Torres & Jesús Alonso Iglesias	Dibbuks		ES	Antoni Gaudi	A
2015	Frida Kahlo	Jean-Luc Cornette & Flore Balthazar	Delcourt	Delcourt/Mirages	FR	Frida Kahlo	Pa
2015	George de La Tour. La Madeleine a la veilleuse	Li-An & Laurence Croix	Glénat	Les Grands Peintres	FR	George de la Tour	Pa
2015	Goya. Saturne devorant un de ses fils	Oliver Bleys & Benjamin Bozonnet	Glénat	Les Grands Peintres	FR	Francisco de Goya	Pa, Pr
2015	Gustave Eiffel. Lle Géant du Fer	Eddy Simon & Joël Alessandra	21g	Destins d'histoire	FR	Gustave Eiffel	A
2015	Jan van Eyck. Le Retable de l'Agneau mystique	Dimitri Joannides & Dominique He	Glénat	Les Grands Peintres	FR	Jan van Eyck	Pa
2015	Je l'appelle monsieur Bonnard	Joann Sfar	Editions Hazan & Musee d'Orsay		FR	Pierre Bonnard	Pa
2015	Leonard de Vinci. La Joconde	Patrick Weber & Oliver Pagues	Glénat	Les Grands Peintres	FR	Leonardo da Vinci	Pa, Sc, D
2015	Magritte und die Tote aus dem Fluss. Dies ist kein Kriminalroman	Willi Bloess	Willi Blöß Verlag	Künstler-Comic-Biografien	DE	Henri Magritte	Pa
2015	Paysage au chien rouge. Gauguin à Pont-Aven, le mystère d'un tableau	Bruno Le Floc'h	Locus Solus		FR	Paul Gauguin	Pa
2015	Pieter Bruegel. Les Mendiants	Francois Corteggiani & Mankho	Glénat	Les Grands Peintres	FR	Pieter Bruegel	Pa
2015	Raffaello	Alessandro Bacchetta	Kleiner Flug		IT	Raffaello Santi (Raffaello Sanzio da Urbino)	Pa, D
2015	Tamara de Lempicka. Icona dell'art déco	Vanna Vinci	24 Ore Cultura		IT	Tamara de Lempicka	Pa
2015	Toulouse-Lautrec. Panneaux pour la baraque de la Goulue	Oliver Bleys & Yomgui Dumont	Glénat	Les Grands Peintres	FR	Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec	Pa, Pr
2016	Becoming Andy Warhol	Nick Bertozzi & Pierce Hargan	Abrams ComicArts		US	Andy Warhol	Pa

Year	Title	Creator(s)	Publisher	Series	Country	Artist	Medium
2016	Benvenuto Cellini	Filippo Rossi & Vincenzo Bizzarri	Kleiner Flug		IT	Benvenuto Cellini	Sc
2016	Black Dog: The Dreams of Paul Nash	Dave McKean	Dark Horse		US	Paul Nash	Pa
2016	CAPA L'etoile Filante	Florent Silloray	Casterman		FR	Robert Capa	Ph
2016	De tuin van Daubigny	Luc Cromheeke & Bruno de Roover	Ballon Media		BE	Charles-François Daubigny	Pa
2016	Dos holandeses en Nápoles	Alvaro Ortiz	Fund. Coleccion Thyssen-Bornemisza / Astiberri	Editorial Fundación Colección Thyssen-Bornemisza	ES	multiple	Pa
2016	Egon Schiele. Le Cardinal at la nonne	Dimitri Joannides & Nicolas Sure	Glénat	Les Grands Peintres	FR	Egon Schiele	Pa, D
2016	Fin de la parenthèse	Joann Sfar	Rue de Sevres		FR	Salvador Dali	Pa
2016	Frida Kahlo. Operetta amorale a fumetti	Vanna Vinci	24 Ore Cultura		IT	Frida Kahlo	Pa
2016	Frida Kahlo: Una Biografía	María Hesse	Lumen		ES	Frida Kahlo	Pa
2016	Gauguin. L'autre monde	Fabrizio Dori	Editions Sarbacane		FR	Paul Gauguin	Pa
2016	Gauguin. Portrait de l'artiste au Christ jaune	Patrick Weber & Nicoby	Glénat	Les Grands Peintres	FR	Paul Gauguin	Pa
2016	Gustave Courbet: Une Biographie	Andre Houot & Jocelyne Charrance	Mosquito		FR	Gustave Courbet	Pa
2016	Jheronimus	Marcel Ruijters	Lecturis		NL	Hieronymus Bosch	Pa
2016	La vida. Una historia de Carles Casagemas y Pablo Picasso	Tyto Alba	Astiberri Ediciones		ES	Pablo Picasso	Pa
2016	Le Postello	Hervé Richez & Winoc	Bamboo Editions		FR	Edgar Degas	Pa, D
2016	Le rendez-vous d'onze heures. Un biographie de G. Courbet par Andre Houot	Andre Houot & Jocelyne Charrance	Editions du Long Bec		FR	Gustave Courbet	Pa

Year	Title	Creator(s)	Publisher	Series	Country	Artist	Medium
2016	Magritte, Ceci n'est pas une biographie	Vincent Zabus & Thomas Campi	Le Lombard		FR	Henri Magritte	Pa
2016	Monet. Les Nympheas	Frank Secka & Vincent Grave	Glénat	Les Grands Peintres	FR	Claude Monet	Pa
2016	Mystère au pays de Gustave Courbet	Christian Maucler	Neo		FR	Gustave Courbet	Pa
2016	Rembrandt. Der Mann ohne Goldhelm	Willi Bloess	Willi Blöß Verlag	Künstler-Comic-Biografien	DE	Rembrandt van Rijn	Pa, D, Pr
2016	Rene Magritte vu par	Gabriella Giandelli, Brecht Vendenbroucke, David B., Éric Lambé, Miroslav Sekulic-Struja & François Olislaeger	Actes Sud / Centre Pompidou		FR	Rene Magritte	Pa
2016	Renoir. Danse a la campagne	Dodo & Ben Radis	Glénat	Les Grands Peintres	FR	Pierre-Auguste Renoir	Pa, D
2016	Sur les Ailes du monde Audubon	Fabien Grolleau & Jérémie Royer	Garaud		FR	John James Audubon	D
2016	Theodore Gericault. Le Radeau de la Meduse	Frank Giroud & Gilles Mezzomo	Glénat	Les Grands Peintres	FR	Theodore Gericault	Pa
2016	Van Gogh. Champ de blé aux corbeaux	Michel Durand	Glénat	Les Grands Peintres	FR	Vincent van Gogh	Pa
2016	Wilhelm Busch lässt es krachen	Willi Bloess	Willi Blöß Verlag	Künstler-Comic-Biografien	DE	Wilhelm Busch	D
2016	ゴッホ [Van Gogh]	フカキ ショウコ [Shoko Fukaki]	ポプラ社 [Poplar Publishing House]	コミック版世界の伝記 [Biography of the World for Comics]	JP	Vincent van Gogh	Pa
2017	Albrecht Dürer. Tod und Teufel	Willi Bloess	Willi Blöß Verlag	Künstler-Comic-Biografien	DE	Albrecht Dürer	Pa, D
2017	Artemisia	Nathalie Ferlut & Tamia Baudouin	Delcourt	Delcourt/Mirages	FR	Artemisia Gentileschi	Pa
2017	Edouard Manet et Berthe Morisot. Une passion impressionniste	Michael Le Galli & Marie Jaffredo	Glénat	Les Grands Peintres	FR	Edouard Manet	Pa
2017	En Toen de Stijl	Joost Swarte	Leopold		NL	Piet Mondrian	Pa

Year	Title	Creator(s)	Publisher	Series	Country	Artist	Medium
2017	Ernst Ludwig Kircher. Die Brücke	Willi Bloess	Willi Blöß Verlag	Künstler-Comic-Biografien	DE	Ernst Ludwig Kircher	Pa
2017	Grosz. Berlin. New York	Lars Fiske	No Comprendo Press		NO	George Grosz	Pa
2017	Gustave Caillebotte. Un rupin chez Rapins	Laurent Colonnier	Glénat	Les Grands Peintres	FR	Gustave Caillebotte	Pa
2017	Klimt. Judith et Holopherne	Jean-Luc Cornette & Marc-Renier	Glénat	Les Grands Peintres	FR	Gustav Klimt	Pa
2017	La Fleur dans l'atelier de Mondrian	Jean-Philippe Peyraud & Antonio Lapone	Glénat		FR	Piet Mondrian	Pa
2017	McCay - Édition intégrale	Thierry Smolderen & Jean-Philippe Bramanti	Delcourt	[Winsor] McCay	FR	Winsor McCay	D
2017	Michelangelo	Giuseppe Cesaro & Giuseppe Guida	Round Robin		IT	Michelangelo Buonarotti	Pa, Sc, D
2017	Monet, nomade de la lumière	Salva Rubio & Efa	Le Lombard		FR	Claude Monet	Pa
2017	Pablo L'Intégrale (#1-4)	Clement Oubrerie & Julie Birmant	Dargaud	Pablo [Picasso]	FR	Pablo Picasso	Pa
2017	Rodin. Fugit Amor, Portrait intime	Eddy Simon & Joël Alessandra	21g	Destins d'histoire	FR	Auguste Rodin	Sc
2017	Tamara de Lempicka. Une femme moderne	Virginie Greiner & Daphne Collignon	Glénat	Les Grands Peintres	FR	Tamara de Lempicka	Pa
2017	Uccidete Caravaggio!	Giuseppe De Nardo & Giampiero Casertano	Sergio Bonelli Editore	Libro le Storie	IT	(Michelangelo Meresi da) Caravaggio	Pa
2017	Vincent	Ameyama Denshin	Shoshi Magazine Hitori		JP	Vincent van Gogh	Pa
2017	Warhol - L'intervista	Adriano Barone & Officina Infernale	Bello Giallo		IT	Andy Warhol	Pa
2017	北斎のむすめ (Hokusai no musume) [1]	松阪 [Matsusaka]	芳文社 [Houbunsha]		JP	Katsushika Ōi (葛飾 応為)	Pa, Pr
2017	北斎のむすめ (Hokusai no musume) [2]	松阪 [Matsusaka]	芳文社 [Houbunsha]		JP	Katsushika Ōi (葛飾 応為)	Pa, Pr

Year	Title	Creator(s)	Publisher	Series	Country	Artist	Medium
2017	葛飾北斎 [Katsushika Hokusai]	ちさか あや [Aya Chisaka]	ポプラ社 [Poplar Publishing House], すみだ北斎美術館 (監修) [Sumida Hokusai Museum (supervised)]	コミック版世界の伝記 [Biography of the World for Comics]	JP	Katsushika Hokusai (葛飾北斎)	Pa, Pr
2018	Andy. A Factual Fairytale. The Life and Times of Andy Warhol	Typex	Scratch!		NL	Andy Warhol	Pa
2018	Basquiat. Graphic Novel	Paolo Parisi	Centauria		IT	Jean-Michel Basquiat	Pa, St
2018	Caravaggio. La Grazia	Milo Manara	Panini Spa - Socio Unico		IT	(Michelangelo Meresi da) Caravaggio	Pa
2018	D'un Renoir à l'autre	Eddy Simon & Jacques Lemonnier	21g	Destins d'histoire	FR	Auguste Renoir	Pa, D
2018	Egon Schiele. Il corpo struggente	Otto Gabos	Centauria		IT	Egon Schiele	Pa, D
2018	El Sueno de Dali	Carlos Hernández	Norma Editorial, S.A.		ES	Salvador Dali	Pa
2018	Goya. Lo Sublime Terrible	Juan El Torres & Fran Galan	Dibbuks		ES	Francisco de Goya	Pa, Pr
2018	Leonardo da Vinci, L'Homme et le monde	Marwan Kahil & Ariel Vittori	21g	Destins d'histoire	FR	Leonardo da Vinci	Pa, Sc, D
2018	Picasso en la Guerra Civil	Daniel Torres	Norma Editorial, S.A.		ES	Pablo Picasso	Pa
2018	Swan, tome I : Le buveur d'absinthe	Nejib	Gallimard		FR	multiple	Pa
2018	Truth, Justice and The American Way: The Joe Shuster Story / The Artist Behind Superman: The Joe Shuster Story	Julian Voloj & Thomas Campi	Super Genius		US	Joe Shuster	D
2018	北斎のむすめ (Hokusai no musume) [3]	松阪 [Matsusaka]	芳文社 [Houbunsha]		JP	Katsushika Ōi (葛飾 応為)	Pa, Pr
2019	Balthus y el conde de Rola	Tyto Alba	Fund. Coleccion Thyssen-Bornemisza / Astiberri	Editorial Fundación Colección Thyssen-Bornemisza	ES	Klossowski de Rola	Pa, Dr
2019	Basquiat. About Life*	Fabrizio Liuzzi & Gabriele Benefico	Edizioni NPE		IT	Jean-Michel Basquiat	Pa, St

Year	Title	Creator(s)	Publisher	Series	Country	Artist	Medium
2019	Basquiat	Julian Voloj & Søren Mosdal	SelfMadeHero	Art Masters	UK	Jean-Michel Basquiat	Pa, St
2019	Bridge: How the Roeblings Connected Brooklyn to New York*	Peter J Tomasi & Sara Duvall	Harry N. Abrams		US	Washington & Emily Roebling	Ar
2019	Delacroix	Catherine Meurisse	Dargaud		FR	Eugène Delacroix	Pa
2019	Edward Hopper. Pittore del Silenzio	Sergio Rossi & Giovanni Scarduelli	Centauria		IT	Edward Hopper	Pa
2019	Edward Munch. Der Schrei	Willi Bloess	Willi Blöß Verlag	Künstler-Comic-Biografien	DE	Edward Munch	Pa
2019	Francis Bacon. La violence d'une rose	Christina Portolando	Le Chene		FR	Francis Bacon	Pa
2019	Goya. Wenn die Vernunft schläft	Willi Bloess	Willi Blöß Verlag	Künstler-Comic-Biografien	DE	Francisco de Goya	Pa, Pr
2019	Gustav Klimt. La Bellezza assoluta	Otto Gabos	Centauria		IT	Gustav Klimt	Pa
2019	I Know What I Am: The Life and Times of Artemisia Gentileschi	Gina Siciliano	Fantagraphics Books	[I Know what I am]	US	Artemisia Gentileschi	Pa
2019	Le Fragment	Fernando Llor, Rafael Vargas & José Luis Expósito	Nouveau Monde		FR	Pablo Picasso	Pa
2019	Leonardo. L'ombra della congiura	Giuseppe De Nardo & Antonio Lucchi	Sergio Bonelli Editore	Libri Vari	IT	Leonardo da Vinci	Pa, Sc, D
2019	MIES	Agustín Ferrer Casas	Grafito Editorial		ES	Mies van der Rohe	A
2019	Monet, un Arc-en-Ciel sur Giverny	Jean-François Miniac & Fabrice Le Hénanff	OREP Editions		FR	Claude Monet	Pa
2019	Nippon Folklore – Mythes et Légendes du Soleil Levant	Elisa Menini	Ici Même		FR	multiple	Pa, Pr
2019	Pollock confidential	Onofrio Catacchio	Centauria		IT	Jackson Pollock	Pa
2019	Schwanzer - Architekt aus Leidenschaft	Benjamin Swiczinsky	Birkhäuser		AT	Karl Schwanzer	A

Year	Title	Creator(s)	Publisher	Series	Country	Artist	Medium
2019	Vincent van Gogh. La tristezza durerà per sempre*	Francesco Barilli & Roberta "Sakka" Sacchi	Beccogiallo Editore		IT	Vincent van Gogh	Pa
2019	Walt Disney: 2 Frères à Hollywood*	Alex Nikolavitch & Felix Ruiz	21g	Destins d'histoire	FR	Walt & Roy Disney	D

* This graphic novel was discovered later during the research project, preventing it from being considered in the analysis and statistics.

C.4. Beyond the Second Boom (2020-2021)

Year	Title	Creator(s)	Publisher	Series	Country	Artist	Medium
2020	Gauguin. Südsee Träume	Willi Bloess	Willi Blöß Verlag	Künstler-Comic-Biografien	DE	Paul Gauguin	Pa
2020	Kusama, ossessioni, amori e arte	Elisa Macellari	Centauria		IT	Yayoi Kusama	Sc
2020	Mark Rothko. Il miraculo della pittura.	Francesco Matteuzzi & Giovanni Scarduelli	Centauria		IT	Mark Rothko	Pa
2020	Monet. Die Erfindung des Impressionismus	Willi Bloess	Willi Blöß Verlag	Künstler-Comic-Biografien	DE	Claude Monet	Pa
2020	Peggy Guggenheim. Die Sammlerin	Willi Bloess	Willi Blöß Verlag	Künstler-Comic-Biografien	DE	Multiple	
2021	Amedeo Modigliani	Willi Bloess	Willi Blöß Verlag	Künstler-Comic-Biografien	DE	Amadeo Modigliani	Pa
2021	Artemisia Gentileschi. Die neue Frau	Willi Bloess	Willi Blöß Verlag	Künstler-Comic-Biografien	DE	Artemisia Gentileschi	Pa
2021	Diego Rivera	Francisco de la Mora & José Luis Pescador	SelfMadeHero	Art Masters	UK	Diego Rivera	Pa
2021	Frida Kahlo. Su Vida, Su Obra, Su Casa	José Luis Pescador	El Equilibrista		MX	Frida Kahlo	Pa
2021	Hokusai: A Graphic Biography	Giuseppe Lantaza & Francesco Matteuzi	Laurance King Publishing	Graphic Lives	US	Katsushika Hokusai (葛飾 北斎)	Pa, Pr
2021	Marcel Duchamp. Una vita ready-made	Sergio Rossi & Emanuele Racca	Centauria		IT	Marcel Duchamp	Pa, Sc

Appendix D – The Museum Boom (2005-2019)

CODE for <u>country</u>:

CH = Switzerland

DE = Germany

ES = Spain

FR = France

IT = Italy

NL = Netherlands

SG = Singapore

UK = United Kingdom

US = United States of America

CODE for <u>focus</u>:

L = Life of an artist

A/C = Artwork/Collection of the Museum

D.1. Stage I (2005-2011)

Year	Title	Creator(s)	Museum	Publisher	Country	Focus	Series
2005	Période Glaciaire	Nicolas de Crécy	Musée du Louvre	Futuropolis / Musée du Louvre	FR	A/C	Louvre Éditions
2006	Les Sous-sols du Révolu. Extraits du Journal d'un Expert	Marc-Antoine Mathieu	Musée du Louvre	Futuropolis / Musée du Louvre	FR	A/C	Louvre Éditions
2008	Aux Heures Impaires	Eric Liberge	Musée du Louvre	Futuropolis / Musée du Louvre	FR	A/C	Louvre Éditions
2008	Fumetto al Museo. La Nona Arte a Capodimonte	Marcello Jori, Milo Manara, Igort, Fabrizio Fiorentino, Giacomo Nanni, Gradimir Smudja, Tanino Liberatore, Terry Moore, Marco Corona, Alessandro Rak, Andrea Scoppetta, Manuele Fior, Mathieu Sapin, Lucio Filippucci, Alberto Corradi & Giuseppe Camuncoli	Museo di Capodimonte [Napoli]	Electa Napoli & Museo di Capodimonte	IT	A/C	
2008	Klee	Christophe Badoux	Zentrum Paul Klee	Edition Moderne	CH	L	
2009	Astérix au musée de Cluny	Rene Goscinny & Albert Uderzo	Musée de Cluny - Musée du Moyen-Age	Les éditions Rmn-Grand Palais	FR	A/C	

Year	Title	Creator(s)	Museum	Publisher	Country	Focus	Series
2009	Le Ciel au-dessus du Louvre	Jean-Claude Carriére & Bernar Yslaire	Musée du Louvre	Futuropolis / Musée du Louvre	FR	L	Louvre Éditions
2009	Viaggio Etrusco Sei Affreschi A Fumetti (ETRUSCOMIX l'etruria in fumetto)	Claudio Stassi, Marino Neri, Alessandro Rak, Francesco Cattani, Michele Petrucci, Paolo Parisi, Milo Manara (cover)	Museo nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulla [Rome], Museo Cerveteri; Museo di Tarquinia	Black Velvet Editrice	IT	A/C	
2010	Bourdelle, le visiteur du soir	Frédéric Bézian	Musée Bourdelle	Paris Musée	FR	A/C	
2010	Matisse Manga	Christophe Girard	Matisse Museum [Nice]	Les Enfants Rouges	FR	L	
2010	Rohan au Louvre	Hirohiko Araki	Musée du Louvre	Futuropolis / Musée du Louvre	FR	A/C	Louvre Éditions
2011	Professor Munakata's British Museum Adventure	Yukinobu Hoshino	British Museum	British Museum Press	UK	A/C	
2011	Un Enchantement	Christian Durieux	Musée du Louvre	Futuropolis / Musée du Louvre	FR	A/C	Louvre Éditions
2011	Vincent Van Gogh. De Worsteling van een Kunstenaar	Marc Verhaegen & Jan Kragt	Van Gogh Museum	Eureducation	NL	L	

D.2. Stage II (2012-2019)

Year	Title	Creator(s)	Museum	Publisher	Country	Focus	Series
2012	Dali	Edmond Baudoin	Centre George Pompidou	Centre Pompidou / Dupuis	FR	L	Editions du Centre Pompidou
2012	La Traversée du Louvre	David Prudhomme	Musée du Louvre	Futuropolis / Musée du Louvre	FR	A/C	Louvre Éditions
2012	Le Pendule de Foucault	Didier Convard, Éric Adam & Fred Vignaux	Musée des Arts et Métiers	Glénat BD	FR	A/C	Les Chroniques de Plateterre
2012	Les Fantômes du Louvre	Enki Bilal	Musée du Louvre	Futuropolis / Musée du Louvre	FR	A/C	Louvre Éditions
2012	Versailles [1] - Le crépuscule du Roy	Didier Convard, Éric Adam & Éric Liberge	Château de Versailles	Glénat BD	FR	A/C	Hors Collection
2012	Vincent	Barbara Stok	Van Gogh Museum	Nijgh & Van Ditmar	NL	L	
2013	Hors les murs - Journal d'un voyage immobile	Cendrine Borzycki	Réunion des musées nationaux - Grand Palais	Flammarion SA	FR	A/C	Les éditions Rmn-Grand Palais
2013	Jan van Scorel. Sede vacante 1523	Paul Teng & Jan Paul Schutten	Centraal Museum Utrecht	Lecturis	NL	L	
2013	L'Art du Chevalement	Philippe Dupuy & Loo Hui Phang	Musée du Louvre	Futuropolis / Musée du Louvre	FR	A/C	Louvre Éditions
2013	Le Chien qui Louche	Etienne Davodeau	Musée du Louvre	Futuropolis / Musée du Louvre	FR	A/C	Louvre Éditions
2013	Mécanhumanimal : Au Musée des arts et métiers	Enki Bilal	Musée des Arts et Métiers	Casterman	FR	A/C	
2013	Rembrandt	Typex	Rijksmuseum	Oog en Blik | De Bezige Bij	NL	L	
2013	Versailles [2] - L'Ombre de Marie-Antoinette	Didier Convard, Éric Adam & Éric Liberge	Château de Versailles	Glénat BD	FR	A/C	Hors Collection
2014	Les gardiens du Louvre	Jiro Taniguchi	Musée du Louvre	Futuropolis / Musée du Louvre	FR	A/C	Louvre Éditions
2014	Les Mondes de Gotlib	Macel Gotlib	Musée d'art et d'histoire du Judaïsme	Dargaud	FR	L	
2014	Marcel Duchamp: Un petit jeu entre moi et je	François Olislaeger	Centre George Pompidou	Centre Pompidou / Actes Sud	FR	L	Editions du Centre Pompidou

Year	Title	Creator(s)	Museum	Publisher	Country	Focus	Series
2014	Mitos del POP	Miguel Ángel Martín	El Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza	El Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza	ES	A/C	Editorial Fundación Colección Thyssen-Bornemisza
2014	Moderne Olympia	Catherine Meurisse	Musée d'Orsay	Futuropolis	FR	A/C	Collection Musée d'Orsay
2014	Warm Night, Deathless Days: The Life of Georgette Chen	Sonny Liew	National Gallery of Singapore	National Gallery of Singapore	SG	L	Dreaming Art Series
2015	Prometheus Eternal	Grant Morrison, Farel Dalrymple, Dave McKean, Andrea Tsurumi, David Mack, Josh O'Neill, Lisk Feng, Paul Pope, Yuko Shimizu, James Comey & Bill Sienkiewicz	Philadelphia Museum of Art	Locust Moon Press	US	A/C /L	
2015	De Omslag. H.N. Werkman wordt kumstenaar	Barbara Stok	Groninger Museum	Nijgh & Van Ditmar	NL	L	
2015	Je l'appelle monsieur Bonnard	Joann Sfar	Musée d'Orsay	Editions Hazan & Musée d'Orsay	FR	L	
2015	Jheronimus	Marcel Ruijters	Jheronimus Bosch 500 Foundation	Lecturis	NL	L	
2015	L'île Louvre	Florent Chavouet	Musée du Louvre	Futuropolis / Musée du Louvre	FR	A/C	Louvre Éditions
2015	Les variations d'Orsay	Manuele Fior	Musée d'Orsay	Futuropolis	FR	A/C	Collection Musée d'Orsay
2015	Moderne Olympia & Les Variations d'Orsay (Compilation)	Catherine Meurisse & Manuele Fior	Musée d'Orsay	Futuropolis	FR	A/C	Collection Musée d'Orsay
2015	The Precious Scroll of Incense Mountain. How Princess Miaoshan Became the Importal Guanyin	Amy Chu, Craig Yeung & Laura Martin	Baltimore Museum of Art	Baltimore Museum of Art	US	A/C	
2016	Dos holandeses en Nápoles	Alvaro Ortiz	El Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza	Fund. Coleccion Thyssen-Bornemisza / Astiberri	ES	L	Editorial Fundación Colección Thyssen-Bornemisza
2016	El Triptico de los Encantados (una pantomima bosquiana)	Max	Museo Nacional del Prado	Museo Nacional del Prado	ES	A/C	[Museo Nacional del Prado Comic Collection]

Year	Title	Creator(s)	Museum	Publisher	Country	Focus	Series
2016	L'Art d'en bas au musée d'Orsay. La fantastique collection Hippolytede l'Apnee. Le Catalogue raisonné dirigé par Plonk & Replonk	Plonk & Replonk	Musée d'Orsay	Futuropolis	FR	A/C	Collection Musée d'Orsay
2016	Les rêveurs du Louvre	Daisuke Igarashishi, Shin'Ichi Sakamoto, Katsuya Terada, Mari Yamazaki, Chang Sheng, Richard Metson, TK & Ah Tui (Push Comics)	Musée du Louvre	Futuropolis / Musée du Louvre	FR	A/C	Louvre Éditions
2016	Machines à dessiner	François Schuiten & Benoît Peeters	Musée des Arts et Métiers	Casterman	FR	A/C	
2016	Rene Magritte vu par	Gabriella Giandelli, Brecht Vendenbroucke, David B., Éric Lambé, Miroslav Sekulic-Struja & François Olislaeger	Centre George Pompidou	Centre Pompidou / Actes Sud	FR	L	Editions du Centre Pompidou
2017	El perdón y la Furia	Altarriba & Keko	Museo Nacional del Prado	Museo Nacional del Prado	ES	A/C	[Museo Nacional del Prado Comic Collection]
2017	En Toen de Stijl. Op bezoek in het atelier	Joost Swarte	Gemeente Museum Den Haag	Leopold	NL	L	
2017	Le Syndrome de Stendhal	Aurélie Herrou and Sagar	Centre George Pompidou	Centre Pompidou / Glénat	FR	A/C	Editions du Centre Pompidou
2017	Idilio. Apuntes de Fortuny	Montesol	Museo Nacional del Prado	Museo Nacional del Prado	ES	L	[Museo Nacional del Prado Comic Collection]
2017	Les chats du Louvre (Tome 1)	Taiyo Matsumoto	Musée du Louvre	Futuropolis / Musée du Louvre	FR	A/C	Louvre Éditions
2017	Les disparues d'Orsay	Stéphane Levallois	Musée d'Orsay	Futuropolis	FR	A/C	Collection Musée d'Orsay
2017	Museomaquia	David Sánchez & Santiago García	El Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza	El Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza	ES	A/C	Editorial Fundación Colección Thyssen-Bornemisza
2017	Rodin. Fugit Amor, Portrait intime	Eddy Simon & Joël Alessandra	Musée Rodin	21g	FR	L	Destins d'histoire

Year	Title	Creator(s)	Museum	Publisher	Country	Focus	Series
2018	Anime Inquiete	Otto Gabos	Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Firenze	Mistero per I beni e le attivita culturali & Coconino Press-Fandango	IT	A/C	Fumetti nei Musei
2018	Cuore D'Atleta	SQUAZ	Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Taranto	Mistero per I beni e le attivita culturali & Coconino Press-Fandango	IT	A/C	Fumetti nei Musei
2018	Era Brera	Paolo Bacilieri	Pinacoteca di Brera, Milano	Mistero per I beni e le attivita culturali & Coconino Press-Fandango	IT	A/C	Fumetti nei Musei
2018	GUL in: Il Cuo Re Delle Cose	Maicol & Mirco	La Reggia di Caserta	Mistero per I beni e le attivita culturali & Coconino Press-Fandango	IT	A/C	Fumetti nei Musei
2018	Hanchi e il Ladro Sensibile	Maicol & Mirco	Galleria Nazionale delle Marche, Umbrio	Mistero per I beni e le attivita culturali & Coconino Press-Fandango	IT	A/C	Fumetti nei Musei
2018	HIC	Roberto Grossi	Parco Archeologico del Colocceo, Roma	Mistero per I beni e le attivita culturali & Coconino Press-Fandango	IT	A/C	Fumetti nei Musei
2018	Il Pomo Rubato	Martoz	Galleria Borghese, Roma	Mistero per I beni e le attivita culturali & Coconino Press-Fandango	IT	A/C	Fumetti nei Musei
2018	Io Piu Fanciullo non Sono	Lorena Canottiere	Musei Reali, Torino	Mistero per I beni e le attivita culturali & Coconino Press-Fandango	IT	A/C	Fumetti nei Musei
2018	Ippocrate e Jones	DR. PIRA	Parco Archeologico di Paestum	Mistero per I beni e le attivita culturali & Coconino Press-Fandango	IT	A/C	Fumetti nei Musei
2018	Feuilleton	Fabio Ramiro Rossin	Palazzo Reale, Genova	Mistero per I beni e le attivita culturali & Coconino Press-Fandango	IT	A/C	Fumetti nei Musei
2018	Les chats du Louvre (Tome 2)	Taiyo Matsumoto	Musée du Louvre	Futuropolis / Musée du Louvre	FR	A/C	Louvre Éditions
2018	Les Chats du Louvre I et II	Taiyo Matsumoto	Musée du Louvre	Futuropolis / Musée du Louvre	FR	A/C	Louvre Éditions
2018	Margherisba e il Drago	Alessandro Tota	Gallerie degli Uffizi, Firenze	Mistero per I beni e le attivita culturali & Coconino Press-Fandango	IT	A/C	Fumetti nei Musei
2018	Mujirushi, le signe des rêves (Tome 1)	Naoki Urasawa	Musée du Louvre	Futuropolis / Musée du Louvre	FR	A/C	Louvre Éditions
2018	Mujirushi, le signe des rêves (Tome 2)	Naoki Urasawa	Musée du Louvre	Futuropolis / Musée du Louvre	FR	A/C	Louvre Éditions

Year	Title	Creator(s)	Museum	Publisher	Country	Focus	Series
2018	Neri & Scheggia in Galleria	Tuonno Pettinato	Galleria dell'Accademia, Firenze	Mistero per I beni e le attivita culturali & Coconino Press-Fandango	IT	A/C	Fumetti nei Musei
2018	Non Dimenticarti Di Me	Lorenzo Ghetti	Mueso e Real Bosco di Capodimonte, Napoli	Mistero per I beni e le attivita culturali & Coconino Press-Fandango	IT	A/C	Fumetti nei Musei
2018	Piccoli Visitatori Notturni	Marino Neri	Gallierie Estensi, Modena e Ferrara	Mistero per I beni e le attivita culturali & Coconino Press-Fandango	IT	A/C	Fumetti nei Musei
2018	Ramarro Nel Giardino Sospeso	Sara Colaone	Palazzo Ducale, Mantova	Mistero per I beni e le attivita culturali & Coconino Press-Fandango	IT	A/C	Fumetti nei Musei
2018	SHHH. Bea Paco all'avventura nelle Gallerie dell'Accademica di Venezia	Alice Socal	Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venezia	Mistero per I beni e le attivita culturali & Coconino Press-Fandango	IT	A/C	Fumetti nei Musei
2018	Stelle	Paolo Parisi	Gallerie Nazionali di Arte Antica a Palazzo Barberini, Roma	Mistero per I beni e le attivita culturali & Coconino Press-Fandango	IT	A/C	Fumetti nei Musei
2018	Super Amadeo	ZUZU	Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Napoli	Mistero per I beni e le attivita culturali & Coconino Press-Fandango	IT	A/C	Fumetti nei Musei
2018	Teoria Degli Opposti Semplificata & Avventurosa	Vincenzo Filosa	Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Reggio Calabria	Mistero per I beni e le attivita culturali & Coconino Press-Fandango	IT	A/C	Fumetti nei Musei
2018	Time is Out of Joint	LRNZ	Galleria Nazionale di Arte Modernea e Contemporanea, Roma	Mistero per I beni e le attivita culturali & Coconino Press-Fandango	IT	A/C	Fumetti nei Musei
2018	Tutti Santi	Andrea Settimo	Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria, Perugia	Mistero per I beni e le attivita culturali & Coconino Press-Fandango	IT	A/C	Fumetti nei Musei
2018	Vulcanalia	Bianca Bagnarelli	Parco Archeologico di Pompei	Mistero per I beni e le attivita culturali & Coconino Press-Fandango	IT	A/C	Fumetti nei Musei
2019	Balthus y el conde de Rola [Klossowski de Rola]	Tyto Alba	El Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza	Fund. Coleccion Thyssen-Bornemisza / Astiberri	ES	L	Editorial Fundación Colección Thyssen-Bornemisza
2019	Francis Bacon. La violence d'une rose	Christina Portolando	Centre George Pompidou	Le Chene	FR	L	Editions du Centre Pompidou
2019	Historietas del Prado	Sento	Museo Nacional del Prado	Museo Nacional del Prado	ES	A/C	[Museo Nacional del Prado Comic Collection]

Year	Title	Creator(s)	Museum	Publisher	Country	Focus	Series
2019	Le Fragment	Fernando Llor, Rafael Vargas & José Luis Expósito	Musée national Picasso-Paris	Nouveau Monde	FR	L	
2019	Léonard 2 Vinci	Stéphane Levallois	Musée du Louvre	Futuropolis / Musée du Louvre	FR	L	Louvre Éditions
2019	Monet, un Arc-en-Ciel sur Giverny	Jean-François Miniac & Fabrice Le Hénanff	Musée d'Orsay	OREP Editions	FR	L	
2019	Moon of the Moon	Li Chi Tak	Musée du Louvre	Futuropolis / Musée du Louvre	FR	A/C	Louvre Éditions
2019	Nippon Folklore – Mythes et Légendes du Soleil Levant	Elisa Menini	Musée des Arts Asiatiques–Guimet	Ici Même	FR	L	
2019	Une maternité rouge	Christian Lax	Musée du Louvre	Futuropolis / Musée du Louvre	FR	A/C	Louvre Éditions
2019	Fêtes Himalayennes : Les derniers Kalash	Jean-Yves Loude, Hubert Maury, Viviane Lièvre & Hervé Nègre	Musée des Confluences	La Boîte à Bulles / Hors champ	FR	A/C	
2019	Gli esploratori dell'Appia perduta	Gud	Parco Archeologico dell'Appia Antica di Roma	Mistero per I beni e le attivita culturali & Coconino Press-Fandango	IT	A/C	Fumetti nei Musei
2019	Gli Aruspici	Federico Rossi Edrighi	Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia, Roma	Mistero per I beni e le attivita culturali & Coconino Press-Fandango	IT	A/C	Fumetti nei Musei
2019	La Visita	Marco Corona	Museo Nazionale Romano a Palazzo Massimo, Roma	Mistero per I beni e le attivita culturali & Coconino Press-Fandango	IT	A/C	Fumetti nei Musei
2019	Cambi di Posto	Eliana Albertini	Villa Adriana e Villa D'Este, Tivoli	Mistero per I beni e le attivita culturali & Coconino Press-Fandango	IT	A/C	Fumetti nei Musei
2019	Passatempo	Fulvio Risuleo e Antonio Pronostico	Parco Archeologico di Ostia Antica, Ostia	Mistero per I beni e le attivita culturali & Coconino Press-Fandango	IT	A/C	Fumetti nei Musei
2019	Naumachia	Luca Negri R.S.M.	Complesso Monumentale della Pilotta, Parma	Mistero per I beni e le attivita culturali & Coconino Press-Fandango	IT	A/C	Fumetti nei Musei
2019	Salve delle Pietre	Roberta Scomparsa	Parco Archeologico di Ercolano, Ercolano	Mistero per I beni e le attivita culturali & Coconino Press-Fandango	IT	A/C	Fumetti nei Musei
2019	Sciarada	Manfredi Ciminale	Museo delle Civiltà, Roma	Mistero per I beni e le attivita culturali & Coconino Press-Fandango	IT	A/C	Fumetti nei Musei

Year	Title	Creator(s)	Museum	Publisher	Country	Focus	Series
2019	Rosa Ananas	Lise e Talami	Museo Storico e il Parco del Castello di Miramare, Trieste	Mistero per I beni e le attivita culturali & Coconino Press-Fandango	IT	A/C	Fumetti nei Musei
2019	Vento	Miguel Angel Valdivia	Museo Archeologico dei Campi Flegrei, Baia	Mistero per I beni e le attivita culturali & Coconino Press-Fandango	IT	A/C	Fumetti nei Musei
2019	16 possibili Usi di un Mausoleo	Giuseppe Palumbo	Mausoleo di Teodorico, Ravenna	Mistero per I beni e le attivita culturali & Coconino Press-Fandango	IT	A/C	Fumetti nei Musei
2019	Il Tema di Ascanio	Taddei e Angelini	Museo Nazionale di Castel Sant'Angelo, Roma	Mistero per I beni e le attivita culturali & Coconino Press-Fandango	IT	A/C	Fumetti nei Musei
2019	Un Fuoco nella Notte	Andrea Ferraris	Museo Preistorico dei Balzi Rossi, Ventimiglia	Mistero per I beni e le attivita culturali & Coconino Press-Fandango	IT	A/C	Fumetti nei Musei
2019	Constanza e Martino	Michele Petrucci	Palazzo Ducale, Gubbio	Mistero per I beni e le attivita culturali & Coconino Press-Fandango	IT	A/C	Fumetti nei Musei
2019	Boom Samurai Boom	Marco Galli	Museo d'Arte Orientale, Venezia	Mistero per I beni e le attivita culturali & Coconino Press-Fandango	IT	A/C	Fumetti nei Musei
2019	Sisaia	Alessandro Sanna	Museo Archeologico Nazionale "G. Asproni", Nuoro	Mistero per I beni e le attivita culturali & Coconino Press-Fandango	IT	A/C	Fumetti nei Musei
2019	Bassilla	Emanuele Rosso	Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Aquileia	Mistero per I beni e le attivita culturali & Coconino Press-Fandango	IT	A/C	Fumetti nei Musei
2019	Nel Labirinto	Pietro Scarnera	Museo Nazionale Etrusco, Chiusi	Mistero per I beni e le attivita culturali & Coconino Press-Fandango	IT	A/C	Fumetti nei Musei
2019	La gita intergalattica di Titta & Plyn	Lorenzo Mò	Villa della Regina, Torino	Mistero per I beni e le attivita culturali & Coconino Press-Fandango	IT	A/C	Fumetti nei Musei
2019	Metauros	Federico Manzone	Museo Archeologico Metauros, Gioia Tauro	Mistero per I beni e le attivita culturali & Coconino Press-Fandango	IT	A/C	Fumetti nei Musei
2019	Acqua Passata	ALTAN	Castello Scaligero di Sirmione, Sirmione	Mistero per I beni e le attivita culturali & Coconino Press-Fandango	IT	A/C	Fumetti nei Musei
2019	Quattro Chiacchiere	Spugna	MuNDA - Museo Nazionale d'Abruzzo, L'Aquila	Mistero per I beni e le attivita culturali & Coconino Press-Fandango	IT	A/C	Fumetti nei Musei

Year	Title	Creator(s)	Museum	Publisher	Country	Focus	Series
2019	Gli Invincibili	Silvia Rocchi	Antiquarium e zona archeologica, Canne della Battaglia	Mistero per I beni e le attivita culturali & Coconino Press-Fandango	IT	A/C	Fumetti nei Musei
2019	Monaciello	Pablo Cammello	Certosa e Museo di San Martino, Napoli	Mistero per I beni e le attivita culturali & Coconino Press-Fandango	IT	A/C	Fumetti nei Musei
2019	Puzzle	Vitt Moretta	Museo Archeologico Nazionale "Domenico Ridola", Matera	Mistero per I beni e le attivita culturali & Coconino Press-Fandango	IT	A/C	Fumetti nei Musei
2019	L'eterno Galoppo	Ratigher	Museo Sannitico, Campobasso	Mistero per I beni e le attivita culturali & Coconino Press-Fandango	IT	A/C	Fumetti nei Musei
2019	dietro di te	Mara Cerri	Rocca di Gradara, Gradara	Mistero per I beni e le attivita culturali & Coconino Press-Fandango	IT	A/C	Fumetti nei Musei
2019	Un lungo respiro	Mariachiara Di Giorgio	Istituto Centrale del Restauro, Roma	Mistero per I beni e le attivita culturali & Coconino Press-Fandango	IT	A/C	Fumetti nei Musei
2019	L'immaginifico Signore	Giacomo Nanni	Istituto Centrale per la Grafica, Roma	Mistero per I beni e le attivita culturali & Coconino Press-Fandango	IT	A/C	Fumetti nei Musei

D.3. Beyond the Museum Boom (2020-2021)

Year	Title	Creator(s)	Museum	Publisher	Country	Focus	Series
2021	Les Amants de Shamhat. La véritable histoire de Gilgamesh	Charles Berberian	Musée du Louvre	Futuropolis / Musée du Louvre	FR	A/C	Louvre Éditions