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Abbildung Titelseite:
Tabona, Basalt-Werkzeug der Guanchen, der Ureinwohner von Tenerife,
Kanarische Inseln (Photo: Francisco Javier Velázquez)

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Hans-Joachim Ulbrich

Depictions of Guanche caves as part of a business model of competing Italian editorials (1815-1860)*

Keywords: art, caves, Giulio Ferrario, Florence, France, Germany, Guanches, Wilhelm Herchenbach, Italy, Charles-Nicolas Cochin Jun., J.-F. de La Harpe, London, Milano, mummies, Paris, press, Abbé Prévost, printing, Roma, Spain, Tenerife, travels, Venezia.

Abstract:

This paper is in fact the second part of a previous article written in German (Ulbrich 2019) which deals with book illustrations basing on a design by the French artist Charles-Nicolas Cochin Jun., Paris. They show a burial cave of the pre-Hispanic Guanches from Tenerife (Canary Islands) whose picture was copied and modified by countless other painters and engravers all over Europe (1746-19th c.). Especially Italian artists jumped on the bandwagon when they illustrated the famous encyclopedia by Giulio Ferrario (Milano) with a very special version of the Guanche cave (1815-1844). This interesting plagiarism and its derivatives are analysed and depicted here. To understand the latter and its impact on the Italian editorial business one also needs to keep in mind the intensive wish of the contemporary public to learn more about history, ethnology and customs of other peoples.

Zusammenfassung:

Dieser Aufsatz ist der zweite Teil eines zunächst in Deutsch verfassten Textes (Ulbrich 2019) über Buchillustrationen, die auf der Basis eines Entwurfes des Franzosen Charles-Nicolas Cochin d.J., Paris, entstanden sind. Sie zeigen eine Grabhöhle der vorspanischen Guanchen von Tenerife (Kanarische Inseln), deren Abbildung von zahlreichen Malern und Kupferstechern in ganz Europa kopiert und modifiziert wurde (1746-19. Jh.). Besonders italienische Künstler sprangen auf diesen Zug auf, als sie die berühmte Enzyklopädie von Giulio Ferrario (Milano) mit einer ganz speziellen Version dieser Guanchenhöhle illustrierten (1815-1844). Diese interessanten Plagiate und ihre Weiterentwicklung werden hier analysiert und reproduziert. Um letzteres und besonders die Auswirkung auf die verlegerischen Aktivitäten in Italien zu verstehen, sollte man die intensive Beschäftigung der Öffentlichkeit einbeziehen, die mehr über Geschichte, Ethnologie und fremde Völker erfahren wollte.

Resumen:

El presente artículo es la segunda parte de otro publicado en alemán (Ulbrich 2019) sobre ilustraciones en libros basadas en un bosquejo del autor francés Charles-Nicolas Cochin el Joven, en París. Dichas ilustraciones muestran una cueva de enterramiento de los guanches prehispánicos de Tenerife (Islas Canarias), cuya reproducción copiaron y modificaron numerosos pintores y grabadores en toda Europa (desde 1746 hasta el s. XIX). A

*Local geographical names, institutions, persons etc were preferably not translated into English.



Fig.1 - Frontispiece of vol.1 of Green/Astley (London 1745). We see a combination of different peoples, animals, fruits and geographical-historical reflections. The involved artists are known: Hubert-François Gravelot (inventit) & Charles Grignion (sculpsit).

esta tendencia se sumaron muy particularmente artistas italianos ilustrando la famosa enciclopedia de Giulio Ferrario (Milán) con una versión muy especial de aquella cueva de los guanches (1815-1844). Ahora analizamos y reproducimos aquellos interesantes plagios y su ulterior desarrollo. Para entender esto último y, particularmente, su repercusión en la actividad editorial en Italia, habría que considerar la marcada influencia del público, ansioso de saber más sobre historia, etnología y pueblos desconocidos.

1. A decision in Paris (1746). The French book trader, printer and editor François Didot (1689-1757) was a successful and respected entrepreneur when he and his board of managing editors decided in late 1745 to translate a broadly accepted four-part series of travel reports from English to French. The English source was published by Green & Astley 1745 in London: "A New General Collection of Voyages and Travels" (see fig.1 for the frontispiece of vol.1). The basic translation business was handled by the French churchman and author Antoine-François Prévost d'Exiles, in the public shortly known as "Abbé Prévost" (Ulbrich 2019: 46-48, fig.3). At this time it was common practice to ignore any copyrights so that François Didot and his redaction decided to not only augment the texts considerably but also to illustrate the new series with noticeably more of the popular engravings; finally the first edition comprised 15 volumes. Tome 2 of the "Histoire générale des voyages, ou Nouvelle collection de toutes les relations de voyages par mer et par terre" (A.-F. Prévost d'Exiles et al., Paris 1746) contained the reports on the Canary Islands and especially the news about the Guanches of Tenerife.

It was most likely the task of the redaction, led by Jacques-Philibert Roussetot de Surgy, to select the pictures for the tomes; one of the main contributors was the Parisian artist Charles-Nicolas Cochin *the Younger* (1715-1790). He designed 65 scenes which served as submittals for the engravers. Nr.12 was the famous "Cave sépulchrable des Guanches" which was cut by Pierre-Quentin Chedel (duodecimo) and Andrew Lawrence (quarto) for t.2 [Ulbrich 2019: 48, 50; Jombert 1770: 60]. We can start from the premise that Cochin conceived the scene partly by following his ideas as an artist and partly by using two informants about an actual cave in the Barranco de Herques (Tenerife): an Englishman who visited it in 1634 and an unknown French tourist and/or scientist who went to see it around 1745 (Ulbrich 2019: detailed in Chapter 2). Tome 2 – mainly Africa – was a full success and the Guanche cave on plate No. XV [p. 261] was it too. The only more or less authentic illustration of that cavern, a simple wood cut, can be found in Browne (1834: 65), first published 200 years later (see also Ulbrich 2019: fig.29).

In the following years – starting practically immediately in 1747 – the "Histoire générale des voyages" as well as text and graphics of similar oeuvres



Fig.2

were copied all over Europe. Ulbrich (2019: 62, figs. 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20, 21) counted over 13 somewhat different plates with alterations of the original cave scene regarding format, structure and mirrored arrangements. Twentyone more variants from Europe, especially from Italy, could be added in this paper (see figs. 4-7, 14-29) summing up to 34 pictures basing on the one macabre illustration designed once by C.-N. Cochin jun. in Paris.

It was also a widespread business to sell – especially when colorized – copper-plate engravings as part of overprints. Indeed many such plates were produced because the printing offices of the books (letterpress) and of the plates (a kind of gravure print) were frequently not the same. In the case of the Guanche cave hundreds of art prints, often on better paper, were distributed. Really bizarre is the result of a British colorist who painted the fur clothing of a Guanche with a glaring blue (cutout [fig.2](#)), not realizing that he is working on a scene designed for the early 18th century showing an indigenous man with a sheep or goat outfit. The respective plate can be seen in the book by Bankes (1800: 421) or as a colorized engraving of its own.

2. The development of an idea and its manifestations. To enrich an encyclopedia, a novel or a travel report with the picture of a burial cave of the Guanches was not only a good idea to boost the sales figures; this scene was in the heads of the contemporary editors the sepulchral cavern *per se*, the prototype to combine information with gothic shudder. Some of these illustrations are exemplarily presented here, quasi as introduction before we turn towards the main topic of this paper: the use of certain variants of the Guanche cave in the work of Giulio Ferrario and his Italian competitors.

[Fig. 4.](#) The original by Cochin ([fig.3](#)) was engraved slightly altered for "Abrégé de l'histoire générale des voyages. T.2", revised and edited by Jean-François de La Harpe (Paris 1780, Planche 8, p. 211 / see Ulbrich 2019: [fig.13](#)). This was then translated into Italian and published as "[Compendio della storia generale de' viaggi. T.1](#)", Venezia 1781. At first glance the Guanche cave looks like the French version of 1780 but in fact it is a new engraving by an unknown Italian artist [p.235] what can be seen through several details, e.g. the face of a Guanche in the foreground left-hand and the array of the rocks.



Fig.3 - The very first engraved version of the burial cave of the Guanches, designed by Charles-Nicolas Cochin *the Younger* (Paris 1746). The Latin description reads as follows: *Cochin filius inv.* [invenit = designed it] and *L. sculp.* [Laurent/Lawrence sculpsit = engraved it]. XV is the number of the plate which belongs to the African chapter of the "Histoire générale des voyages", tome 2, here the version *in quarto*.

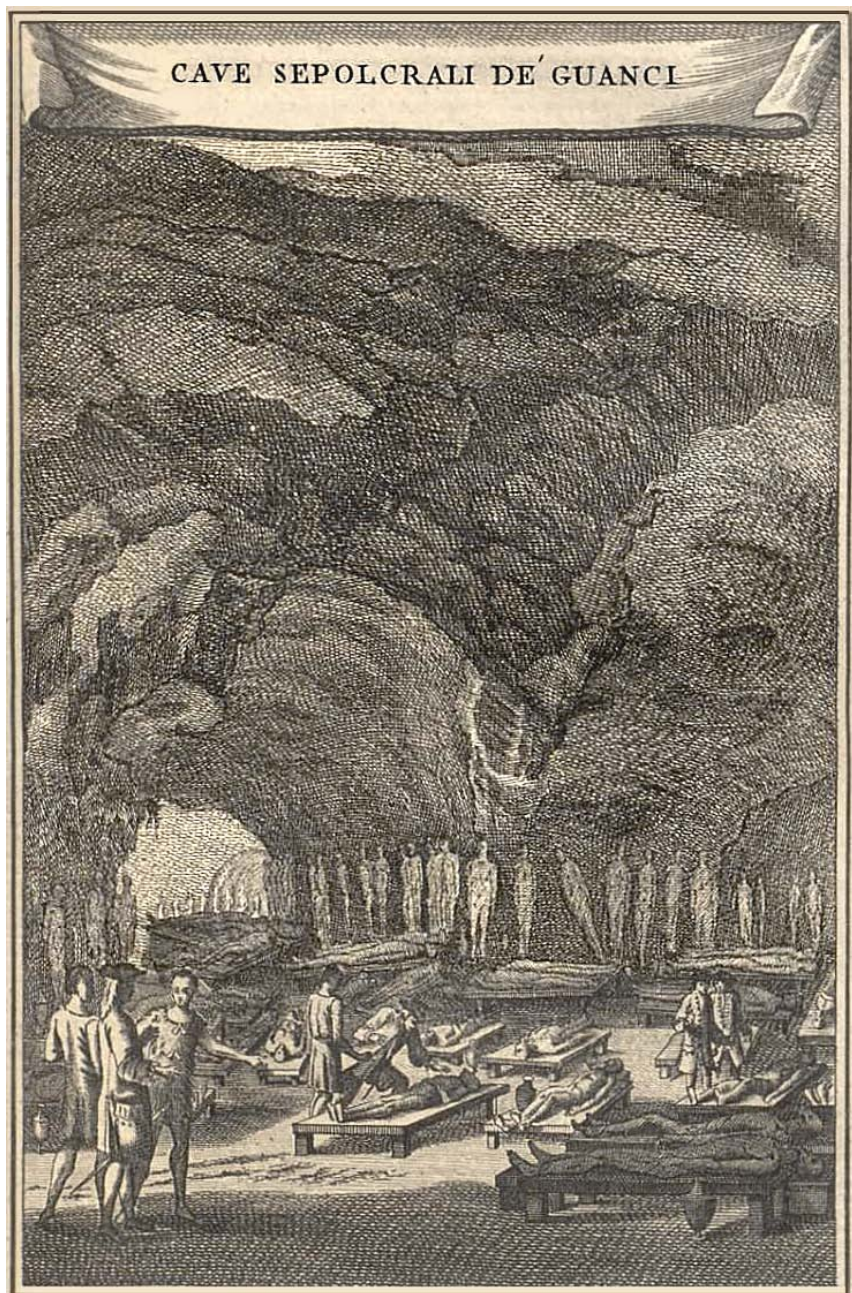


Fig.4 - Venezia 1781



Ferd. Cataneo inc.

Cave Sepolcrali di'Guancie

Fig.5-
Venezia
1834

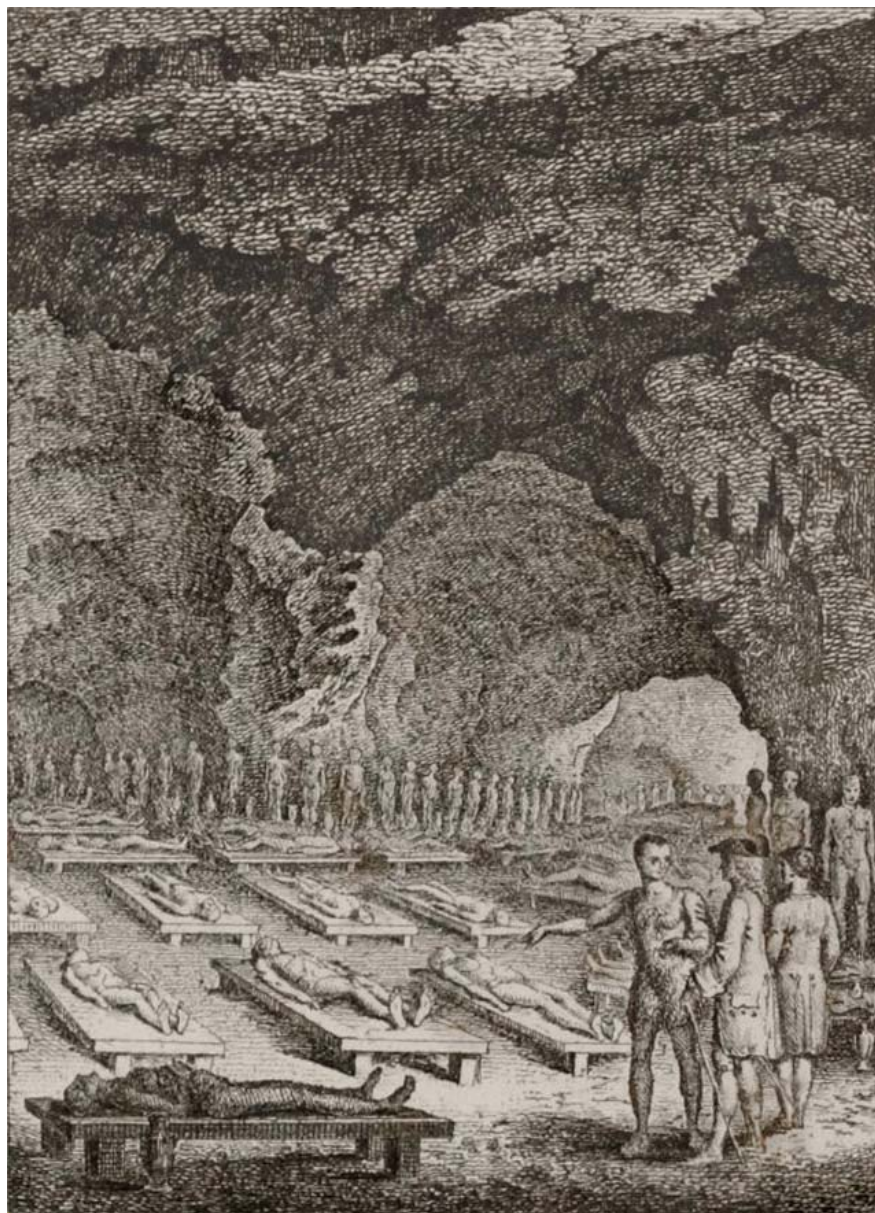


Fig.6 - "Caves sépulcrales des Guanches". A knowingly mirrored copper-plate engraving of the famous Guanche cave, interestingly structured with lesser visitors (only two Europeans and one Guanche, the latter clad in a fur dress), merely one volcanic tunnel with a notably slanting base and fewer mummies in the foreground (Paris 1830).



Fig.7 - Regensburg 1868, die-stamping by an unknown German engraver

Fig. 5. The third print of "Compendio della storia generale de' viaggi. T.1" in Venezia 1834 contained an interesting version of the Guanche cave using a kind of contour painting style which avoids heavy shadows and dark areas, thus presenting a bright cavern with practically no impression of black lava stone [p.212, b/w]. The artist was Ferdinando Cataneo. Curiously he also added – unique among the Cochin cave variants – a dried corpse on a *chajasco* (bier) leaning on the wall, not lying, what normally points to a mummy.

Fig. 6. It shows a rare example of a mirrored picture taken from "Bibliothèque Générale des Voyages. Première Partie 'Afrique'. Tome II", another project by J.-F. de La Harpe which started in 1829. The illustration of the Guanche cave was this time used as frontispiece.

Fig. 7. A very special case is the depiction of the Guanche cave in a German novel: "Aus Onkel Nabor's Tagebuch" (1868) ["From uncle Nabor's diary"]. It was written by the famous Wilhelm Herchenbach (Neunkirchen 1818-Düsseldorf 1889) who deluged the literary market of the German speaking readers worldwide with over 200 works of a mostly romantic, adventurous, historical, mythical, religious and/or dramatic content, basically aimed at the youth but also liked by adults. The story is told quickly: A seaman (Nabor) has survived a pirate attack on sea and when he is rescued finds a warmhearted welcome on the ranch of a big landowner ("Dom" [strangely not "Don"] Sablos) on Tenerife, Canary Islands. It does not surprise that Nabor falls in love with the daughter of his landlord. One day Dom Sablos arranges an excursion which among other places leads to a more or less unknown burial cave of the Guanches which is only accessible by insiders. The attached illustration [p.161] has its roots clearly in the basic design by C.-N. Cochin, but the characteristics of this untitled variant are so special and divergent – at the same time far away from Cochin – that it is worthwhile to describe them elaborately:

- At the meeting point of two lava tubes exists a small hypogean place which gets daylight from a hole in the ceiling of the cavern (please compare with the description of the original scene in Ulbrich 2019: 47-48).
- In both tubes we can see dried corpses leaning at the walls. Their private parts are covered by a loincloth (not the idea of Cochin and not authentic).
- Only two mummies in the foreground rest on biers (Span. *chajascos*).
- Also in the anterior cave are the two human protagonists, Nabor and Dom Sablos, the latter the one with the lunch box and the shotgun.
- The hypogeum has an exit where we can see a section of a *barranco*, a canyon, and therein a palm tree (both not the notion of Cochin).

To include the outerworld (sky etc.) is a specialty of German versions. From where did Herchenbach and his engraver get such ideas?

The depiction of the Guanche cave in the "Storia generale de' viaggi. Tomo 6", Venezia 1751, is mentioned but could not be traced in a digital form in a library (translation of "Histoire générale des voyages, T.2" by Prévost et al., Paris 1746).

3. Giulio Ferrario advanced the idea of encyclopedias. One of the most colorful personalities of the Italian cultural establishment around 1800 was without doubt Giulio Ferrario. This Lombard was not only a typical member of an upper class family with a comfortable social status and best clerical connections – far away from economic deprivation–, but also an intellectual with his career clearly determined for the world of literature and arts.

Giulio saw the light of the day on January 28th, 1767, as son of Giovanni Ferrario and the patrician Antonia Lanzavecchia. His native town of Milano should always bring him good luck – with high-born patronizers and a broadly conceived education covering ecclesial, scientific and general cultural subjects. At the age of nine Giulio's childhood ended and he first passed the archiepiscopal seminar in Arona, at the west bank of the Lago Maggiore, and subsequently another one in Milano, capital of Lombardia. His *studium generale* started in 1786 when Giulio enlisted in a newly created seminar of the neighbourly university town of Pavia. There he could further evolve his personality and satisfy his thirst for knowledge what finally led in May 1790 to the degree of "*doctor in utroque iure*" ("doctor of both laws", canonical and civil). Related studies had him introduced also to the wide-ranging facets of the Italian culture, e.g. the Classic and Fine Arts. It became also clear that the young doctor felt attracted more to science than to preaching and care of souls. A preliminary line was drawn when the ecclesial education ended with his ordination. Shortly afterwards the Lombardia passed to the troops of Napoleon (1796/1797). Giulio Ferrario used the following years – despite experiencing uncertain times – to work up the learnt, to evaluate it and to present and utilize it for scientific tasks. In this context he showed big interest for the bibliographic reappraisal of local book stocks. He got even more opportunities for this passion in 1802 when he was appointed "assistant" to the famous Biblioteca Braidense in Milano for the servicing of the extensive catalogue. Parallely he was committed as member of the "Società tipografica dei classici italiani" which started too in 1802; his participation in the much-noticed edition of the classic Italian works of the 18th century (publ. 1818-1839) earned him many compliments.

Although Ferrario did not much care about the current political situation – in 1815 the Austrian administration returned – he seems to have accepted the Viennese side which he benefitted from. Quite skillfully he could apply the resources of the Braidense library; already in 1813 he officiated as "coadjutor and treasurer". Passing further stations he even reached in 1838 the directorship

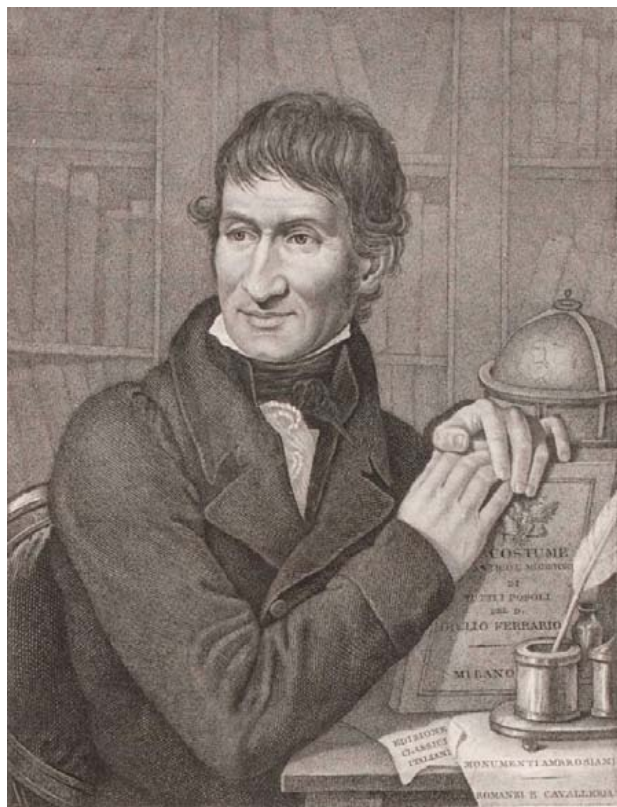


Fig.8 - Contemporary bust portrait of Giulio Ferrario, Milano 1830 [Vincenzo Raggio delinea- vit, Giovanni Boggi sculpsit, in tome I of the "Aggiunte e rettificazio- ni" 1831]. Some of his known triumphs are ly- ing on the table. In his hands he is holding a tome of his most impor- tant project: "Il costume antico e moderno". In the background a globe and a bookshelf, both symbols for his biblio- phile, bibliographic and ethnographic *raison d'être*, the inkpot ready to be used for a note by this erudite ecclesiastic.

Giulio Ferrario

(signature Giulio Ferrario)

of the entire library. Also as collector of rare works, book editor and proprietor of an own printery he could register success and achievement. Among his own works we find "Istoria e descrizione dei principali teatri antichi e moderni" (Milano 1830); "Memorie per servire alla storia dell' architettura milanese dalla decadenza dell' impero romano fino ai nostri giorni" (Milano 1843); "Monu- menti sacri e profani dell' I.R. basilica di Sant' Ambrogio in Milano" (Milano 1824); "Storia ed analisi degli antichi romanzi di cavalleria e dei poemi romanzeschi d' Italia ecc." (Milano 1828-1829), to mention only a selection. Giulio Ferrario died in Milano on April 2nd, 1847.¹

A special citation however deserves his *opus magnum* "Il costume antico e moderno. O storia del governo, della milizia, della religione, delle arti, scienze ed usanze di tutti i popoli antichi e moderni" which we will have a closer look at. Giulio Ferrario published it together with several Milanese co-authors in a broadly conceived edition (Milano 1815-1826). A detailed index (1829) – produ-

¹Parts of Ferrario's personal history are taken from the biography by Nutini (1996).

ced in a bigger print run to complete previously sold and most likely still not sold sets – and a three-tome supplement, "*Aggiunte e rettificazioni all' opera il costume antico e moderno*" (1831-1834), were finally published (figs. 33, 36). The title alone (*Il costume antico e moderno*) misleads the reader, speaking only of the mores, but in the subtitle we are told more: Practically all peoples of the known world are described with their history, reigns, monuments, customs, places and looks. Even characteristics of the local nature including animals and plants are delineated. All continents, islands and oceans are considered whereby of course the European countries and its adjacent seas prevail.

This monumental series surpassed other Italian encyclopedias by far regarding its splendid layout with over 1500 color plates; the latter also existent in the French edition which Ferrario printed parallelly with the same pagination. Especially the character of a universal reference book was accentuated by the overwhelming impact of the graphical information – for many people probably more interesting than the readable one.

The series started always with t. Asia 1 and a frontispiece which revered Mother Earth (fig. 11) and additionally paid homage to Franz I, Emperor of Austria (fig. 37). Ferrario got enough subscriptions to initiate the series in 1815; he started it again in 1817, 1819, 1822 and 1826, five technical issues altogether (mostly deliveries to subscribers). The logistical management must have been enormous to provide all the clients in Europe free from errors; therefore the name of the addressee was printed on the title page of each subscribed tome.

Giulio Ferrario published an appended second (1827) and dito a third and last edition (1829) of the "Costume" series. Only 300 copies per volume were printed for the final closing action considering the most up-to-date text material. The highlight are the 1.619 thoroughly cut etchings which were meticulously colorized (fig.38), but in most cases only a part of these. An uncompromising complete set of 1829/1831-1834 was and is therefore extremely rare on the antiquarian market (currently a bibliophile "luxury" edition is offered as of January 2020). Other full sets of the Milano "Costume" series – for sale in 2020 – can in general be counted on the fingers of one hand.

Despite the undeniable success of the series it was not all gold that glittered. The "Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthums Oesterreich" (4/1858 on "Ferrario, Julius") criticised that Ferrario et al. in many cases did not document the source material when describing the middle and northern European regions; furthermore "some plates leave much to be desired". Even harsher formulates an Italian compatriot in a German journal (Anonymous 1828): "... Doch hat die Ausführung den großen Versprechungen des Herausgebers nicht entsprochen, und der Theil, der die Kleidungen betrifft, scheint der einzige zu

seyn, auf den man sich mit einiger Sicherheit verlassen kann. Namentlich sind in dem, was sich auf die Gesetzgebung bezieht, viele Mängel und Irrthümer, und man sieht der ganzen Arbeit an, daß dabei mehr Gewinnsucht als gründliches Studium die Feder führte."² Especially informations from far away countries and the respective illustrations evoke distrust also by the author of these lines: It is – because of the sheer number of the volumes, pictures, informants, subjects and artists etc – not possible to keep the quality and authenticity on a throughout high level (for more details see figs. 9, 14, 15, 21, 23, 25, 27, 29).

Fig.9 - The production quality of "Il costume antico e moderno" judged by the efforts made for the illustrations of the Guanche burial cave and the way costs were saved.

Tipografia dell' Editore ¹	Milano	Full page for the cave available / generally some colorations not exact
Vincenzo Batelli ¹	Firenze	Full page for the cave available / gen. some colorations not exact
Allessandro Barcellona ¹	Palermo	Full page for the cave available / gen. very few colorations not exact
Alessandro Fontana ²	Torino	Cave and many other pictures omitted / gen. some colorations not exact
Celli e Ricci ³	Firenze	Cave on page together with other pictures / gen. many colorations not exact
Tipografia Vignozzi ³	Livorno	Cave on page together with other pictures / gen. many colorations not exact
Dai Torchi del Tramater ⁴	Napoli	Cave on page together with other pictures / gen. many colorations not exact

¹ = very good, ² = missing pictures in all 3 Africa tomes, ^{3/4} = many pages not acceptable (low-cost production)

To be consulted for reflections about the first Italian illustration of a Guanche burial cave is "Africa Volume Primo" published by Ferrario in 1815 (Africa II followed 1819; please note that other editorials can use different text splittings, see fig. 33) [Read also Ulbrich 2019, p.62, on the picture layout.] The chapter "Isole della Mauritania" [337-353] by Ambrogio Levati contains the *tavola 65* or *LXV*, designed and cut by Giovanni Bigatti [Milano 1774-1817] (figs. 14-20) and copied by other Italian artists (figs. 21-29).

4. A hard-edged market for Italian editorials. From the start Ferrario placed importance on the professional functioning of his publishing house: graphics, printing, subscription management, distribution, customer care and last but not least the necessary funding. Regarding the "Costume" series not only the Italian edition had to be promoted but also the French one – both aiming at readers in all of Europe. Especially the international aristocracy communicated in French.

A network of co-operating book stores, print traders and related professions was installed, besides the end clients of course which were not only book

²"The execution [structure, printing technique, graphics etc.] did not meet the big promises of the editor, and the part dealing with the clothing seems to be the only one which can be relied on with certain safety. Especially concerning law-making many shortcomings and errors have to be named. One can see from the entire work that more profit seeking than exhaustive research was in charge."

lovers but also many public libraries, authorities and institutions. For example a German speaking customer could subscribe the second issue of the "Costume" series (starting in 1817) in a partner book shop in Mannheim (Buchhandlung Fontaine / Grand Duchy of Baden) or with a specialised trader in Vienna (Artaria & Co. / imperial Austria) – not to speak of more contact points in Paris, London, St. Petersburg etc. Ferrario called all his clients *associati*.

Only in 1823 the first competitor – or more precisely plagiarist – of the "Costume" series appeared. It was Vincenzo Batelli and his printery in Firenze, the city of three big libraries: the Biblioteca Magliabechiana, the Biblioteca Palatina (both then not yet combined) and as third one the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana. For printers, book shops and scholars and generally for the literate and bibliophiles Firenze was a paradise. Batelli had the nerve to call his version of the "Costume" series "Edizione Seconda Riveduta ed Accresciuta" (2nd edition revised and extended) – "second" because Ferrario's second edition was still in the making in 1823. Batelli could presume to do that because the legal situation was unclear in the Toscana of Grand Duke Ferdinand III of Habsburg-Lothringen. Florentine writers sued Batelli (*Morgenblatt für gebildete Leser* 1824) but his lawyer argued that the scattered regionalism (*Kleinstaaterei*) with many small, often regardless aristocratic sovereignties did not allow a distinct judgement. Batelli – who even moved from Milano to Firenze to enhance his legal chances – went unpunished and published the entire series 1823-1837, incl. tome II of "Africa" with a new but similar engraving of the Guanche cave (fig. 22, 24-27). He even issued a reprint in 1840. His b/w "Costume" books (quarto) were sold around 25 % cheaper than the colorized ones; Ferrario made exactly the same calculation for b/w or colorized fascicules (Brunet 1861: col. 1232).

Alessandro Fontana in Torino printed 1830-1833 a "Terza Edizione" of the "Costume" series, reflecting the "2nd" edition of Firenze (1823) and the "2nd" edition of Milano (1827). Although Fontana reproduced the pictures in a similar format like the two aforementioned printers he considered only a part of the graphic material, thus leaving out quite a few motifs. One of the latter is in fact the Guanche cave which we miss in Fontana's tome of "Africa 1".

In 1830-1838 the Tipografia Vignozzi in Livorno (Toscana) produced a low-budget edition of the "Costume" series (28 vols.). A new picture of the Guanche cave can be found in t.1 of "Africa" (1831). The quality of the designs and the colorations is in several cases not acceptable. Livorno is a harbour town at the Tyrrhenian Sea; in the 18th/19th centuries it could – besides the port activities – attract some printerries and editorials.

The Napoli printery "Dai Torchi Del Tramater" published 1831-1847 – announced as "Prima Edizione Napolitana" – another low-cost version of the

"Costume" series (25 vols.) which is considered as copy of the Livorno edition. Tomo 8 (1833) contains the "Africa 1" text which features the plate with the Guanche cave, also designed anew. The quality of quite a few illustrations in several volumes is suboptimal.

With the prints by Celli e Ricci (1830-1843) we meet a second edition of the "Costume" series from Firenze. The volume of "Africa 1" (1832) includes the plate with a modified Guanche cave. These tomes can be classified as the third low-budget production. Today's purchasers of such an issue who can afford a complete antiquarian "Costume" set – no matter if produced by Celli e Ricci or another low-cost editorial – will probably be glad to experience such windfalls after all, despite small pictures or unaccurate colorations.

The chronologically last "Costume" series was the one described as the "Prima Edizione Siciliana". It was basically printed by Alessandro Barcellona (Palermo 1831-1860), although several other local printeries were also involved with some volumes (Federico Garófalo, Stamperia di M.A. Console e C^o, Stamperia Demetrio Barcellona, Stamperia Oretea). The illustrations are not etchings but perfectly cut copper-plate engravings, finely colorized (fig. 28, 31). It really is great fun to study these volumes. The Guanche cave can be found in the "Africa 2" volume (1844).

Ferrario and later his successors in the business had to keep in view not only the direct competitors (regarding the "Costume" series), but also other Italy-wide operating editorials which produced similar historical-ethnological book sets with deliberately confusable titles. For example:

- "Usi e costumi di tutti i popoli del mondo" - Stabilimento Tipografico Fontana - Torino
- "Usi e costumi antichi e moderni di tutti i popoli del mondo" - Edizione Edoardo Perino - Roma (see fig.10 below)
- "Usi i costumi di tutti i popoli dell' universo" - Libreria de Francesco Sanvito (thereafter Borroni e Scotti) - Milano
- "I popoli del mondo. Usi i costumi." - Casa Editrice Dr. Francesco Vallardi - Milano. (see fig. 30)

With the last two namings book selling in Milano surely became not easier, and one is amused that one of these producers wanted not only to describe the mores of the world but even the ones of the whole universe! Noticeable is also that the productive book and printing industry of Venezia did not participate in the copying of neither these "Usi e costumi" variants nor of Ferrario's "Costume" series. A Belgian "Usi e costumi" – then of course "Le costume ancien et moderne. Mœurs et usages de tous les peuples" – was printed in Bruxelles (1862), published by Auguste Wahlen-Fierlants (fig. 12).



◀ **Fig.10** is a frontispiece for a popular encyclopedia of the editorial "E. Perino" in Roma (Italy).

Having European competitors in mind one has to mention without doubt Friedrich Johann Justin Bertuch (1747-1822) and his impressive "Bilderbuch für Kinder" (picture-book for children) which was published 1790-1830 in Weimar in twelve big tomes. Although meant for the education of growing up children it was also a favourite encyclopedia of parents and adults generally; the target audience estimated that short texts were accompanied by large illustrations, the latter produced by an army of artists. In fact 1185 plates featured around 6000 copper-plate engravings. Bertuch outnumbered G. Ferrario clearly by the illustrations and also by the exact coloration of these. Recommended in this regard is also the Belgian four-tome work by J.F.N. Loumyer (1843-1844).

Italy itself has a broad ethnological literature with Cesare Vecellio (1521-1601) as one of



◀ **Fig.11** - This is the frontispiece of the entire original "Costume" series, placed in tome "Asia 1" (1815 etc.). It shows a sculpture of the goddess Terra/Cybele in the Galleria Giustiniana (Roma). Giovanni Bigatti fecit.

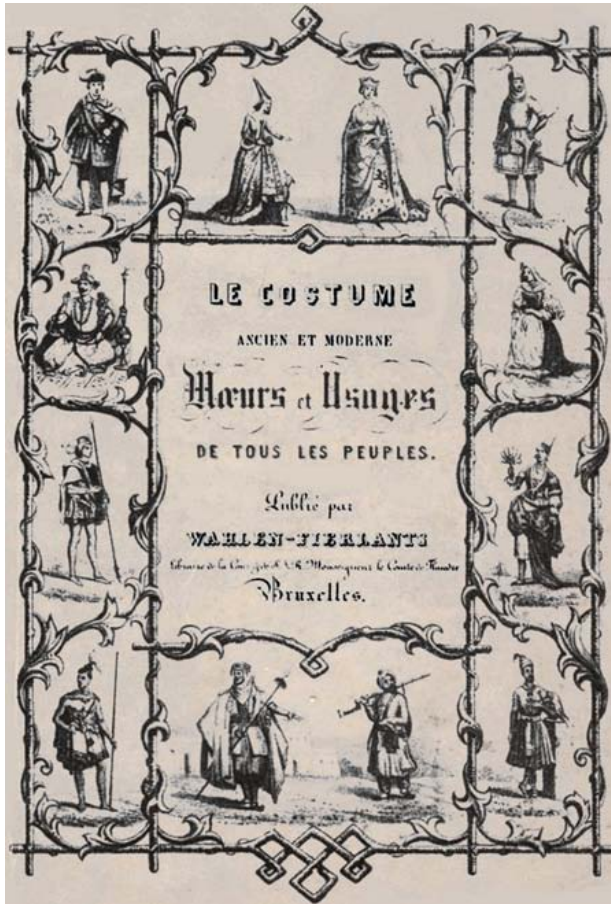


Fig.12 - These fine cover graphics are taken from Wahlen-Fierlants (1862). The book specialises on mores and wardrobes from around the world (partly colorized).

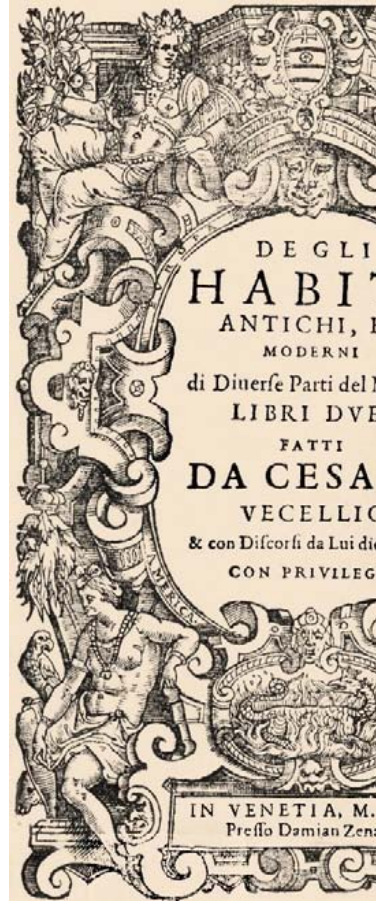
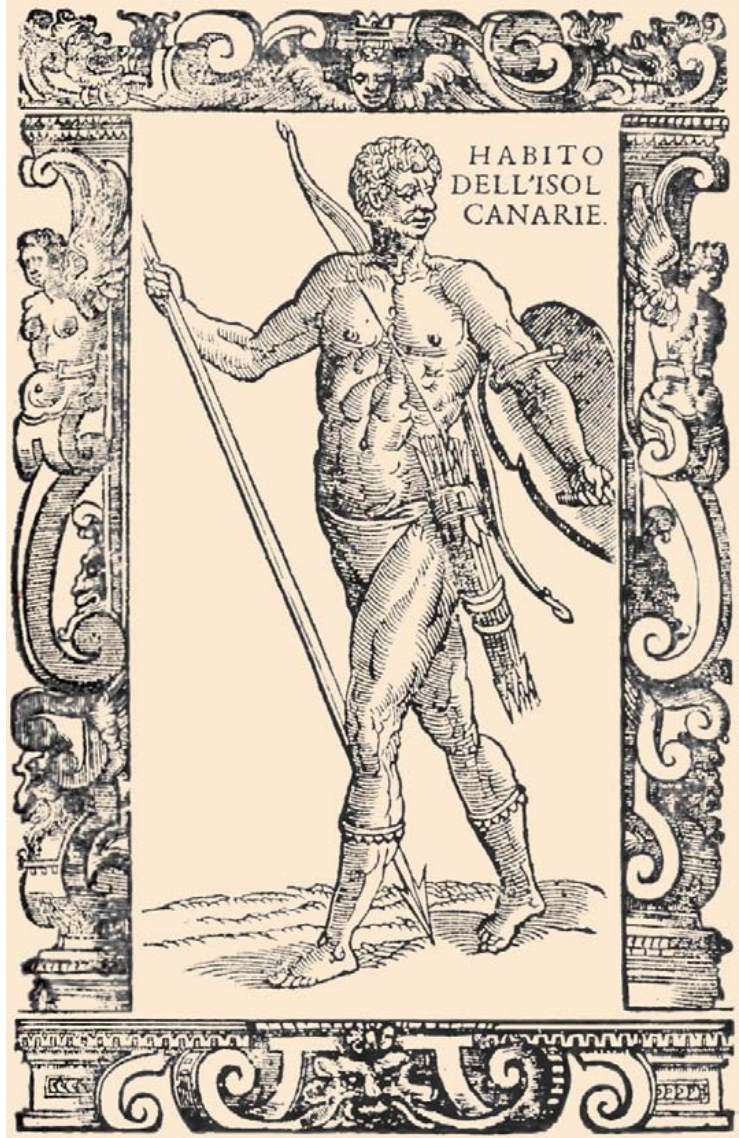


Fig.13a - This book on customs and clothes by Cesare Vecellio (Venezia 1590) depicts a more or

the prominent authors and artists. He was a cousin of the famous painter Tiziano Vecellio and learned painting with Tiziano's brother Francesco Vecellio. Having accompanied Tiziano on a journey to Augsburg and its printeries (imperial Bavaria) Cesare subsequently worked for him in his atelier in Venezia. Cesare's famous "De gli abiti antichi et moderni di diverse parti del mondo" (Venezia 1590) (fig.13a) can be considered as an early predecessor of Giulio Ferrario's "Costume" series; the over 500 designs by Vecellio were apparently cut by Christopher Krieger (Nürnberg /imperial Franconia). Interesting for specialists of the Canary Islands is Vecellio's illustration of an aborigine of this archipelago. While the respective text contains some correct informations on their religion

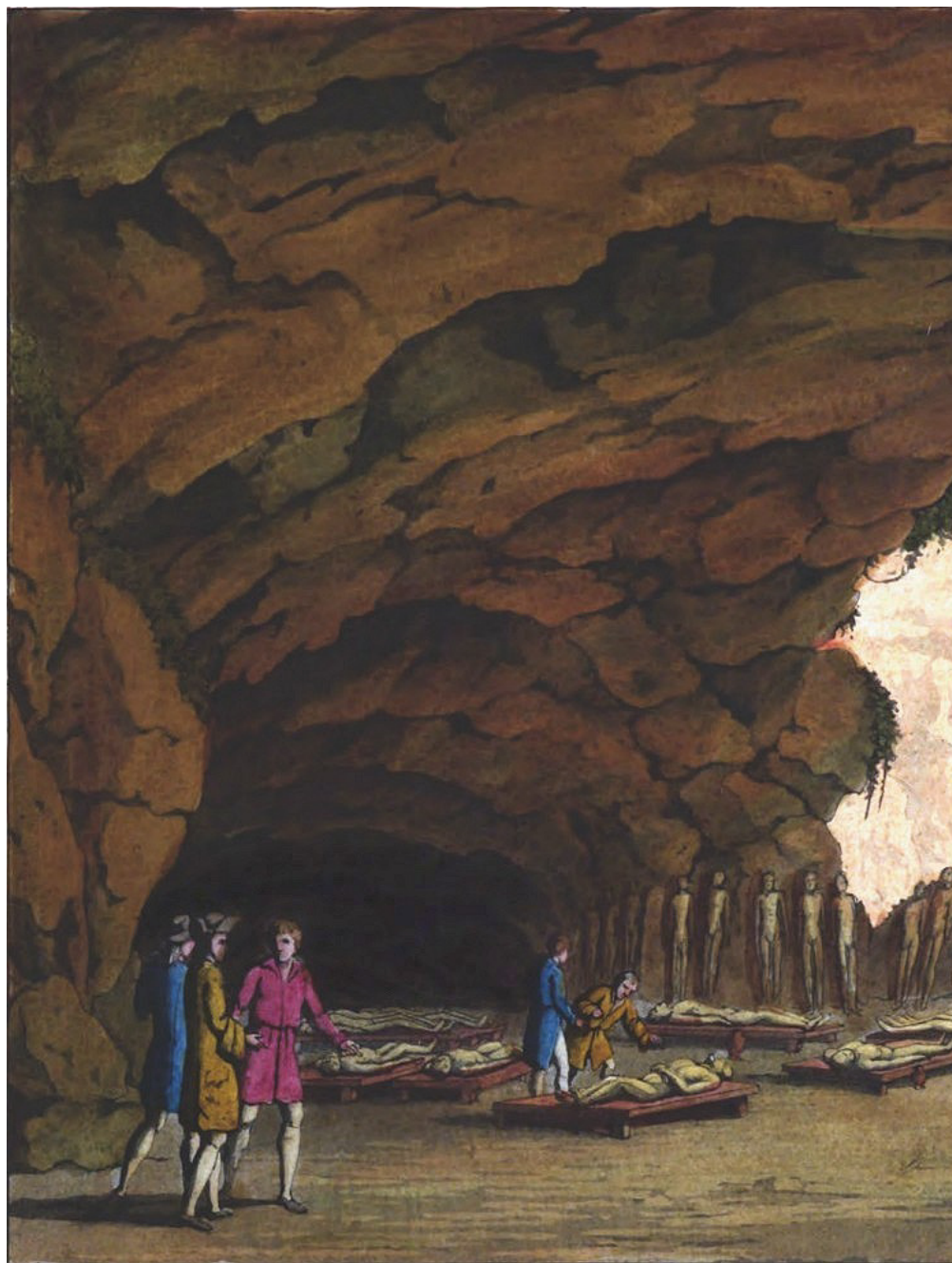


less fictitious native of the then exotic Canary Islands (Fig.13b).



the woodcut shows a more than hypothetical mixture of imprecision (fig.13b): Bow and arrows and also the shield were not used; the wooden lance [old-Canarian *banot*] was utilized with a fire-hardened spearhead, the latter in some cases replaced by a ground goat horn (Ulbrich 2014: 262) – not out of metal or stone.

The following 25 pages (figs.14-29) feature the Italian derivatives of the cave design once invented 1746 by the French artist Charles-Nicolas Cochin junior. —▶



Italian 1817

Fig. 14

The reference picture for all subsequent illustrations in this comparison:

Il costume antico e moderno. Africa 1 / Milano 1817 (follow-up of the 1815 version) / tavola 65. We see:

- a cavern (two lava tubes) of dark brownish stone
- some hanging plants
- 24 naked dried brownish corpses standing at the walls (three-dimensional)
- 18 yellowish corpses on wooden biers (Span. *chajascos*)
- some of the lying corpses in the foreground are in fact mummified and wrapped in leather (one can see the seams).
- 5 Europeans
- 2 Canarios (Guanches?)
- bright daylight in the background
- original view (not mirrored)*
- 4 jars with milk as provision for the dead.

Read also the caption to Fig. 21 in Ulbrich (2019: 62; *interesting are also two mirrored scenes in figs.15 / 20). A new mirrored motif is depicted here in fig.6.

This plate was executed as etching with aquatint coloration. This means that the etching in this case served only as framework for the color parts, thus creating less sharpness than a copper-plate engraving (read also p. 146).

Please compare fig.14 also with the French original in fig.3.



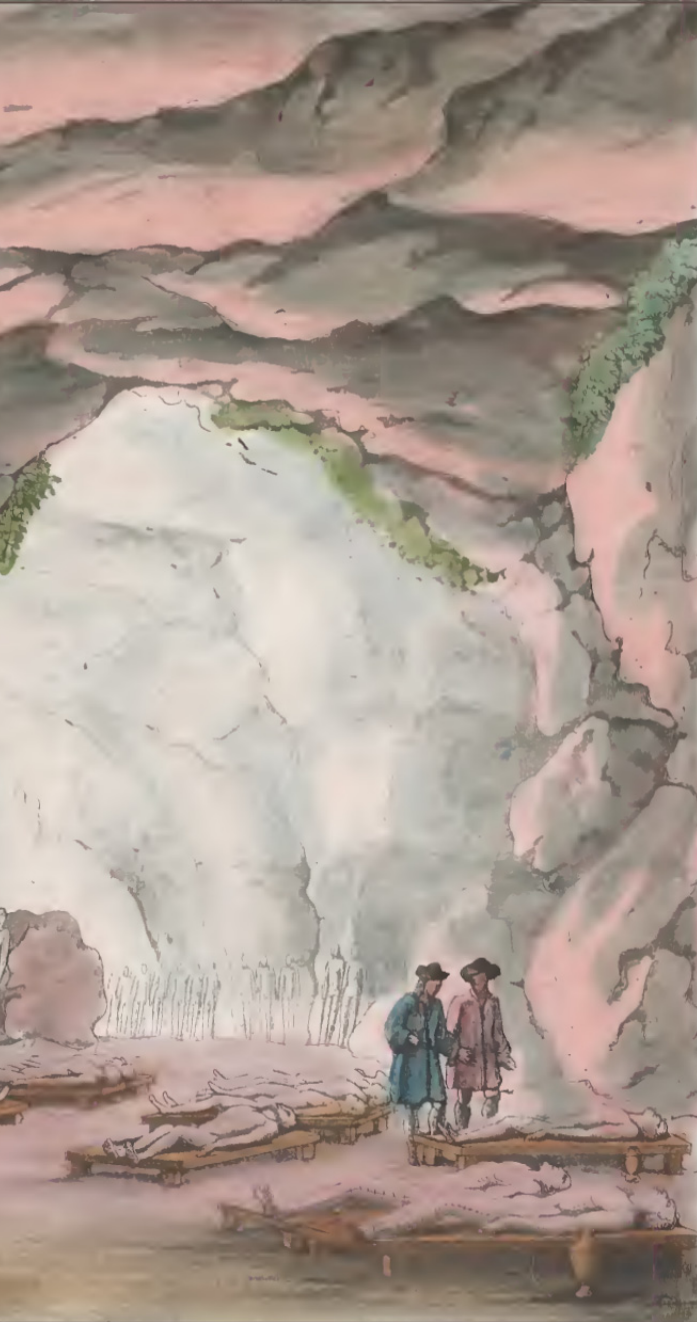


French 1815

Fig. 15

Le costume ancien et moderne. Afrique 1 / Milano 1815 / planche 65. We see:

- a cavern (two lava tubes) of pink stone
- some hanging plants
- 23 naked dried corpses at the walls (partly only to be guessed, nearly clear)
- 18 pink corpses on wooden biers (Span. *chajascos*), unnaturally and blurred
- some of the lying corpses in the foreground are in fact mummified and wrapped in leather (one can see only two of the seams)
- 5 Europeans
- 2 Canarios (Guanches?)
- very bright daylight in the background and in the tube
- original view (not mirrored)
- 4 jars with milk as provision for the dead
- aquatint looking washed-out (too much water used?)
- faint contours.







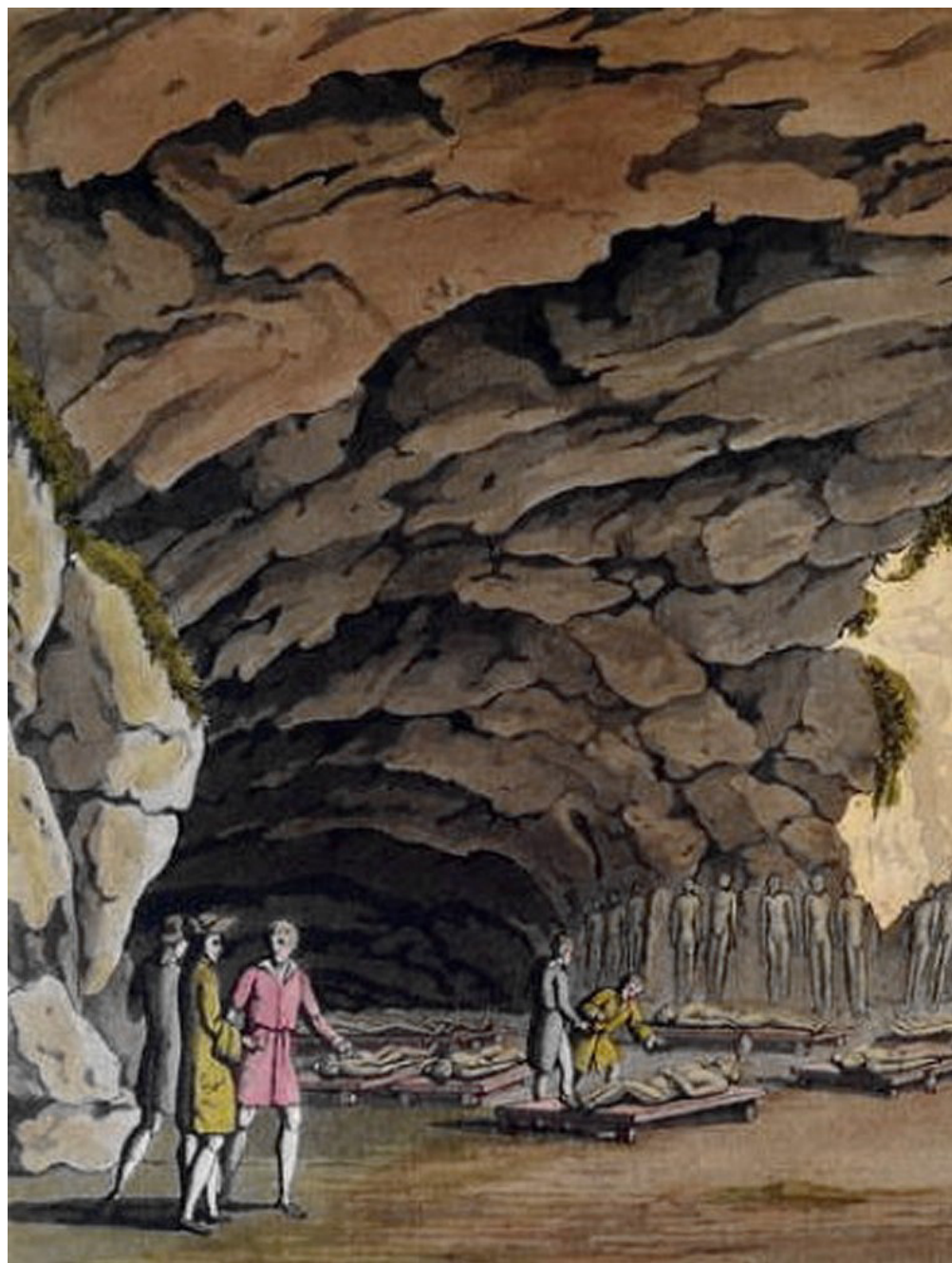
Italian 1819

Fig. 16

Il costume antico e moderno. Africa 1 / Milano 1819 / tavola 65. We see:

- a cavern (two lava tubes) of ochre and reddish stone
- some hanging plants
- 24 naked dried corpses standing at the walls (only partly three-dimensional), in the background with see-through effect
- 18 corpses on wooden biers (Span. *chajascos*)
- some of the lying corpses in the foreground are in fact mummified and wrapped in leather (one can see the seams)
- 5 Europeans
- 2 Canarios (Guanches?)
- bright daylight in the background
- original view (not mirrored)
- 4 jars with milk as provision for the dead.

Corpses with greyish, yellowish or beige hue.



French 1819

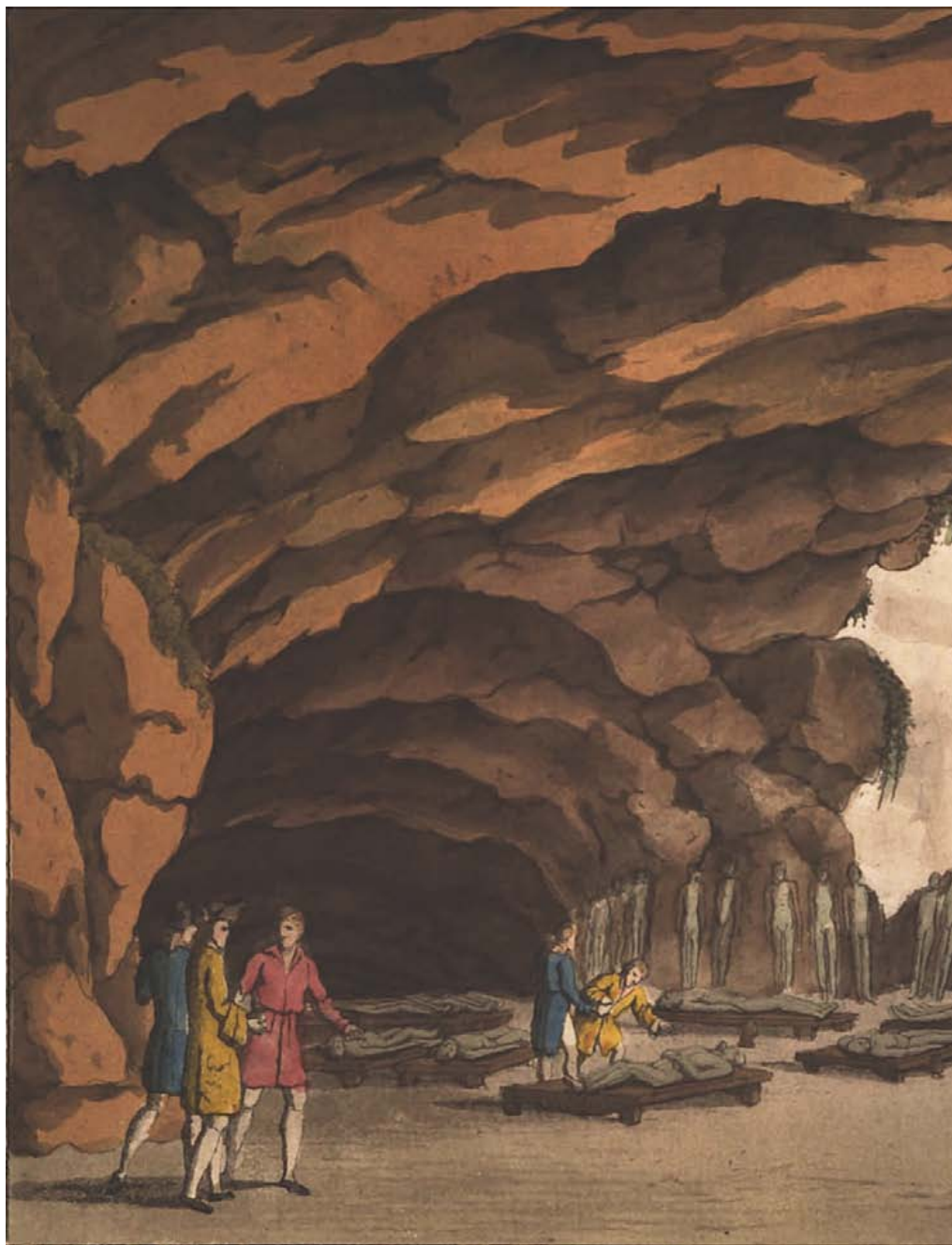
Fig. 17

Le costume ancien et moderne. Afrique 1 / Milano 1819 (1820 unlikely) / planche 65. We see:

- a cavern (two lava tubes) of brown, grey or yellowish stone
- illogically a very bright foreground
- some hanging plants
- 23 naked, dried, grey or yellowish corpses standing at the walls, too yellowish near the exit (three-dimensional)
- 18 yellowish or grey corpses on wooden biers (Span. *chajascos*)
- some of the lying corpses in the foreground are in fact mummified and wrapped in leather (one can see the seams)
- 5 Europeans, three with a grey dress
- 2 Canarios (Guanches?)
- original view (not mirrored)
- 4 jars with milk as provision for the dead.

Grey corpses or mummies do not correspond with scientific understanding.





Italian 1827

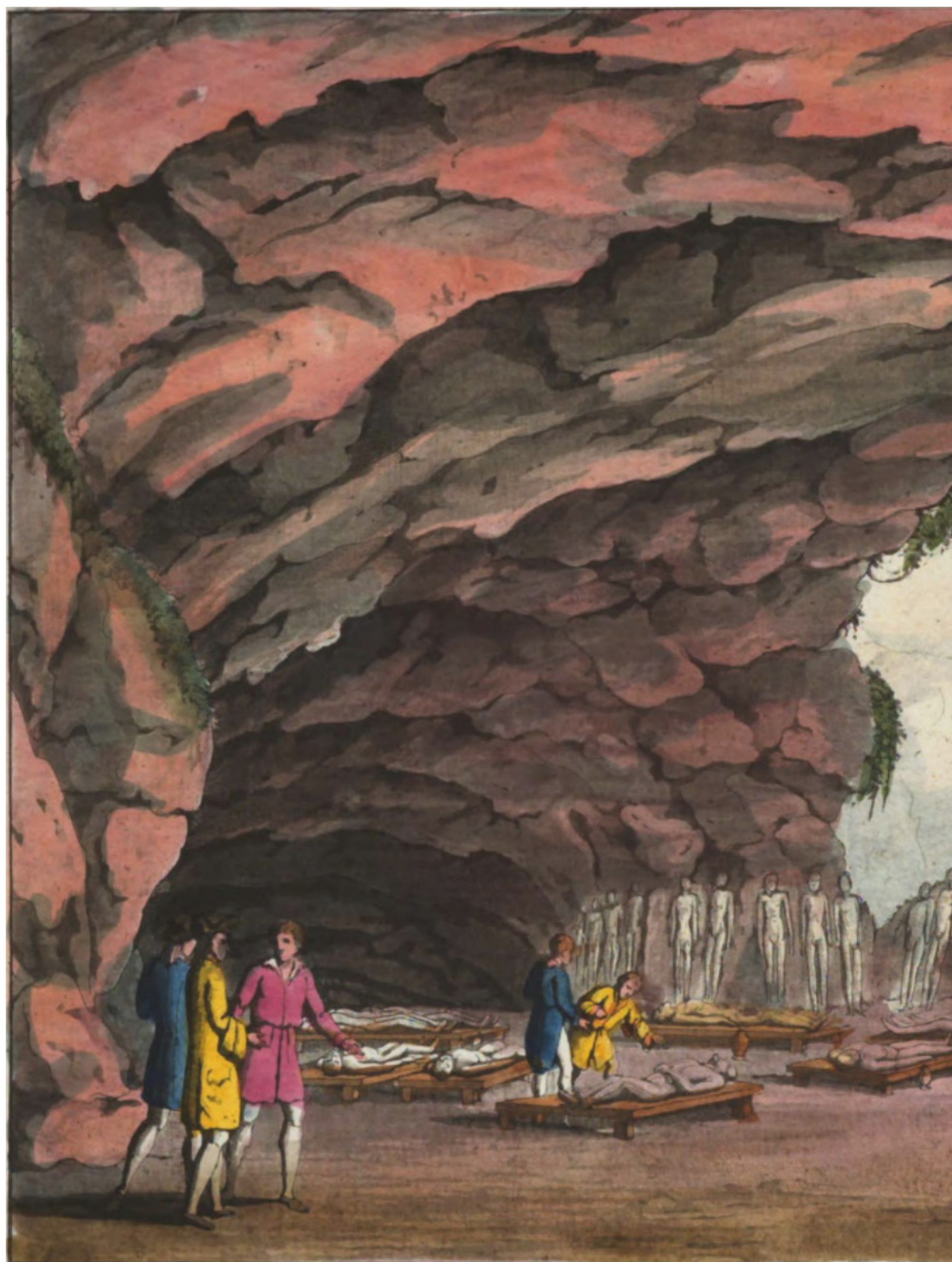
Fig. 18

Il costume antico e moderno. Africa 1 / Milano 1827 / tavola 65. We see:

- a cavern (two lava tubes) of reddish stone, structure completely different to figs.14,16,17
- some hanging plants
- 23 naked dried corpses standing at the walls (only partly three-dimensional), see-through effect
- 18 corpses on wooden biers (Span. *chajascos*)
- some of the lying corpses in the foreground are in fact mummified and wrapped in leather (one can see the seams)
- 5 Europeans
- 2 Canarios (Guanches?)
- bright daylight in the background
- original view (not mirrored)
- 4 jars with milk as provision for the dead.

An overall acceptably colored scene with naturally looking brightness.





French 1827

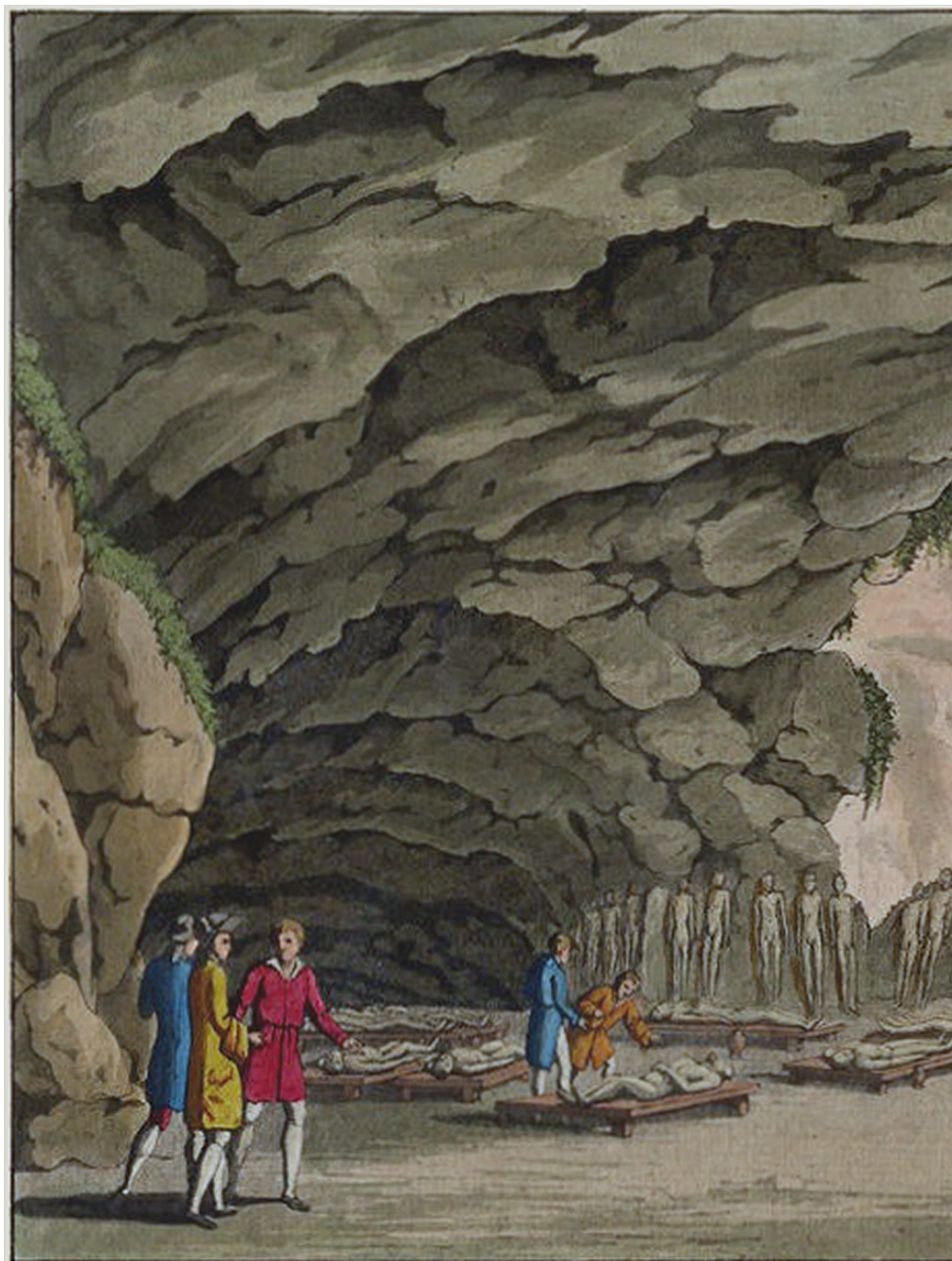
Fig. 19

Le costume ancien et moderne. Afrique 1 / Milano 1827 / planche 65. We see:

- a cavern (two lava tubes) of unnatural reddish stone
- some hanging plants
- 23 grey, naked and dried corpses at the walls (partly a see-through effect)
- 18 grey, pink* or brownish corpses on wooden biers (Span. *chajascos*), 12 of these unnaturally colorized
- some of the lying corpses in the foreground are in fact mummified and wrapped in leather (one can see the seams). Furthermore their heads and faces are sometimes pink or sometimes grey.
- 5 Europeans
- 2 Canarios (Guanches?)
- bright daylight in the background
- original view (not mirrored)
- 4 jars with milk as provision for the dead.

*In the middle and right side of the scene there are eleven mummies colorized pink. This is of course total nonsense by the colorist because the corpses were – according to the rites – wrapped in fine, bright leather which by the time became brownish (Ulbrich 2019: 49, 63, 64).





French 1827

Fig. 20

Le costume ancien et moderne. Afrique 1 / Milano 1827 / planche 65. We see:

- a cavern (two lava tubes) with mostly naturally looking black lava stone
- some hanging plants
- 23 pale, naked and dried corpses at the walls, too reddish near the exit
- 18 greyish corpses on wooden biers (Span. *chajascos*)
- some of the lying corpses in the foreground are in fact mummified and wrapped in leather (one can see the seams)
- 5 Europeans
- 2 Canarios (Guanches?)
- bright daylight in the background and in the tube
- original view (not mirrored)
- 4 jars with milk as provision for the dead.

It is worthwhile to compare figs. 19 & 20. Both originate from the same print but are colored differently. While fig. 19 shows fantasy colors, fig. 20 offers one of the most naturally looking caverns of the whole comparison line (although pinkish corpses and grey mummies of the Guan-ches do not exactly correspond with scientific experience).





▲ Fig. 21

Il costume antico e moderno. Africa 1 / Livorno 1831 / tavola 7, picture 5. We see:

- a cavern (two lava tubes) with bright daylight in the background and foreground, while the middle part lies in an illogic shadow.
- some hanging plants
- only 14 naked dried corpses near the walls (partly not recognizable)
- only 12 corpses on wooden biers (Span./Guanche *chajascos*)
- some of the lying corpses should be mummified and wrapped in leather but this is not identifiable.
- 5 Europeans / 1 Canario (Guanche?)
- the tube in the shady part (left hand) is not as deep as in the other pictures and comprises no corpses.
- only two jars with milk as provision for the dead.

Fig. 21 (b/w) looks like an illustration which was originally arranged for a simple combination of the etching technique and a coloration.

► Fig.22 - Il costume antico e moderno. Africa 2, 1st ed. / Vincenzo Batelli / Firenze 1823 / detail of tavola LXV. We see a fully professional copper-plate engraving with sharp contours and complex details. Colorized versions were published too (figs.24-27).

► Fig. 23 - Il costume antico e moderno. Africa 1 (= T.8) / Dai Torchi Del Tramater / Napoli 1833 / tav. 7, pict. 5. This is the most frowsy illustration of the Guaniche cave regarding the primitive structure and the missing painting accuracy. For example: blue and ochre corpses exist side by side. Only 4 Europeans and 2 Canarios (Guanches?). Only 2 jars.

Fig. 23





Fig. 22



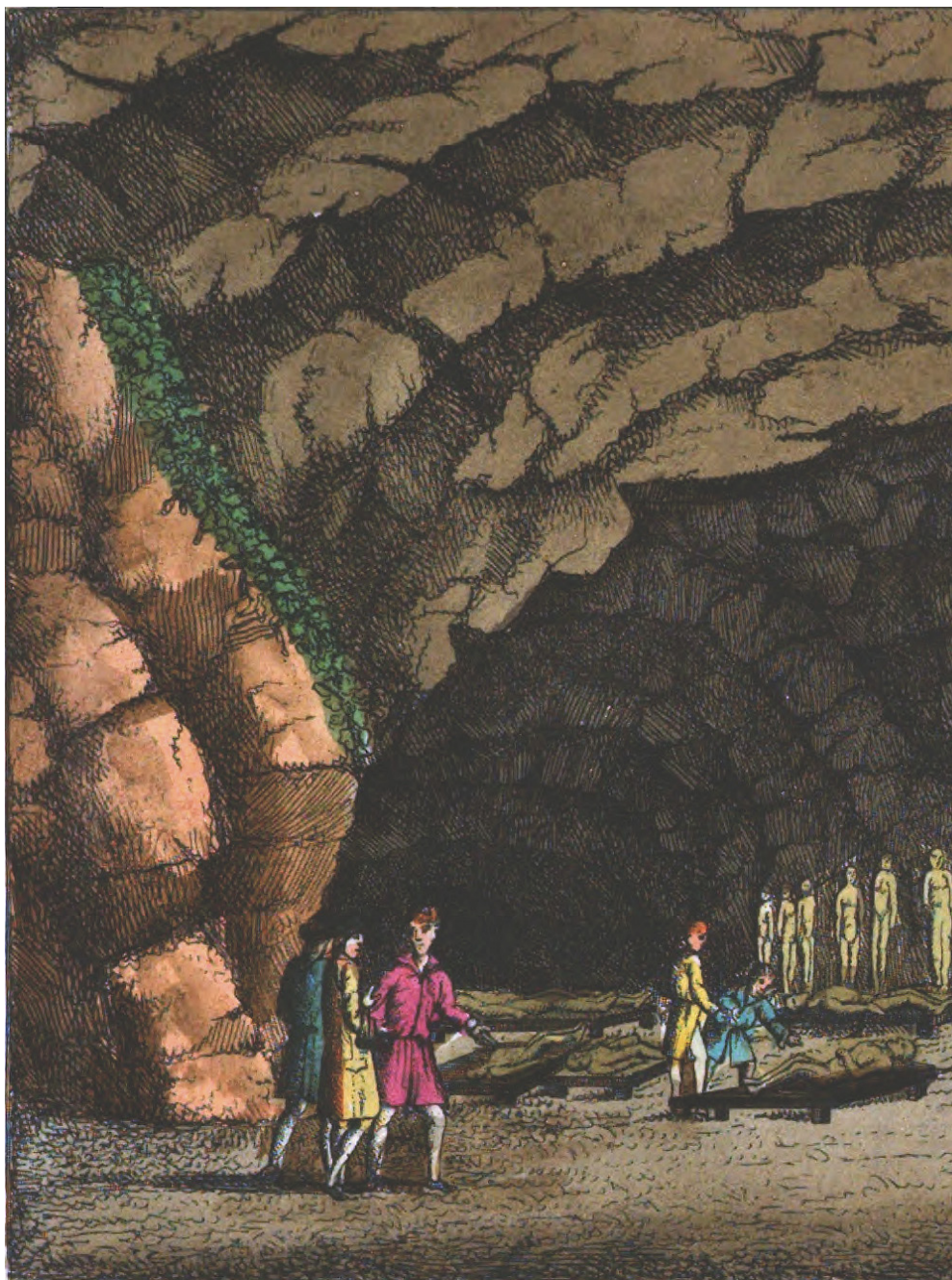


Fig.24 - Il costume antico e moderno. Africa 2, 1st ed. / Vincenzo Batelli / Firenze 1823 / tav. LXV. We see a colored copper-plate engraving with the same details as in fig.14. This plate shows



pale nude corpses leaning at the walls whereas more brownish looking mummies are lying on the biers – a hue which the colorist interpreted more or less authentically.

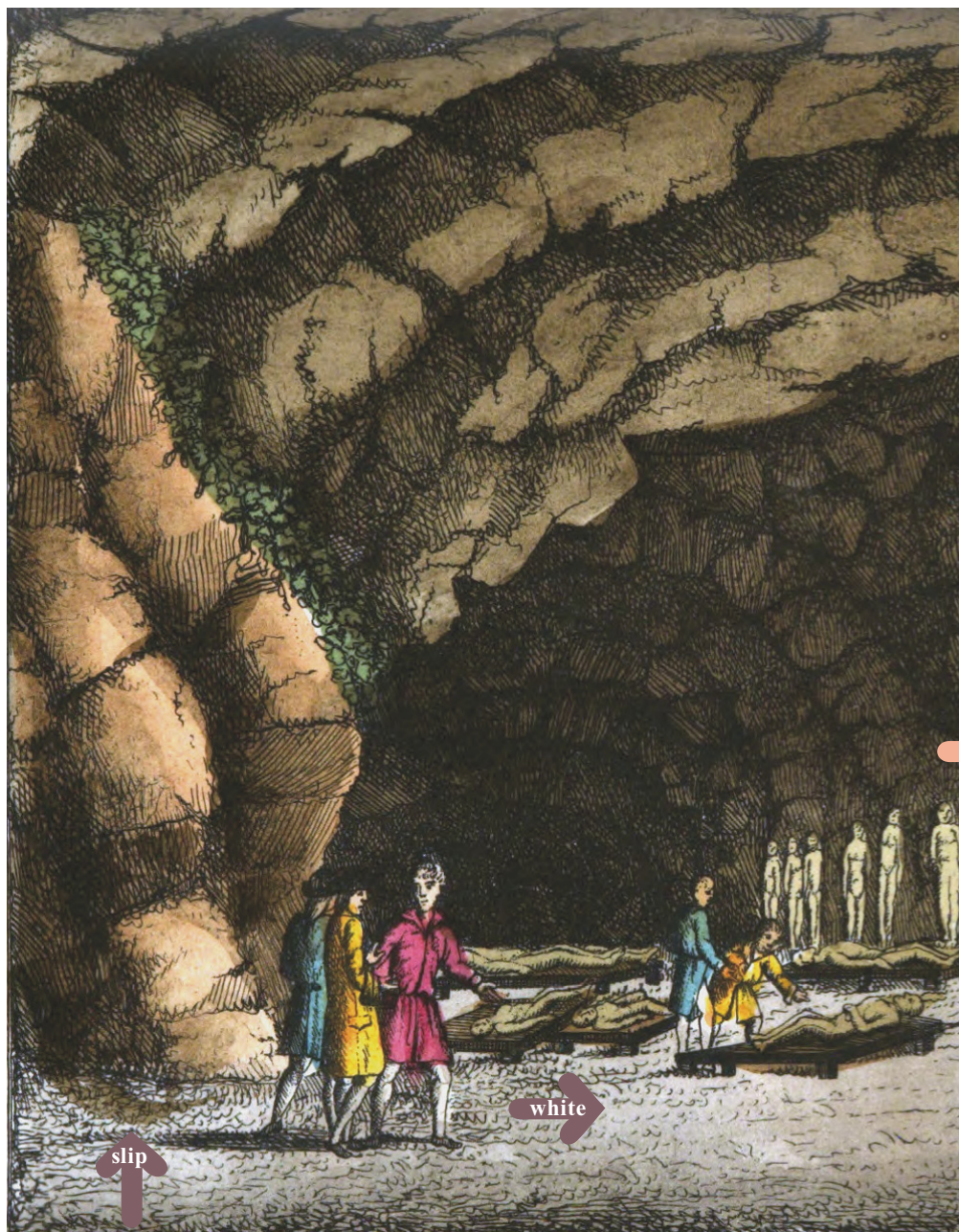
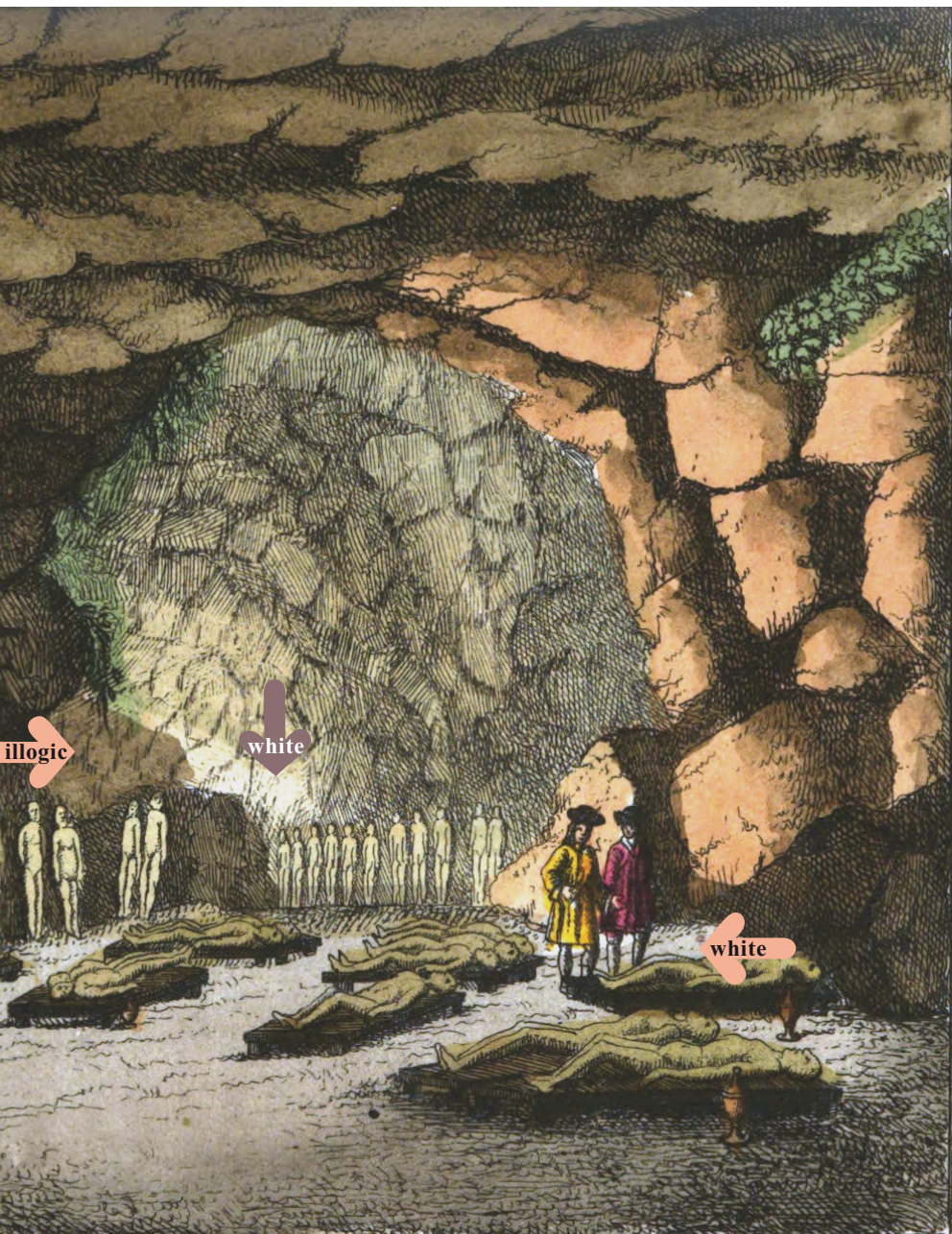


Fig.25 - Il costume antico e moderno. Africa 2, 1st ed./Vincenzo Batelli / Firenze 1823 / tavola LXV.



This plate was probably also made by this colorist who allowed himself some mistakes (see arrows).

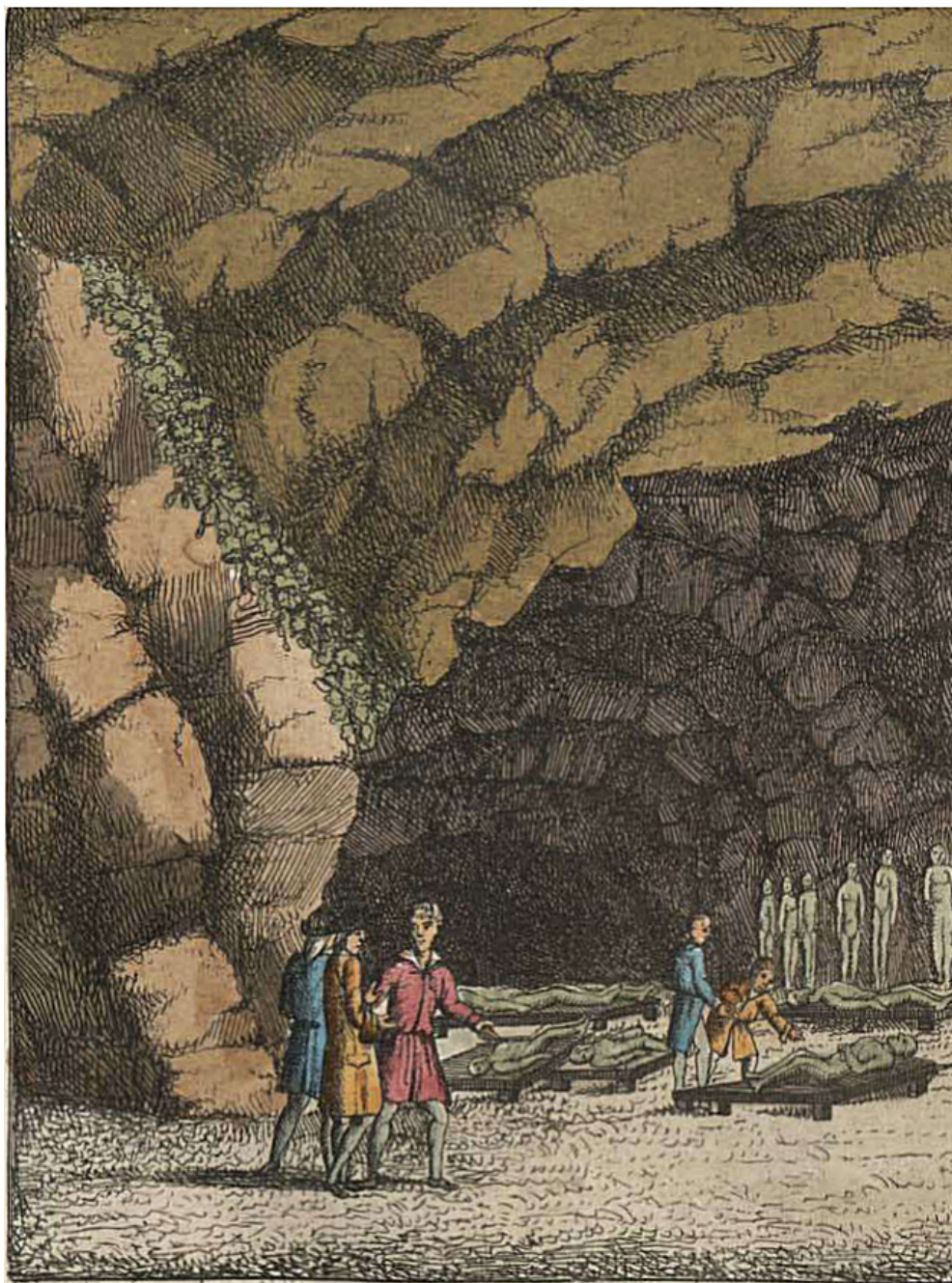


Fig.26 - Il costume antico e moderno. Africa 2, 2nd ed. / V. Batelli e Compagni / Firenze 1840 / tavola 65. We see a thoroughly executed copper-plate engraving with coloration offering the same details – or even more – as in fig.14.



Apparently the makers of the Batelli versions (fig. 22, 24-27) wanted to offer illustrations with more sharpness and contours to their readers compared to the impressions which figs.14-21 & 23 convey.

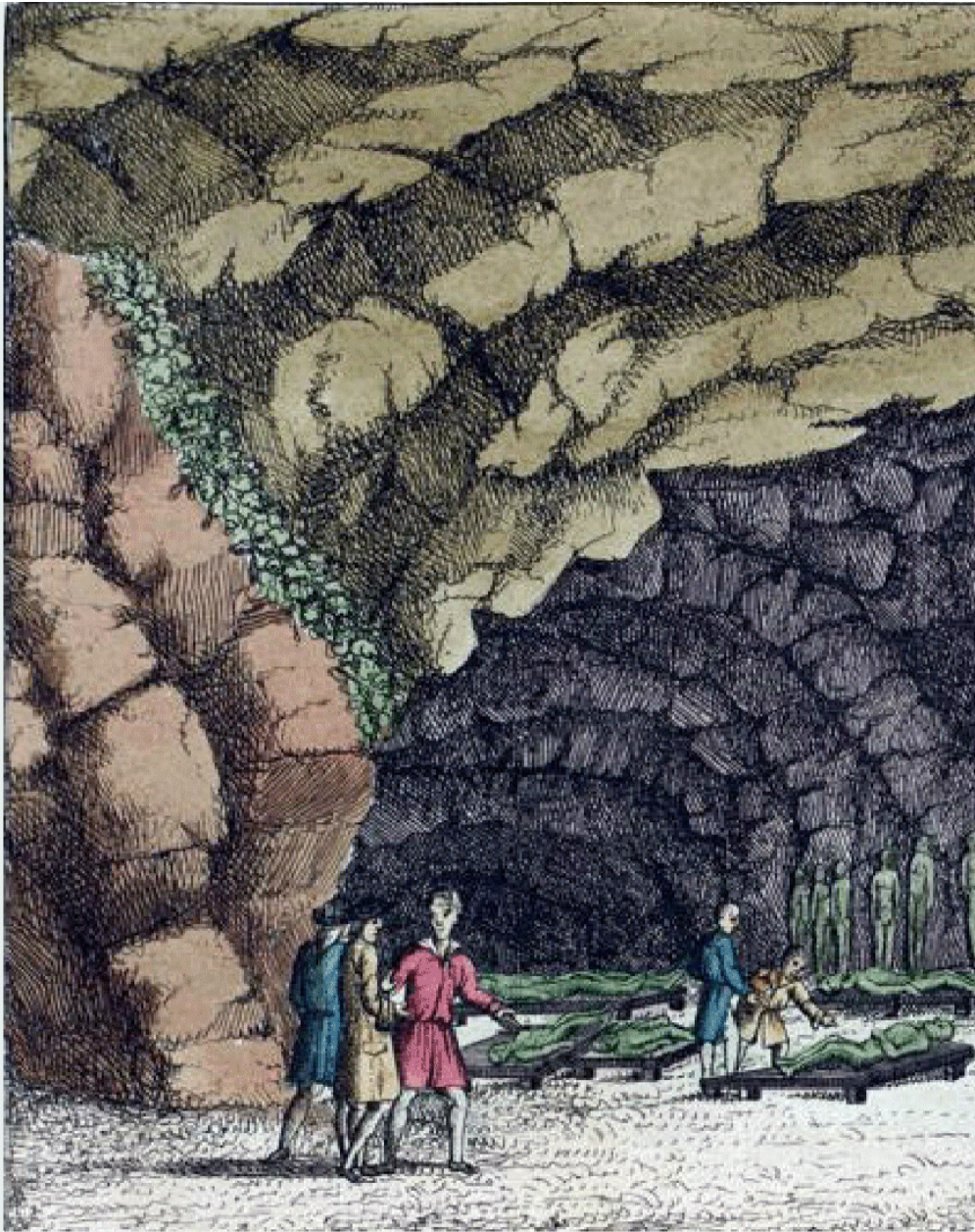


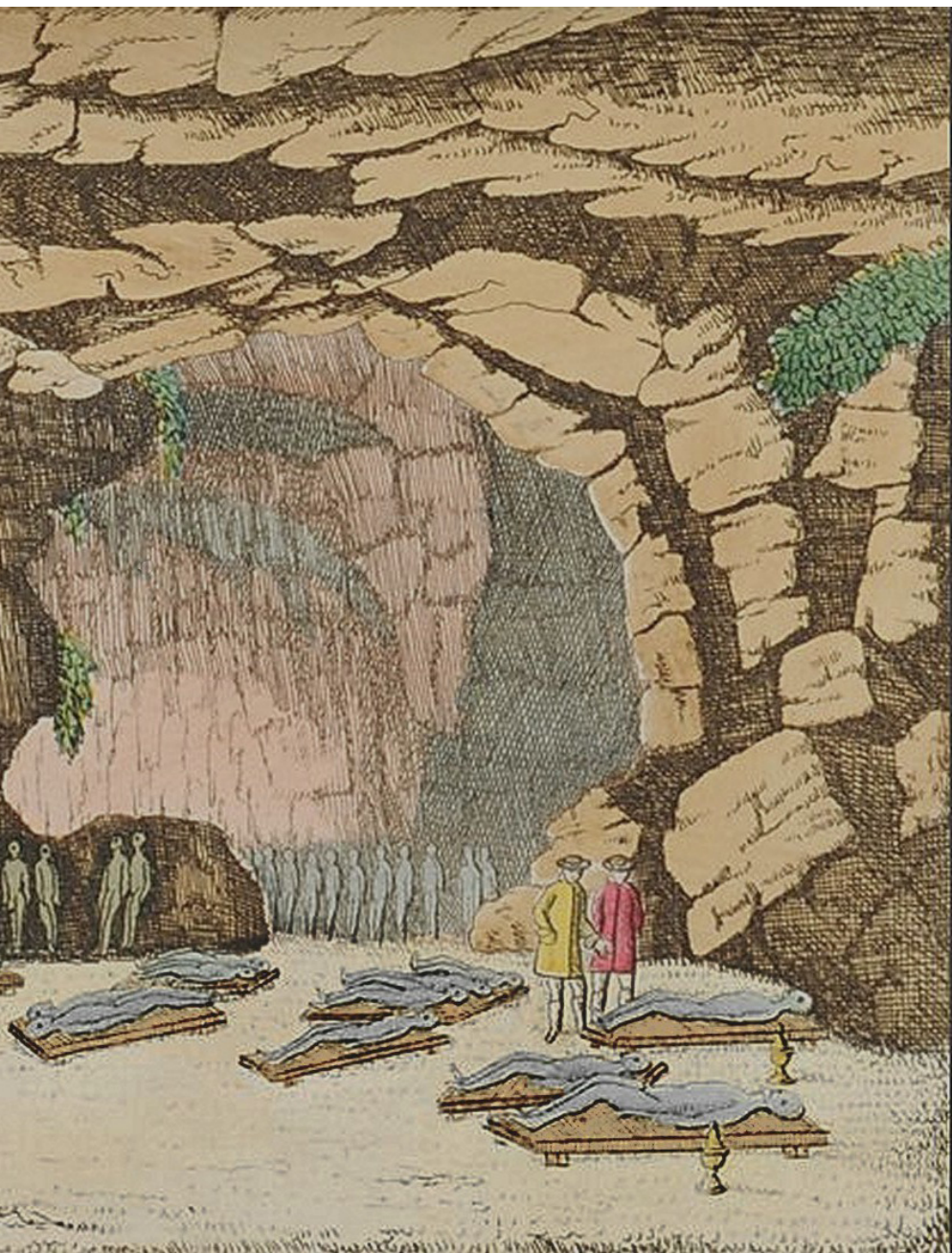
Fig.27 - Il costume antico e moderno. Africa 2, 2nd ed. / V. Batelli e Compagni / Firenze 1840 / tavola 65. Although the black lava looks more or less naturally (nearly a dark violet), the neighbourhood of the brownish rocks are geologically not explainable in such a combination



within a cave which most likely has its prototype in the Barranco de Herques, Tenerife. An absolute no-go are the green corpses and the missing coloration of the rocky ground. Apparently a second colorist, with a sense for strange optical sensations, was used for this part of the issue.



Fig. 28 - Palermo 1844 (plea



(Please read text on next page)

Fig.28 (p. 145) - Il costume antico e moderno. Africa 2 / Salvatore Barcellona / Palermo 1844 / tavola 65 / "Prima Edizione Siciliana". This is another copper-plate engraving which shows the same elements like fig.14, an etching. But similar like figs.22 & 26 it offers more exactitude for all parts of the picture (incl. 21 dried corpses and 17 mummies). The coloration is applied perfectly and the overall style of the engraver (not the colorist) uses finer contours regarding the persons and their dresses (legwear).



▲ **Fig.29** - Il costume antico e moderno. Africa 1 / Celli e Ricci / Firenze 1832 / tavola 3, picture 5 (a competing series to the one of V. Batelli). This very small and strikingly simple illustration of a sepulchral Guanche cave on Tenerife (with only six dried corpses and only nine mummies) indicates that this company operated as a low-budget editorial. The red color for the dresses of the two visitors is placed quite inaccurately. Some color for the *chajascos* (biers) is missing (see also figs.21 & 23 for similar unsophisticatedness).

► **Fig.30** - This cover belongs to *Fasc. 61* (brochure) of "Africa II", a tome of the series "I popoli del mondo. Usi e costumi." (Milano 1849). Such fascicles were common in book trade (and partly still are), intended for subscribers of a series and of course to finance the costs of printing.





Fig.31 - This scene demonstrates the edge-exact colorizing of the Palermo version (see tome America IV, 1860, "Desolazione de'Peruviani durante l'eclisse della Luna"="Despair of the Peruvians during the eclipse of the moon").

Fig.32 - The six engravers (*incisori*) and etchers of the "Cave Sepolcrali de' Guanci" deployed between 1815 and 1844 for the "Costume" series.

Artist	Editorial	City	Original signature incl. abbrev. <small>[Latin or Italian words repeated unabridged]</small>	Signature (facsimile)
1 Innocente Migliavacca	Celli e Ricci	Firenze	Migliavacca inc. [incidit or incisore]	<i>Migliavacca inc.</i>
2 Andrea Bernieri	Vincenzo Batelli	Firenze	And ^a Bernieri dis inc [disegnatore e incisore]	<i>And^a Bernieri dis inc</i>
3 Carlo Verico	Tipografia Vignozzi	Livorno	C Verico dis e inc. [disegnatore e incisore]	<i>C Verico dis e inc.</i>
4 Giovanni Bigatti	Tipografia del Editore	Milano	G ⁱ Bigatti fe. [fecit]	<i>Gⁱ Bigatti f.^o</i>
5 Unknown	Dai Torchi del Tramater	Napoli	[indecipherable]	[indecipherable]
6 Gallo Gallina	Salvatore Barcellona	Palermo	The use of Gallo Gallina for the Guanche cave is unclear.	
Latin "incidit" means "has cut [the engraving or etching]". Latin "fecit" means "has made [design and/or cut]". The names of the colorists are unknown.				

Numerous modern editorials around the world are specialising in reprints or excerpts of the "Costume" series by Giulio Ferrario; these books and plate collections are not subject of this paper.

Fig. 33 - Distribution of Italian book illustrations showing a burial cave of the Guanches

	Author	Year	Title	Editorial
1	Ferrario, Giulio [et al.]	1815-1826 <small>Reprints 1817, 1819, 1822</small>	Le costume ancien et moderne. (first edition) [b/w, partly hand-colored or fully hand-colored]	Imprimerie de l'Éditeur
2	Ferrario, Giulio [et al.]	1815	Le costume ancien et moderne. Afrique 1* (from first edition) [this version hand-colored]	Imprimerie de l'Éditeur
3	Ferrario, Giulio [et al.]	1819 (1820 not likely)	Le costume ancien et moderne. Afrique 1* (from first edition) [this version hand-colored]	Imprimerie de l'Éditeur
4	Ferrario, Giulio [et al.]	1827	Le costume ancien et moderne. Afrique 1* (second edition) [this version hand-colored]	Imprimerie de l'Éditeur
5	Ferrario, Giulio [et al.]	1815-1826 <small>Reprints 1817, 1819, 1822, 1826</small>	Il costume antico e moderno. (first edition) [b/w, partly hand-colored or fully hand-colored]	Tipografia dell'Editore
6	Ferrario, Giulio [et al.]	1817, 1819	Il costume antico e moderno. Africa 1* (reprints from first edition) Hand-colored.	Tipografia dell'Editore
7	Ferrario, Giulio [et al.]	1827	Il costume antico e moderno. Africa 1* (second edition) [this version hand-colored]	Tipografia dell'Editore (António Fortunato Stèlla was only a subscriber, not the printer in this case)
8	Ferrario, Giulio [et al.]	1829 <small>incl. Index + Suppls. 1831, 1832, 1834</small>	Il costume antico e moderno. (third edition) [b/w, partly hand-colored or fully hand-colored]	Tipografia dell'Editore
9	Ferrario, Giulio [et al.]	1831	Il costume antico e moderno. Africa 1* (illustr. b/w; hand-colored available)	Tipografia Vignozzi (Later: Fratelli Vignozzi e Nipote)
10	Ferrario, Giulio [et al.]	1830	Il costume antico e moderno. Africa 1* (illustr. b/w or hand-colored)	Alessandro Fontana
11	Ferrario, Giulio [et al.]	1833	Il costume antico e moderno. Tomo 8 (=Africa 1*) (illustr. hand-colored, also b/w)	Dai Torchi Del Tramater (Società Tipografica Tramater)
12	Ferrario, Giulio [et al.]	1823	Il costume antico e moderno. Africa 2* (illustr. hand-colored or b/w)	Vincenzo Batelli
13	Ferrario, Giulio [et al.]	1840	Il costume antico e moderno. Africa 2* (illustr. hand-colored, also b/w)	V. Batelli e Compagni
14	Ferrario, Giulio [et al.]	1832	Il costume antico e moderno. Africa 1* (illustr. hand-colored, also b/w)	Celli e Ricci
15	Ferrario, Giulio [et al.]	1844	Il costume antico e moderno. Africa 2* (illustr. hand-colored, also b/w)	Salvatore Barcellona

(originally basing on a design by Charles-Nicolas Cochin jr.). [blue = depicted in this article]						
Location	Pages	Book format	Subscription	Language	Guanche cave	Remarks
Milano	—	quarto, folio	Yes	French	Yes	Subscription in 143 fasc. for the entire first series (14 tomes in 17 volumes).
Milano	472 p.	quarto, folio	Selectable	French	p. 353 / pl. 65	Hardcover. *Two tomes for Afrique.
Milano	472 p.	quarto, folio	Selectable	French	p. 353 / pl. 65	Hardcover. *Two tomes for Afrique. 1820 estimated by a trader.
Milano	472 p.	quarto, folio	Selectable	French	p. 353 / pl. 65 p. 353 / pl. 65	Hardcover. *Two tomes for Afrique.
Milano	—	quarto, folio	Yes	Italian	Yes	Subscription in 143 fasc. for the entire first series (14 tomes in 17 volumes).
Milano	472 p.	quarto, folio	Selectable	Italian	p. 353 / tav. 65 p. 353 / tav. 65	Hardcover. *Two tomes for Africa.
Milano	472 p.	quarto, folio	Selectable	Italian	p. 353 / tav. 65	Hardcover. *Two tomes for Africa.
Milano	—	folio	Selectable (only main series)	Italian	Yes	Hardcover. Last production of 300 prints per vol./part. The few complete, fully hand-colored sets can be termed as bibliophile.
Livorno	597 p.	duodecimo	Partly selectable	Italian	p. 429 / tav. 7'5	Hardcover. *Three tomes for Africa.
Torino	468 p.	octavo	Partly selectable	Italian	—	Hardcover. The so-called "Terza Edizione". *Three tomes for Africa. Attention: The picture of the Guanche cave was omitted.
Napoli	519 p.	duodecimo	Partly selectable	Italian	tavola 7'5	Hardcover. "Prima Edizione Napolitana". *Three tomes for Africa. Eight <i>tavole</i> at the end.
Firenze	256 p.	octavo	Partly selectable	Italian	p.152 / tav.LXV	Hardcover. "Edizione Seconda Riveduta ed Accresciuta" (= 1st edition in Firenze). *Four tomes for Africa.
Firenze	256 p.	octavo	Partly selectable	Italian	p.153 / tav.65	Hardcover. Reprint of the 1st edition in Firenze. *Four tomes for Africa.
Firenze	691 p.	octavo, duodecimo	Partly selectable	Italian	p.543 / tav.3'5	Hardcover or brochure. Competing edition in Firenze (see Batelli). *Three tomes for Africa. Partly colorized.
Palermo	262 p.	octavo, quarto	Selectable	Italian	tavola 65	Hardcover. "Prima Edizione Siciliana". *Four tomes for Africa.

della religione, delle arti, scienze ed usanze di tutti i popoli antichi e moderni."

Fig.34 - Citations of the "Africa 1" & "Afrique 1" tomes of Ferrario's "Costume" series featuring Plate 65 (p. 353) = "Cave sepolcrali de' Guanci" [depicted in this paper].

fig. 14 - Ferrario, Giulio (1817): *Il costume antico e moderno. O storia del governo, della milizia, della religione, delle arti, scienze ed usanze di tutti i popoli antichi e moderni. Volume Primo dell' Africa.*- Tipografia dell' Editore, Milano, 480 p. (Tavola 65)

fig. 16 - Ferrario, Giulio (1819): *Il costume antico e moderno. O storia del governo, della milizia, della religione, delle arti, scienze ed usanze di tutti i popoli antichi e moderni. Volume Primo dell' Africa.*- Tipografia dell' Editore, Milano, 480 p. (Tavola 65)

fig. 18 - Ferrario, Giulio (1827): *Il costume antico e moderno. O storia del governo, della milizia, della religione, delle arti, scienze ed usanze di tutti i popoli antichi e moderni. Volume Primo dell' Africa.*- Tipografia dell' Editore, Milano, 480 p. (Tavola 65)

fig. 15 - Ferrario, Giulio (1815): *Le costume ancien et moderne. Ou histoire du gouvernement, de la milice, de la religion, des arts, sciences et usages de tous les peuples anciens et modernes. Afrique 1^{er}.* Vol.- De l' imprimerie de l'éditeur, Milan, 480 p. (Planche 65)

fig. 17 - Ferrario, Giulio (1819 [or 1820? by a merchant]): *Le costume ancien et moderne. Ou histoire du gouvernement, de la milice, de la religion, des arts, sciences et usages de tous les peuples anciens et modernes. Afrique 1^{er}.* Vol.- De l' imprimerie de l'éditeur, Milan, 480 p. [Planche 65]

fig. 19 - Ferrario, Giulio (1827a): *Le costume ancien et moderne. Ou histoire du gouvernement, de la milice, de la religion, des arts, sciences et usages de tous les peuples anciens et modernes. Afrique 1^{er}.* Vol.- De l' imprimerie de l'éditeur, Milan, 480 p. [Planche 65]

fig. 20 - Ferrario, Giulio (1827b): *Le costume ancien et moderne. Ou histoire du gouvernement, de la milice, de la religion, des arts, sciences et usages de tous les peuples anciens et modernes. Afrique 1^{er}.* Vol.- De l' imprimerie de l'éditeur, Milan, 480 p. [Planche 65]

This list does not necessarily mean that these books are the only ones reachable through public libraries and/or digital sources. This itemization does express only that there were observed graphical and ethnological peculiarities in some etchings.

Fig.35 - Chronological sequence of the complete "Costume" series, Milano 1815-1826 (original timetable) [other print runs not considered here]

Asia / Asie, vol. 1	[1815]	America / Amerique, vol. 2	[1821]
Africa / Afrique, vol. 1	[1815]	Europa / Europe, vol. 1, pt. 2	[1823]
Europa / Europe, vol. 1, pt. 1	[1817]	Europa / Europe, vol. 1, pt. 3	[1823]
Asia / Asie, vol. 2	[1817]	Europa / Europe, vol. 3, pt. 1	[1823]
Asia / Asie, vol. 3	[1817]	Europa / Europe, vol. 3, pt. 2	[1823]
Asia / Asie, vol. 4	[1818]	Europa / Europe, vol. 4	[1824]
Africa / Afrique, vol. 2	[1819]	Europa / Europe, vol. 5	[1825]
Europa / Europe, vol. 2,	[1820]	Europa / Europe, vol. 6	[1826]
America / Amerique, vol. 1	[1820]	[14 tomes in 17 volumes or parts]	

Fig.36 - Titles of index & supplements:

Del costume antico e moderno di tutti i popoli. Indice generale. [1829]

Aggiunte e rettificazioni all'opera il costume antico e moderno di tutti i popoli. 1 [1831]

Aggiunte e rettificazioni all'opera il costume antico e moderno di tutti i popoli. 2 [1832]

Aggiunte e rettificazioni all'opera il costume antico e moderno di tutti i popoli. 3 [1834]

Some libraries around the world and several antiquarian bookshops and auction houses report versions of the "Costume" series (Milano) which do not correspond with the "only" edition described chronologically in fig.35. Furthermore the author of these lines has evidence of tomes, fascicules and diver-



Fig.37 - Giulio Ferrario had to pay court to the Austrian Emperor Franz I, also sovereign of the *Regno Lombardo-Veneto* (portrait in "Aggiunte e rettificazioni 1", Milano 1831).

gent series orders not mentioned by the editorial or in the "Aggiunte" (supplements). Additionally some circulating complete sets seem to have been assorted out of nonconforming production years, probably to make them more attractive for the potential buyer. This can for example be judged by a volume printed before a younger one – id est II produced before I what normally is impossible within the Ferrario print management – or a later added index (printed 1829).

A view on the final events: The exactitude of colorations reached in the last edition of the Milano set (1829) can only be described as exemplary (fig. 38). And the very last tome regarding "Il costume antico e moderno" (America IV) was produced 1860 in Palermo by Salvatore Barcellona [reminding the time-frame of this paper's explanations mentioned in the title].

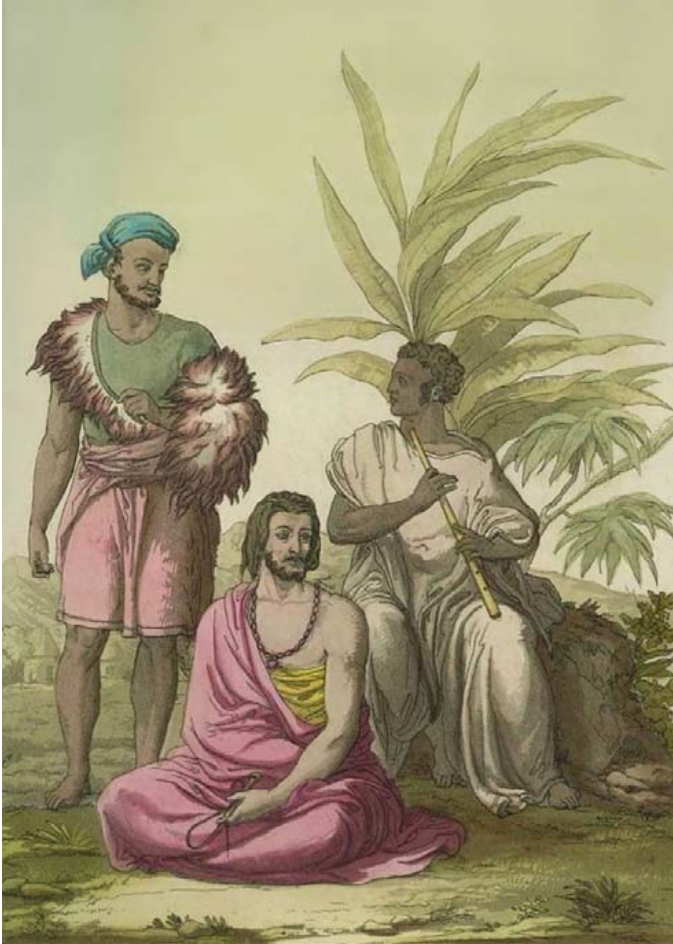


Fig.38 - "Il costume antico e moderno" t. Africa II (Milano 1829), tavola 16: "I Galla".

I thank Armin Hundertmark (archiv-kanarische-inseln.com) and Francesco Chellini (gozzini.it) for their help and expertise.

5. Literature:

- Anonymous [Italian specialist] (1828): Uebersicht der neuesten italienischen Literatur. Zweiter Brief.- Das Ausland Nr. 66-67 (Cotta), München, p. 316
- Bankes, Thomas (18007): A new, royal, and authentic and complete system of universal geography.- C. Cooke, London, 460 p. (first edition 1775) [Guanche cave p. 421 / plate 55]
- Bellinzoni, Luigi (1884, 1886): Usi e costumi antichi e moderni di tutti i popoli del mondo.- Edizione E. Perino, Roma, 4 vols.
- Browne, Daniel Jay (1834): Letters from the Canary Islands.- George W. Light Ed., Boston (USA), 140 p.
- Brunet, Jacques-Charles (1861): Manuel du libraire et de l'amateur de livres. Tome II. Ciacconius-Gyron.- Firmin Didot, Paris, 1.848 columns ["Ferrario, Giulio" in col. 1232-1233]
- Brunialti, Attilio (1849, etc): I popoli del mondo. Usi i costumi. t. Africa II.- Casa Editrice Dr. Francesco Vallardi, Milano, 415 p. (complete series 8 vols.)
- Dally, Nicolas (1844): Usi e costumi di tutti i popoli del mondo. t. Asia.- (Stabilimento Tipografico Fontana), Torino, 637 p. (transl. from French) [rip-off Napoli 1849]
- de La Harpe, Jean-François (1780): Abrégé de l'histoire générale des voyages. T.1.- Hôtel de Thou [chez Moutardier], Paris, 350 p. (Livre Second / Chap. II, 162-243)
- de La Harpe, Jean-François (1781): Compendio della storia generale de' viaggi. Tomo Primo.- Presso Rinaldo Benvenuti, Venezia, 267 p. + index without list of plates (first edition) [Guanche cave p.235]
- de La Harpe, Jean-François (1782): Compendio della storia generale de' viaggi. Tomo Primo. Edizione Seconda.- Presso Vincenzio Formaleoni, Venezia, 267 p. + index incl. list of plates [Guanche cave p.235]
- de La Harpe, Jean-François (1834): Compendio della storia generale de' viaggi. Tomo Primo. Edizione Terza.- Stamperia Fibreno, Napoli, 448 p. + index incl. list of plates [Guanche cave p.212]
- de La Harpe, Jean-François (1829-1830): Bibliothèque Générale des Voyages. Première Partie "Afrique". Tome II.- chez Froment (etc.), Paris, 256 p. + index [Guanche cave as frontispiece]
- Ferrario, Giulio (1815): Il costume antico e moderno. O storia del governo, della milizia, della religione, delle arti, scienze ed usanze di tutti i popoli antichi e moderni. Volume Primo dell' Africa.- Tipografia dell' Editore, Milano, 480 p. (tavola 65)
- Ferrario, Giulio (1815): Le costume ancien et moderne. Ou histoire du gouvernement, de la milice, de la religion, des arts, sciences et usages de tous les peuples anciens et modernes. Afrique 1^{er}. Vol.- De l' imprimerie de l'éditeur, Milano, 480 p. [planche 65]
- Ferrario, Giulio (1816-1829): see more citations of the "Costume" series featuring the Guanche cave in the table of fig.33

- Green, John (compiler 1745): *A new general collection of voyages and travels*. Vol.1.- Thomas Astley (editor), London, 680 p. [incl. Canary Islands, Guanches etc.; three more volumes published]
- Herchenbach, Wilhelm (1868): *Aus Onclé Nabor's Tagebuch. Die Geschichte eines Flüchtlings.- Erzählungen für Volk und Jugend 1. Serie / Nr. 40* (Verlag Georg Joseph Manz), Regensburg, 180 p. (Guanche cave p.161)
- Jombert, Charles-Antoine (1770): *Catalogue de l'oeuvre de Ch. Nic. Cochin fils.- Imprimerie de Prault, Paris, 144 p.* ["Cave sépulchrale des Guanches" on p. 60]
- Loumyer, Jean-François-Nicolas (1843-1844): *Mœurs, usages et costumes de tous les peuples du monde*. 4 t.- publié par Auguste Wahlen (Librairie Historique-Artistique), Bruxelles, Afrique-Amérique 365 p. / Asie 591 p. / Europe 361 p. / Océanie 368 p., b/w or colorized [see also Wahlen-Fierlants 1862]
- Nutini, Stefano (1996): "Ferrario, Giulio" in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*. Vol.46. Feducci-Ferrario.- Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, Roma, XV + 816 p. (see also treccani.it)
- Pitrè, Giuseppe (1894): *Bibliografia delle tradizioni popolari d'Italia.- Carlo Clausen (Ed.), Torino-Palermo, 603 p.* (actually printed by Stabilimento Tipografico Virzi, Palermo) ["Ferrario, Giulio" on p. 318-319]
- Prévost d'Exiles, Antoine-François; et al. (1746): *Histoire générale des voyages, ou Nouvelle collection de toutes les relations de voyages par mer et par terre*. T.2 [quarto].- chez Didot, Paris, 654 p. [plate XV].
- [Prévost d'Exiles, Antoine-François; et al.] (1751): *Storia generale de' viaggi, o nuova raccolta di tutte le relazioni de' viaggi per mare, e per terra*. T.6.- Appresso Pietro Valvasense, Venezia, 324 p. [incl. Canary Islands; Guanche cave on p.188].
- Redaction (1824): [Report on copyright problems in Italy].- *Morgenblatt für gebildete Leser* 18.Jg. (J.G. Cotta'sche Buchhandlung), Stuttgart-Tübingen, p. 228
- Società di Letterati Italiani (1862): *Usi i costumi di tutti i popoli dell'universo. Africa (= Volume Settimo).*- Libreria de Francesco Sanvito (succ. de Borroni e Scotti), Milano, 259 p.
- Ulbrich, Hans-Joachim (2014): *Die kanarischen Ureinwohner in der Cosmographia (1544) des Sebastian Münster.- Almogaren 44-45 / 2013-2014* (Institutum Canarium), Wien, 249-268
- Ulbrich, Hans-Joachim (2019): *Der Hype um Illustrationen von toten Guanachen im Europa des 18.-19. Jahrhunderts.- Almogaren 50 / 2019* (Institutum Canarium), Wien, 41-82 [with a digital annex on p. 82a-e when used as separatum]
- Vecellio, Cesare (1590): *De gli habiti antichi et moderni di diverse parti del mondo*. Libri due.- Presso Damian Zenaro, Venezia, 499 p. [Revised issues Venezia 1664 & Paris 1859-1860]
- Wahlen-Fierlants, Adolphe (1862): *Le costume ancien et moderne. Mœurs et usages de tous les peuples du monde*.- Librairie Wahlen-Fierlants (Typographie de E. Guyot), Bruxelles, no pagination (ca. 760 p.)* [*Title of the cover; main title longer] See also Loumyer (1843-1844) for the four-tome version which was printed earlier.