ARTICLES
New Evidence for the Origins of a Royal Copper Head from the Ancient Near East
MELISSA EPPIHIMER, 8

Sculpting Reputation: A Terracotta Bust of Senesino by Roubiliac
MALCOLM BAKER, 25

Witnessing Ingenuity: Lacquerware from Michoacán for the Vicereine of New Spain
RONDA KASL, 40

John Kay’s Watercolor Drawing John Campbell (1782)
WENDY MCGlashan, 57

A Tale of Two Chapeaux: Fashion, Revolution, and David’s Portrait of the Lavoisiers
KIMBERLY CHRISMAN-CAMPBELL, 67

Hearing Witness: The Wičhówoyake of Mathíó Nážiŋ’s Little Bighorn Muslins
RAMEY MIZE, 85

Jacob Lawrence’s Work Theme, 1945–46
CLAIRE ITTNER, 106

RESEARCH NOTES
New Insights into Filippo Lippi’s Alessandri Altarpiece
SANDRA CARDARELLI, 120

A Monumental-Scale Crimson Velvet Cloth of Gold in The Met: Historical, Technical, and Materials Analysis
GIULIA CHIOSTRINI, ELIZABETH CLELAND, NOBUKO SHIBAYAMA, FEDERICO CARÒ, 134

Malachite Networks: The Demidov and Medici Vases-Torchères in The Met
LUDMILA BUDRINA, 148
MANUSCRIPT GUIDELINES
FOR THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM JOURNAL

Founded in 1968, the Metropolitan Museum Journal is a double-anonymous, peer-reviewed scholarly journal published annually that features original research on the history, interpretation, conservation, and scientific examination of works of art in the Museum’s collection. Its range encompasses the diversity of artistic practice from antiquity to the present day. The Journal encourages contributions offering critical and innovative approaches that will further our understanding of works of art.

The Journal publishes articles and research notes. All texts must take works of art in the collection as the point of departure. Articles contribute extensive and thoroughly argued scholarship, whereas research notes are often smaller in scope, focusing on a specific aspect of new research or presenting a significant finding from technical analysis. The maximum length for articles is 8,000 words (including endnotes) and 10–12 images, and for research notes 4,000 words with 4–6 images. Authors may consult previous volumes of the Journal as they prepare submissions: www.metmuseum.org/art/metpublications. The Journal does not accept papers that have been previously published elsewhere, nor does it accept translations of such works. Submissions should be emailed to journalsubmissions@metmuseum.org.

Manuscripts are reviewed by the Journal Editorial Board, composed of members of the curatorial, conservation, and scientific departments, as well as scholars from the broader academic community.

To be considered for the following year’s volume, the complete manuscript must be submitted by September 15.

Manuscripts should be submitted as three separate double-spaced Word files in Times New Roman 12-point type with page numbers inserted: (1) a 200-word abstract; (2) manuscript and endnotes (no images should be embedded within the main text); (3) Word document or PDF of low-resolution images with captions and credits underneath. Please anonymize your submission.

For the style of captions and bibliographic references in endnotes, authors are referred to The Metropolitan Museum of Art Guide to Editorial Style and Procedures, which is available from the Museum’s Publications and Editorial Department upon request, and to The Chicago Manual of Style. Please provide a list of all bibliographic citations that includes, for each title: full name(s) of author or authors; title and subtitle of book or article and periodical; place and date of publication; volume number, if any; and page, plate, and/or figure number(s). For citations in notes, please use only the last name(s) of the author or authors and the date of publication (e.g., Jones 1953, 65; Smith and Harding 2006, 7–10, fig. 23).

The Museum will acquire all high-resolution images and obtain English-language, world rights for print and electronic editions of the Journal, at no expense to authors.

Once an article or research note is accepted for publication, the author will have the opportunity to review it after it has been edited and again after it has been laid out in pages. Each author receives two copies of the printed Journal. The Journal appears online at metmuseum.org/art/metpublications; journals.uchicago.edu/toc/met/current; and on JStor.

ABBREVIATIONS
MMA The Metropolitan Museum of Art
MMAB The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin
MMJ Metropolitan Museum Journal

Height precedes width and then depth in dimensions cited.
A watercolor drawing of Scotsman John Campbell in The Metropolitan Museum of Art represents a rare early work by John Kay, an Edinburgh barber turned graphic satirist, printmaker, and portrait miniaturist, with no formal art training (fig. 1). Kay published his first satirical etchings in 1784, at which time a wide range of European old master and contemporary British prints might be viewed or purchased in Edinburgh via auction rooms and printsellers like James Sibbald. Interest continued in the graphic works of William Hogarth during this period and in 1783 the Edinburgh-based artist David Allan began engraving what he referred to (in a letter to a patron) as “groups of the manners in Scotland.” Sibbald staged regular public print exhibitions, boasting that “a larger collection of capital modern prints is not to be found in
any shop in the kingdom, [for in London] printsellers and publishers interest themselves only in the sale of their own publications."3 Prints might also be borrowed through his Edinburgh Circulating Library, which offered “a considerable number of choice Prints, by the best masters.”4 In late eighteenth-century Edinburgh, the study of prints was thus a widespread pursuit, open to elite connoisseurs and middle-rank consumers alike.5

Kay is now best known for his monochromatic printed works, as posthumously published by Hugh Paton in A Series of Original Portraits and Caricature Etchings by the Late John Kay (1837–38).6 Dated 1782, the watercolor drawing of John Campbell in The Met pre-dates Kay’s first printed portraits by two years, and thus constitutes an important representation of his initial painted work in color.7

John Campbell (d. 1795) was born in rural Perthshire, the eldest son of a carpenter. John’s father, finding himself in reduced circumstances following the bankruptcy of the local laird, relocated the family to Edinburgh, where he died shortly thereafter.8 This left Campbell to provide for his mother, three sisters, and younger brother Alexander (1764–1824), which he initially did by securing work as a sawyer.9 The Campbell brothers later became pupils of the celebrated Italian castrato Giusto Ferdinando Tenducci. Tenducci was a highly fashionable music teacher who, recognizing John as “a talented boy of limited means,” provided their lessons at half-price.10 John was appointed precentor, or leader of Psalm singing, at the Canongate Church in 1775 and Alexander progressed to employment as organist for an Episcopalian chapel.11 In 1781 a notice in the Caledonian Mercury brought the musical brothers to public attention, announcing: “In St. Mary’s Chapel, Niddry’s Wynd, on Tuesday the 20th of March will be performed, J. and A. Campbell’s Concert of Vocal and Instrumental Music.”12 Tickets were priced at three shillings, the price then commanded by Tenducci himself, and the concert was to be followed by a ball.13

Although never permanently resident in Edinburgh, Tenducci enjoyed a connection with the prestigious Edinburgh Musical Society from 1768, participating in their concerts and earning high acclaim as a performer of Scottish song.14 William Tytler, an Edinburgh lawyer, historian, and active member of the Musical Society, noted that no one “could hear with insensibility, or without being moved in the greatest degree, Tenducci sing—I’ll never leave thee,—or The Braes of Ballendine!”15 In July 1781, the Musical Society held a concert “for the benefit of Mr. Tenducci” in St. Celia’s Hall, and Tenducci appears to have left Edinburgh about this time.16 Before doing so, he per-
suaded John Campbell to “sit to [David] Allan for a portrait,” which he then “had engraved on a small scale” (fig. 2).\(^7\) Campbell stands between a cello and an ornate chamber organ, and is depicted with a large belly, fleshy double chin, and sparse natural hair. He smiles at the viewer and holds the musical score for “The Braes o’ Ballendine” in his hand, one of the Scottish ballads for which Tenducci had previously received accolades.\(^18\) Tenducci then circulated Campbell’s portrait among his elite clientele, recommending his services to members of the nobility and aristocracy, and helping to establish him as a music teacher in the city.\(^19\)

Kay was then spending time at Archerfield, the country seat of William Nisbet of Dirleton, an aristocratic patron who employed Kay’s services as a barber and encouraged his artistic pursuits.\(^20\) Nisbet was also a member of the Edinburgh Musical Society and it thus seems likely that he would have received Campbell’s portrait.\(^21\) In 1781 Campbell also appeared in a half-length etched portrait, published in London by Hannah Humphrey, a successful printseller who worked closely with the British satirical printmaker James Gillray.\(^22\) The likeness compares closely with the Allan portrait, but is turned in profile; Campbell smiles and holds a musical score in his right hand. Beneath the image is an inscription further promoting Campbell’s status as a vocalist and performer of Scottish song: “Mr. C–m–l. The Jolly Presenter of the Canongate Kirk in Edinburgh, singing the Psalms of a Morning and over a Bowl of Punch Scotch Tunes at Night.”\(^23\)

Alexander Fraser Tytler (William Tytler’s son), an advocate, historian, and professor at the University of Edinburgh, noted about this time that “One Kay [a barber] has now taken up the trade of Collector [of prints], and I have seen him bid more for a single print at an auction than he can make at his business in a week.”\(^24\) Among the new prints advertised by Sibbald in 1781 was Henry William Bunbury’s *Hyde Park* (1781), described as “a very large print, curious” (fig. 3).\(^25\)

In reference to Kay’s watercolor drawing of John Campbell, Caroline Karpinski suggests: “Kay began to draw in the manner of [Thomas] Rowlandson, rendering a rotund, three-dimensional figure in a naturalistic atmosphere. But he was unable, because of limited artistic means, or unwilling, to carry this style further.”\(^26\) However, new research shows that the watercolor drawing in The Met relates not to Thomas Rowlandson but rather to Henry William Bunbury, with
Kay taking a corpulent male figure selected from the foreground of Hyde Park as a direct model, whose physical similarity to Campbell he shrewdly exploits. Kay adapts this model to a local context, forgoing the bustling London park and instead locating Campbell in a rural Scottish landscape, with thistles, rolling hills, and a muted color palette of ochers, earth tones, and soft blues. The scheme echoes contemporary Scottish paintings like Allan’s Highland Dance (ca. 1780). Bunbury’s biting dogs are replaced with braying asses that break comically into the picture plane, making a fool of Campbell, who stands grimacing with his mouth wide open in song, and his disharmonious students.

As a single image Kay’s watercolor drawing would have had limited circulation, but in 1784 he began publishing his satirical portraits as etched multiples, permitting their dissemination to a wider audience. The Catalogue of the Works and Other Genuine Property of the Late Mr. John Kay of Edinburgh offered for sale in 1836 following the death of Kay’s widow, Margaret Scott Kay, lists a single impression of a print titled Corpulent Man, and Asses Braying, indicating that Kay subsequently published an etching after his watercolor drawing of Campbell. However, the etching plate for this print had been “bought up” and presumably destroyed, thus preventing the further reproduction and circulation of the image.

Margaret Scott Kay reported that “Alex. Campbell, organist, caricatured Kay for drawing his brother John, the precentor.” Though no impressions of Alexander Campbell’s caricature of Kay are known to survive, it is described in the aforementioned Original Portraits as a “rudely executed” work in which “John Dow was represented as dragging him by the ear to the Town Guard, while Bailie Duff brought up the rear, in the attitude of administering a forcible admonition with his foot.” While Dow was employed as a guardsman in the city, “Bailie Duff” was a title mockingly applied to Jamie Dow, a deluded “person of weak intellects” (or “idiot”) who aspired to the position of magistrate. In 1784 both Dow and Duff featured in Kay’s etched portrait A Triumvirate, appearing along with James Robertson of Kincraigie, or the “Daft Highland Laird,” a member of the gentry associated with “insanity” and “lunacy,” famed for carving wooden caricature heads of those he disliked and displaying them on top of a staff (fig. 4). Robertson is shown at left holding such a staff; Dow is situated in the center, looking Duff in the eye. It thus seems that Alexander Campbell deliberately mobilized Kay’s own visual language against him, creating an alternative “triumvirate” in which Kay assumed the...
place of the deranged caricaturist—provoking him to publish *A Medley of Musicians* (1784), described by Margaret Scott Kay as “Another Retaliation” (fig. 5). Original Portraits implies that Alexander’s retaliatory caricature of John Kay was incited by a small half-length etched portrait of his brother John, for which the etching plate did exist (fig. 6). John Campbell is depicted in profile earnestly singing with a song book in hand. The work provided a pendant to an identically sized portrait of Thomas Neil, precentor in the Old Church, whose vocal talents were praised highly by Kay, comically performing as “The Old Wife.” Publisher Hugh Paton chose to separate these portraits in different volumes of Original Portraits, instead pairing the John Campbell portrait with *A Medley of Musicians*, neatly linking it with the dispute between Alexander Campbell and John Kay.

Neither the etching *Corpulent Man, and Asses Braying* nor The Met’s watercolor drawing (fig. 1) is referenced in Original Portraits. However, Kay’s *A Medley of Musicians* (fig. 5) works in direct dialogue with the image, forming part of the Kay-Campbell exchange. Kay retains the distinctive comedic asses, here inverted by the print process. John Campbell maintains his compositional centrality, his face again grimacing and open-mouthed in song, but Kay now expands the composition to include Alexander Campbell in the discordant concert, seen turning the handle of the organ strapped to his back.

James Beattie’s *An Essay on Laughter and Ludicrous Composition* (1776) comments that William Hogarth’s *The Enraged Musician* (1741) (fig. 7) is made “more laughable” by the various persons and dissonant sounds “all united in the same place, and for the same purpose, of tormenting the poor fiddler.” To further torment Alexander Campbell, Kay deliberately refers to Hogarth’s well-known work, bringing together a similar variety of cacophonous sounds, including braying asses, barking dogs, and a horn-blowing fish-seller. Hogarth’s knife-grinder, seen wearing spectacles and an upturned hat as he sharpens a meat cleaver, is transformed by Kay into a similarly attired sawyer, who stands in a saw-pit sharpening his saw—a witty reminder of John Campbell’s humble origins. Hogarth’s oboe player is echoed in Kay’s bagpipe-playing Jamie Duff, and whereas Alexander Campbell previously depicted Duff kicking Kay in the rear (in the caricature mentioned above for which no image remains), he now plays opposite the organist in the disharmonious concert, and both are compositionally grouped with the asses.

In 1785 Kay gave up barbering to set up as an independent artist-printmaker, and in that year he represented John Campbell in a second Hogarthian composition: *A Sleepy Congregation.* Taking Hogarth’s
The Triumph of Genius or Jamie Duff’s Gratitude to His Portrait-Painter (fig. 9). This formerly unstudied, anonymous and undated caricature is revealed here to be a further anti-Kay satire that adds to the context of the quarrel between Campbell and Kay.

Whereas Alexander Campbell previously depicted John Dow and Jamie Duff forcibly escorting Kay to the town guard (in the caricature mentioned above for which no image remains), here they hold him aloft in a triumphal parade. They are joined by two further lowly characters from Kay’s early etchings: George Pratt, the town crier, who leads the parade with his bell, and George (or Geordie) Cranstoun, a well-known Edinburgh dwarf, who follows behind John Dow. Kay sits in an elevated chair with his son William, also an artist-printmaker, and his enormous cat, a motif that mimics Kay’s printed self-portrait, suggesting a date of about 1786 for this work. Kay ridiculed the physicality of Alexander’s corpulent brother John, Kay’s son William is depicted with an oversize head, while his legs are compared to those of Cranstoun, whose own physical differences were highlighted by Kay in portraits such as Burns, the Irish Giant and a Number of Characters of His Time (1784). Echoing Kay’s portrait etching Shon Dow (1784), Dow carries a Lochaber axe in one hand. With the other he holds up an object shaped like an artist’s palette and labeled “Mambrino’s helmet,” a literary reference that links Kay with the deluded character of Miguel de Cervantes’s Don Quixote, who aspired to a “heroic ideal well beyond his actual status and being.” Impassioned by his reading of chivalric romances, Quixote embarked on a quest as a knight-errant, mistaking a barber’s basin for the golden helmet of the mythical knight Mambrino. In The Triumph of Genius, Kay’s quixotic delusions are reiterated by the barbering scissors in his hand. James Robertson, one of Kay’s subjects who is not included in this celebratory parade, had previously retaliated against him “by mounting a caricature likeness of the limner on his staff.” Atop Robertson’s staff sits a “hoolet” or owl, a symbol of “peevishness” and “stupidity.”

A banner at the top of the composition brands Kay “KITE from The Goose DUB.” While “Goose Dub” was the name of an area near the Edinburgh Meadows, the term “goose” may also be applied to a “fool” or a “simpleton,” with “dub” referring to a small murky...
The kite was then a despised bird of prey, and the word was used as “a term of abuse or detestation.” Kay utilized the term in this manner in the written inscription beneath his Cock-Fighting Match (1785), a composition closely modeled on Hogarth’s The Cockpit (1759). The inscription on Cock-Fighting Match reads: Thus we poor Cocks, exert our Skill & Brav’ry / For idle Gulls and Kites, that trade in Knav’ry. With regard to cockfighting, Kay further noted:

that noblemen and gentlemen, who upon any other occasion will hardly show the smallest degree of condescension to their inferiors, will, in the prosecution of this barbarous amusement, demean themselves so far as to associate with the very lowest characters in society.

The banner not only presents Kay as a man of low character, but it also derides his efforts to affiliate himself with Hogarth, as evidenced above in A Medley of Musicians (fig. 5) and A Sleepy Congregation, both associated with the Campbell brothers—mockingly labeling Kay “Scoto-Hogarthiarian.” Although the authorship of The Triumph of Genius cannot be definitively ascertained, it is beyond question that Alexander Campbell had the motivation to create such a work, and the available evidence convincingly locates it within the context of the Kay-Campbell exchange.

A precedent for the anti-Kay caricatures may be found in a series of vitriolic anti-Hogarth satires made in 1753–54 by Paul Sandby. Sandby was a British landscape painter, pioneer of the aquatint print technique in England, and founding member of the Royal Academy of Arts in London. Prompted by Hogarth’s opposition to the establishment of a continental-style British art academy and the publication of his aesthetic treatise The Analysis of Beauty (1753), Sandby’s prints branded Hogarth a “Self-Conceited Arrogant Dauber” and mocked him through the parody of his visual language. Sandby’s The Analyst Beshitten: In His Own Taste (1753), for instance, repurposes imagery from Hogarth’s printed self-portrait with a pug, while Puggs Graces Etched from His Original Daubing (1753–54) echoes the composition of Hogarth’s Analysis of Beauty, Plate 1. Both mimic Hogarth’s use of a numbered key. The written inscription printed beneath Puggs Graces begins: “Behold a Wretch who Nature form’d in Spight, / Scorn’d by the Wise; he gave the Fools Delight” and further declares that “Dunce Connoisseurs extol the Author Pugg.” This theme is echoed in The Triumph of Genius (fig. 9) and the textual inscription below similarly opens: “Behold the Triumph, which is Justly due / From Jemy Duff, & warlike Soldier Dow.”

While Alexander Campbell’s decision to satirize Kay was, it seems, in part prompted by a desire to defend his elder brother, who had stepped in to provide for the family following the death of their father, it may also have reflected his artistic ambitions. In 1797, Francis Jukes, an English aquatintist, who learned the technique from Sandby, published a series of four Scottish views after drawings by Alexander Campbell. In 1802, Campbell published A Journey from Edinburgh through Parts of North Britain: Containing Remarks on Scottish Landscape. It was embellished with forty-four aquatints executed by Francis Jukes, William Pickett, Thomas Medland, Samuel Alken, and John Walker after drawings of Scottish scenery that Campbell had “sketched on the spot.” Throughout this two-volume work Campbell positions himself as “a skilful painter” with a “practised eye,” and when he surveys the notable artists and engravers active in Edinburgh, John Kay is conspicuously excluded.

It was Kay’s ambition to publish a collected volume of his etchings, and in 1792 he prepared descriptive
notes relating to the subjects of his prints, with the assistance of James Thomson Callender, an author and political radical who fled to the United States after being indicted for sedition. Callender has been described as a misanthrope with “contempt for the famous and [a] desire to cut them down to size,” and it was his belief that “The laurels which human praise confers are withered and blasted by the unworthiness of those who wear them.” The notes composed by Kay and Callender were purchased by Paton in 1836 and “subsequently suppressed [containing] matters too personal for publication.” Although Kay’s descriptive notes may be lost, the visual evidence suggests that when John Campbell was raised to fame by Tenducci, Kay displayed a similar desire to cut him down to size. He did so by initially mocking John Campbell’s appearance, students, and musical abilities, and later embedding a reminder of Campbell’s humble origins as sawyer within his etching A Medley of Musicians (fig. 5). Should Kay’s missing notes be rediscovered, further details of the motivations underlying his satirical attack on John Campbell may then come to light.

The findings presented here identify a new source for the watercolor drawing of John Campbell by John Kay in The Met, and provide fresh context for this important early work. Placing the drawing in dialogue with previously unstudied anti-Kay caricatures has revealed a vibrant response in late eighteenth-century Edinburgh to extant British satirical prints. The Met’s watercolor drawing also shows that John Kay chose to pursue a confrontational and personalized form of satirical attack from the very outset of his artistic career.

**ACKNOWLEDGMENTS**

The preliminary research for this article was generously supported by a Carnegie PhD Scholarship. I am grateful to Helen Pierce for her feedback on an early draft and for her ongoing encouragement. I thank Sandy Wood at the Royal Scottish Academy and Ralph McLean at the National Library of Scotland for their kind assistance in accessing archival material.

**WENDY MCGLASHAN**

Independent Scholar

---

**NOTES**

1. The range of prints available is attested by newspaper advertisements. See, for example, Caledonian Mercury, no. 9552 (1782): 1; no. 9718 (1783): 1; and no. 10,030 (1785): 3.

2. David Allan to Sir William Hamilton, November 6, 1780, as quoted in Modern and Whiting 2017, 23. Between 1781 and 1782, James Sibbald added two new books pertaining to Hogarth to the circulating library in Edinburgh. See Sibbald 1786, 191, 211. Hogarth’s prints were regularly advertised by printellers and auctioneers. See Caledonian Mercury, no. 9653 (1783): 1; no. 9759 (1784): 1; and no. 10,030 (1785): 3. Allan’s Scottish prints are typified by Highland Dance (National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh, inv. P2765). It was among the new prints advertised by Sibbald in 1783. See Caledonian Mercury, no. 9609 (1783): 1.


4. Ibid., no. 9710 (1783): 1.


6. Paton 1837–38. For the impact of Paton’s A Series of Original Portraits and Caricature Etchings by the Late John Kay (hereafter Original Portraits) on Kay’s posthumous reputation, see McGlashan 2020, 33–68.


9. Ibid.

10. Ibid.; Berry 2011, 151. Alexander Campbell notes (1798, 298) that he was a pupil of Tenducci in 1780.


13. Ibid.


15. [Tytler] 1779, 120.

16. Caledonian Mercury, no. 9340 (1781): 3. After this date, Tenducci only briefly reappears in the Caledonian Mercury in July and August 1785.

17. Paton 1837–38, 2:93. The engraving originally had the initials “C—p—ll, P—n—r, C—g—e C—h” inscribed beneath. [Tytler] 1779, 120; Berry 2011, 150.

18. [Tytler] 1779, 120; Berry 2011, 150.

19. Paton 1837–38, 2:93. In Williamson’s Directory for the City of Edinburgh (Williamson 1784, 14), the Campbell brothers are listed as “music masters.” In November 1785, John opened a church-funded school for the teaching of vocal music to local children. See Caledonian Mercury, no. 10,027 (1785): 1.


27 Kay created two further studies after Bunbury’s Hyde Park. Both are in the album of Kay’s drawings, watercolors, and prints in the Royal Scottish Academy of Art and Architecture (see note 7 above).
29 Paton 1837–38, 1:3.
30 Kay sale 1836, 4, lot 71.
31 Ibid. It seems likely that Alexander Campbell “bought up” this missing plate.
32 [Kay] 1836, 6.
33 Paton 1837–38, 2:95.
34 Ibid., 1:4, 7–8. In 1784, Dow was also depicted in an etched portrait by Isaac Cruikshank in which he holds a Lochaber axe in one hand and a glass of whisky in the other. See British Museum, inv. 1850,0810.215.
35 Paton 1837–38, 1:4–5. In 1784, Kay also depicted Robertson and his wood-carved heads in Laird Robertson (British Museum, inv. 1861,1012.2463) and Dr. Glen and Laird Robertson (British Museum, inv. 1935,0522.13.22).
36 [Kay] 1836, 6.
37 This was one of 356 copperplates that Paton purchased from Margaret Scott Kay’s executors in 1836. See Kay sale 1836, 3.
40 Ibid., 2:95.
41 Beattie 1776, 354.
42 Paton 1837–38, 3.
43 For more on Hogarth’s The Enraged Musician, see Riding 2006, 138.
44 British Museum, inv. 1937,1108.39.
45 MMA 91.1.1 and 32.35(152).
46 For further analysis of Kay’s printed and painted self-portraits, see McGlashan 2020, chap. 1.
47 Royal Collection Trust, United Kingdom, inv. RCIN 811832.
48 See note 33 above.
49 For images of Pratt and Cranstoun, see Kay, John Pratt, Town-Crier (1784), British Museum, inv. 1935,0522.13.4, and Captain Mingay, with a Porter Carrying Geordie Cranstoun in His Creel (1784), British Museum, inv. 1935,0522.13.26.
50 For an example of William Kay’s printed works, see The Social Pinch, 1789, British Museum, inv. 1877,0210.406. Examples of his painted works on paper are held in the Royal Scottish Academy of Art and Architecture, Edinburgh; Central Library, Edinburgh; and Perth Museum and Art Gallery.
51 British Museum, inv. 1937,1108.45.
54 Paton 1837–38, 1:5.
56 Ibid., https://dsl.ac.uk/entry/snd/guse.
57 Ibid., https://dsl.ac.uk/entry/dost/kyte_n_2.
58 British Museum, inv. 1937,1108.8; MMA 32.35(129).
59 Paton 1837–38, 1:96. Here Paton directly quotes Kay’s own manuscript notes, which he purchased in 1836 (see text and note 70 below).
61 Paulson 1993, 135; Quilley 2009; Gunn 2015, 21–25; and Gunn 2017, 403–4. Hogarth was described as such in The Vile Ephesian (1753), British Museum, inv. 1868,0808.3979.
62 British Museum, inv. 1904,0819.703. See Hogarth 1753, pl. 1; Paulson 1993, 135; and Quilley 2009, 40.
63 Quilley 2009, 40.
64 British Museum, inv. Y.4.153.
65 British Museum, inv. 1917,1208.3047; inv. 1917,1208.3048; inv. 1917,1208.3049; inv. 1917,1208.2803; for Francis Jukes, see Gunn 2015, 46–47, and Hoisington 2021, 172–89.
66 Examples are in the Yale Center for British Art, New Haven. See, for example, B1998.14.763.
68 Durey 1990, 28, 47. For Kay’s involvement with the radical Scottish parliamentary reform movement of the 1790s, see McGlashan 2020, 240–86.
69 Durey 1990, 8; Callender 1782, iv.
70 James Maidment, editor of Original Portraits, quoted in Stevenson 1883, 35. Although largely suppressed, Kay’s notes are very sparingly and selectively quoted throughout Original Portraits. See, for example, note 59 above.
71 Stevenson 1883, 35. Two quarto volumes containing Kay’s descriptive notes were purchased by Glasgow booksellers Mr. Kerr and Mr. Richardson on May 4, 1880, from the sale of the Maidment collection. It is currently unknown whether or not these survive.

REFERENCES


Campbell, Alexander 1798 An Introduction to the History of Poetry in Scotland, from the Beginning of the Thirteenth Century down to the Present Time; Together with a Conversation on Scottish Song. Edinburgh: Andrew Foulis.


Edwards, Thomas Hayward  

Gunn, Ann Veronica  

Hogarth, William  
1753  The Analysis of Beauty; Written with a View of Fixing the Fluctuating Ideas of Taste. London: Printed by J. Reeves.

Karpinski, Caroline  

Karpinski, Caroline  
[Kay, Margaret Scott]  
1836  A Descriptive Catalogue of Original Portraits &c. Drawn and Etched by the Late John Kay, Caricaturist, Edinburgh [. . .] Containing a Sketch of the Lives, Manners, and Oddities of the Parties Engraved, with Traditionary Anecdotes. From a manuscript “drawn up by the late Mrs Kay.” Edinburgh: Hugh Paton.

Kay sale  
1836  Catalogue of the Works and Other Genuine Property of the Late Mr. John Kay of Edinburgh, the Celebrated Caricaturist Engraver, Print Seller, and Picture Dealer. Sale cat., February 22 and following days, sold by Mr. Walker of the Agency Office, Edinburgh.

Macleod, Jennifer  

McAulay, Karen  

McGlashan, Wendy  

Modeen, Mary, and Helen Whiting  

Nenadic, Stana  


Paton, Hugh  

Paulson, Ronald  


Quilley, Geoffrey  

Riding, Christine  

Sibbald, James  

Stevenson, Thomas G.  

[Tytler, William]  

Watt, Francis, revised by John Purser  

Williamson, Peter  
ILLUSTRATION CREDITS

New Evidence for the Origins of a Royal Copper Head from the Ancient Near East: © Cincinnati Art Museum / Bridgeman Images: fig. 6; Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art: figs. 1, 2, 5; Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art, photo by Anna-Marie Kellen: fig. 3; © Musée du Louvre, Dist. RMN-Grand Palais / Raphaël Chipault / Art Resource, NY: figs. 7, 10; Courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago: fig. 9; Scala / Art Resource, NY: figs. 4, 8

Sculpting Reputation: A Terracotta Bust of Senesino by Roubiliac: Cornici 1984: fig. 10; © Harris Museum and Art Gallery / Bridgeman Images: fig. 7; Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art: figs. 1, 2; © National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, London: fig. 4; © The Royal Society: fig. 8; © The Trustees of the British Museum: figs. 3, 5, 9; © Victoria and Albert Museum, London: fig. 6

Witnessing Ingenuity: Lacquerware from Michoacán for the Viceroy of New Spain: Photo by Leonardo Hernández: fig. 8; Courtesy of The Hispanic Society of America, New York: fig. 4; López Sarrelangué 1999: fig. 3; Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art: figs. 1, 12; Museo de América, Madrid, photo by Joaquin Otero: figs. 2, 7, 9–11; Photo © Museum Associates/LACMA: fig. 6; Urrechaga 2014: fig. 5

John Kay's Watercolor Drawing John Campbell (1782): Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art: figs. 1, 7; Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art, photo by Mark Morosse: figs. 4–6, 8; National Galleries of Scotland: figs. 2, 9; Courtesy of Sotheby’s: fig. 3

A Tale of Two Chapeaux: Fashion, Revolution, and David's Portrait of the Lavoisiers: Art Resource: fig. 11; Bibliothèque Nationale de France: fig. 10; Photo © President and Fellows of Harvard College: fig. 7; Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art: figs. 1, 6, 8; The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Department of Scientific Research and Department of Paintings Conservation. Originally published in Centeno, Mahon, Caró, and Pullins 2021, https://doi.org/10.1168/s40494-021-00551-y; and Pullins, Mahon, and Centeno 2021, 163: 780–91: fig. 2; Photograph © 2022 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: fig. 4; © RMN-Grand Palais / Art Resource, NY, photo by Francell Raux: fig. 12; With the permission of the Royal Ontario Museum, © ROM: fig. 3; © The Trustees of the British Museum: fig. 5

Hearing Witness: The Wičhówoyake of Math ˇó Nážiŋ’s Little Bighorn Muslins: Denver Public Library, Western History Collection: fig. 10; Foundation for the Preservation of American Indian Arts and Culture, Saint Augustine’s Indian Center, Chicago: figs. 2–3; Library of Congress: fig. 8; Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art: figs. 1, 4; Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art, photo by Evan Read: fig. 12; National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution: fig. 5; Courtesy of University of British Columbia Museum of Anthropology, Vancouver, Canada, photo by Reese Muntean: fig. 12; Wheelwright Museum of the American Indian: fig. 11


New Insights into Filippo Lippi’s Alessandri Altarpiece: Archivio di Stato di Firenze: fig. 6; Art Resource, NY, photo by Erich Lessing: fig. 7; © Archivio di Stato di Firenze: fig. 6; Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art: figs. 1–3; The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Department of Scientific Research, photo by Federico Caró: figs. 13–17; The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Department of Textile Conservation, photo by Giulia Chiostrini: figs. 7–12; Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art, photo by Bruce Schwarz: fig. 4; Dal Prà, Carmignani, Peri 2019, p. 199. Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art, photo by Teri Aderman: fig. 5

A Monumental-Scale Crimson Velvet Cloth of Gold in The Met: Historical, Technical, and Materials Analysis: Angelo Hornak / Alamy Stock Photo: fig. 5; Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art: figs. 1–3; The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Department of Scientific Research, photo by Federico Caró: figs. 13–17; The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Department of Textile Conservation, photo by Giulia Chiostrini: figs. 7–12; Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art, photo by Bruce Schwarz: fig. 4; Dal Prà, Carmignani, Peri 2019, p. 199. Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art, photo by Teri Aderman: fig. 5

Malachite Networks: The Demidov and Medici Vases-Torchères in The Met: Biblioteca Berenson, I Tatti–The Harvard University Center for Italian Renaissance Studies: fig. 5; Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art, photo by Teri Aderman: fig. 9; Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art, photo by Richard Lee: fig. 1a, b; Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art, photo by Mark Morosse: figs. 2–3; Parke-Bernet 1955. Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art, photo by Mark Morosse: fig. 7; State Hermitage Museum: fig. 6
ARTICLES

New Evidence for the Origins of a Royal Copper Head from the Ancient Near East
Melissa Eppihimer

Sculpting Reputation: A Terracotta Bust of Senesino by Roubiliac
Malcolm Baker

Witnessing Ingenuity: Lacquerware from Michoacán for the Vicereine of New Spain
Ronda Kasl

John Kay’s Watercolor Drawing
*John Campbell (1782)*
Wendy McGlashan

A Tale of Two Chapeaux: Fashion, Revolution, and David’s Portrait of the Lavoisiers
Kimberly Chrisman-Campbell

Hearing Witness: The Wičhówoyake of Matȟó Nážiŋ’s Little Bighorn Muslins
Ramey Mize

Jacob Lawrence’s Work Theme, 1945–46
Claire Ittner

RESEARCH NOTES

New Insights into Filippo Lippi’s Alessandri Altarpiece
Sandra Cardarelli

A Monumental-Scale Crimson Velvet Cloth of Gold in The Met: Historical, Technical, and Materials Analysis
Giulia Chiostri, Elizabeth Cleland, Nobuko Shibayama, Federico Carò

Malachite Networks: The Demidov and Medici Vases-Torchères in The Met
Ludmila Budrina