



Four Fifteenth-Century Crucifixions

JOHN J. McKENDRY Associate Curator in Charge of Prints

This issue of the BULLETIN is dedicated to A. Hyatt Mayor, who has retired as Curator of the Department of Prints after more than thirty years with the Museum. His brilliance, knowledge, vitality, enthusiasm, wit, and charm have won him a unique place with the Museum's staff and the public. The stupendous growth of the collection in both extent and quality during his curatorship is a monument to his wisdom and perception.

THE DEPARTMENT OF PRINTS

When more than one version of a work of art is known, it is natural to attempt to determine which is the original. This is not always an easy problem. The possible complications are many, one being that the versions may be in different media. A fascinating problem of this kind is presented by four prints, all of a very similar Calvary scene, executed in three different techniques. One print is an engraving, one a woodcut, one is a metal cut in the so-called dotted manner, and the last consists of four fragments of a metal cut.

The engraving (Frontispiece) is generally considered to be the original from which the other three versions were copied. It is the only one of the prints that can definitely be ascribed to a specific artist: Master I. A. M. of Zwolle, who worked in Zwolle in northeast Holland between 1475 and 1490, and to whom twenty-six prints are attributed.

Before discussing Master I. A. M.'s engraving, it may be useful to consider the different techniques by which the prints were made. The engraving is the only print executed in intaglio; the other three are relief prints. Intaglio and relief are exactly opposite processes. In the first, the design is incised into a metal plate. The plate is inked and then cleaned, leaving ink only in the grooves. Damp paper is then squeezed against the plate in a press, and the paper is forced into the grooves, pulling the ink out of them. In the relief technique the white parts of the design are gouged out of the wood plank or metal plate, while the lines carrying the design are left standing. The raised lines are then inked, and the design is printed by pressing the block against paper.

Contents

Four Fifteenth-Century Crucifixions	
JOHN J. MCKENDRY	
Rubens and the Woodcuts of Christoffel Jegher	
MARY L. MYERS	7
Monuments on Paper	
JANET S. BYRNE	25
Original Portraits, etc.	
CAROLINE KARPINSKI	30

FRONTISPIECE:

Crucifixion by Master I. A. M. of Zwolle, Netherlandish (active 1475-1490). Engraving, 13¾ x 9½ inches. Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 29.48.2

ON THE COVER:

Detail of The Garden of Love, woodcut by Christoffel Jegher after Rubens, illustrated on pages 18 and 19 The relief technique was used for printing before the intaglio. Relief prints can be made by using a simple screw press, or even without a press at all, whereas the intaglio method requires a roller press capable of exerting great pressure. But although the process of printing an engraving is more complex, it is easier to engrave a more complicated and detailed design into a plate than it is to execute the design as a woodcut or metal cut. The difference between the two techniques is of major importance in analyzing these prints. Any single portion of an engraving is usually more detailed, more subtle in its modeling, and more delicate than the more coarsely executed woodcut or metal cut.

To determine that the woodcut (Figure 1) and the dotted print (Figure 2) of the Calvary are both dependent on the engraving is not difficult. In both of these compositions the figures are more crowded, even though there are fewer than in the engraving. The three crucified figures, who in the engraving float ethereally above the earth-bound crowd against a background that seems almost unfinished in its delicacy, are much closer to the ground. The whole composition appears squashed; the separation between the upper and lower areas has been lessened. The scale of the crucified figures has been enlarged, and the cross of Christ has been emphasized and made heavier by the addition of the pattern of the wood grain.

No single detail of either of these works is more sensitive, more powerful, or more beautiful than the engraving. A very elegant work has been simplified and coarsened. But there have also been additions. In the woodcut, the garments of several of the figures have been given a decorative floral pattern. The vinegar-soaked sponge has been added to the lance of one of the soldiers, and the sun and the moon have been placed above the good and the bad thieves to emphasize their distinction. The foreground has been altered by complicating its levels and by the addition of a few clumsy plants and several rocks.

The dotted print is an even more simplified version of the composition than the woodcut. The major differences are accounted for by the technique of the lower areas, the so-called dotted manner. This technique consists of punching with various stamped designs into a metal plate. When the plate is inked, the unpunched areas remain in relief

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and therefore are printed in black, whereas the punched areas are left white.

Only the earliest dotted prints were done entirely in this technique, although prints with any portion executed in this manner are classified as dotted prints. Since values are reversed, the usual black line being left white while white areas print black, punch work soon was used only for modeling, and the faces and other details were produced with the lines in relief, thus printing black against white as in the traditional woodcut.

The dotted print considered here is a typical example of the latest kind, combining punch work with relief work. This style can be dated in the last two decades of the fifteenth century. Nearly all the dotted prints were executed in a very limited area in northern Germany, near Cologne. This particular print has been attributed to the Master of Jesus at Bethany, a Netherlandish engraver or publisher active at the end of the fifteenth century.

A very large number of dotted prints are derived from other prints, usually engravings, for the complicated technique lends itself more readily to copying than to original work. Four of the prints ascribed to this workshop of the Master of Jesus at Bethany are based on the engravings of Master I. A. M. Two of these are Crucifixion scenes, including the one being discussed. The other seems to have combined details from this print and a similar engraving. These works are clearly derivative, and the simplification and coarsening typical of copyists is even more pronounced in them than it is in the woodcut.

The four fragments (Figure 3) present many more problems than the other versions. Because they are only a small portion of a work,



1. Crucifixion. xv1-century impression of a woodcut first printed in Breydenbach, Viaje de la Terra Santa (Saragossa, 1498). Woodcut, 10½ x 6½ inches. The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 62.650.54

2. Crucifixion. German, late XV century. Dotted print, 9¼ x 6½ inches. The Art Institute of Chicago, The Potter Palmer Collection

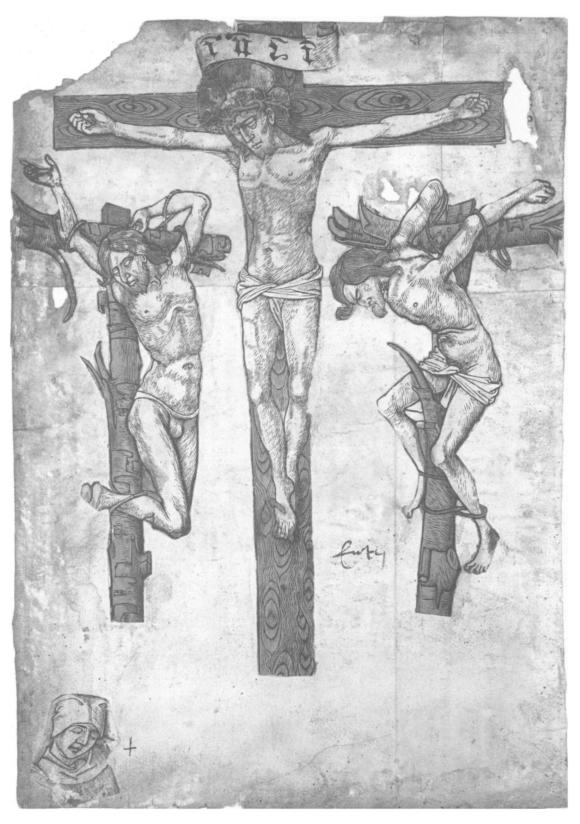


it is impossible to know exactly what the composition originally looked like; nor can the relationship between the pieces be exactly determined, for they were cut out and pasted down on a piece of paper before coming to the Museum. Nor is even the technique absolutely certain: the print is surely a metal cut and most probably is part of a dotted print, since very few metal cuts of this size other than dotted prints are known in the fifteenth century, but none of the surviving portions is executed in the dotted manner. The figures in the woodcut and the dotted print are considerably smaller than those in the engraving, but the fragment figures are almost one and a half times larger. This is also the only version in which any of the figures are reversed, but it is not a total reversal, for Christ and the head of Mary appear in the same direction as in the engraving.

Certain details in the copies are not found in the original. Most of these alterations are of a minor nature. In these fragments, as in the woodcut and the dotted print, a wood grain pattern is added to Christ's crucifix, although here it is more detailed and realistic than in the other two. The major difference in detail between this version and the other three is in the rendering of the crosses of the two thieves. Here they are depicted with intense realism. The ends of the cross supports are split, and the elaborately detailed bark curls away from the tree trunk, in places with spiked protrusions. The writhing crosses seem almost to echo the writhing bodies of the tortured thieves. There is a vigor and intensity in these details entirely lacking in the original.

OPPOSITE:

3. Four fragments of a Crucifixion. German, xv century. Metal cut, pasted onto a sheet 103/8 x 73/8 inches. The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 60.703.26





4. Detail of Frontispiece



5. Detail of Figure 1



6. Detail of Figure 2



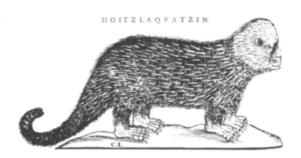
However, certain details of the modeling of the bodies are weaker in these fragments. It is this ambiguity, their being in some parts more vigorous, in others weaker, that is most puzzling about them. Considering their vigor, it seems possible that this version of the Calvary was dependent on the engraving by Master I. A. M., yet far surpassed it in emotional impact. Copies are sometimes stronger than the original, when a greater artist has been inspired by the work of a weaker one.

The weakness of the fragments excludes the possibility that they were the version upon which Master I. A. M.'s engraving was based. But there are other possibilities. Master I. A. M.'s engraving is a refined, almost too elegant, work, but it has a certain emotional power. This suggests that the engraving itself may be dependent on a stronger work. This possibility is especially likely since Master I. A. M. is an uneven artist, mostly quite eclectic, and several of his prints are directly dependent on paintings. There are many close relationships between details in his prints and details of the paintings of Rogier van der Weyden. The swooning Virgin held by St. John and the Holy Women is a motif found in Rogier van der Weyden, but in Rogier it has a pathos entirely lacking in Master I. A. M.'s print. The copy in Liverpool of Rogier's lost Crucifixion bears some resemblance, in the depiction of the thieves and the grouping of the figures, to this and the other Crucifixion scene by Master I. A. M. It is quite possible that both prints derive from a lost painting of Rogier van der Weyden. Without having the complete print, however, one can only speculate. Since prints almost always exist in more than one impression, it is possible that somewhere there is a complete version of the print, which would answer all of the problems posed by these few fragments.

7. Detail of Figure 3

Rubens and the Woodcuts of Christoffel Jegher

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A relatively unknown aspect of that prodigiously fertile artistic and intellectual personality, Peter Paul Rubens, is his active role in connection with printmaking. Rubens's highly organized school and shop of painters is famous, but rather less so is his school of engravers. Rubens was as astute a businessman as he was a diplomat. Fairly early in his career, soon after his return from Italy in 1608, he realized that substantial benefits could be derived from the publication of large editions of engravings made after the designs of his paintings. He gathered about him a large group of engravers to reproduce his designs directly under his own supervision. It was only late in his career, however, that he began to have his designs produced in woodcut as well as engraving.

The number of Rubens's woodcuts is small; there are only nine, dating from the last decade of his life, and they were cut by one man, Christoffel Jegher. These nine represent almost every aspect of Rubens's activity: religious and secular subjects; reworked early compositions and contemporaneous late works; ceiling paintings and panel paintings; and even works in color. William M. Ivins has said that they are "among the very finest of all the prints that were produced by the northern baroque" and "the last great woodcuts to be made in the older technique of knife work."

Rubens's letters set forth a great deal of the actual working procedure in the creation of the engravings - and also, by extension, of the woodcuts - as well as his reasons for commissioning them. That Rubens was conscious of the financial gain to be derived from prints can be clearly seen from his untiring efforts to obtain a privilege, a kind of seventeenthcentury copyright, for them. On January 4, 1610. Rubens wrote to the brother of his former teacher, Pieter Van Veen: "I should like information about how to proceed to obtain a privilege from the States General of the United Provinces, authorizing me to publish certain copper engravings which were done in my house, in order to prevent their being copied in those provinces." Rubens did not take his drawings out to print dealers to have them engraved, but had established in his own house a shop of engravers to reproduce his

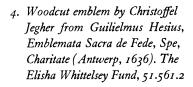
In reply to Van Veen's offer to help, Rubens wrote: "I should have preferred to have an engraver who was more expert in imitating his model, but it seemed a lesser evil to have the work done in my presence by a well-intentioned young man, than by great artists according to their fancy." Rubens apparently was willing to sacrifice a greater technical performance for one that carried out his ideas completely and precisely. The "young man" men-

 Woodcut by Christoffel Jegher, Flemish (1596-1652/3), from J. Nierembergius, Historia Naturae (Antwerp, 1635). The Museum Plantin-Moretus, Antwerp 2. The Ascension of Christ. Woodcut by Christoffel Jegher from Breviarium Romanum (Antwerp, 1632). The Museum Plantin-Moretus, Antwerp





3. Woodcut vignette by Christoffel Jegher from Mapheus Barberini, Poemata (Antwerp, 1634). The Museum Plantin-Moretus, Antwerp





tioned was Lucas Vorstermann, who, though perhaps "well-intentioned" at the time, three years later had a mental breakdown during which he threatened Rubens's life, requiring that Rubens be given special protection. In a letter of April 30, 1622, the day he had been granted this protection by the Infanta Isabella, Rubens wrote to Van Veen describing his difficulties with Vorstermann: "I am pleased that you wish to have more of the prints; unfortunately we have made almost nothing for a couple of years, due to the caprices of my engraver, who has let himself sink to a dead calm, so that I can no longer deal with him or come to an understanding with him. He contends that it is his engraving alone and his illustrious name that give these prints any value. To all this I can truthfully say that the designs are more finished than the prints, and done with more care. I can show these designs to anyone, for I still have them."

Rubens did not in every case make a drawing for a specific print; sometimes he had one of the painters in his studio, such as Van Dyck, draw it or even the engraver himself prepare a drawing from Rubens's own oil sketch. The letter, however, indicates that he thought of the engravings as being valuable for their expression of his intentions. The engravings, in fact, established Rubens's international reputation. He was probably the most renowned painter in Europe of his time, receiving the greatest commissions, but his prints gathered together the greater part of his oeuvre for the world at large to see, whereas the paintings themselves could be seen only by long travels, from Rome to London, Madrid to Antwerp.

Rubens wrote his friend Peiresc in 1635 about a law suit pending in the Paris courts against a copyist who had abused his privilege in France. One of the points in question concerned the date of a print, and Rubens said: "Everyone knows that in 1631 I was in England [although, in fact, his memory failed him, for he was actually in Antwerp] and this engraving could not have been done in my absence, since it has been retouched several times by my hand (as is always my custom)." Not only did Rubens make careful drawings, but he exercised his control after the copper

was cut, carefully touching up the early proofs, to show the engraver what final changes had to be made to give the engraving the perfection he demanded. Many of these retouched proofs still exist.

Although Rubens himself never mentioned Christoffel Jegher in his letters, or anything relating to the woodcuts, there are documents concerning the printing of the woodcuts, which, reinforced by the preparatory drawings and the many retouched proofs, show that as much care, or even more, was taken in the creation of the woodcuts as in the engravings.

There is one striking difference between the two. The woodcuts are appreciated, and were conceived, as works of art in their own right, as original works of art, which is not true of the engravings. That is not to say that the engravings do not have artistic merit, but they have none of the freedom and directness of expression characteristic of the woodcuts. The reasons for this lie in the nature of the different techniques. To engrave a piece of copper is a difficult physical task, to gouge out a line with a graver is a precise and painstaking operation, and the kind of lines produced are regularized and systematized in the process and have no excitement in themselves. A woodcut, on the other hand, can express an artist's intention much more directly, for a woodcutter need only cut out the wood around the artist's own lines on the block; he need not translate the artist's design into a new systematic language. Rubens was aware of the possibility for more expressive statement in woodcuts and took full advantage of it.

It is most probable that Rubens met Christoffel Jegher through his good friend Balthasar Moretus, the owner-publisher of the Plantin Press in Antwerp. Rubens was the official designer of frontispieces for the press, having begun his work for it soon after his return from Italy in 1608. Christoffel Jegher was employed in the Plantin Press on February 5, 1625, and his first documented works for the Press were illustrations to a new Plantin edition of the *Missale Romanum*. It is believed that contact between Rubens and Jegher was not established until 1632-1633, when Rubens

was charged by the Plantin Press for printing two reams of paper with figures. That this is surely a reference to the printing of Jegher's woodcuts is attested to by the accounts of the Plantin Press for 1633, when Rubens was charged in July for printing four reams of paper for "Onse L. Vroue," and in September for "Tentationis Christi." These are Jegher's woodcuts of the Coronation of the Virgin and the Temptation of Christ. The last time Rubens was charged by the Plantin Press was in 1636, for printing "2,000 images de bois." Their activity together may have continued beyond this date, but on the basis of style most of the woodcuts are generally put between 1632 and 1636.

These years were the peak of Jegher's production. Not only did he produce the Rubens prints, but most of his prints after other designers. His career seems to have been fairly short. He is first mentioned in the registers of the Antwerp Guild of Saint Luke in the accounts of the year 1627-1628, when he was admitted as a "houte figure snyder," a figure cutter in wood. There is no record, however, of Jegher's apprenticeship in the accounts of the Guild, nor is there any other record linking him as a pupil with a known artist. Various conjectures have been made on this point: the woodcutter Christoffel van Sichem has been put forth as his teacher, evidently on the basis of his having worked for the Plantin Press in the early twenties; Frank van den Wijngaert, on the other hand, believes Jegher may have been self-taught. This may be a somewhat unusual idea, but Jegher's career is somewhat unusual. When he first began working for the Plantin Press, he was already nearly twentynine. His baptism is recorded in the Antwerp Church of St. André on August 24, 1596. He was married there in 1613, aged nearly seventeen. How he supported a family (his first child was baptized in the following year, and he had nine in all) for eleven years is not known, but he must have been proficient in some occupation, and certainly proficient in woodcutting by 1625. Jegher seems to have been a part of the artist-craftsman milieu of Antwerp; his father was a maker of musical instruments, his first child's godparent was the

5. Medallion portrait of
Charles V. Chiaroscuro woodcut
by Christoffel Jegher for
Casperus Gevartius, Icones
Imperatorum Romanorum
... (Antwerp, 1645). From
Max Rooses, Le Musée PlantinMoretus (Antwerp, 1914)





6. Printer's device of Johannes Meursius. Woodcut by Christoffel Jegher from Cornelis Cornelius, Commentarius . . . (Antwerp, 1642). The Museum Plantin-Moretus, Antwerp



7. Woodcut title page by Christoffel Jegher for Jasper de Craeyer, Nouvel A B C (Antwerp, 1641). The Museum Plantin-Moretus, Antwerp

OPPOSITE:

- 8. The Rest on the Flight into Egypt. Woodcut by Christoffel Jegher, first state, counterproof retouched by Rubens. Cabinet des Estampes, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris
- The Rest on the Flight into Egypt. Second state, counterproof retouched by Rubens. Cabinet des Estampes, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

daughter of a celebrated editor of music in Antwerp, and his fifth child, Antoine, baptized in 1623, had as his godmother the wife of the engraver Antoine Spierincx the younger. Balthasar Moretus was godfather for his sixth child, Madeleine, and the other notable godparent was Rubens himself, who gave his name to Jegher's last child, baptized in the Antwerp Cathedral in 1635.

What else is known about Jegher is known only from his work. He began to print as well as to cut woodblocks in the mid- to late thirties, as is attested by his name as printer on books and prints. A letter of Balthasar Moretus in 1635 states that Jegher printed as well as cut some of the designs after Rubens. He was associated with the Plantin Press until 1643. The last record of him occurs in the accounts of St. Luke's Guild for the year 1652-1653, in which he appears in the list of artists whose funeral debt had not been paid to the corporation. His life artistically as well as financially seems to have declined when his association with Rubens ended.

The thirties were Jegher's years of greatest activity. A *Historia Naturae*, by Nierembergius, a book for which he made nearly fifty woodcuts of animals and plants plus many decorated initials and vignettes, published in 1635, is an example of what constituted the largest part of his work. The animals as he represents them (Figure 1) have a charm not often found in such scientific books. An amusing example of Jegher's work as a book illustrator is his title page for a book to teach children their alphabet, by Jasper de Craeyer, published in 1641 (Figure 7).

One of Jegher's most impressive woodcuts for book illustration is his medallion portrait of the Emperor Charles V (Figure 5), to be included in the Plantin Press's *Icones Imperatorum*, a new edition of the book by Hubert Goltzius first published in 1557 in Antwerp. Jegher cut anew all the portraits of emperors in the fifth volume of the Plantin edition, adding portraits to those medallions left blank by Goltzius and redesigning some others. He was paid two florins and twelve stuivers for the drawing of Charles V on July 16, 1633; it was a new composition, changing Goltzius's profile design to a three-quarter view.

These and the other illustrations in the margins, typical of Jegher's usual work, are skillful but undistinguished. The nine Rubens woodcuts, in contrast, are Jegher's masterpieces. In size they are the only monumental images he produced, and they are, in every other sense of the word, monumental. Rubens was reviving the woodcut tradition of large-scale compositions that had flourished spectacularly in the sixteenth century in both Italy and the Netherlands, but had declined in the seventeenth. Jegher's prints are virtually the only production of such large single compositions in Flanders in the seventeenth century, and are certainly the greatest.

Of the nine woodcuts, The Rest on the Flight into Egypt affords the fullest view of the evolution from original design to final print. The woodcut is close in composition to a painting in the Prado. Not only does a drawing for it exist (in Poznan, Poland), but there are no fewer than six different proofs. The Rest on the Flight (Figure 11) is a chiaroscuro print cut in two blocks. The compositional lines were for the most part printed in black ink as for a regular woodcut. Then a tone block was superimposed with areas cut out so they did not print, forming clouds and highlights on the Madonna and putti.

The woodcut, in its first state, of which three impressions exist, in Paris (Figure 8), Antwerp, and Amsterdam, almost exactly reproduces the drawing, line for line. Along the bottom is a wide ribbon-like band, which, in later states, is cut out for the inscription; a small square at the lower left is later cut into two rectangles and in the final impression becomes Jegher's monogram, C. I. with a knife below. Of the three impressions, only the one in Paris - one of two existing counterproofs is retouched: the Madonna's cap, a lock of her hair, her cheek, forehead, and neck, and her bodice and skirt have all been washed over. The Child and the three putti are also extensively retouched, as are the middle ground and some of the clouds. These retouchings indicated which areas Rubens wanted lightened, that is, where the wood was to be cut away. There is also extensive use of dark brown ink, indicating areas Rubens wanted darkened: on a tree above the Madonna, on part of her hair,





her neck, and in some folds of her draperies, on the cheek of the Christ Child and along His legs and feet.

The results are apparent in the second state, which exists in only one impression, the other retouched counterproof (Figure 9). It has the inscription with Rubens's and Jegher's names and the privilege, but the square that will carry Jegher's monogram is still uncut. The shading in the cloud, the Madonna's cap, and the curl at the nape of her neck have been removed, as have the ground lines above and below the arm of the pointing putto. In the first state the trees appeared gnarled through the use of much crosshatching; the area along the side of the trees is now almost completely black.

10. The Rest on the Flight into Egypt. Third state, proof retouched by Rubens. Prentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

It would seem that the process of woodcutting would demand careful planning of the areas of dark and shadow, for once the wood printing surface has been cut away it cannot be replaced. However, if the lines are not too deep, and the entire surface is cut away to form a slightly lower and almost level plane, it will again print darker – indeed, almost completely black. That is what Rubens had Jegher do here. All the areas in which the brown ink was used appear in the second state as deep and very dark. The area between the Child's arms and stomach and the Madonna's arms is a pool of shadow that emphasizes the forms of each. The same effect can be seen in the area by the Madonna's feet: where in the first state curving parallel lines formed a rounded bit of ground, in the second state this appears as almost completely black, with only a bit of white paper showing through.

This impression also indicates lines to be deleted: the end of a bough in the tree above the Madonna, shading in the sky, lines on her





cheek, sleeve, and skirt, a lock of hair of the sleeping Child, and areas on His body. But very few of the indicated changes seem to have been carried out in the third state, as seen in the two impressions, in Antwerp and Amsterdam (Figure 10); in fact, the division of the square for the monogram seems to be the only change. However, since most of the areas covered by retouching in the second state are also heavily retouched in both impressions of the third, it is not possible to see if some other cutting had taken place and is not discernible. Both of these impressions have the colored retouching indicating what deletions of lines Rubens desired; in addition they have numerous areas retouched in a heavy white oil paint, which are Rubens's indications of how to cut the tone block, and which correspond almost exactly to the areas left white in the final state. Both of these sheets, in fact, were printed with an over-all orange-brown tone and then with

11. The Rest on the Flight into Egypt. Finished chiaroscuro woodcut by Christoffel Jegher, 18¼ x 23¾ inches. The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 51.501.7332

the black line block; the heavy white oil on top of this gives an almost exact idea of the final impression with the chiaroscuro tone block.

Rubens's other chiaroscuro woodcut (Figure 13), the portrait of the so-called "Doge Giovanni Cornaro" (generally thought to be heavily indebted to a painting by Titian of the same person) is a far more elaborate production. The composition is conceived in the various tones of color so that it resembles a printed line block far less than does The Rest on the Flight, and there are two tone blocks as well as a line block.

An oil modello may have served as the basic





12. Portrait of a Man ("Doge Cornaro").

Woodcut by Christoffel Jegher, proof
printed with two blocks, retouched by
Rubens. Copyright, Cabinet des Estampes,
Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, Brussels

13. Portrait of a Man ("Doge Cornaro").

Finished chiaroscuro woodcut by
Christoffel Jegher, 111/6 x 85/6 inches.

Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 26.43.3

RIGHT:

- 14. Susanna and the Elders. Proof from the partially cut woodblock by Christoffel Jegher, retouched by Rubens. Stedelijk Prentenkabinet, Antwerp
- 15. Susanna and the Elders. Woodcut by Christoffel Jegher, 17% x 225% inches. Rogers Fund, 21.14.10



design for the woodcut. The Rijksmuseum has an impression printed with the line block only. It seems to be the first state for this block, as it contains lines that disappear in the second state, a retouched proof in Brussels (Figure 12), for example in the foreground and along the edge of the collar. This proof is printed with the line block and the first tone block. The dark ink retouchings on the face, emphasizing the eyebrows, eyes, nose, moustache, hair, and beard are the indications for cutting the second tone block, which Rubens intended to print in the darkest tone of ink.

The quality of this woodcut is technically very high. The surety of the handling of three tones, and the strength, vigor, and directness of the lines of the woodcut itself make this a masterpiece in chiaroscuro.

The most unusual of the extant retouched proofs (Figure 14) is for the composition of Susanna and the Elders (Figure 15). The proof was taken very early in the cutting of the block, when only the very center had been cut. Susanna appears in her entirety, but only the head and arm of the man to her right and the upper half of the Elder to her left have been cut. Difficult to see in reproduction is the very faint indication of a foot belonging to the Elder at Susanna's left, drawn faintly onto the paper. There is no painted version of this composition in Rubens's hand. The woodcut incorporates compositional elements from a very early version of Susanna in the Academy of San Fernando in Madrid and uses nearly the same pose for Susanna as that in the Dresden Bathsheba, painted in the thir-







ties. The proof is typical of the early states of the woodcuts. More lines appear than do in the final version; for instance, sweeping curved lines model Susanna's neck and chest more succinctly in the finished print.

A close relationship between preparatory drawing and finished print exists in The March of Silenus (Figures 16 and 17). The lines that form Silenus and the satyr and faun who support him correspond precisely in the woodcut and the drawing. Only areas in the sky, the clouds and the birds, and the immediate foreground are missing in the drawing. For this woodcut Rubens made a new composition by combining figures from several much earlier works. The figure of Silenus is derived from a painting in Munich of the same subject, dated 1618. The faun, as Julius Held has discovered, is related to a figure of a woman from an even earlier painting, a Bacchanal in Leningrad. Professor Held has shown that Rubens made subtle changes from the earlier painted version of Silenus: his foot trails more in the drawing, and he has been given an older appearance, altering him from a robust, middleaged voluptuary to an almost helpless old man.

This print is the most penetrating psychologically of the whole group and also represents the human form as a monumental and dominant force in a landscape. Rubens achieved just the opposite effect in the print of the young Jesus and St. John the Baptist playing with a lamb (Figure 18). Here, instead of monumental figures with tragic overtones, are figures of great charm unified with the landscape. Rubens's conception of the wooded landscape - with deer grazing, the massive tree branch, the overhanging rock above Jesus, and such anecdotal details as the frog about to jump from a rock into a pond with lilies is an advance over the treatment of landscape in The Rest on the Flight into Egypt. A proof in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris shows that Rubens, in the final print, cut away branches and leaves hanging from the rock and part of the rock itself.

The Garden of Love (Figures 19 and 20), one of Rubens's most famous compositions, was also his most ambitious project in woodcut, for he designed it in two sheets, each an

almost complete composition in itself, but made to fit exactly together. The composition formed by the two sheets differs greatly from that of the painted version of this subject in the Prado. At the extreme right of the left sheet are several groups of lines that become intelligible only when the two sheets are joined. Some of the unintelligible lines become the ends of two jets of water of a "trick fountain," which issue from inside the grotto, splashing the six men and women within it. The mass of lines just above the balustrade is the remainder of the voluminous cloak of the man at the extreme left of the other sheet.

The planning for this print was quite involved and intricate, as can be seen from the various differences between the finished prints and the drawings for them. Rubens must have settled early on the final form of the right sheet, for there are virtually no changes between the drawing (Figure 21) and the print (Figure 20). He probably set down his ideas for this sheet very quickly, for the drawing is executed with less care and precision than the other.

Various possibilities, later discarded, for the composition of the left print can be seen in its drawing (Figure 22). A putto hovers in the air over the young lady seated at the left in the drawing, but is not used in the print. Another omission is the vault with herms. The young lady seated below this vault, holding a dog, lets her other arm lie across her lap. In the print she hangs it over the back of her chair. The young lady standing next to the lute player in the drawing looks over her shoulder to a young man behind her. The young man disappears in the print, and the young lady looks instead in the same direction as her outstretched arm, at the putto in the lap of her companion. The three putti flying above the group are moved farther inside the composition, and the fountain with the Three Graces at the right of the drawing is not used in the print.

The drawing for the right sheet has been enlarged at both sides with a strip of paper, and both strips have a continuation of the drawing on them. Although it has been suggested that these are later additions, the strip at the right must be contemporary, for it clarifies what is to be drawn in the final print, even though the end of the water jets and the edge of the young man's drapery appear on the opposite sheet. Rubens, apparently realizing that the hovering putto would be awkward cut in two on the two sheets, decided to omit him and then clarified the transition by the addition to the other sheet. Therefore, the bearded column in the addition is actually the edge of the column at the extreme left in the other drawing. Professor

OPPOSITE:

- 16. The March of Silenus, by Peter Paul Rubens, Flemish (1577-1640). Drawing, pen and brown ink. Cabinet des Dessins, Louvre. Paris
- 17. The March of Silenus. Woodcut by Christoffel Jegher, 175% x 133% inches. Rogers Fund, 18.17.3-17



Held has pointed out that the drawing in the additions is far too weak to be by Rubens. He must have instructed someone, perhaps Jegher himself, to make the changes necessary for the prints.

In both drawings black chalk lines appear around the edges. The area within these lines corresponds almost exactly with the area of the prints, and the lines end the composition in the drawing exactly where the border lines occur in the prints.

There are three retouched proofs for The

18. Jesus and St. John the Baptist playing with a lamb. Woodcut by Christoffel Jegher, 13\% x 18 inches. Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 26.43.2

- 19. The Garden of Love (left half). Woodcut by Christoffel Jegher, 18¼ x 23¾ inches. Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 30.53.17a
- 20. The Garden of Love (right half).
 Woodcut by Christoffel Jegher,
 18½ x 21¼ inches (clipped
 impression). Harris Brisbane
 Dick Fund, 30.53.17b







BELOW:

- 21. The Garden of Love (left half).

 Drawing by Peter Paul Rubens
 (for right half of print), pen and
 brown ink, gray-green wash
 over traces of black chalk,
 touched with indigo, green,
 yellowish, and white paint on
 paper, 181/4 x 273/4 inches.
 Fletcher Fund, 58.96.1
- 22. The Garden of Love (right half).

 Drawing by Peter Paul Rubens
 (for left half of print), pen and
 brown ink, brown and green
 wash, heightened with light blue
 gouache, over black chalk on
 paper, 18¾ x 27½ inches.
 Fletcher Fund, 58.96.2





23. The Temptation of Christ, by Peter Paul Rubens. Oil on panel, 13\% x 12\5% inches. Collection of Count Antoine Seilern, London

24. The Temptation of Christ. Woodcut by Christoffel Jegher, 12³/₄ x 16¹⁵/₆ inches. Rogers Fund, 17.42.33



Garden of Love. A right sheet, a state before the inscription was cut, is in the Rijksmuseum, and a left and right sheet are in the Bibliothèque Nationale. The left sheet in Paris is also the state before the inscription; the right sheet has the inscription.

The left sheet is the only print in which more than minor changes occur between the early proof and the final impression. The drawing, being so imprecise a model, could not be transferred by Jegher exactly as it was. Apparently Rubens found that Jegher's changes needed many corrections. The right leg of the putto leaning toward the lady holding the dog is covered with wash in the Paris proof and disappears completely in the final impression. The same is true of the leg of the flying putto dropping flowers, as well as a segment of the wing of his companion. Another large area covered with wash for deletions is the drapery of the lute player.

Despite the simplifications that the woodcut version of The Garden of Love underwent, it remains the most complicated and varied of his compositions for woodcut. Such a complex and grandiose conception, however, is not as successful an image for the medium of woodcut as the simpler but no less grand images Rubens adapted from his designs for monumental ceiling paintings. The remaining three woodcuts all reflect parts of such designs: two, The Temptation of Christ and The Coronation of the Virgin, were painted in the Jesuit church of St. Charles Borromeo in Antwerp. The third, Hercules Slaying Envy (or Rebellion), was designed for the ceiling of the Banqueting Hall in Whitehall Palace, London.

The paintings for the Jesuit ceiling were ordered in 1620, and it was stipulated that Rubens paint in his own hand the oil sketches, although the final paintings might be executed by his assistants. A number of the modelli survive, including the two subjects that Jegher cut. The church was struck by lightning and burned in 1768; fortunately, drawings and engravings had been made of the works on the ceiling, so a record does survive of the completed compositions.

Rubens must have retained the oil sketches in his studio and given them to Jegher to serve

as models for the woodcuts, for the woodcuts have many more affinities with them than with the engravings of the completed paintings. The Temptation of Christ was, however, altered quite radically for the woodcut (Figure 24). The oil sketch (Figure 23) is octagonal, as was the final painting as we know it from Punt's engraving. The woodcut is enlarged to a rectangle with additions on the sides giving more space to the composition. A snake, symbolizing evil, coils around a rock in the foreground in both the oil sketch and the print. Rubens added another for the final painting. He also simplified the trees and foliage, taking out a fir tree that appeared in the sketch. The paintings were to be seen from a distance, and the simpler the image, the bolder the impact on the viewer. For the woodcut, however, Rubens could elaborate all the passages he had had to simplify. The rocks and gnarled trees behind Christ are enlarged in proportion and drawn with rich profusion of detail. The fir tree that had been painted in the modello behind Christ is moved over to the right of the devil.

A proof impression in Paris shows that Rubens settled early on the final form the lower half of the composition was to take, for he did not ink that portion of the block, Evidently at least one previous proof had been taken, and Rubens decided the lower part was satisfactory and only the upper part needed reworking. The foreground is thus blank, but the lines had already been cut, for their imprint is clearly visible on the paper. Christ's halo is touched with white heightening to define its shape into sharply pointed rays in the final impression. Brown wash covers the side of the rock behind Christ, indicating that the block is to be re-cut to print darker. The dark, shadowed rock emphasizes Christ and suggests his ultimate triumph.

The oil sketch (Figure 25) of The Coronation of the Virgin is a much closer prototype to the woodcut (Figure 26), although Rubens did make significant changes. The figures of Christ, God the Father, and the Virgin are larger in relation to the entire composition in the woodcut because of the extensive reduction of the mass of clouds. That the woodcuts



25. The Coronation of the Virgin, by Peter Paul Rubens. Oil on panel, 13 x 18% inches. Service de Documentation du Département des Peintures, Louvre, Paris

26. The Coronation of the Virgin. Woodcut by Christoffel Jegher, 13% x 17% inches. Rogers Fund, 18.17.2-258





27. Hercules Slaying Envy (or Rebellion). Woodcut by Christoffel Jegher, 23¾ x 14⅓ inches. Rogers Fund, 18.17.3-5

are unquestionably derived from the compositions of the modelli and not the final painted versions can be proved by an examination of the engraving after the completed ceiling. There, the figures are seen from a much less steep angle of vision than in either the modello or the woodcut. If Rubens had not given the modelli to Jegher, but had provided new designs for him, one assumes he would have taken into account the problem of reversal, for in the print God holds His orb and scepter in His left hand, and Christ crowns the Virgin also with His left hand. For the woodcut, however, Rubens devised a much more elaborate and decorative crown for the Virgin and a longer scepter held by God the Father than those in the modelli. The dove of the Holy Spirit, facing backwards in the modello and the completed painting, has been switched around in the print.

These two woodcuts are almost the same size. The width in The Temptation was increased from that of the modello, whereas it was decreased in The Coronation. Even though they are not exact, the two woodcuts were probably planned by Rubens as pendants, although the subjects were not originally so in the church. Since there are documents that prove the two woodcuts were printed within weeks of each other in 1633, it may be assumed that they were planned together, thirteen years after the original composition had been devised.

Hercules Slaying Envy (Figure 27), on the other hand, was probably made as a woodcut at the same time Rubens created the composition in paint. The Hercules is one of the four panels surrounding the central scene of the Apotheosis of James I in the Banqueting Hall of Whitehall Palace. Rubens was painting the canvasses in 1633-1634, and they were finished by August 1, 1634, but they were not sent off to England until just before December 1635.

The print differs from the final version of the painting by the addition of the putto who reaches over about to place a crown on Hercules' head. The putto does appear, however, in a modello for the ceiling painting (Figure 28). The putto seems to have been an early idea of Rubens, not included in the final painting in the ceiling because of its extremely narrow proportions. The print and the modello otherwise correspond closely, with only a few changes. The most prominent is the shifting of the putto from the side of Hercules, a rather awkward and unconvincing position from which to crown him, to a position almost directly above, so that he reaches over and down to Hercules' head. The proportions of the print are narrower and higher than the modello. The left leg of Envy-Rebellion in the print has been slightly lowered to create more space between it and Hercules' flying skin. This change created a more coherent and stronger composition. Whereas in the modello and the final painting Hercules held the club so that it formed a slight angle with his upraised arm, in the print it forms a vertical line with the arm, becoming at the same time a much more powerful weapon and a more powerful image. Rubens also pulled in the left hand of Envy-Rebellion so that it did not break the line and hence weaken the line of Hercules' arm and club. In these ways Rubens improved upon his monumental composition for the ceiling, creating a greater image and his greatest woodcut.

NOTES:

I should like to thank Walter Friedlander, who first suggested this topic to me, and also Julius S. Held, K. G. Boon, Frans Baudouin, and John R. Martin, all of whom have been most helpful with advice and information.

The best account of Rubens's and Jegher's relations with the Plantin Press, as well as the most accurate and fullest publication of the Plantin documents, is in H. F. Bouchery and Frank van den Wijngaert, P. P. Rubens en het Plantijnsche Huis (Antwerp: De Sikkel, 1941). Jegher's biography is in Th. van Lerius, Biographies d'Artistes Anversois (Antwerp: P. Genard, 1881) 11, pp. 5-19. The drawings are published in Julius S. Held, Rubens, Selected Drawings (London: Phaidon Press, 1959) and in Ludwig Burchard and R.-A. d'Hulst, Rubens Drawings (Brussels: Arcade Press, 1963). The quotations from Rubens's letters are reprinted by permission of the publishers from Ruth Saunders Magurn, The Letters of Peter Paul Rubens (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1955), copyright, 1955, by the President and Fellows of Harvard College. The best short and general account of Rubens in English, with a good bibliography, is in H. Gerson and E. H. Ter Kuile, Art and Architecture in Belgium, 1600 to 1800 (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1960).

28. Hercules Slaying Envy (or Rebellion), by Peter Paul Rubens. Oil on panel, 25 1/8 x 19 inches. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Ernest W. Longfellow Fund



Monuments on Paper

JANET S. BYRNE Associate Curator of Prints

For some time the Museum staff and other scholars interested in the French sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries have tried to identify several drawings in the ornament collection of the Department of Prints. These include two projects for the same monumental wall tomb and a drawing of an armillary sphere, which were found bound together with other tomb drawings in a seventeenth-century French binding. If the artist, shop, or client connected with these drawings could be identified, it might be possible to identify the whole group.

The two tomb drawings (Figures 1 and 2) are the work of different artists, but must have come from the same shop at about the same time. The artist who made the drawing in Figure 1 appears to have been a designer and possibly a sculptor, whereas the other seems to have been accustomed to working with pen and ink on paper, not with hammer and chisel on stone. The elaboration of the latter's drawing, the more considered proportions, and the logical rearrangement of the figures - the gisante (the recumbent female figure) under the priante, the gisant under the priant lead to the assumption that this drawing was made later than the other, and for formal display to a client. Neither is dated nor signed, as an accepted contract drawing, a devis, would have been in France in the sixteenth century, by both the artist and the client. But there must have been a specific client in the mind of the designer, since the tomb is so elaborate; the number of possible clients, moreover, is limited.

What the tomb drawings tell about the family is not very much. First of all, they

were people of wealth and importance, or they would never have been able to consider ordering such a tomb. The man may have been a soldier; there is a panoply of weapons behind the shield of the coat of arms. The family designations are not shown; nothing is indicated except that the woman was an heiress, in that her coat is superimposed upon that of her husband. The helm faces heraldic left, an indication of royal illegitimacy. The figures also face heraldic left, that is, to the right of the viewer. The figures would have faced the altar of the chapel or church in which the tomb was to be installed; thus, for whatever good it does to know it, this tomb was designed for the north side of a church.

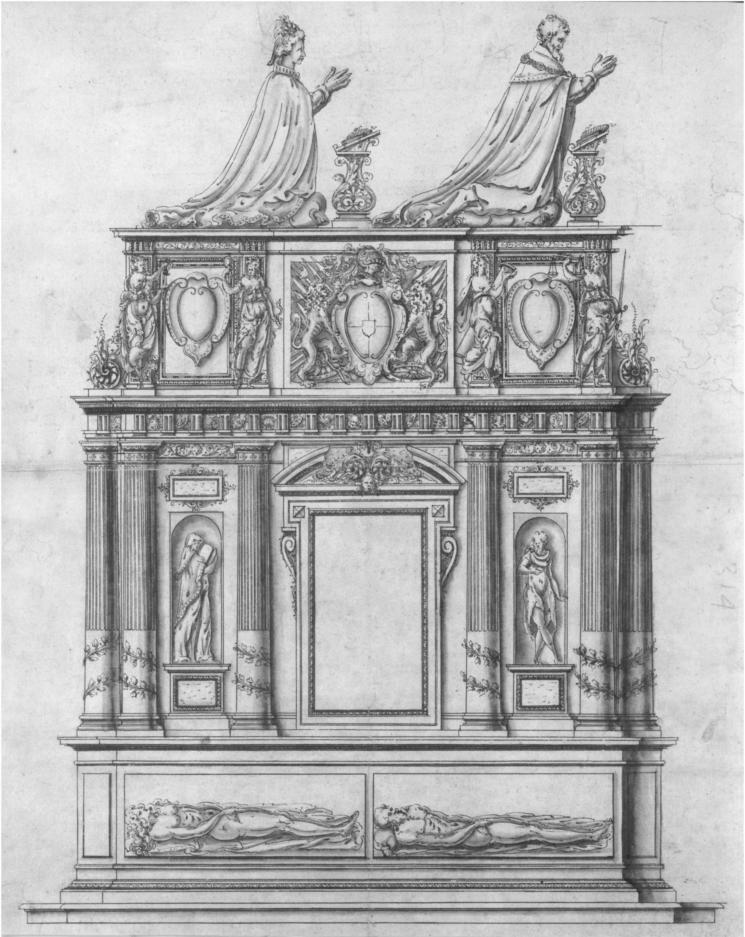
The clients merited the presence of four of the cardinal virtues: Temperance, Prudence, Fortitude, and Justice, but the three more usual ones, Faith, Hope, and Charity, are missing. Were they omitted because they were not appropriate, from some exigency of design, or out of malice? No artist trying to win a commission for a tomb could afford to displease the family, and the omission may simply indicate that the client was a public figure, in whom temperance, prudence, justice, and fortitude are more to be desired than the three more personal and humbler virtues.

The two figures in niches are not immediately recognizable: they might be the Old Testament and the New, or the Synagogue and the Church. It has also been suggested that the figure at the left is Law, and the one at the right Humility, but none of these explanations is completely satisfactory.

The *priant* wears the Order of St. Michael; the collar with its knots and shells is clearly

 Project for a tomb, about 1579.
 Drawing, 17½ x 11½ inches.
 The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 49.19.35





visible. Once reserved for princes of the blood, by the mid-sixteenth century the order was awarded to others, even artists. The Order of the Holy Spirit, however, is not shown on either drawing. Henry III, in an effort to strengthen his government and unify some of its factions, as well as to create an exclusive order, reconstituted this extinct medieval order on December 31, 1578. Henry often wore its emblem, a dove on a Maltese cross, suspended from a blue ribbon (the original cordon bleu). That anyone with a tomb as imposing as this was not a recipient of the Order of the Holy Spirit implies either that he was out of favor at court, or that he died before or just slightly after the order was reconstituted.

Diane de France, duchess of Angoulême, seems to fit best the description of the elusive client of the tomb drawings. Born illegitimately in 1538 or 1539 to Philippe Duchi and Henry II, Diane married the Italian Orazio Farnese, duke of Castro, in 1553 and was soon left a widow when Orazio was killed at the Battle of Hesdin. In 1557 she married François de Montmorency, the son of the Grand Constable of France, Anne de Montmorency. François became duke when his father died in 1567. He himself died in 1579; Diane de France lived until 1619.

The information fits together very well: Diane – although legitimated in 1547 – was illegitimate, but certainly was an heiress. Henry II was said to have been very fond of her, and her father-in-law remarked on her resemblance, especially in personality, to her royal father; the Grand Constable thought she was more like Henry than his legitimate sons were. Diane's second husband was a soldier, a marshal of France, a Chevalier of St. Michael, but although he was a Chevalier of the Holy Spirit, he had not actually been received by the order before he died, some five months after its reconstitution.

Diane's actual tomb, however, bore no resemblance to the monuments in our drawings. Although no contracts or specifications for it are known, the sculptor Thomas Boudin is known to have made the tomb in 1619. It was installed in the Church of the Minimes in Paris, and destroyed during the Revolution.

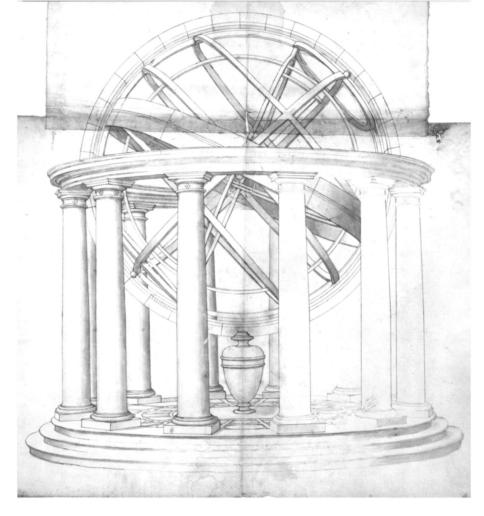
Only the *priante* was preserved, but fortunately there is a record – a drawing made for Roger Gaignières in the seventeenth century – of the tomb as a whole. Diane, wearing a widow's cap, kneels on a sarcophagus. There is no *gisante*, and no husband.

If the drawings had anything to do with Diane, they would have been projects submitted to her when she had recently lost a husband. The style of the tomb, the costumes, and the ages of the couple represented – they are clearly older than Diane and Orazio would have been at Orazio's death in 1553 – indicate that the husband in question would have been François de Montmorency. The collar of St. Michael reinforces this supposition. The date would have been about 1579.

The third drawing (Figure 3) is a design for an armillary sphere. Unlike the ordinary table-size celestial globe used from 1550 on for demonstration by astronomers and scholars, and for decoration by wealthy amateurs, this is monumental and is constructed of stone and bronze. In addition to being supported by a columnar brace and ring, the sphere rests on an urn, the top of which it seems to bisect. The object was obviously intended to be monumental, and since it was found with a group of designs for tombs, Jean Adhémar suggested that it might be a design for a monument for the heart.

To bury a heart separately from the body was quite usual for French sixteenth-century kings. One thinks immediately of Pierre Bontemps's urn for the heart of Francis I, and Germain Pilon's Three Graces holding on their heads an urn for the heart of Henry II. A custom that went back to the middle ages, the separate burial of viscera, heart, and body was an understandable outcome of the necessary lengthy display of the king's body, the primitive embalming practices, and the fact that often the king died away from home.

A separate burial of heart and body presupposed the deceased's importance and wealth, and although a tomb of the heart was almost always a royal prerogative, a notable exception is the monument of the heart of Anne de Montmorency, the Grand Constable of France. Long before he was killed in a joust 2. Project for a tomb, about 1579. Drawing, 20½ x 14½ inches. The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 49·19·34



3. Armillary sphere, about 1573.

Drawing, 23 x 23 inches. Gift of Janos Scholz, 48.22

in 1549, Henry II is supposed to have said that he wanted the heart of his Grand Constable buried near his own some day. Therefore, on November 17, 1567, the Grand Constable's heart was carried with ceremony to the Célestins. His body went to the church of St. Martin in Montmorency on February 16, 1568. It was not until five years later, however, on February 14, 1573, that his widow received permission from Charles IX to erect a monument of the heart to her husband in the Orléans family chapel in the Célestins. She commissioned Jean Bullant, an architect who had worked on the Montmorency château, Écouen, and who was already working on the tomb for the Constable's body, to design a suitable monument for his heart.

Designed by Bullant and carried out by Barthélemy Prieur, this tomb of the heart was removed from the Célestins during the Revolution, and is today in the Louvre. Incrusted in white marble on the red marble pedestal

(Figure 4) are a mailed arm and hand brandishing an unsheathed sword, and a pair of cornucopias with a caduceus in the center surmounted by a winged hat. These were both described in emblem books by Claude Paradin in 1557 and Gabriel Symeoni in 1560. The unsheathed military sword of France brandished by a mailed arm, with the empty scabbard and baldric decorated with fleursde-lis below, is the emblem of the Grand Constable of France, and becomes specifically that of Anne de Montmorency when his personal motto Aplanos (not wandering, steady, sure) is added above. The caduceus and the winged hat are both the mythological property of Mercury, god of merchants and commerce; they are flanked by horns of plenty, and with them form an emblem of peace and plenty.

Also incrusted on the pedestal of the monument is an armillary sphere. Although neither Paradin nor Symeoni describes the armillary sphere as an emblem of Anne de Montmorency, it would be an appropriate one for a government officer. As an instrument used by astronomers and astrologers, the armillary sphere stood for the celestial as opposed to the terrestrial world, for unlimited, unknown, and other-worldly power, and perhaps infinity or eternity. In conjunction with the wheel of fortune, it became the sphere of destiny, of order, measure, and law. Moreover, an armillary sphere was apt to be part of the office furniture in representations of scholars like St. Jerome or St. Augustine, and thus became a symbol of scholarly knowledge and philosophic contemplation.

An armillary sphere used in connection with Anne de Montmorency could be a reference to his use and protection of Protestant artists at a time when the court was strongly Catholic and all of France was upset by religious struggles. At Écouen, only twenty kilometers from Paris, Anne had built himself a splendid château with the help of a group of outstanding Protestant artists. Jean Goujon, Jean Bullant, Barthélemy Prieur, Bernard Palissy, at least one of the Ducerceaus (perhaps Baptiste), and others lived and worked there.

Jean Bullant, one of the Grand Constable's protégés and the designer of his tomb of the

heart, was very much aware of various kinds of astronomical instruments. In 1561 he had written and dedicated to Anne de Montmorency a book on solar clocks. His more famous book, *Reigle d'Architecture*, he dedicated in 1564 to Anne's son François. According to tradition, Bullant is responsible for a wroughtiron armillary sphere made for Catherine de Medicis about 1572, when he built her Hôtel de Soissons.

Trying to connect the Museum's drawing with Jean Bullant and Anne de Montmorency is obviously the next step. It seems likely that the project would have been rejected: to support a series of bronze rings within a stone ring by means of stone columns and an architrave would, on this scale, be extremely difficult if not impossible. Since Bullant used an armillary sphere on his actual tomb of the heart for the Grand Constable, it seems quite possible that this sphere could have been a project conceived or drawn by Bullant, and then rejected - for that tomb. The connection would of course complement that of the two tomb drawings with Anne de Montmorency's daughter-in-law, Diane de France.

No drawings known to be by Bullant exist. The nearest one can come at present to his drawing style would seem to be his two signed etchings of architectural details and the illustrations to his *Reigle d' Architecture*. The etchings, with delicate and elaborate detail, bear no resemblance to the rather heavy, purely architectural style of the armillary sphere drawing. In any case, although Bullant could

possibly have drawn the armillary sphere, he could not have made the other two if they were made after François de Montmorency's death, for Bullant died at least seven months before François.

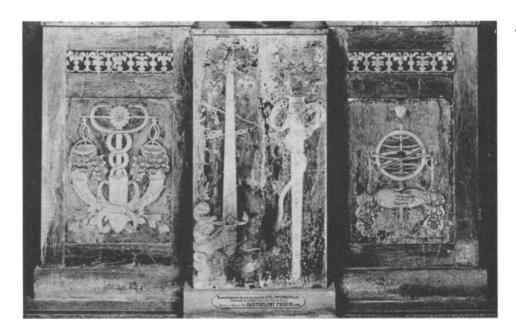
As far as dates are concerned, Barthélemy Prieur could have made any of the three drawings. He actually did work on the Grand Constable's monument for the heart, and did the effigies and praying figures for the Grand Constable's monument in St. Martin de Montmorency. That the three drawings were found with a project by Prieur for the tomb of Christophe de Thou, who died in 1582, strengthens the suggestion that they have something to do with Prieur.

While nothing may ever be proved about the Museum's three drawings, it seems reasonable at the moment to place them with shop drawings made by Jean Bullant and Barthélemy Prieur, and to conclude that they were associated with the Montmorency family. That they were projects made at Écouen for the tomb of François de Montmorency and Diane de France, about 1579, and for the monument of the heart of the Grand Constable Anne de Montmorency, about 1573, is a distinct possibility.

NOTE:

I wish to thank Jean Adhémar, Pierre Pradel, and Derek J. de Solla Price for their interest and help in preparing this article.

The design for the tomb of Christophe de Thou was discussed in J. S. Byrne, "Design for a Tomb," The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin xv (1957), 155.



4. The base of the tomb of the heart of Anne de Montmorency, 1573. Louvre, Paris. Photograph: Giraudon

Original Portraits, etc.

CAROLINE KARPINSKI Assistant Curator of Prints



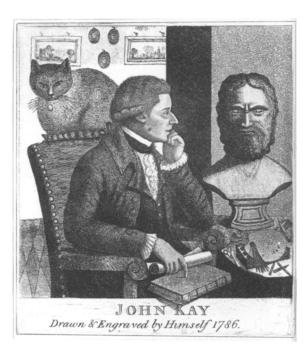
 James Graham and a lady, dated 1785. Etching and aquatint, 4½ x 3¾ inches. Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 33.30

John Kay, like an alert concierge, kept his eye on the people of Edinburgh. For forty years, he etched and painted the notable, the eccentric, and the obscure. His portrait of Adam Smith is the only authentic likeness of the economist. He pictured a town crier calling salt, and a lass from Newhaven selling oysters. He drew a gentleman who believed shaving to be unlawful, and a general nicknamed Buckram. He was not a hearty like his English contemporary Rowlandson. His people do not boisterously cavort. They seem to exert themselves to the fullest when battling against the wind. Two (Figure 1) are described in a manuscript in the Museum's collection: "Dr. James Graham . . . who generally wore White Cloaths & Black Stockings going allong the North Bridge in a windy day. The Lady is fancy."

Kay was born in 1742. A parent died, and he boarded with mean relatives. Apprenticed to a barber at about thirteen years of age, he worked at that trade until he was forty. Having drawn a while for amusement, he decided to draw for gain when such sketches as that of John Campbell, Edinburgh choir master (Figure 3), met with great success.

Campbell was not amused, and his brother, Alexander, in retaliation caricatured Kay. He showed him dragged by the ear to the town guard and kicked behind. Kay, undaunted, redoubled his attack. He drew John Campbell singing viva voce (Figure 5). Alexander, an organist, turns the handle of an organ strapped to his back. The daft Baillie Duff plays the Highland bagpipe; the horn blower behind announces fish in the market; an Irish piper pipes; and a man sharpens his saw in a pit:

30



 Self-portrait, dated 1786. Etching and aquatint, 4% x 3% inches. Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 17.3.756-2219

Let Puppy's bark, and Asses bray, Each Dog, and Cur, will have his day.

Reflecting perhaps on the theme of *vanitas*, Kay sits in his self-portrait in a thoughtful posture (Figure 2). The antiquated chair shows his love of antiquity. His favorite cat, the largest, it was believed, in all Scotland, sits on the back. Painting utensils are on the table, as is a bust of Homer.

Kay began to draw in the manner of Rowlandson, rendering a rotund, three-dimensional 3. John Campbell, dated 1782. Drawing. Gouache, and pen and ink, 5¾ x 4½ inches. Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 17.3.1452

figure in a naturalistic atmosphere. But he was unable, because of limited artistic means, or unwilling, to carry this style further. He chose to set out his single figures in strict profile or frontal views, or his groups in a bas-relief arrangement, thus revealing most clearly their

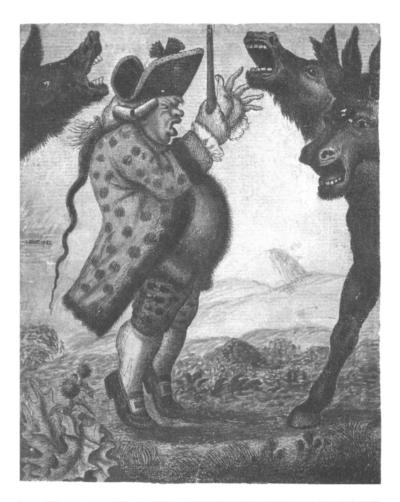


4. Wenceslaus Hollar, British School (1607-1677). Winter, P.613. Etching, 934 x 615/16 inches. Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 47.100.516

characteristic face and form. This is a device used with subtlety by portrait painters such as Gainsborough, and by illustrators of costume from the Master L.D. in the sixteenth century to the present.

Kay may have been aware of the most ad-

5. John Campbell and friends, dated 1784. Etching and aquatint, 35% x 41% inches. Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 33.30





Vincent Lunardi, dated 1785.
 Etching and aquatint, 4½ x 3¾ inches. Harris Brisbane Dick
 Fund, 17.3.888-42

 Wenceslaus Hollar. Catherine of Aragon, after Hans Holbein, P.1549. Etching, 4¹⁵/₁₆ x 4¹/₈ inches. The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 60.621.30



8. James Hutton, dated 1787. Etching, 3 x 2½ inches. Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 33.30





vanced artistic current of the 1790s, which rejected illusionistic recession and stressed contour and surface design. Flaxman, Fuseli, and Blake were its chief exponents in England. Kay's profile view corresponds to the silhouette, the popularity of which was bolstered by the scientific inquiries of Johann Caspar Lavater, who, reading character from faces, said that a man's truest representation is in his silhouette.

The prints of the Bohemian printmaker Wenceslaus Hollar (1607-1677) must certainly have been known to Kay. Hollar had lived in England for over thirty years. His output had been prodigious, and he had set England awash in his work. His oeuvre includes hundreds of costume figures, and reproductions of paintings such as those of Hans Holbein. Holbein rendered form with line, as Figure 7 illustrates, and usually represented the head against a background of a single tone. Contour and surface pattern are of utmost importance. Hollar's Winter (Figure 4), from a set of four seasons, is comparable to Kay's self-portrait, particularly for the shallow background common to both. This background, divided into contrasting bands of tone, has no oblique spatial recession. Kay also took from Hollar a simple formula for drawing with the etching needle. He drew delicate lines very close together, and made up his faces of clouds of dots.

Of the nine hundred etchings Kay is said

to have made, the Metropolitan has 349 (of an original collection of 356 – seven were removed before the collection came to the Museum). Kay died in 1826, his wife nine years later. His copper plates were bought by Hugh Paton, carver and gilder, who decided to republish some. In 1836 he issued a prospectus titled A Descriptive Catalogue of Original Portraits, etc. drawn and etched by the late John Kay, caricaturist, Edinburgh. This printed list of twenty-five pages enumerates the 356 etchings mentioned above, in chronological order. Each subject is identified, and anecdotes are related about many. The Museum's collection is accompanied by a manuscript



9. Francis Grose, dated 1789. Etching and aquatint, 4¾ x 3 inches. Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 33.30

RIGHT:

Francis MacNab, dated 1784. Etching,
 3¾ x 25% inches. Harris Brisbane Dick
 Fund, 33.30

copy of Paton's own holograph. Paton secured the services of a journalist, James Paterson, and one James Maidmant, who embellished the original anecdotes with detail and local gossip. As announced, A Series of Original Portraits and Caricature Etchings . . . appeared in two volumes in 1837.

Kay's caricatures of his Edinburgh neighbors were supplemented by those of visiting celebrities such as the Italian aeronaut Vincent Lunardi. Kay drew him in 1785, at the start of his first balloon ascent in Edinburgh (Figure 6). Lunardi rose to the height of three miles, traveled an hour and a half, and passed over forty miles of sea and ten of land. Milliners also took up Lunardi. Bonnets resembling balloons were made of gauze or thin muslin over wire. Burns, addressing the louse, says:

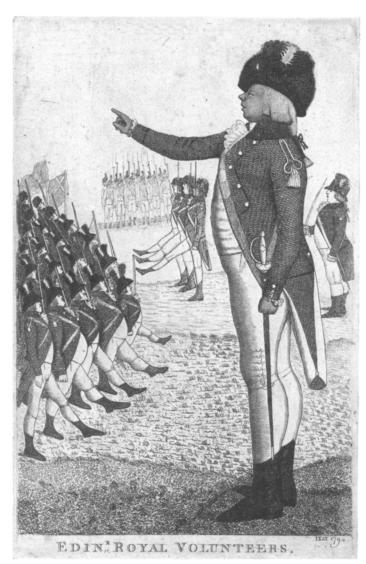
I wadna been surprised to spy You on an auld wife's flanim toy . . . But Miss's fine Lunardi! fie How daur ye do't?

Another visitor to Edinburgh was the antiquarian Francis Grose, of London and Perth (Figure 9). He is shown inspecting the date 1216 on an ancient ruin, which he later wrote up in *Antiquities of Scotland* (1789-1791).

Also fittingly represented beside a rock wall is the Scottish geologist James Hutton (Figure 8). The face of the wall is Mt. Rushmore writ small, for along the vertical edge is a series of caricature profiles.

Intoxicated but resolute, Francis MacNab





of MacNab strides across the North Bridge of Edinburgh (Figure 10). He was a chieftain bred in the traditions of feudal Scotland. Because of his renowned habit, his portrait by Raeburn was bought later by a distillery. He is credited with having fathered 132 children. He had houses built along the river Dochart, and each morning a man pushing a caldron on wheels passed these houses, rang a bell, and hollered, "Porridge for the sons of MacNab!"

In politics Kay was ambivalent, and indulged his audience's liberal as well as conservative views. Scotland was at the end of the eighteenth century in its Golden Age, and

11. Colonel Patrick Creighton, dated 1794. Etching, 7¾ x 4¾ inches. Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 33.30

- 12. William Grinly, dated 1795. Etching, 8¾ x 5⅓ inches. Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 33·30
- 13. Lord Adam Gordon and the Count of Artois, dated 1796.
 Etching, 71/8 x 4 inches. Harris
 Brisbane Dick Fund, 33.30
- 14. James Bruce and Peter
 Williamson, dated 1791.
 Etching, 8¼ x 5¼ inches. Harris
 Brisbane Dick Fund, 33.30

blossomed both economically and culturally, although it was politically torpid. The French Revolution nonetheless stirred discussions of the rights of man. A reformers' convention was held in Edinburgh in 1792, and a young advocate, Thomas Muir, was appointed vice-president. To commemorate the conference, John Kay made a print: Convention of Asses, or Spirit of Democracy. Though the delegates had deprecated violence, the authorities took alarm. Muir was tried and sentenced for sedition the following year. This time Kay was on the side of the reformers. Under his portrait of Muir is the legend:

Illustrious martyr in the glorious cause Of truth, of freedom, and of equal laws.

In 1794 the Edinburgh Royal Volunteers were embodied to repress sedition. Colonel Patrick Creighton (Figure 11) drills the stout body. Another member, William Grinly, was particularized by Kay (Figure 12). Known as Spread Eagle, he threw out both arms and legs as he walked.

Three years after the death of Louis XVI, Edinburgh had a royal visitor – Louis's younger brother, the Count of Artois. Wearing the Order of the Holy Spirit, he strolls with Lord Adam Gordon, commander of the army in Scotland (Figure 13). The royal suite remained at Holyrood House for several years, and apparently the Count liked it. He became Charles X in 1824, was exiled a few years later, and returned to Holyrood in 1830.

Napoleon figures several times in Kay's oeuvre. Besides at least two flattering portraits, there is a satirical one titled "Governor of Elba," dated 1814.

In 1798 the French were preparing to invade Egypt, while pretending to prepare for





an invasion of England. Kay voiced British fears (Figure 16). He represented the Prime Minister, William Pitt, with a terrified expression, flourishing his sword, while the ablest Scottish statesman of his day, Henry Dundas, in Highland military dress, stands his ground. In the background French ships attack a fort flying the Union Jack. Dundas had previously come in for his own share of satire. A Scot had only to be his friend to get a knighthood or a post in the law, the excise, the navy, the army, in India, or even in the church. Kay had shown him throwing his mantle over one Provost Stirling, who, with the help of dragoons, had prevented an Edinburgh mob from burning Dundas in effigy.

Although Napoleon himself returned to France in 1799, the French in Egypt held on. In June 1800 General Sir Ralph Abercromby (Figure 15) was appointed commander-in-



 General Sir Ralph Abercromby, dated 1801. Etching, 6¼ x 4½ inches. Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 33.30



chief of troops destined for Egypt. In March 1801 the British landed in Alexandria, and, in combination with Turkish forces, subdued the French. General Abercromby was killed in this campaign.

Northeast Africa figured in the life of another Kay subject - James Bruce (Figure 14). In 1791, the date of the portrait, Bruce had been nearly twenty years out of Ethiopia. He had finally published in 1790 his Travels to discover the sources of the Nile . . ., summarizing the knowledge acquired on that pioneer journey. The events he described were too barbarous and savage for credibility. Kay showed Bruce meeting one Peter Williamson, publisher of his own adventures in America, and compiler of the first Edinburgh Directory (1773). In the caption Williamson is given to say: "... my works have been of more use to mankind than yours, and there is more truth in one page of my Edin.r directory than in all your five Volumes 4°." Kay joined Dr. Johnson and Horace Walpole in regarding Bruce's tale a romantic fiction.

Yet barbarous events occurred at home. James McKean had invited a carrier home for



16. William Pitt and Henry Dundas, dated 1798. Etching, 4¾ x 3½ inches. Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 33.30



17. James McKean, dated 1796. Etching, 4 x 6½ inches. Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 33.30

tea, robbed him, and cut his throat. He is shown (Figure 17) between two of the old town guards at his trial in December 1796.

On the tranquil side is the portrayal of a venerable gentleman, Robert Craig (Figure 18), who with increasing infirmities used to sit at his door at 91 Princes Street. Looking on from the dining-room window is his servant William Scott.

John Kay's legacy was a wealth of trifles, which, taken in sum, evoke the Edinburgh populace of his time with peculiar surety.

NOTE:

I should like to thank Jessie McNab Dennis and A. C. Macnab of Macnab for information about Francis MacNab. The most recent account of James Bruce is in Alan Moorehead's *The Blue Nile* (New York, 1962). For an analysis of the style around 1800, I consulted Robert Rosenblum's *The International Style of 1800: A Study in Linear Abstraction*, unpublished dissertation, New York University, 1956.



18. Robert Craig, dated 1815. Etching,6¼ x 4¼ inches. Harris Brisbane DickFund, 33.30

The Metropolitan Museum of Art BULLETIN

Index new series, volume XXV summer 1966 to June 1967

Α

Additions to the collections (1965-1966), 65-98 American art

Alexander Jackson Davis, exhibition, *Notes*, 216 A piece of great utility, J. Biddle, 308-313 Collecting American art for the Metropolitan: recent accessions, 1961-1967, exhibition, *Notes*, 314 For "one of the most genteel residences in the city," B. B. Tracy, 283-291

"In the midst of 'high vintage,' " S. P. Feld, 292-307 Ancient Near Eastern art

Hasanlu 1964, O. W. Muscarella, 121-136 Portrait of a king, P. O. Harper, 137-146 Technical notes, K. C. Lefferts, 147-151

Annual report of the trustees for the fiscal year 1965-1966, in the October *Bulletin* 1966

B

BIDDLE, James. A piece of great utility, 308-313 BLAKE's illuminated books, exhibition, *Notes*, 314 BYRNE, Janet S. Monuments on paper, 25-29

C

Choisy-Ménars vases, J. G. Phillips, 243-250 Clodion's bas-reliefs from the Hôtel de Condé, J. Parker, 230-242

CLOISTERS, The, selection as New York landmark, *Notes*, 216

Collecting American art for the Metropolitan: recent accessions, 1961-1967, exhibition, *Notes*, 314
Corporation members elected (1965-1966), 110-111

D

Davis, Alexander Jackson, exhibition, *Notes*, 216

Decorative arts, *see* Western European arts and American art

Drawings

American

Alexander Jackson Davis, exhibition, Notes, 216

European

Monuments on paper, J. S. Byrne, 25-29

The opera house, exhibition, Notes, 152

The seventeenth century in Italy, exhibition, Notes,

Donors, list of (1965-1966), 101-107

William Blake's illuminated books, exhibition, *Notes*, 314

E

EASBY, Dudley T., Jr. Review of the year 1965-1966, 58-64

Egyptian art

An offering to Thoth: a votive statue from the Gallatin collection, E. Young, 273-282

The Gallatin Egyptian collection, H. G. Fischer, 253-263

Exhibitions

Alexander Jackson Davis, Notes, 216

Collecting American art for the Metropolitan: recent accessions, 1961-1967, Notes, 314

Drawings from N. Y. collections: The seventeenth century in Italy, *Notes*, 251-252

In the presence of kings, Notes, 314

List of (1965-1966), 99-101

Masterpieces of American primitive watercolors and pastels from the collection of Edgar William and Bernice Chrysler Garbisch, *Notes*, 184

Russian views, Notes, 397-398

Seventeenth-century Italian prints, Notes, 252

The opera house, Notes, 152

Two hundred years of watercolor painting in America, Notes, 184

William Blake's illuminated books, Notes, 314

F

FAR Eastern art. A pictorial biography of Prince Shotoku, A. C. Soper, 197-215

Feld, Stuart P. "In the midst of 'high vintage,'" 292-

FISCHER, Henry G. The Gallatin Egyptian collection, 253-263

For "one of the most genteel residences in the city," B. B. Tracy, 283-291

Four fifteenth-century Crucifixions, J. J. McKendry, 1-6

Four prophets by Lorenzo Monaco, G.-P. de Montebello, 155-169

FURNITURE

American

A piece of great utility, J. Biddle, 308-313

For "one of the most genteel residences in the city,"

B. B. Tracy, 283-291

G

GALLATIN Egyptian collection, H. G. Fischer, 253-263 GARBISCH, Edgar William and Bernice Chrysler, masterpieces of American primitive watercolors and pastels from the collection of, exhibition, *Notes*, 184

Góмez-Moreno, Carmen. Three Madonnas in search of an author, 384-396

Greek and Roman art. Portrait of a young boy, A. Oliver, Jr., 264-272

GRUBE, Ernst J. The language of the birds: The seventeenth-century miniatures, 339-352

H

HARPER, Prudence Oliver. Portrait of a king, 137-146 HASANLU 1964, O. W. Muscarella, 121-136

HELEN of Troy, M. R. Scherer, 367-383

Houghton, Arthur A., Jr.

Announcement of election of Director and Vice-Director, 217

Introduction to *Bulletin* in memory of James J. Rorimer, 39

Review of the year 1965-1966, 58-64 Hoving, Thomas P. F., elected Director, 217

I

"In the midst of 'high vintage,' "S. P. Feld, 292-307 In the presence of kings, exhibition, *Notes*, 314

Islamic art. The language of the birds: The fifteenth-century miniatures, M. G. Lukens, 317-338; The seventeenth-century miniatures, E. J. Grube, 339-352

Ancient Near Eastern

Hasanlu 1964, O. W. Muscarella, 121-136

J

JEGHER, Christoffel, Rubens and the woodcuts of, M. L. Myers, 7-24

K

KARPINSKI, Caroline S. Original portraits, etc., 30-36

L

Language of the birds: The fifteenth-century miniatures, M. G. Lukens, 317-338; The seventeenth-century miniatures, E. J. Grube, 339-352; identification of species, *Notes*, 353-354

Lee, Sherman. Memorial essay on James J. Rorimer, 43-45

LEFFERTS, Kate C. Technical notes, 147-151

Lemoyne and Pigalle, two great portraits by, O. Raggio, 219-229

Lenders, list of (1965-1966), 107-108

LITTLE knights of the living-room table, H. Nickel, 170-183

LOANS, institutions and organizations receiving, 108-109 LOUGHRY, J. Kenneth. Report of the treasurer for the year ended June 30, 1966, 116-120

LUKENS, Marie G. The language of the birds: The fifteenth-century miniatures, 317-338

M

MANUSCRIPTS

Islamic

The language of the birds: The fifteenth-century miniatures, M. G. Lukens, 317-338; The seventeenth-century miniatures, E. J. Grube, 339-352

MASTERPIECES of American primitive watercolors and pastels from the collection of Edgar William and Bernice Chrysler Garbisch, exhibition, *Notes*, 184

MAYOR, A. Hyatt, Summer 1966 Bulletin, Part I, dedicated to

McKendry, John J. Four fifteenth-century Crucifixions, 1-6

Medieval art

Helen of Troy, M. R. Scherer, 367-383

The Virgin and Child with angels, V. K. Ostoia, 355-366

Three Madonnas in search of an author, C. Gómez-Moreno, 384-396

METALWORK

Ancient Near Eastern

Portrait of a king, P. O. Harper, 137-146

Technical notes, K. C. Lefferts, 147-151

European

Little knights of the living-room table, H. Nickel, 170-183

Greek and Roman

Portrait of a young boy, A. Oliver, Jr., 264-272

MISTRESS & the widow, E. A. Standen, 185-196

Monaco, Lorenzo, four prophets by, G.-P. de Montebello, 155-169

Montebello, Guy-Philippe de. Four prophets by Lorenzo Monaco, 155-169

Monuments on paper, J. S. Byrne, 25-29

Morot-Sir, Édouard. Memorial essay on James J. Rorimer, 41-43

Muscarella, Oscar White. Hasanlu 1964, 121-136 Myers, Mary L. Rubens and the woodcuts of Christoffel Jegher, 7-24

N

NEAR Eastern art, see Ancient Near Eastern art and Islamic art

NICKEL, Helmut. The little knights of the living-room table, 170-183

Noble, Joseph V., elected Vice-Director for Administration, 217

\bigcirc

Offering to Thoth: a votive statue from the Gallatin collection, E. Young, 273-282

OLIVER, Andrew, Jr. Portrait of a young boy, 264-272

OPERA house, exhibition, *Notes*, 152
ORIGINAL portraits, etc., C. S. Karpinski, 30-36
OSTOIA, Vera K. The Virgin and Child with angels, 355-366

P

PAINTINGS

American

Masterpieces of American primitive watercolors and pastels from the collection of Edgar William and Bernice Chrysler Garbisch, exhibition, *Notes*, 184 "In the midst of 'high vintage,' "S. P. Feld, 292-307 Two hundred years of watercolor painting in America,

exhibition, Notes, 184

European

Four prophets by Lorenzo Monaco, G.-P. de Montebello, 155-169

Far Eastern

A pictorial biography of Prince Shotoku, A. C. Soper, 197-215

Islamic

The language of the birds: The fifteenth-century miniatures, M. G. Lukens, 317-338; The seventeenth-century miniatures, E. J. Grube, 339-352

Parker, James. Clodion's bas-reliefs from the Hôtel de Condé, 230-242

Phillips, John Goldsmith. The Choisy-Ménars vases, 243-250

Pictorial biography of Prince Shotoku, A. C. Soper, 197-215

Piece of great utility, J. Biddle, 308-313

Pigalle and Lemoyne, two great portraits by, O. Raggio, 219-229

Portrait of a king, P. O. Harper, 137-146

Portrait of a young boy, A. Oliver, Jr., 264-272

PRINTS

European

Four fifteenth-century Crucifixions, J. J. McKendry, 1-6

Original portraits, etc., C. S. Karpinski, 30-36

Rubens and the woodcuts of Christoffel Jegher, M. L. Myers, 7-24

Russian views, exhibition, Notes, 397-398

Seventeenth-century Italian prints, exhibition, *Notes*,

The opera house, exhibition, Notes, 152

William Blake's illuminated books, exhibition, *Notes*, 314

R

RAGGIO, Olga. Two great portraits by Lemoyne and Pigalle, 219-229

REPORT of the treasurer for the year ended June 30, 1966, J. K. Loughry, 116-120

REPORTS of the departments (1965-1966), 65-98

Review of the year 1965-1966, A. A. Houghton, Jr., and D. T. Easby, Jr., 58-64

RORIMER, James J., Summer 1966 Bulletin, Part II, in memory of

ROUSSEAU, Theodore. Memorial essay on James J. Rorimer, 40-41

Rubens and the woodcuts of Christoffel Jegher, M. L. Myers, 7-24

Russian views, exhibition, Notes, 397-398

S

Scherer, Margaret R. Helen of Troy, 367-383 Sculpture

Ancient Near Eastern

Hasanlu 1964, O. W. Muscarella, 121-136 Portrait of a king, P. O. Harper, 137-146

Technical notes, K. C. Lefferts, 147-151

Egyptian

An offering to Thoth: a votive statue from the Gallatin collection, E. Young, 273-282

The Gallatin Egyptian collection, H. G. Fischer, 253-263

European

Choisy-Ménars vases, J. G. Phillips, 243-250

Clodion's bas-reliefs from the Hôtel de Condé, J. Parker, 230-242

The Virgin and Child with angels, V. K. Ostoia, 355-366

Three Madonnas in search of an author, C. Gómez-Moreno, 384-396

Two great portraits by Lemoyne and Pigalle, O. Raggio, 219-229

Greek and Roman

Portrait of a young boy, A. Oliver, Jr., 264-272 Seventeenth century in Italy, drawings exhibition, Notes, 251-252 Seventeenth-century Italian prints, exhibition, *Notes*, 252

Soper, Alexander C. A pictorial biography of Prince Shotoku, 197-215

STANDEN, Edith A. The mistress & the widow, 185-196

Τ

TAPESTRIES

European

Helen of Troy, M. R. Scherer, 367-383

The mistress & the widow, E. A. Standen, 185-196

TECHNICAL notes, K. C. Lefferts, 147-151

Textiles

European

Helen of Troy, M. R. Scherer, 367-383

The mistress & the widow, E. A. Standen, 185-196

A pictorial biography of Prince Shotoku, A. C. Soper, 197-215

Three Madonnas in search of an author, C. Gómez-Moreno, 384-396

Toys. Little knights of the living-room table, H. Nickel, 170-183

Tracy, Berry B. For "one of the most genteel residences in the city," 283-291

Two GREAT portraits by Lemoyne and Pigalle, O. Raggio, 219-229

Two hundred years of watercolor painting in America, exhibition, *Notes*, 184

V

VIRGIN and Child with angels, V. K. Ostoia, 355-366

W

WESTERN European arts

Choisy-Ménars vases, J. G. Phillips, 243-250

Clodion's bas-reliefs from the Hôtel de Condé, J. Parker, 230-242

The mistress & the widow, E. A. Standen, 185-196 Two great portraits by Lemoyne and Pigalle, O. Raggio, 219-229

Y

Young, Eric. An offering to Thoth: a votive statue from the Gallatin collection, 273-282