Aspects of a Collection

DIETRICH VON BOTHMER Curator of Greek and Roman Art

More than a hundred vases from the collection of Walter Bareiss, shown during the summer in the Blumenthal Patio, were chosen from over four hundred. All of them were collected in the last twelve years, and the collection is still growing. When Mr. Bareiss first visited Greece, in 1952, he fell in love with the country and its art. His earliest collecting had centered around Far Eastern art; later he made a name for himself as a collector of modern art, and today his interest is divided between the contemporary and the classical. This does not present a conflict, for Mr. Bareiss is more interested in the personal style of an individual artist than in the general style of a period.

Ever since Mr. Bareiss gave me access to his vases five years ago, I have been fascinated by the constant process of selection and upgrading that is so essential to the formation of a great collection. It is sometimes claimed, and quite wrongly, I think, that wealth alone can bring about almost anything, and that a collection normally represents the income bracket in which a given purchase can be made. This approach tends to ignore something more fundamental: why is money spent at all on works of art? And to what extent can money determine the character of something as personal as a collection of Greek vases? Surely other considerations enter into it. I have known of nobody, even men of almost unlimited wealth, who did not at the moment of purchase have to meet the challenge of a choice—a choice based on preference as much as on cost. No one will claim that it is fashionable to collect Greek vases, and even paying unheard-of prices will not put a collector of Greek vases into newspaper headlines or the annuals of auction houses. The very fact that the passion spent on these lesser-known works of art cannot be appreciated by everyone makes such a collector rely more on his own sense of beauty than on popular appeal. Some collectors do not move without counsel; others are as impetuous as a young man in love, and their regrets are less frequently voiced over objects they should not have bought than over masterpieces they lost.

With over fifty thousand painted vases in existence, no single collection can lay claim to being truly representative. The long life of a museum brings with it some

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Cover, Frontispiece
Red-figured kylix. Signed by Douris as painter. Attic, about 480 B.C. Boys in school. Width 15 3/8 inches (39 cm.). All the vases illustrated in this article were lent by Walter C. Bareiss. L 68.142.15

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measure of assurance that its collection of vases, if worked on steadily, will in time improve; while the supply continues, it is often more a question of budgetary allocations than of opportunities. Here museums that were able to lay their foundations in the happier days of the nineteenth century and the first years of this, have the advantage of a wealth of examples of recognized quality against which each newcomer is measured. A contemporary collector, on the other hand, must start from scratch. He may envy the ease with which the great private and public collections were formed in the last century, but he may feel compensated in knowing that today's increased knowledge of vase painting helps him to a surer recognition of style than was possible for his predecessors. Appreciation of a painted vase does not, of course, consist solely of dating it or attributing it to a specific artist. Scholarship has advanced in the last sixty years to the point where practically every Greek vase has been or can be attributed, and certain sales catalogues almost exploit scholarly refinements and abound in such catch phrases as "rare," "unique," "unusual," or the like. Remembering the number of vases that exist, a true collector is not easily seduced by such epithets. He must find in the object itself a fulfillment of the desires of his acquisitive instinct.

Mr. Bareiss has been guided by his own ideals of quality and by an all-pervasive sense of curiosity. Some of his vases were bought for the sheer beauty of their shape, but the majority were selected with an eye to the painted decoration. His interest in the subject, coupled with a genuine understanding of quality in drawing, has freed Mr. Bareiss from the quaint prejudice against fragments that is encountered so often. The true connoisseur of painted Greek vases will put greater value on a single figure, incomplete, painted by a master than on a seductively complete vase decorated in haste by a hack. Moreover, his eye will be able to restore an entire figure, or even a whole composition, on sherds that are tantalizingly incomplete. His vases need not be signed; he will recognize artists by their style alone, and he will remember that many of the best vase painters are still anonymous to us and have had to be given distinctive names in modern times.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin

Volume XXVII, Number 10

June 1969

Published monthly from October to June and quarterly from July to September. Copyright © 1969 by The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fifth Avenue and 82nd Street, New York, N. Y. 10028. Second class postage paid at New York, N. Y. Subscriptions $5.00 a year. Single copies fifty cents. Sent free to Museum members. Four weeks' notice required for change of address. Back issues available on microfilm from University Microfilms, 313 N. First Street, Ann Arbor, Michigan. Volumes i-xxxvii (1905-1942) available as a clothbound reprint set or as individual yearly volumes from Arno Press, 330 Madison Avenue, New York, N. Y. 10017, or from the Museum, Box 255, Gracie Station, New York, N. Y. 10028. Editor of Publications: Leon Wilson. Editor-in-chief of the Bulletin: Katharine H. B. Stoddert; Assistant Editor: Susan Goldsmith; Designer: Peter Oldenburg.
So far I have spoken of Mr. Bareiss's vases as a whole; the ones on view in the Museum were chosen with several points of view in mind. Apart from the obvious first consideration, artistic quality, an attempt was made not only to show to advantage the entire gamut of the Bareiss collection, but also to supplement our own rich display. Those who love Greek vases for the sake of their refined shapes will thus detect one of the earliest panel amphoras with flanged handles (Figure 4), a kylix exceptional in form and decoration, signed by the potter Nicosthenes, and a hydria with rare coloristic touches of white on foot and mouth (Figure 8), and will observe the drinking cup from its modest beginning (Figure 2) to its proud perfection in the late archaic period (Cover). The specialist in regional styles will be delighted by the lekythos (Figure 1) and olpe from Corinth, the two cups made in eastern Greece, the hydria from the territory of Chalkis, and the small Laconian cup. Those who know their Greek mythology only from Bulfinch or other watered-down versions will be amazed at the vigor and freshness the ancient painters brought to these stories: he will see the Calydonian boar hunt through the eyes of an archaic artist (Figure 2), and watch the exodus of Anchises and his family from Troy as depicted five centuries before Vergil (Figure 9) or the death of Agamemnon as painted years before it was dramatized by Aeschylus (Figure 11). Those less keen on puzzling out depictions of often complex myths will recognize unexpectedly intimate glances into the home life of the Athenians: women descending into the wine cellar for an unobserved quick drink (Figure 15); boys at school confronted by their teachers (Cover and Frontispiece); revels and their consequences (Figures 10, 12, 13). Equally impressive to some will be the array of great names in vase painting: the black-figure masters are represented by Lydos and the Affecter (Figures 4, 5); the inside of a cup attributed to Oltos is painted in black-figure, while the scene on the outside is executed in the new red-figure technique (Figures 6, 7), and the style is continued through Epiktetos to the Brygos Painter, Makron, and Douris, to list only the chief of the cup painters. Among the others, the Berlin Painter, the Eucharides Painter, Myson, and the Triptolemos Painter should be noted in passing. The subtle change in drawing that sheds the archaic manner and leads on to the freedom of the classic period is best exemplified by the fragments of a large hydria with the arming of Achilles, perhaps by the Hector Painter (Figure 14), and the full classic style is reached with the mug by the Eretria Painter (Figure 16). At that time, Attic vase painting went into a decline, and for good drawing we must turn to the red-figure styles formed in southern Italy after the Peloponnesian Wars by Greek immigrants. By now, however, wall and easel painting were fully developed, and vase painting occupied a humbler position. Whereas in the archaic period, as we know from some rare surviving examples, wall paintings and panel paintings looked remarkably like contemporary vase paintings, the discrepancy in scale between the two, not to mention the more imaginative use of color employed on walls and panels, must have resulted in ever-widening differences. Painting on clay remained dependent on the limited palette of ceramic colors, and though the drawing, with its increased understanding of perspective, both corporeal and spatial, with its skilled use of shad-
ing, its staggered compositions, and its subtler renderings of facial expressions, must have been similar in the two branches of painting, the overall effect must have been completely different. In the fourth century, especially in the Greek colonies of southern Italy and Sicily, the lavish use of added colors was surely prompted by an understandable desire to rival the bigger paintings on walls and panels, but the result was no closer to “free” painting than, let us say, colored woodcuts or lithographs are to oil paintings.

In their efforts to reproduce the achievements of a more successful branch of painting, the South Italian vase painters concentrated on the pictures and paid less attention to the special requirements of the different shapes, with the result that the pictures tend to lose their close, organic relationship with the surface on which they are painted. In turn, the potters’ repertory, which included the traditional Attic shapes as well as some specifically native ones, lost the subtle sense of proportions and careful balance of component parts that distinguished the Athenian prototypes. It has therefore been said with some justice that South Italian vase painting can best be appreciated on fragments. Here the eye is not distracted by the shape and can read, as it were, the drawing in all its purity. Significantly, Mr. Bareiss’s forays into South Italian wares have been concentrated on fragments.

The exhibition spans three centuries of vase painting, from a delightful miniature lekythos of the mid-seventh century (Figure 1) to the ornate products of Sicily, dated in the middle of the fourth century B.C. (Figure 17). In the history of Greece, it is these three centuries in which the Greek culture was born and flourished, in which her achievements in all fields—architecture, sculpture, painting, literature, music, rhetoric, philosophy, science, and politics—came to pass. This exhibition, small and restricted as it is, puts into sharp focus much of the Greek heritage, fortunately not yet forgotten.

**LEFT**
1. Black-figure lekythos. Proto-Corinthian, second black-figure style, about 650 B.C. Sphinxes and goat; below, two hounds and a hare. Most of the mouth, neck, and handle are restored. Height, as restored, 2½ inches (7 cm.). L 68.42.1

**OPPOSITE, ABOVE**
2. Black-figure Siana cup. Attic, about 580-570 B.C. The Calydonian boar hunt. Width 13¾ inches (34 cm.). L 68.142.4

**OPPOSITE, BELOW**
3. Black-glazed cup-skyphos. Attic, about 540 B.C. Width 9½ inches (24.1 cm.). L 69.11.16
4. Black-figured amphora of type A. Attributed to Lydos. Attic, about 550-540 B.C. Theseus slaying the Minotaur, with Athenian youths and maidens looking on. This is one of the earliest amphoras of the type with flanged handles and a flaring foot, contemporary with those painted by members of Group E, with which the vase has some affinities. Height 18 1/8 inches (46 cm.). L 69.11.6

5. Black-figured neck-amphora. Attributed by Beazley to the chief black-figure mannerist, the Affecter. Attic, 540 B.C. Herakles is shown attacking the centaur Nessos, in the presence of Iolaos and other men. On the neck, three revelers. Height 15 1/8 inches (38.5 cm.). L 68.142.5

6, 7. Black-figured and red-figured kylix. Attributed by Beazley to Oltos. Attic, about 520 B.C. On the black-figured tondo, reveler; inscribed "Memnon is handsome." On the red-figured outside, here illustrated, youth. Width 16 inches (40.6 cm.). L 69.11.33
O P P O S I T E
8. Black-figured hydria. Attributed to the Lykomedes Painter, named after Apollo’s charioteer on a column-krater in the Museum. Attic, about 510 B.C. On the shoulder, Herakles and the Nemean lion; on the body, Herakles attempting to steal the Delphic tripod, Apollo and Artemis intervening, and Athena supporting Herakles. Their names are inscribed in the Samian alphabet. The mouth and foot are painted white. Height 15¾ inches (40.1 cm.). L 68.142.8

R I G H T
9. Black-figured neck-amphora. Attributed to the Leagros Group. Attic, about 510-500 B.C. Aeneas rescuing his father, Anchises, accompanied by his mother, Aphrodite, and his son, Ascanius, after the fall of Troy. The names of three of the figures are inscribed. On the neck, charioteer. Height 15¾ inches (40.1 cm.). L 69.11.11

B E L O W
10. Red-figured kylix. Attributed to the Painter of London E 2. Attic, about 510 B.C. In the tondo, reveler. The zone around the tondo is not black, as on most cups, but painted with a glaze that fired red. Width 13¾ inches (35.5 cm.). L 68.142.9
11. Fragmentary red-figured kylix. Attributed by the owner to the Brygos Painter. Attic, about 490 B.C. The death of Agamemnon, with Clytemestra removing the robe in which he had been trapped. In her right hand, now missing, she may have held an axe to administer a third wound. His hair looks wet: in some versions of the myth he was killed after his bath. Note that his eyes are dead but not closed, and that his mouth is open. Diameter of tondo 6½ inches (16.9 cm.). L 69.11.35

12. Tondo of a red-figured kylix. Attributed by Beazley to Makron. Attic, about 480-470 B.C. Reveler with a staff and drinking cup. Diameter of tondo 4½ inches (10.8 cm.).

13. Detail of the outside of a red-figured kylix. Signed by Brygos as potter and attributed by Beazley to the Briseis Painter. Attic, about 480 B.C. Revelers. Diameter 12½ inches (30.7 cm.). L 68.142.17

14. Fragmentary red-figured hydria. Perhaps by the Hector Painter. Attic, about 440 B.C. Achilles in his tent, receiving his new armor from Thetis and six Nereids arriving on dolphins. Width 17½ inches (43.8 cm.). L 69.11.26
15. Red-figured skyphos. Attic, about 470-460 B.C. Servant girl and her mistress in a wine cellar; the lady of the house is drinking on the sly. Height 6\(\frac{3}{4}\) inches (15.45 cm.). L 69.11.70

16. Red-figured mug. Attributed by Beazley to the Eretria Painter. Attic, about 430 B.C. Boy on a seesaw. Height 3\(\frac{1}{2}\) inches (8.8 cm.). L 69.11.29

17. Fragmentary red-figured squat lekythos. Sicilian, mid-fourth century B.C. Fluting satyr sailing on a wineskin. Height, as preserved, 5\(\frac{3}{4}\) inches (13.3 cm.). L 69.11.58
European Drawings
from the Bareiss Collection

While Mr. Bareiss’s Greek vases are on exhibition, thirty-five European drawings from his collection will be shown in the loggia of the Blumenthal Patio; they testify eloquently to the range and excellence of the collector’s taste.

Jacob Bean

Pablo Picasso (born 1881), Spanish. Nude. Pencil, 10 x 13 inches. All the drawings illustrated were lent by Mr. and Mrs. Walter Bareiss. SL 69.17.26

Picasso supplied the illustrations for a memorable edition of Ovid’s Metamorphoses, published in Lausanne by Albert Skira in 1931. This drawing is a study for the etching that serves as the title page to the Fourteenth Book of the Ovid’s collection of Greek and Roman myths. Picasso, always open to the example of ancient art, has captured some of the spirit of Greek vase painting in the elegant simplicity of the abbreviated contour.
Oskar Schlemmer  
(1888-1943), German. Kneeling Figure. Pen and black ink, 11⅞ x 8⅝ inches. SL 69.77.36

From 1920 to 1929, Schlemmer was master at the Bauhaus, the trend-setting German school of architecture and industrial design. This amusing but plastically convincing doodle probably dates from those years, and it is a token of the stylistic economy that was characteristic of all Bauhaus instruction and production.

Edgar-Hilaire-Germain Degas (1834-1917), French. Standing Woman. Brown and white oil paint on cardboard, 18⅞ x 19⅞ inches. SL 69.17.10

Degas's study of a standing woman, showing alternative suggestions for the position of her arms, is the earliest drawing in the exhibition. Executed on cardboard with the point of a brush and pigment thinned with turpentine, it can be dated about 1874 and is very probably a study for Scène d’Intérieur—Le Viol, in the McIlhenny collection in Philadelphia. In the painting the anguished victim of the rape is seated, not standing, but the model with her chemise falling off her shoulder is the same.
Fernand Léger (1881-1955), French. *Still Life on a Round Table*. Pencil, 15⅝ x 12⅜ inches. SL 69.17.23

Léger has turned his analytical glance to a table crowded with objects that have been chosen for the subtle interplay of their forms. Rounded, often cylindrical shapes communicate a rigid but highly ornamental plasticity.
Georges Braque (1882-1963), French. Still Life: Mandolin on a Table. Collage and watercolor, 8 5/8 x 6 5/6 inches. SL 69.17.5

The use of printed paper - newsprint or book pages - as a constructive and decorative element in paintings and drawings was a pre-World War I cubist innovation, and Braque, one of these cubist innovators, continued to use it in later years. His rare drawings tend to be intensely painterly; this still life, which probably dates from 1920, is, in a sense, a small painting to which the printed support gives a fourth, enigmatic dimension.

Pablo Picasso. Burning Logs. Pen and black ink, orange and brown chalk, gray wash, 18 15/60 x 23 inches. SL 69.17.28

Picasso has dated this exceptional drawing January 4, 1945. Unusual in that it cannot be connected with any painted work, it records the artist's intense observation of a log fire's flickering forms and colors, and gives eloquent testimony to his constant recourse to nature.
Training Young Curators

JOHN WALSH, JR. Associate for Higher Education

EARLY THIS YEAR the Museum made a remarkable acquisition, the illustrated Apocalypse described in the following article. What was remarkable, however, was not so much the high quality of the book as the fact that the Museum bought it on the recommendation of a student. The student, Anne Palms Chalmers, was one of twelve participants in a unique curatorial training course—Museum Training and Connoisseurship II, a graduate seminar conducted by the Museum for the Institute of Fine Arts of New York University. For the past twelve years the Institute and the Museum have collaborated in the training of young curators in a two-year program leading to a Master's degree in art history and a certificate in museum training granted jointly by both institutions. Under this program, a student who wants to explore the possibility of a museum career takes an introductory course in his first year of graduate school. That course, taught in the last few years by A. Hyatt Mayor, Curator Emeritus of the Museum's Department of Prints, concentrates on the history of museums and art collecting, and involves behind-the-scenes visits to a series of museums. Rigorous screening reduces the students to the group of about fifteen who are admitted to Museum Training II.

In this seminar the students meet with Museum curators in their offices and storerooms, to study works of art and to discuss them with the particular concerns of a curator in mind: their authenticity, their quality, and their condition. Here many students have their first chance to handle original works—to turn small bronze sculptures, for example, or to examine delicate porcelain pieces—to know the objects more intimately, and to experience some of the pleasures the artist intended the owners to feel. Frequently the students are asked to discuss the objects on the spot. Gaps in their training become obvious, and they quickly learn that discipline and precision are as indispensable to the curator as they are to the academic scholar. Last fall, for instance, Dietrich von Bothmer, Curator of Greek and Roman Art, put in front of his students without any ceremony a bronze object with a head of Medusa in relief (published a little later in the October Bulletin). He asked them to describe it and tell what it was used for. Medusa is a familiar enough image to a graduate student and bronze is not a difficult material to recognize, and yet the students were surprised to learn how hard it can be to describe something precisely, how little they knew about materials and the way such pieces were made, and how revealing physical data can be. From this data and other evidence, Dr. von Bothmer showed them how he had deduced that the piece was probably a finial from a Roman ship. At another meeting of the seminar, Richard Ettinghausen of the Institute (now Consultative Chairman of the Department of Islamic Art) put five very similar plates on the table, and asked the students to arrange them in chronological order. In this case a Chinese plate had been the model for a series of Islamic ones. Just to
begin their job, the students had to spot the peculiar dryness and misunderstandings of detail that are symptoms of copied decoration; then they had to apply logic and some imagination to reconstruct the sequence. They did fairly well, but their struggles gave them new respect for the complicated interplay of eye and instinct that makes an effective connoisseur.

This year the twelve students had a particularly difficult final examination of their skills as connoisseurs and their abilities as scholars. We asked them to put themselves in the place of curators in the Metropolitan Museum, and to go out into the New York art market and locate a work of art suitable for purchase. They understood that they were limited to $1,000, and that they were to borrow their object and bring it to the Museum for an exhibition, and then present it to a special purchasing committee. In past years students in this course had bought objects with $25 of their own money and defended them in a mock presentation. But $25 had seldom bought much, and it was buying steadily less. We felt that a $1,000 limit would expose the students to art of some real quality, and that a presentation to an actual purchasing committee would give them a taste of what a curator has to do for the Trustees several times a year.

Nervous but for the most part elated, the group scouted dealers for several months, consulting the records of the various departments of the Museum to check prospective purchases against the existing collections. In early January they brought their objects to the Museum and held a "dry run" of their presentations, just as the curators do before meetings of the Trustees' Acquisitions Committee. Then an exhibition of their pieces was installed in the Board Room, with a catalogue and labels prepared by the students, to which the staffs of the Museum and the Institute were invited.

The students had found some interesting and beautiful things. There was a Peruvian mask, probably of the Early Mochica I style, unusual in being made of copper and in excellent condition. Another student assembled a group of three preclass Mexican figurines, one perhaps as old as 800 B.C., with much of their original paint beautifully preserved. There was an Indian miniature painting, thought to belong to the Bhagavata group of the late eighteenth century. As might have been expected, however, most of the objects were European. Among them were several fine drawings, such as one by the prolific Venetian Giuseppe Bernardino Bison, and another by an unknown Italian whom the student identified as Pietro da Cortona. There were a number of small sculptures and an imposing, two-hundred-pound fragment of a Syrian frieze of the fifth or sixth century A.D., decorated in relief with the alpha-omega monogram of Christ. Perhaps the most unprepossessing object was Mrs. Chalmers's Apocalypse, a book that one could fully appreciate only by turning the pages and by knowing its place in the history of bookmaking and graphic art.

Twelve days after the exhibition opened, the special purchasing committee met to hear the oral presentations. It was chaired by the Director, Thomas P. F. Hoving, and included the senior curators of the Museum and many of the faculty of the Institute. One by one the students came to the head of the table to give their reasons for recommending their objects, and the pieces circled the table for examination. Questions from the committee were direct and sometimes unsettling. To the student who presented the Indian miniature: "You didn't say anything about the condition. There seem to be losses and repairs here. Are there?" To another student, about his seventeenth-century German alabaster relief: "That's all very well, but do you think it's good? I find it mushy." Sometimes there were quick and satisfying answers, sometimes not. There were intense little conferences between colleagues, and occasionally a member of the committee would suddenly provide the answer to some unresolved question. When the student who presented the Syrian relief fragment pointed out a cut-off ornament at one side, for instance, Carmen Gómez-Moreno, Associate Curator of Medieval Art, immediately identified part of the ornament as the rear quarters of an animal, making it clear that the decoration was not only continuous but richer than the student had suspected.

Most of the students argued their cases with remarkable poise, drawing on painstaking art-historical research. But not all of them were fully prepared for the questions that are often asked in museums, but seldom in the classroom: "Couldn't we do better for the money?" "Why do you like it?" "How does it compare to what we already have?"

After the last student was heard, the committee met over lunch to decide its choice of an object. It was quickly agreed that six works were worth serious consideration. The ensuing debate concerned the relative importance of the six contenders, and several were soon dropped; on this count, for example, the committee concluded that although the drawing by Bison was lovely, acquiring it would not make a truly significant difference to the collection. On the last poll Mr. Hoving found the committee almost unanimous in its choice of the illustrated Apocalypse, and it was decided to buy it for the Museum. But the committee was sufficiently impressed by two
other works to urge that the curatorial departments consider them for purchase. After the meeting, the Syrian relief fragment presented by Elizabeth Stark Ward was moved to the Department of Medieval Art for examination, and several weeks later it, too, was bought for the Museum.

Many of the students in this year's course will go on to complete the Museum Training Program by working as interns in the various departments of the Museum. There they serve a many-sided apprenticeship that is not unlike a doctor's internship, learning through full-time work and through frequent conferences with older colleagues in the Museum. Some will be given fellowships under a new $416,000 Ford Foundation grant, which will provide two and a half years of support for Museum Training students who want to resist job offers and go on for the doctoral degree, the traditional hallmark of advanced scholarship. Curators with Ph.D.s are encountered more and more, as the realization spreads that museum work requires no less knowledge or discipline than academic work, and that in fact curators can combine teaching with their museum duties logically and usefully.

At times, this year's presentations to the purchasing committee may have had the aspect of an ordeal or a ritual initiation to curatorship, but the experience taught the students invaluable things about how and why museums acquire art. And through it some of them will be better prepared for the time, coming soon, when as curators they try to convince genuine, skeptical trustees of the significance and the beauties of a work of art.
A Little French Book

ANNE PALMS CHALMERS
Graduate Student, Institute of Fine Arts, New York University

St. John the Evangelist devouring the Book of Revelation, from Les Figures de l’Apocalypse de Saint Ian (Paris, Etienne Groulleau, 1547), sig. C ii verso, described in the following article. This scene illustrates Revelation 10:1-11, in which St. John eats the book delivered by an angel who had “come down from heaven, clothed with a cloud; and a rainbow was upon his head, and his face was as it were the sun, and his feet as pillars of fire.” Rogers Fund, 69.530
Many countries in sixteenth-century Europe developed a beauty and excellence in the art of the printed book never surpassed since that time. An exquisite French example recently acquired by the Metropolitan Museum is Les Figures de l'Apocalypse de Saint Ian, a tiny illustrated book containing thirty-six woodcut scenes from the Revelation of St. John the Evangelist and from the Acts of the Apostles. Ingenious ornamental borders enclose these scenes and Latin excerpts from the sacred texts. The facing pages bear French verse translations of those texts and moralizing commentary.

Les Figures de l'Apocalypse was printed in 1547 by Etienne Groulleau, who by that time had assumed control of the important Parisian publishing house of Denis Janot. In addition to taking over Janot's business, the new publisher married his predecessor's widow, a common practice in sixteenth-century publishing. Because Groulleau had long been connected with the Janot house and because Les Figures de l'Apocalypse followed the format of Janot's numerous small mythological and religious picture books and emblem books, perhaps even incorporating woodcuts executed during Janot's lifetime, bibliophiles often refer to the book as the Janot Apocalypse.

Such a title helps to distinguish this book from the many others in a long tradition of Apocalypse illustration, both in manuscripts and in printed books. Perhaps the best-known Apocalypse illustrations in woodcut are those designed by Albrecht Dürer, who published three editions in Nuremberg, two in 1498 and one in 1511. His series of large compositions crystallized and transformed earlier iconography and exerted enormous influence in the sixteenth century throughout northern Europe (see Figures 1-4).

Les Figures de l'Apocalypse also represents another tradition, that of books of ornamental designs and illustrations for artists and craftsmen to use as patterns. Artists had always depended partly on traditional repertories of
2. Hans Sebald Beham, The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse, from Typi in Apocalypsi Johannis (Frankfurt, Christian Egenolff, 1539), sig. A iii recto. Woodcut, \(2\frac{7}{8} \times 2\frac{7}{8}\) inches. Rogers Fund, 20.6

3. The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse, from Les Figures de l’Apocalypse de Saint Ian (Paris, Etienne Groulleau, 1547), sig. A vii verso. Woodcut, \(4\frac{3}{16} \times 2\frac{7}{8}\) inches. Rogers Fund, 69.530

4. Bernard Salomon, The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse, from Figures du Nouveau Testament (Lyons, Jean de Tournes, 1554), sig. E vii recto. Bernard Salomon was one of the best-known woodcut designers of sixteenth-century France. These cuts first appeared in an edition of 1553. Woodcut, \(2\frac{1}{4} \times 2\) inches. The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 55.561.2
design in their work and, like Villard de Honneecourt in the thirteenth century, had often assembled their own books of pattern drawings. Once such designs began to be printed in the fifteenth century, it was possible to disseminate them widely. The importance of prints and printed books, both in northern Europe and in Italy, as conveyors of design cannot be stressed too much. As William Ivins, first Curator of Prints at the Museum, phrased it, “the exactly repeatable pictorial statement” released for the first time to a large number of artists many copies of identical decoration or composition, with none of the variations that freehand copies exhibit.

One category of printed book was an extremely important source of patterns. This was the emblem book, whose combination of symbolic picture and epigrammatical conceit was very popular in the sixteenth century and increasingly so in the seventeenth. Emblem books drew on a taste for graceful and pithy allegory that had been cultivated in the literature of Alexandrian writers and their Roman imitators. This taste had survived through the Middle Ages—especially in the form of bestiaries, lapidaries, and heraldic devices—and had continued to inform Petrarchan verse and attract the attention of Renaissance humanists, such as Marsilio Ficino. The particular kind of symbolism with which printed emblem books are associated was introduced to the Renaissance world in 1419, when a Greek translation of the Hieroglyphica, a text of questionable origin attributed to a supposed Egyptian called Horapollo, was brought into Italy. The Hieroglyphica described a number of occult signs and their meanings, and its importance for design was soon recognized. By the mid-fifteenth century, Leon Battista Alberti stressed in his treatise on architecture that such emblems provided an invaluable source of ideas for coins, medals, triumphal arches, and suites of rooms.

The popularity of the Hieroglyphica and its suggestions for emblems prompted many efforts to devise modern counterparts; one example is the Hypnerotomachia Poliphili, which incorporates a number of hieroglyphic-like symbols in its illustrations. It was written by Francesco Colonna in 1467 and published at the influential Venetian press of Aldus Manutius in 1499 (Figures 8 and 10).

Another imitator of the Hieroglyphica was Andrea Alciati, an Italian humanist who studied law in Bologna and taught in many universities, including Bruges and Paris. Alciati was fully aware that emblem books could serve as sources of design. In the dedication of the 1531 edition of his Emblemata, published in Augsburg by Heinrich Steyner, Alciati spoke of the emblems’ many practical uses, and he expanded on the idea in his Lyons edition of 1551.

In the same way, Gilles Corrozet, a friend of Denis Janot and Etienne Groulleau, wrote a book of emblems, the Hecatomgraphie (Figure 13), which Janot published in Paris in 1540. In that book Corrozet addressed a “discourse to men of good spirit and lovers of letters,” saying: “Thus can image-makers and woodcut designers, painters, embroiderers, goldsmiths, enamblers, take from this book any fancy, as they would from a tapestry.” He even gave instructions to artists in the little poems that accompany his emblems and epigrams.

But the interest fed by these emblem books of the early sixteenth century was mainly a profane one; the books’ roots were in the fables of Egypt, Rome, and Greece, or unusual occurrences of the natural world, and the images they provided were of gods and goddesses, courtiers and peasants. Although such subjects

5. Hans Holbein the Younger, *The Fiery Furnace*, from Historiarum Veteris Instrumenti Icones (Lyons, The Brothers Trechsel for the Brothers Frellon, 1538), sig. L verso. This scene from the first edition of Holbein’s Icones shows the readability of his style and the clarity of his narrative, which influenced many volumes of Bible stories throughout northern Europe. Woodcut, 2⅞ x 2⅞ inches. Rogers Fund, 19.3.1
found great favor in the city of Paris and the court of Fontainebleau, publishers in Lyons, the closest important printing center to Geneva, felt the moral responsibility of the Reformation. In 1538, a challenge to the vogue for emblem books appeared, in the form of the *Icones Historiarum Veteris Testamenti*, printed by the brothers Trechsel for the brothers Frelon in Lyons. It is a small book containing French quatrains by Gilles Corrozet and beautiful illustrations of scenes from the Old Testament (Figure 5). The woodcuts had been designed in 1529 or 1530 by Hans Holbein the Younger and cut in Basel for a Lyonnaise edition of the Vulgate Bible.

Lest his public miss the point of the publication of the *Icones*, Gilles Corrozet, in the introductory poem for the second edition of 1539, told the reader to forget profane views of Helen and Venus and to look at these “most sanctified images, which point out pictures of the saints with a holy finger.” The public and artists evidently looked carefully, because the influence of these woodcuts on the small religious picture books that proliferated through France, Germany, and the Netherlands is second only to that of Dürer. Craftsmen soon began to use the illustrations from such books for items of daily use, in the same way as they used designs from emblem books. For example, a platter from Lyons, now in the Museum’s collection, copies exactly the scene of Joseph and His Brethren from a book illustration of 1553 (Figures 6 and 7).

The woodcuts of the Janot Apocalypse are clearly conceived—in the same spirit as the Old Testament illustrations by Holbein—as a counter to the many editions of little emblem books, such as the Alciati printed by Christian Wechel in 1534 and Janot’s own *Hecatomgraphie* of 1540. Like those of the *Hecatomgraphie*, they are also doubtless intended to serve as patterns of design, not only of Apocalypse scenes, but also of ornamental borders and cartouches. Jean Maugin, who translated the text of the Acts of the Apostles into French verse, explicitly addressed the Janot Apocalypse to artists in a “discourse to all picture makers, painters and others favoring these divine sciences,” in which he announced plans

6, 7. Joseph and His Brethren. Above, scene by Bernard Salomon for Quadrins historiques de la Bible (Lyons, Jean de Tournes, 1553). The impression illustrated is from the same block Salomon had used in 1553, but it was printed by Samuel de Tournes, long after his family had moved to Geneva to escape religious persecution, in Icones Veteris et Novi Testamenti (1681). Woodcut, 2 ¼ x 3 inches. Gift of Lincoln Kirstein, 61.554.6. Below, a platter from Lyons decorated with an almost-exact copy of the Salomon scene. About 1553-1600. Ceramic, Urbino maiolica style, diameter 17⅛ inches. Gift of J. P. Morgan, 17.190.1804
to extend the repertory of New Testament scenes.

Like the majority of woodcut designers in the early years of printing, the man responsible for the cuts in *Les Figures de l’Apocalypse* has remained anonymous. The identity of the artist in sixteenth-century books, however, is usually less important than that of the printer, who determined and controlled the character and quality of his production and, with it, the taste of his contemporaries. The Venetian press of Aldus Manutius was enormously successful in transmitting principles and patterns of the humanistic Renaissance through all of Europe. Aldus printed many of the classics, casting Greek and italic types, the latter having been copied from the chancery hand of the Papal secretaries. I have mentioned the 1499 Aldine publication of the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, which was full of modern hieroglyphic and Renaissance design, cut in the very open, two-dimensional line drawing of Venetian book illustration (Figures 8 and 10). This book reached an even wider audience in 1546, when a Parisian printer of German origin, Jacques Kerver, published a French edition, adapting the fifty-year-old Venetian illustrations to a more contemporary, northern woodcut style (Figures 9 and 11).

In France, Geoffroy Tory exercised as great an influence on design as that of Aldus. Tory was a bookseller and grammarian who became Printer to the King in French; he joined with other French humanists in designing Greek, Roman, and italic types for editions of the classics and in formulating allegorical theories about the shape and significance of letters. Through his *Champfleury*, published in 1529, and through several editions of Books of Hours (Figure 12), he introduced concepts of classical beauty and proportion that were essential for developments in printing during the following decades in France. In the process, he created exquisite floral arabesque and architectural borders and initials, which translated monumental Italian Renaissance and Moresque motifs into printed form and influenced the taste of many designers after him.

Tory’s successor as Printer to the King in
French was Denis Janot, the son of a printer, who was active in Paris from 1530 to 1545. In the early 1540s Janot became concerned with making Parisian woodcut design conform to the stylish decoration of Fontainebleau, and he resolved to form a workshop of skilled craftsmen who would produce fashionable specimens of the art for his books. He was joined in this endeavor by Etienne Groulleau and the humanist poet Gilles Corrozet; the latter had been exposed to beautifully executed Swiss woodcuts when he wrote the French quatrains for Holbein's Icones, and he wished to rival their excellence in Paris. In addition to the elegant, delicate style that Janot eventually developed in his woodcuts, his particular contribution to the art of the book was an especially pleasing format. He devised a clear arrangement of illustrations and text on pages facing each other, all in tiny books. The diminutive proportions of the volumes made the fineness of the cuts and borders all the more charming.

One finds this arrangement in Corrozet's Hecatomgraphie of 1540 (Figure 13). On the left side of the open book one sees an elaborate ornamental border enclosing an emblem and its epigram, with verse underneath, and on the right side more explicatory and moralizing poetry. One can understand that these borders and scenes would be favorite sources for artists. Janot continued to use this format in all his small books, and one finds it still in Les Figures de l'Apocalypse, published two years after his death by his heirs (Figure 14). From 1540 through 1565, the year of Groulleau's death, the Janot house consistently provided handsome new examples of taste and learning.

Two of the most popular books printed by the Janot house are now in the Metropolitan Museum: they are L'Amour de Cupido et de Psiché, Mère de Volupté by Lucius Apuleius, published after Janot's death by Jeanne de Marnef Janot, still a widow, in 1546, and Les Figures de l'Apocalypse. Because Jeanne applied to the king for a privilege in 1546 to print both these books, and because each contains the same ornamental borders, it appears that they were meant to be pendants—one sacred, one profane. Both are direct adaptations of foreign models, and their dissimilarities are interesting and complementary, in that they reflect some essential differences in character between early sixteenth-century Italian and northern woodcut illustration.

Cupid and Psyche, a mythological allegory, is copied, fittingly, from models of the school of Raphael, reproductions of prints by Michiel Coxie engraved by Agostino Veneziano and the Master of the Die (Figures 15 and 16). The engraved compositions were translated into terms of woodcut, drawn in simple, linear design, with the contours of the figures emphasized and the forms arranged clearly on the page, in a manner developed from the illustrations in Venetian books, such as the

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**Figures de l'Apocalypse**, published two years after his death by his heirs (Figure 14). From 1540 through 1565, the year of Groulleau's death, the Janot house consistently provided handsome new examples of taste and learning.

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*Figures de l'Apocalypse*
12. Adoration of the Magi, from Horae in Laudem beatiss. semper Virginis Mariae [Hours in praise of the ever-blessed Virgin Mary] (Paris, Simon de Colines for Geoffroy Tory, 1525), sig. F iii recto. The arabesque rinceaux, vases, and candelabra of the borders are characteristic of Tory’s Italianate taste. The scene adapts the figure canons used in French books during the first quarter of the century to the linear flatness of Venetian cutting. In the black king, one sees cutting similar to the Florentine “white on black” technique, in which the surface of the wood block is incised to print white lines, rather than being cut out, leaving a relief that prints black. Woodcut, 6\(\frac{3}{8}\) x 3\(\frac{3}{4}\) inches. Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 30.72.1

13. Gilles Corrozet, Hecatongraphie (Paris, Denis Janot, 1543). This book was first printed in 1540, but our illustration is from the 1543 edition. In our discussion we have retained the spelling “Hecatongraphie” that appears on the 1540 title page. Woodcut, 4\(\frac{3}{4}\) x 3 inches. Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 25.69

14. The Treading of the Grapes and the Reaping of the Grain, from Les Figures de l’Apocalypse, sig. C vii verso, C viii recto. Note the delightful border with female terms at each side, which recalls stucco decoration at Fontainebleau. Woodcut, 4\(\frac{3}{8}\) x 2\(\frac{3}{4}\) inches. Rogers Fund, 69.530
15. Psyche Bathing, an engraving from a series designed by The Master of the Die and Agostino Veneziano after Michiel Coxie. Coxie was a German in the school of Raphael; these scenes were also used for stained glass, tapestries, and frescoes. Bartsch, xv.215.45. Engraving, 7½ x 9½ inches. Rogers Fund, 41.71.3

Aldine Hypnerotomachia Poliphili (Figures 8 and 10).

The execution of the woodcuts in *Les Figures de l'Apocalypse* is, if anything, finer and more skillful than that in the *Cupid and Psyche*, and the figures are certainly as elegant; but the significant factor is that this sacred subject is cut in the German manner. The forms are hatched with many flexible lines that model objects in the round, and the compositions make less use than the *Cupid and Psyche* of white areas of the page, either to exploit surface patterns or to imply spatial recession. Of course, although the styles of the two books derive from the different traditions of Germany and Italy, they are united by the character of Parisian illustration, with its delicate handling and sophisticated figures, which Janot and other printers had developed by this time.

The German character of the cuts in *Les Figures de l'Apocalypse* is not surprising when we remember the influence of Dürer's Apocalypse illustrations on artists through the sixteenth century. The Janot Apocalypse is, however, most directly adapted from woodcuts by Hans Sebald Beham, a German whose figure types and line technique were strongly influenced by Dürer. This immediate derivation from Beham's *Typi in Apocalypsi Johannis* (published in Frankfurt by Christian Egenolff in 1539) is clear in the scene of the Four Horsemen. The figure of Death in both Beham and Janot carries a scythe, not a pitchfork as in Dürer (Figures 1-3).

It is also interesting that the Janot, in turn, influenced the Apocalypse illustrations of a later book in the Museum's collection: *Figures du Nouveau Testament*, published in Lyons by Jean de Tournes in 1553 and illustrated by Bernard Salomon. The scene that underscores the connection among the Beham, Janot, and Salomon Apocalypses is the Vision of the New Jerusalem (Figures 17-19). The general composition, of course, appears in Dürer, but one detail is to my knowledge unique to these three books: the little canal that appears in the center of Jerusalem.

A stylistic comparison of the three sets of illustrations helps to place *Les Figures de l'Apocalypse* in context. The three books are almost identical in iconography, but the character of the designs and the forms of figures show them to be products of three different stages of stylistic development. The books are from three important printing centers, Frankfurt, Paris, and Lyons, all published within less than fifteen years, from 1539 to 1553. The period was one of stylistic flux, during which elements from Italian Renaissance and mannerist styles were mixing in France with those of the Netherlands and Germany.

In 1530, Francis I had summoned Giovanni Battista di Jacopo, called Rosso, from Florence to direct the decoration of his great palace at Fontainebleau near Paris. He thus embarked upon a systematic infusion of Italian style into France, which involved importing not only casts of classical statues, but also modern painting and sculpture, artists and architects. Rosso's style reflected developments...
in Rome and Florence in the 1520s, a time in which such artists as Giulio Romano, Perino del Vaga, Parmigianino, and Rosso himself were beginning to interpret Renaissance style in a new way. They drew on monuments of the Renaissance and of classical antiquity — for example, Raphael’s stanza and loggie, Michelangelo’s Sistine ceiling, classical sarcophagi, and Trajan’s column — but transformed them with early stirrings of what would develop into the mannerist aesthetic. To simplify drastically, this aesthetic has been characterized as one in which style was cultivated for itself: human forms were elongated, with small heads and extremities, posed in difficult positions; landscapes were made to recede suddenly, with figures compressed in the foreground, creating illogical spatial effects; line and contour were considered the supreme tools for defining form. Such concerns were codified in mid-century Florence by artists of the Medici court, under Giorgio Vasari. Rosso brought a more vigorous, early version to France in his personal, abstract, angular style.

The advent of Primaticcio at Fontainebleau in 1532 introduced a further refinement of early mannerism to France. Born in Bologna, Primaticcio was exposed early to the sweeter forms of Emilian artists, such as Correggio and Parmigianino, and had developed a somewhat more languid, softly elongated figure style than that of Rosso, a style that the French found particularly congenial. Also, having worked with Giulio Romano on the stucco decoration of the Palazzo del Té in Mantua from about 1526, Primaticcio was able to execute the complex ornamental frames that figure prominently in Fontainebleau decoration, sculptural contrivances of strapwork, putti, long-legged nympha, garlands of fruit and flowers, all stuccoed in bas-relief.

The Italian innovations at Fontainebleau,
including those of others who came in the 1540s, such as Benvenuto Cellini, were received by French artists with enthusiasm (if not without jealousy of “the foreigners”). Again we must remember the importance of prints in disseminating the styles. Engravings and etchings from Italy had prepared the way in France, and reproductions of the decoration at Fontainebleau by printmakers, such as Fantuzzi and the Master L. D., further spread their mannerist figure canons and conceptions of spatial arrangement. These concepts were soon imitated by French artists, with varying success. By the forties, the most advanced artists, especially Jean Cousin the Elder and Jean Goujon, had begun to combine them with traces of northern Renaissance style, to develop a particularly French form of classicism. Often, however, the recently acquired vocabulary was translated into purely decorative terms, again mixed with German and Netherlandish elements; goldsmiths, tapestry designers, enamelers, and other decorative artists used the forms of Rosso, Primaticcio, and Cellini as elegant adornments. Etienne
Delaune and others created many prints of these designs, further spreading this ornamental variety of the new taste.

The three books of Apocalypse illustrations that we are discussing stand in clear relation to these rapid stylistic changes in northern Europe. Characteristic of the differences among the books is the scene of the Whore of Babylon (Figures 20-22). Hans Sebald Beham did not travel to Italy, and had probably had no access to prints of Fontainebleau decoration by 1539. To be sure, Dürer, on whose style Beham still relied, had been profoundly affected by his Italian trip, but he had transformed influences of Mantegna into personal expression. Hence, it is not surprising that the character of Beham's cuts is decidedly German. Like others of his contemporaries who produced small woodcuts and engravings and with whom he is grouped under the name of "Little Masters," Beham retained a concern for duplicating the feeling of pen drawing in woodcut scenes filled with calligraphic modeling and detail. Also, the composition of the Beham scene is larger than that of the two French Apocalypses, not only in measurement, but in the sense that the proportions of the figures are shorter, and their features are coarser. The kings bowing to the Whore are what one might expect to find in German prints of triumphal or royal entries, their substantial bodies weighed down with clothes in heavy folds. The Whore has the same quality; she is not elegantly simple enough and decidedly too plump to be confused with the French demoiselles in the other books.

By contrast, the scenes in the Janot Apocalypse tend toward the miniature, primarily decorative version of the Fontainebleau style that one finds in goldsmith work and ornamental engravings of the 1540s. They are drawn and cut with marked delicacy, and, although still definitely related to the German source, they simplify the complicated, rather heavy line of Beham, so that the forms are modeled with less calligraphic hatching. Although the poses are copied, the figural types of the Whore and kings are particularly French, like diminutive ladies and courtiers of Fontainebleau, with the elongated limbs, small extremities, and swelling contours of the stucco figures by Primaticcio. They are cut with precision, and, when we consider the dimensions of the cuts, 1 ¼ by 2 inches, we are astonished at the finesse of all the forms within that space. This quality of execution and character of design were rivaled in books printed by only a few of the houses in Paris in the second half of the 1540s, all reflecting the precious aesthetic of the crafts derived from Fontainebleau.

The illustrations by Bernard Salomon are more directly Italianate than those of the Janot Apocalypse. Lyons was one of the important crossroads of trade between Italy and France and, as such, continually exposed to Italian style firsthand. Salomon's cuts are informed partly by the same Franco-Italian style that influenced Les Figures de l'Apocalypse, but here it is often more directly related to the taste of the monumental frescoes of the Italian Renaissance than to the mannerist decoration and bas-relief of Fontainebleau. The Whore and kings are conceived as figures surrounded by space, with the effect enhanced by the elimination of the tree behind the
Hans Sebald Beham, The Opening of the Fifth Seal, from Typi in Apocalypsi Johannis, sig. A iii verso. This picture illustrates Revelation vi:9-11, concerning the risen martyrs who were clothed with white garments. Woodcut, $\frac{2}{3} \times 2\frac{1}{8}$ inches. Rogers Fund, 20.6

The Opening of the Fifth Seal, from Les Figures de l'Apocalypse, sig. A viii verso. The borders of this page are hunting motifs close to the iconography relating to Diane de Poitiers. Woodcut, $4\frac{1}{16} \times 2\frac{3}{4}$ inches. Rogers Fund, 69.530

The paradoxical aesthetic of such monumental fig-
ures in miniature was popular by this time in Italy. It was to be exploited in the later Fontainebleau-school paintings of such Italians as Niccolo dell'Abbate and such Frenchmen as Antoine Caron.

The ornament in the Janot Apocalypse was as responsive as the vignettes to prevailing taste. The extremely inventive borders and cartouches demonstrate again the currency of the Fontainebleau style. The cartouche shown in Figure 28 is an adaptation of the elaborate strapwork frames with cupids, fruits, flowers, nymphs, satyrs, and terms that probably had been transmitted to the artist of the Apocalypse through prints of the early 1540s by artists of the Fontainebleau school (Figure 26). The scene of the Treading of the Grapes and the Reaping of the Grain (Figure 14) shows a border with female terms, which resemble those in Figure 26, and the horned head at the bottom, with wattles hanging from his cheeks, is a common Fontainebleau figure. The Apocalypse borders also often use the devices of French royalty: one of them, cut in a slightly older, less Italianate style, incorporates the porcupine of Louis XII and the salamander of Francis I, who died in 1547, the year when the Apocalypse was published. The hunting border (Figure 24) and the crescent-horned-term border (Figure 3) include motifs of Diana and the chase often associated with Diane de Poitiers, mistress of Henry II.

The borders may also show the currency of Netherlandish ornament in France, another example of the effective dissemination of design by prints and printed books. The Museum has the only known copy of a book of Moresque patterns printed in Paris by Jérôme de Gornmont in 1546. De Gornmont copied his book directly from one published in Antwerp by Cornelis Bos, possibly around 1540, which was, in turn, taken from an Italian book by Francesco Pellegrini. The title page designed by Bos and copied by de Gornmont (Figure 27) uses frames of strapwork, hanging fruit, and grotesque satyr figures, which are in some ways like the Janot cartouches and borders, although exploiting concavities and convexities to a greater degree. The problem of priority in this kind of decoration, whether Italian,
28. Two facing pages from Les Figures de l'Apocalypse showing cartouche, sig. F iii verso. The motto in the cartouche, “Soing et Secret” or “Care and Secrecy,” is that of Jean Maugin, the translator of the New Testament texts. Woodcut, 2 1/4 x 2 9/16 inches. Rogers Fund, 69.530

French, or Netherlandish, is a very complicated one; nevertheless, the currents were in the air by 1546, and the designs of the borders for the Apocalypse and the Cupid and Psyche reflect them.

With its exquisite illustrations and its varied ornament, Les Figures de l'Apocalypse de Saint Iam is indeed a beautiful and rare little book, a jewel of mid-sixteenth-century book design in France.

NOTES

This copy of Les Figures de l'Apocalypse was once owned by Hippolyte Destailleur, a nineteenth-century French architect and a great connoisseur of prints, drawings, and rare books. The Museum owns much of Destailleur's collection of ornamental designs, and it is fitting that this book, so charmingly useful as a pattern book, should join its fellows here.

I would like to give particular thanks to the staff of the Museum's Print Department for bearing with my many forays into their study room and, of course, to the Education Department and the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, for making the Museum Training Program possible. Thanks of the same kind are due Colin Eisler, who has advised me on French sixteenth-century books, and to the Print Division and Rare Book Division of the New York Public Library, whose help has been invaluable.

For further reading on the subjects of French illustrated books, emblem books, and the style of Fontainebleau and the maniera, see:

J. Lieure, La Gravure en France au XVIe siècle; La Gravure dans le livre et l'ornement (Paris, 1927).
John Shearman, Mannerism (Baltimore, 1967).
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