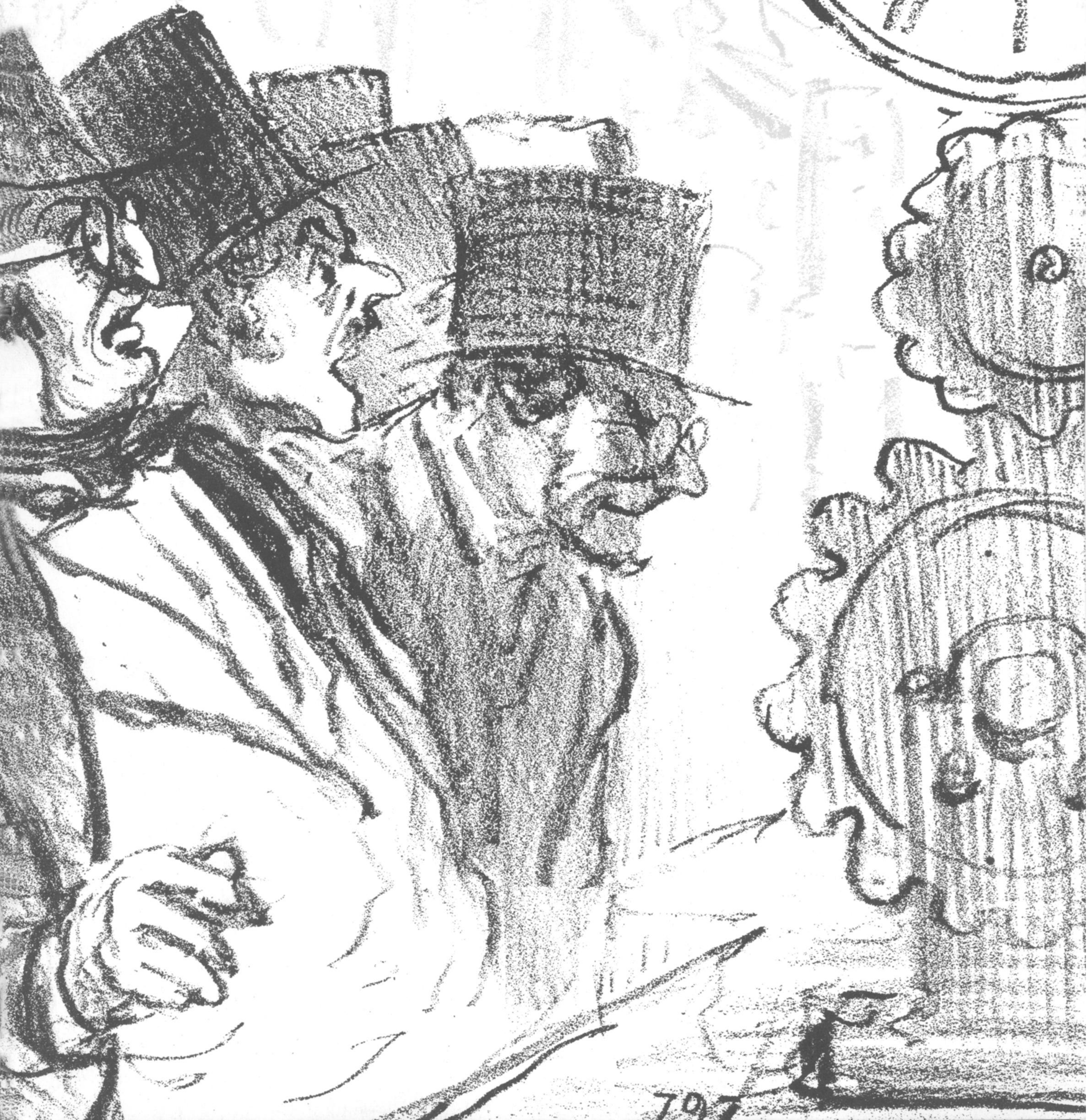
FEBRUARY 1964

The Metropolitan Museum of Art BULLETIN



"Come, Come to the Fair . . ."

JOHN J. McKENDRY *Assistant Curator of Prints*

1. All Nations. From Richard Doyle's Pictures of Extra Articles and Visits to the Exhibition (London, 1851). Lithograph. 13⅞ x 4¾ inches. Gift of Lincoln Kirstein, 63.698.1

ON THE COVER: *A Twenty-nine-horsepower Spit for Roasting Chickens. Detail of a lithograph by Honoré Daumier, reproduced in full on page 189*

Australians arrived by the last clipper with two or three barrels of gold-dust, Californians with a placer in their pockets, Baboos and nabobs boasting several lakhs of rupees, civilians from the East India Company on leave, blacks and half-castes from Haiti, Dukes of Marmalade and Marquesses of Marzipan, Chinese with almond eyes, hiding their rolled-up pigtails under opera hats, Turks and Egyptians in red fezzes, Yankees restraining themselves from stretching out their legs on the velvet edge of theatre balconies, descendants of Montezuma with blue hair and coppery skin, Englishmen of irreproachable mien, Spaniards leaving the theatre at every interval to wrap up three shreds of yellow tobacco in *papel de hilo*, aesthetic and conscientious Germans come to decide for themselves if Molière is in fact just a fool without ideals, as Schlegel decrees; Venetians, Bergamasques, Milanese, Romagnols, Italians from all over Italy ... more people than were dispersed at the ancient confusion of Babel." *(Théophile Gautier in Le Moniteur Universel, September 10, 1855, trans. Richardson.)*

Théophile Gautier's picturesque account of the International Exposition in Paris in 1855 could very well be applied to any of the World's Fairs. All of them have attracted a flow of visitors remarkable in quantity and variety. Queen Victoria, Charles Dickens, Thomas Macaulay, Hector Berlioz, Edmond and Jules de Goncourt, Samuel Morse, and Sarah Bernhardt are only a few of the more famous people who have recorded their impressions of the fair they came to see. Each saw the spectacle differently. Of the Paris exhibition of 1867 Twain remarked: "It was a wonderful show, but the moving masses of people of all nations we saw there were still a more wonderful show. I discovered that if I were to stay there a month, I should still find myself looking at the people instead of the inanimate objects on exhibition." And of the Paris fair of 1900 – after his release from prison in England and during the last year of his life – Oscar Wilde remarked that "the only thing ugly at the exhibition is the public." But these contrasting observations only underline the fact that the ways of seeing fairs are as varied as are the natures of men.

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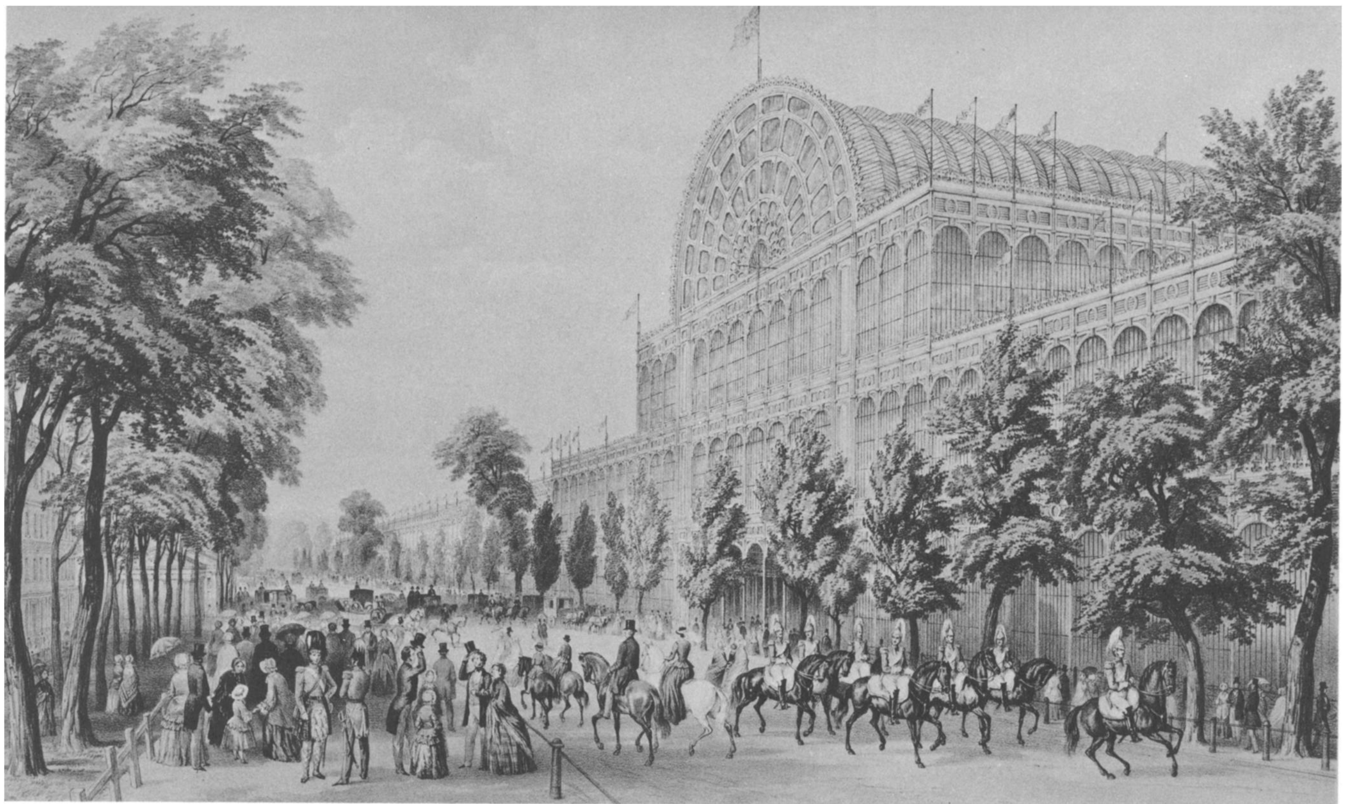

London 1851

2. *Above: View of the south side of the Crystal Palace of 1851. From The Park and the Crystal Palace: A Series of Seven Picturesque Views Drawn by Phillip Brannon (London, 1851). Lithograph. 11⅛ x 18¾ inches. Rogers Fund, 62.602.292 (7)*

I find I am 'used up' by the Exhibition. I don't say 'there is nothing in it' – there's too much. I have only been twice; so many things bewildered me. I have a natural horror of sights and the fusion of so many sights in one has not decreased it. I am not sure that I have seen anything but the fountain and perhaps the Amazon [The Amazon on Horseback Attacked by a Tiger, the most popular statue exhibited]. . . . ———— took all the school one day. The school was composed of a hundred 'infants', who got among the horses' legs in crossing to the main entrance from Kensington Gate, and came reeling out from between the wheels of coaches undisturbed in mind. They were clinging to horses, I am told, all over the park.

"When they were collected and added up by the frantic monitors, they were all right; they were then regaled with cakes, etc., and went tottering and storming all over the place, the greater part wetting their forefingers and drawing a wavy pattern on every accessible object. One infant strayed. He was not missed. Ninety and nine were taken home, supposed to be the whole collection, but this particular infant went to Hammersmith. He was found by the police at night going round and round

THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART *Bulletin*

VOLUME XXII, NUMBER 6 FEBRUARY 1964

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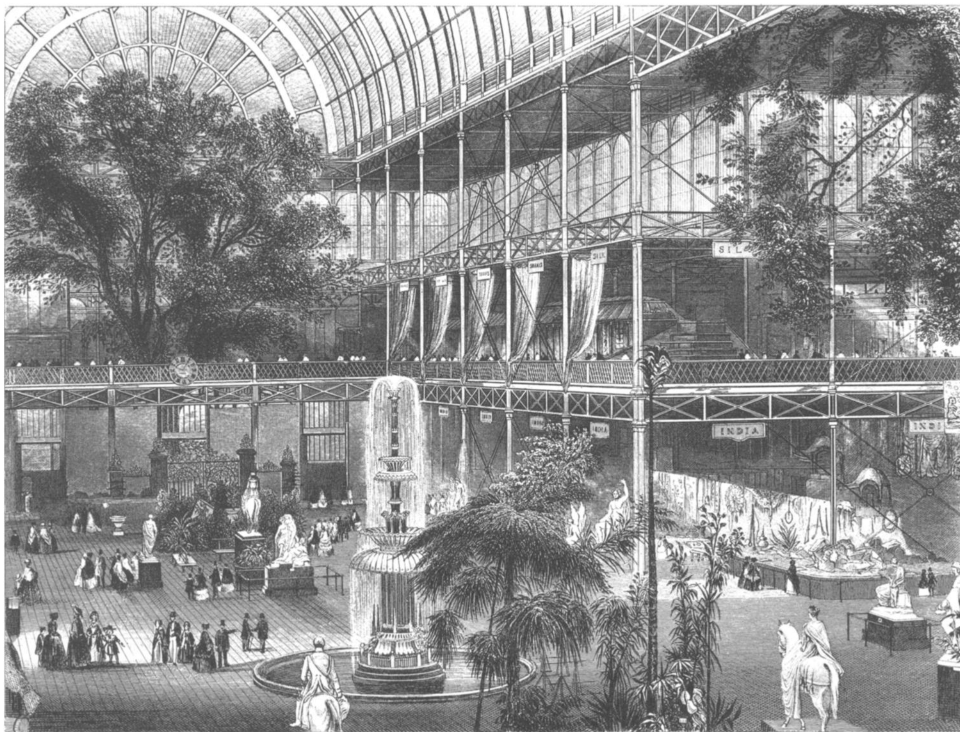
the turnpike, which he still supposed to be part of the Exhibition. He had the same opinion of the police, also of Hammersmith workhouse, where he passed the night. When his mother came for him in the morning he asked when it would be over? It was a great Exhibition, he said, but he thought it long." *(Charles Dickens, letter to Mrs. Watson, July 11, 1851.)*

Considering the trouble this high-spirited group caused, we can sympathize with the Duke of Wellington's complaint: "Prince Albert has insisted upon all the children at the Schools being sent to see the Glass Palace! which certainly augments the Crowd and is remarkably inconvenient as they move in strings!" *(Letter to Mary, Marchioness of Salisbury, May 30, 1851.)*

The Great Exhibition was held in the Crystal Palace, described by Joseph Paxton, its architect, as "the simplest, the merest mechanical building that could be made." The structure was received with almost universal acclaim, though there were a few dissenters, like Ruskin, who called it a magnified conservatory, and Carlyle, who labeled it "inexpressible." There is no doubt, however, that the same exhibits gathered together in a more conventional building would have been much less exciting, and the overpowering impression it made on Queen Victoria and Macaulay was shared by countless other visitors.

"We went up into the Gallery," the Queen wrote, "and the sight of it from there into all Courts, full of all sorts of objects of art, manufacture, etc. had quite the effect of fairyland." Macaulay was no less enthusiastic: "I made my way into the building: a most gorgeous sight; vast; graceful; beyond the dreams of the Arabian romances. I can not think that the Caesars ever exhibited a more splendid spectacle. I was quite dazzled, and I felt as I did on entering St. Peter's. I wandered about, and elbowed my way through the crowd which filled the nave, admiring the general effect, but not attending much to details." *(Letter of May 1, 1851.)*



3. Interior of the Crystal Palace of 1851, from the transept looking south. Contemporary English engraving after a daguerreotype. 5⅞ x 7⅞ inches. Transfer from the Library, 21.36.194

Paris 1855

Although paintings were not included in the Great Exhibition of 1851, they formed a very important part of most subsequent ones, especially in France, with its already strongly established tradition of annual Salons. The first French exposition in 1855 was notable for the exhibits of the strongly contrasting works of Delacroix and Ingres – exhibits reviewed by Baudelaire, as he had reviewed previous Salons. Delacroix recorded several visits to the fair in his journal, and not surprisingly his first remarks concern the paintings of his rival: "It was very cold in the gallery. Saw the Ingres exhibition: highly ridiculous, the complete expression of an incomplete mind! There is a sense of strain and pretentiousness about everything, not one spark of naturalness." Returning a few weeks later, he was in a somewhat more mellow mood: "I went again to the Exhibition. Ingres's section seemed to me much better than the first time I saw it and I very willingly acknowledge his many fine qualities." *(May 22 and June 1, 1855, trans. Norton.)*

He also visited the private exhibition that Courbet had set up because of the rejection of three of his paintings from the official show: "I went to the Courbet exhibition. He has reduced the price of admission to ten sous. I stayed there alone for nearly an hour and discovered a masterpiece in the picture which they rejected. . . . They have rejected one of the most remarkable works of our time, but Courbet is not the man to be discouraged by a little thing like that.

"I dined at the Exhibition, sitting between Mercey and Mérimée. The former agrees with me about Courbet, the latter does not care for Michelangelo!

"Odious modern music sung by those choruses which are so much in fashion nowadays." *(August 3, 1855, trans. Norton.)*

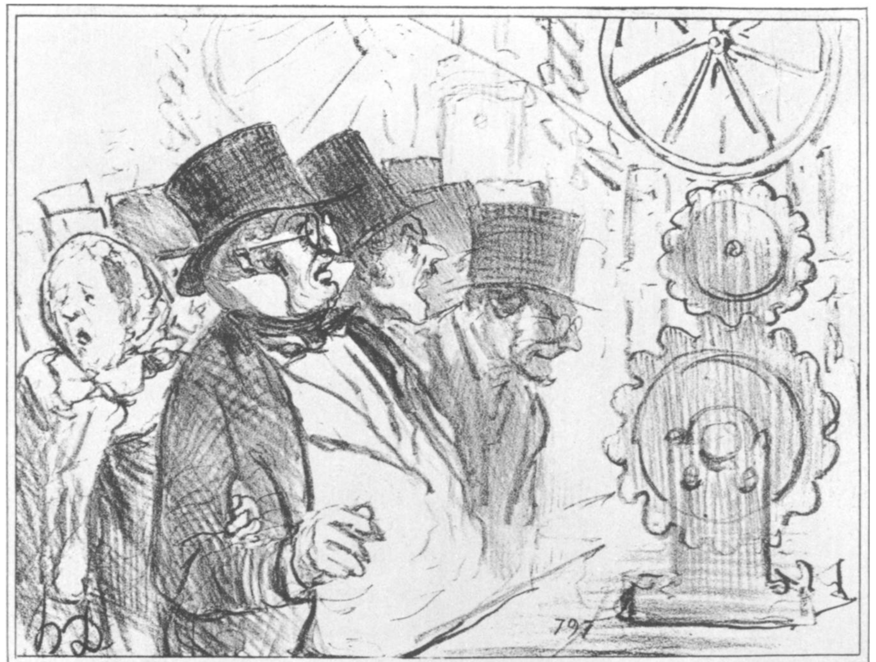
Delacroix did not limit his visits to the fine art sections: "Went to the Exhibition, where I noticed the fountain that sprouts artificial flowers.

"I think all these machines are very depressing. I hate these contrivances that look as though they are producing remarkable effects entirely on their own volition." *(August 3, 1855, trans. Norton.)*

The fountain that sprouted flowers – an example of the bizarre and useless operations to which machines were put at the nineteenth century exhibitions, which were not content to celebrate the triumph of the Industrial Revolution simply with large displays of machinery. Most fairs contain a certain element of the grotesque; cathedral altars built of wine bottles, castles of mattresses, a stove in the form of an armored knight, and the landing of Columbus modeled in gum paste are only a few of the oddities that have been exhibited.

OPPOSITE:

4. *The 1855 fine arts exhibition. Detail of a wood engraving, after Gustave Doré (1832-1883), French, from Musée Français-Anglais (June 1855). 12¾ x 21¼ inches. Dick Fund, 41.68.1*



5. *A Twenty-nine-horsepower Spit for Roasting Chickens, by Honoré Daumier (1808-1879), French. Lithograph in the series L'Exposition Universelle, from Le Charivari (July 20, 1855). 6⅞ x 8⅞ inches. Dick Fund, 36.12.180*

6, 7. *Above: First Impressions – Stupefaction, Compression, Suffocation. Below: Before and After a Visit to the Exposition. By Daumier. Lithographs from the series L'Exposition Universelle, from Le Charivari (May 24 and May 12, 1855). Both 6⅞ x 8⅞ inches. Gift of Edwin de T. Bechtel, 52.633.1 (8); Myra Carter Church Fund, 57.543.2*

Countless visitors have complained of the exhaustion, both physical and mental, induced by visits to huge and incredibly varied exhibitions. Few, however, have had an experience as exhausting as that Berlioz endured judging musical instruments: "Every day a batch of at least 90 piano-fortes made the planking of the stage groan under their weight, opposite us. Three skillful professors played, each one a different piece, on the same instrument, each one always repeating the same piece; we thus heard these three airs ninety times a day, or, adding up, two hundred and seventy airs on the piano-forte from seven o'clock in the morning till four o'clock in the afternoon. There were intermittences in our condition. At certain moments a sort of drowsiness took the place of pain, and as, after all, two or three of the pieces were very beautiful, one by Pergolese, and the other by Rossini, we listened to them at such times with pleasure; they plunged us into a sweet reverie. Soon afterwards the tribute had to be paid to human weakness; we felt ourselves seized with spasms in the stomach and positive nausea. But this is not the place to examine this physiological phenomenon. . . .

"The same process was gone through for parlor-grands, for square pianos and for uprights. We have the satisfaction to announce that not a single juror succumbed in consequence of this trial, and that most of them are convalescent at present." *(From Musical Grotesques, trans. Apthorp.)*

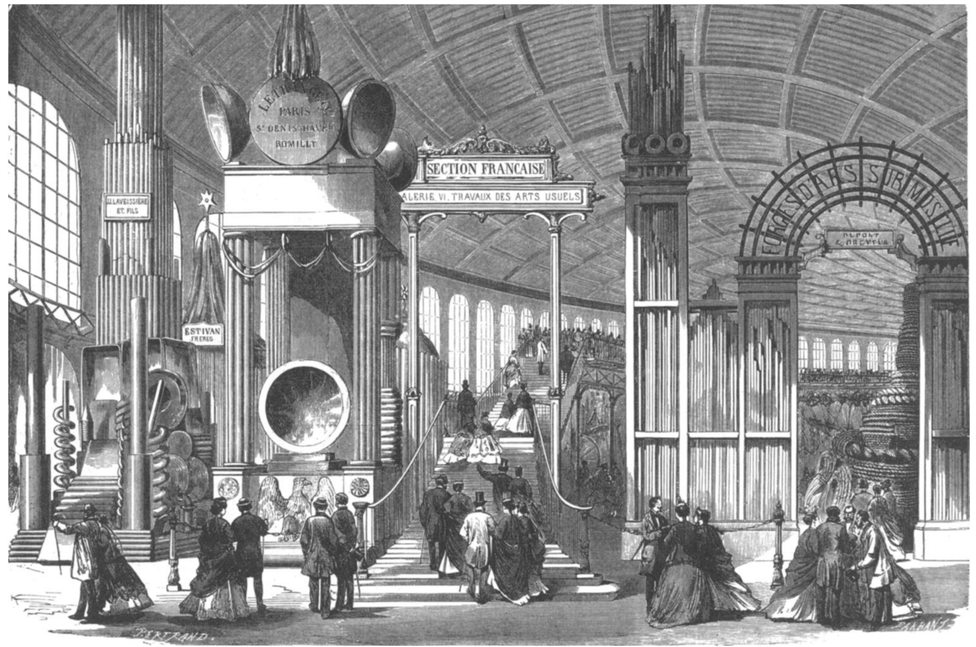
London 1862

The splendidly successful Crystal Palace of the Great Exhibition of 1851 was the inspiration for exhibition halls for several later fairs. Elaborated and made "more architectural," none of the later "crystal palaces" approached the first building in simplicity, beauty, or grandeur. London's exhibition of 1862 was held in one such architectural concoction, whose centerpiece was an ugly colored majolica fountain – a significant contrast to the delicate glass fountain that was so effective in the building of 1851.

"The building is horrible," wrote Mérimée; "although very large, it does not impress one with its size, and one must walk and be lost in it to appreciate its extent. . . . The restaurants are detestable, the American restaurant being the amusing feature, where may be found more or less diabolical beverages that one drinks through a straw: mint julep or 'raise the dead.' All of these drinks are disguised gin. I am tired out with British hospitality and dinners which give the impression of all being prepared by the same inexpert cook. You cannot imagine how I long for a plate of soup from my own *pot-au-feu.*" *(Letter of 1862 to an incognita, trans. Stoddard.)*

8. *The majolica fountain in the 1862 exhibition. Color wood engraving from The Illustrated London News (August 20, 1862). 13⅜ x 17⅜ inches. Gift of Mrs. A. Z. Gardiner, 36.52.17*

Paris 1867



9. Entrance to the Gallery of Machines in the exposition building of 1867. Contemporary French wood engraving. 8¾ x 12¾ inches. The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 59.500.691

10. View of the exposition of 1867, from the Trocadéro, by Maxime Lalanne (1827-1886), French. Etching. 14½ x 24⅛ inches. Dick Fund, 47.100.520

No fair was as opulent, as fashionable, as that of 1867. Though the major exposition building was a low, elliptical structure with the exhibits arranged in concentric rings around a central court – practical but unimaginative – the visitors had never been so glittering.

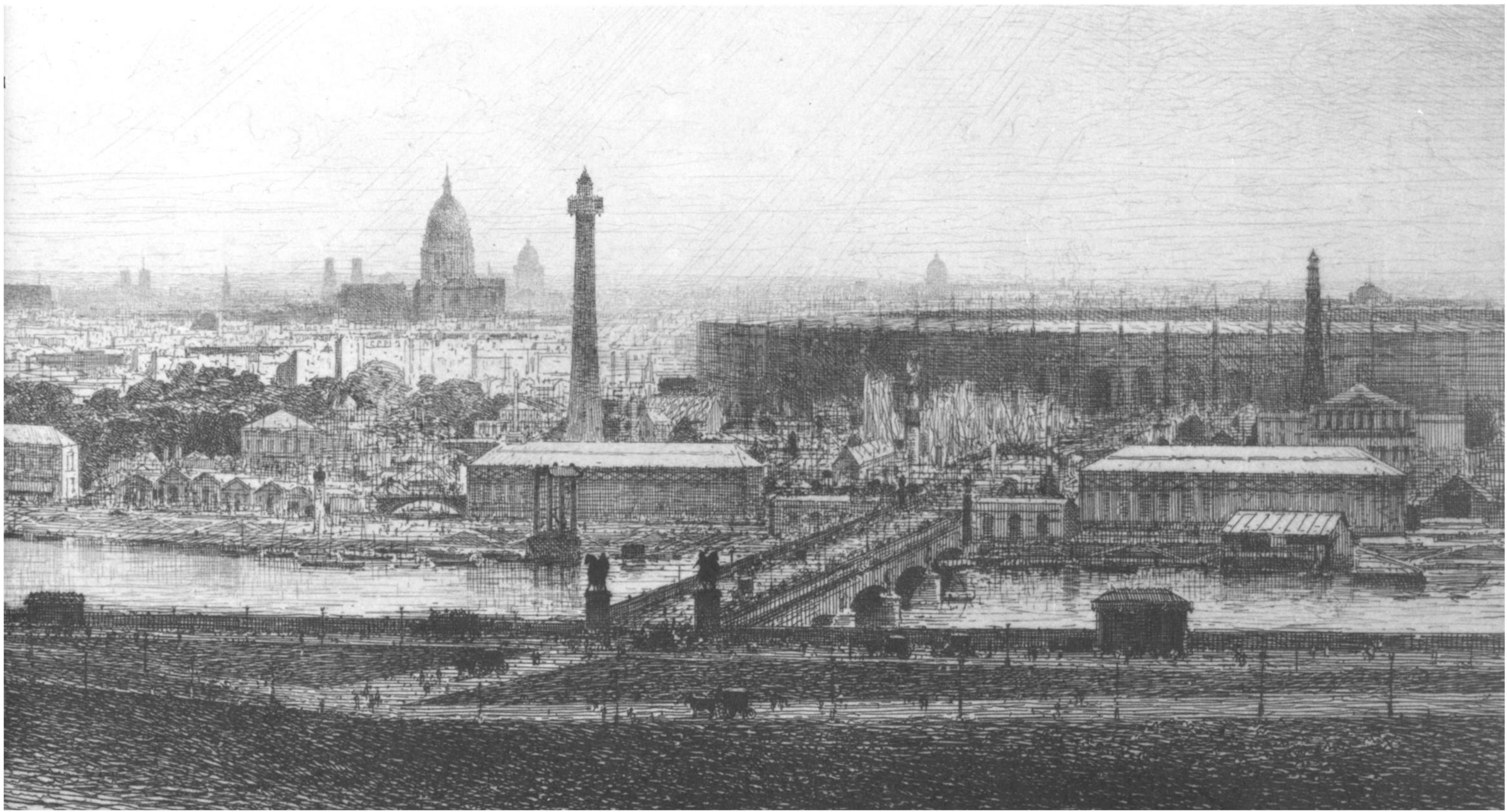
The Goncourt brothers, those unmatchable chroniclers of the Second Empire, gave an unforgettable description of a visit to the exhibition: "In the evening, accompanied by Gautier, we wandered round that great monster called the Universal Exposition. In this Babel of industry we felt as if walking in a dream in which an engineer was displaying to a Paris inundated with people collected to celebrate the fraternization of the Universe, a cork model of all the monuments on earth. Little by little, things round us began to wear a fantastic look. The sky over the Champs-de-Mars became filled with the tints of an oriental sky; the outlines of the confused medley

of buildings, seen against the violet evening sky, were like a bit of a landscape painted by Marilhat; the domes, the kiosks, the minarets, with all their colours, brought into the Parisian night the reflected transparencies of a night in an Asiatic city. At times it seemed to us that we were walking in a picture painted in Japan round an infinite palace, beneath a roof projecting as do the roofs of Buddhist monasteries, lighted up by globes of unpolished glass that gave off the same glow as the paper lanterns at a Japanese celebration. Or we seemed, walking under the billowing standards and flags of all the nations, to be wandering through the streets of the Middle Kingdom as depicted by Hildebrand in his *Tour du monde*, with the flapping zigzags of their signs and their pennants." *(Journal, May 27, 1867, trans. Galantière.)*

Flaubert left his provincial retreat of Croisset to visit the show. Writing to George Sand, he said: "I went twice to the Exposition; it is amazing. There are splendid and extraordinary things there. But man is made to swallow the infinite. One would have to know all sciences and all arts in order to be interested in everything that one sees on the Champs-de-Mars. Never mind; someone who had three entire months to himself, and went every morning to take notes, would save himself in consequence much reading and many journeys.

"One feels oneself there very far from Paris, in a new and ugly world, an enormous world which is perhaps the world of the future. The first time that I lunched there, I thought all the time of America." *(Letter of 1867, trans. McKenzie.)*

Though the exposition gave Flaubert visions of an imaginary America, it must have seemed quite un-American to many Americans who visited it. Among them, by strange coincidence, were the country's two leading painters, Thomas Eakins and Winslow Homer. It would be fascinating to know whether the two met at this time, but neither records such an incident. Eakins's only mention of the fair describes his visit to the machinery exhibit, where he admired the American locomotive – "by far the finest there; I can't tell you how mean the best English, French and Belgian ones are alongside of it."

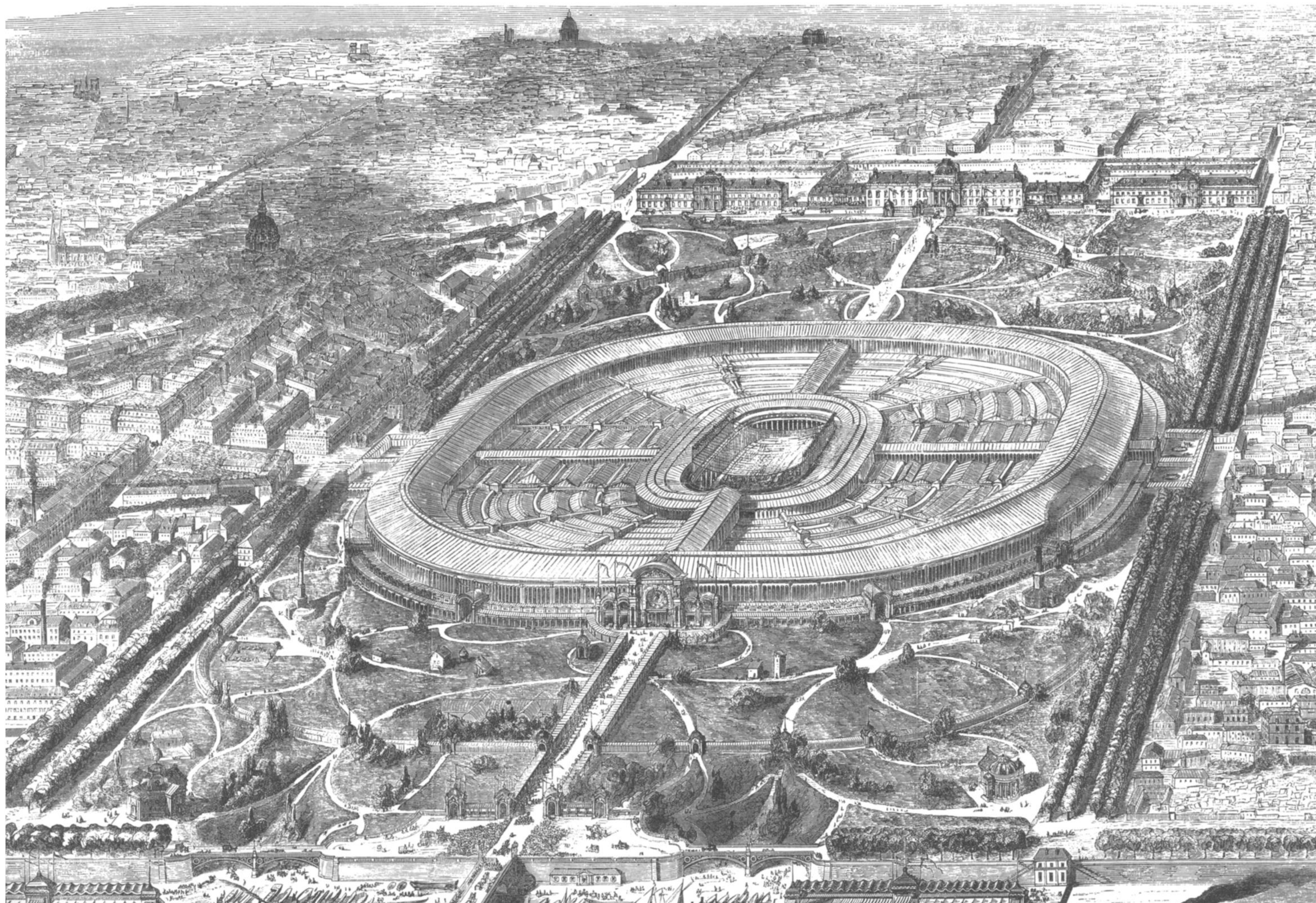


On display in the fine arts section were two of Homer's own paintings (one of which, Prisoners from the Front, is now at the Metropolitan Museum). Oddly enough, none of the drawings, later reproduced in *Harper's Weekly*, that he executed during this stay in Paris concern the fair. The exhibition did, however, have a lasting effect on the artist, for, as Albert T. Gardner has pointed out, Homer's work from this time on shows the influence of the Japanese prints he had seen there.

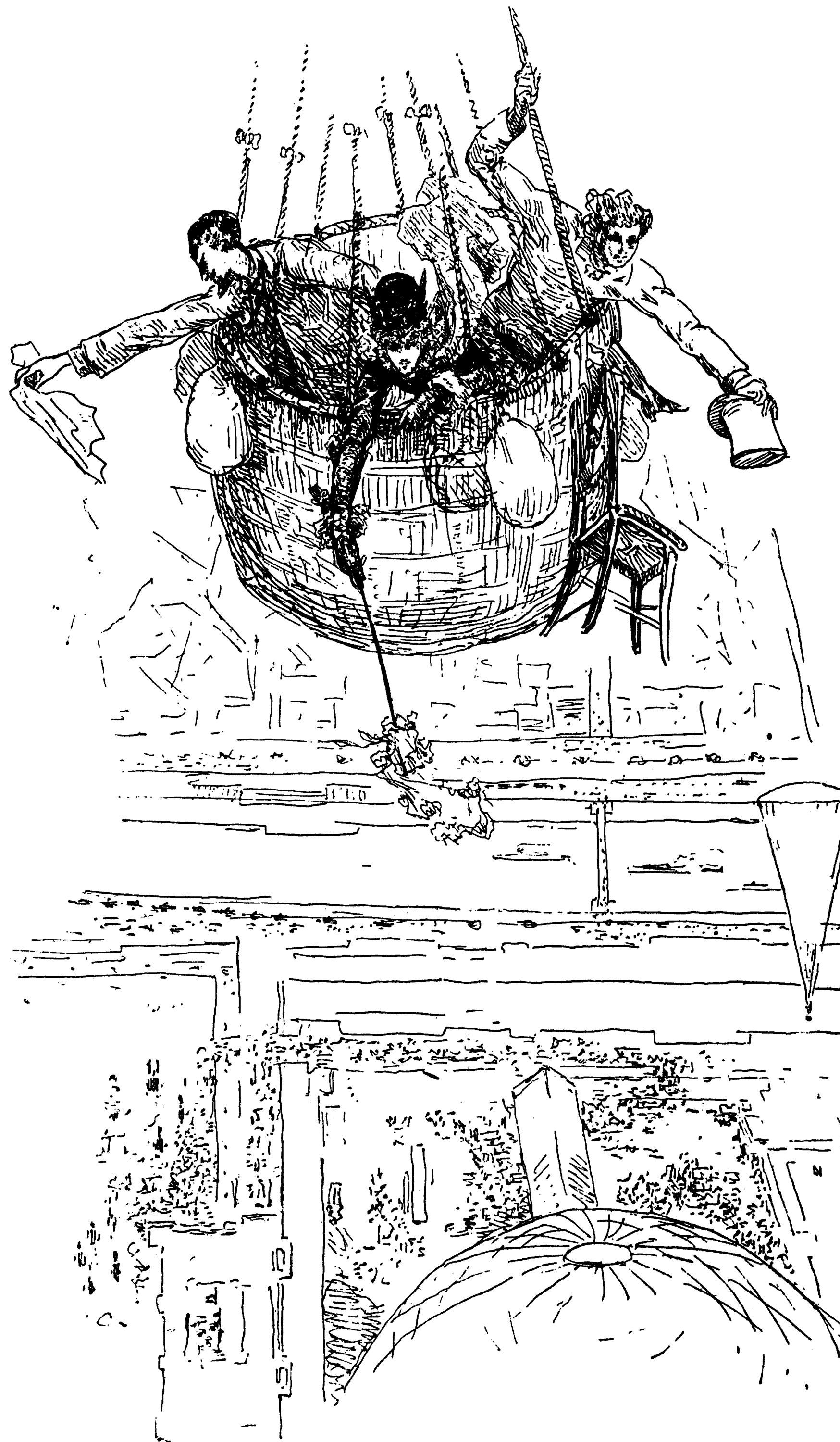
The exhibition was only one stop in the hectic whirl of sightseeing that Mark Twain describes in *Innocents Abroad:* "I think we have lost but little time in Paris. We have gone to bed every night tired out. Of course, we visited the renowned International Exposition. All the world did that. We went there on our third day in Paris – and stayed there *nearly two hours*. That was our first and last visit."

No visit could have been more different from Twain's two-hour-long glance than that of his compatriot Samuel Morse, who came to Paris months early and planned to stay for the duration of the exhibition, selecting an apartment for its proximity to the exposition area. "It may without exaggeration be pronounced the eighth wonder of the world," he wrote to his son-in-law. "It is the world in epitome. I came over with my children to give them the advantage of thus studying the world in anticipation of what I now see, and I can say that the two days only in which I have been able to glance through parts of its vast extent, have amply repaid me for my voyage here. I believe my children will learn more of the condition of the arts, agriculture, customs, manufactures and mineral and vegetable products of the world in five weeks than they could by books at home in five years, and as many years' travel."

11. Bird's-eye view of the exposition building of 1867 in the Champs-de-Mars. Contemporary French wood engraving. 12⅝ x 19 inches. The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 59.500.692



Paris 1878



12. Sarah Bernhardt in a balloon above the Champs-de-Mars, 1878, by Georges Clairin (1843-1919), French. From Dans les Nuages by Sarah Bernhardt (Paris, n.d.). 8 x 5 inches. The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 63.602

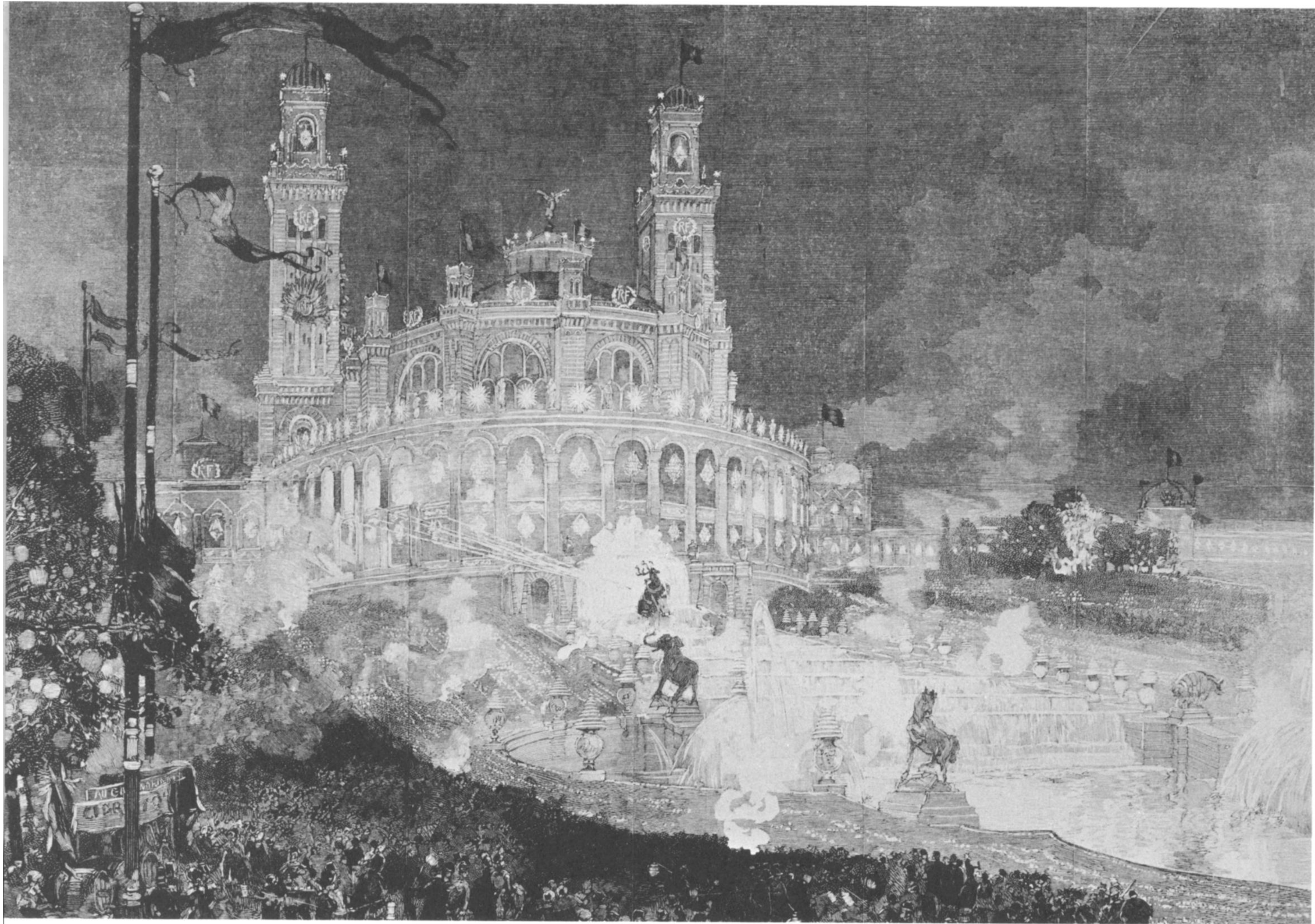
Sarah Bernhardt's fancy had been caught by a balloon on exhibit at the fair of 1878, and she persuaded Giffard, the balloonist, to let her go aloft: "There was the sky above and the earth beneath. . . . It was splendid! It was stupefying! Not a sound, not a breath! . . .

"At twenty minutes to seven we were about 2,500 yards above the earth, and cold and hunger commenced to make themselves felt.

"The dinner was copious – we had *foie gras* – fresh bread and oranges. The cork of our champagne bottle flew up into the clouds with a soft, pretty noise. We raised our glasses in honor of M. Giffard." After her daring ascent the manager of the Comédie Française, antagonized by her previous escapades, had her suspended, but, as usual, she was able to have herself reinstated.

Always the supreme egotist, Bernhardt's other memories of the exhibition centered on her admirers: "I did not read – I never read – the newspapers. So I did not know what was said about me, either favorable or unfavorable. Surrounded by a court of adorers of both sexes, I lived in a sunny dream. All the royal personages and the notabilities who were the guests of France during the Exhibition of 1878 came to see me. This was a constant source of pleasure to me." *(Memories of My Life, 1907.)*

Paris 1889



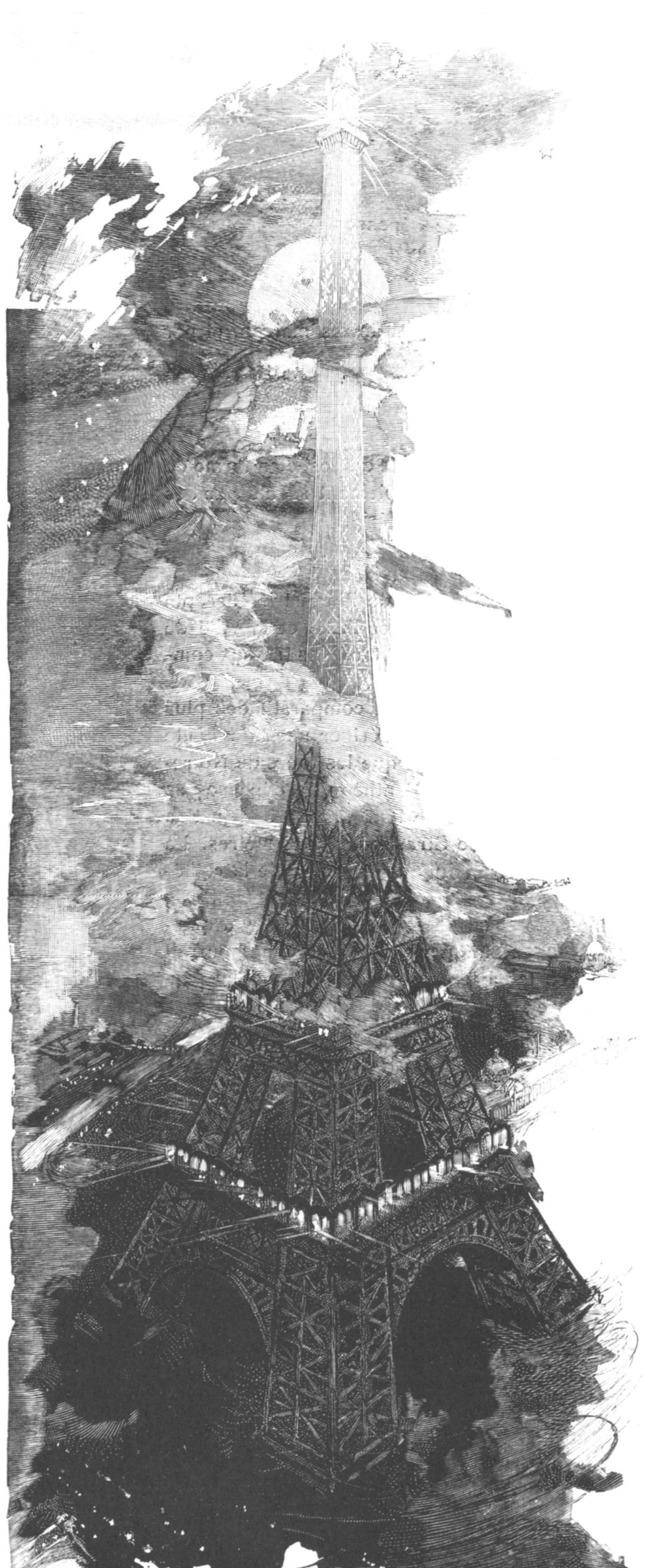
13. Illuminations, 1889, Palais du Trocadéro, by Auguste Lepère (1849-1918), French. Wood engraving. 12½ x 18 inches. The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 63.626.20 (3)

The Palais du Trocadéro, erected in 1878, served as an exposition building until it was torn down in 1937. The Hispano-Moresque structure probably never looked more striking than it did in 1889, when Edmond de Goncourt observed fireworks and the powerful spotlights on the newly erected Eiffel Tower illuminating its façade: "Minarets, domes, moucharabies, a whole pasteboard Orient, with not a single monument recalling our French architecture. . . . Paris, in fact, is no longer the Paris of old, but an open city to which all the robbers in the world, after making their fortune in business, come to eat poor food and rub against flesh which calls itself Parisian. . . .

"A mauve sky, which the illuminations filled with something like the glow of an enor-

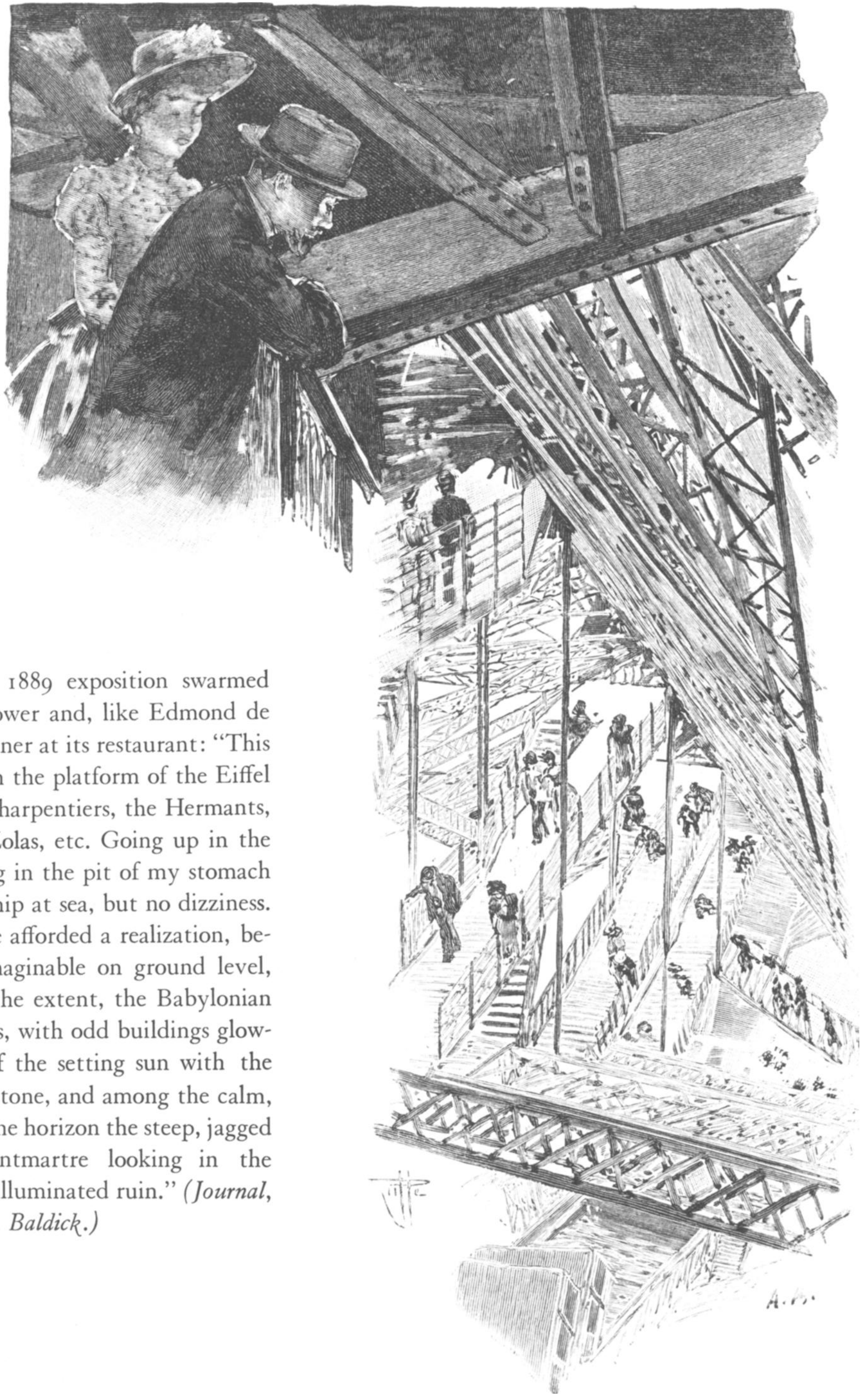
mous fire – the sound of countless footsteps creating the effect of the rushing of great waters – the crowds all black, that reddish burnt-black of present-day crowds – . . . . the Place de la Concorde an apotheosis of white light, in the middle of which the obelisk shone in the rosy colour of a champagne ice – the Eiffel Tower looking like a beacon left behind on earth by a vanished generation, a generation of men ten cubits tall." *(Journal, April 16 and May 6, 1889, trans. Baldick.)*

Renan viewed the spectacle in a mood of restrained nostalgia: "A recurrence of my habitual ailments has prevented me, so far, from seeing that dear Exposition, which I bless, since it seems to introduce into human affairs a little joy, oblivion, cordiality, and sympathy. I viewed the preparations for it, a few weeks ago, from the heights of the Trocadéro; it produced upon me the effect of the Villa Adriana, of one of those festivals of the time of Adrian [the Roman emperor, Hadrian], which were brilliant, a trifle composite, eclectic to excess, but which we love like the last smiles of a dying world. Even supposing that the Exposition of 1889 should be the last occasion which men will have to assemble for the purpose of giving themselves up to gayety and to amuse themselves with follies, this melancholy thought is not of a nature to render it less poetical and less suggestive to us." *(Letter to J. Lemaitre, May 9, 1889, trans. Hapgood.)*



14. The Eiffel Tower, by Auguste Lepère. Wood engraving from Revue de l'Exposition Universelle de 1889 (Paris, 1889). 12 x 4½ inches. Gift of Edwin de T. Bechtel, 48.180.80

15. On the stairs of the Eiffel Tower. Wood engraving from Revue de l'Exposition Universelle de 1889 (Paris, 1889). 7½ x 4½ inches. Gift of Edwin de T. Bechtel, 48.180.80

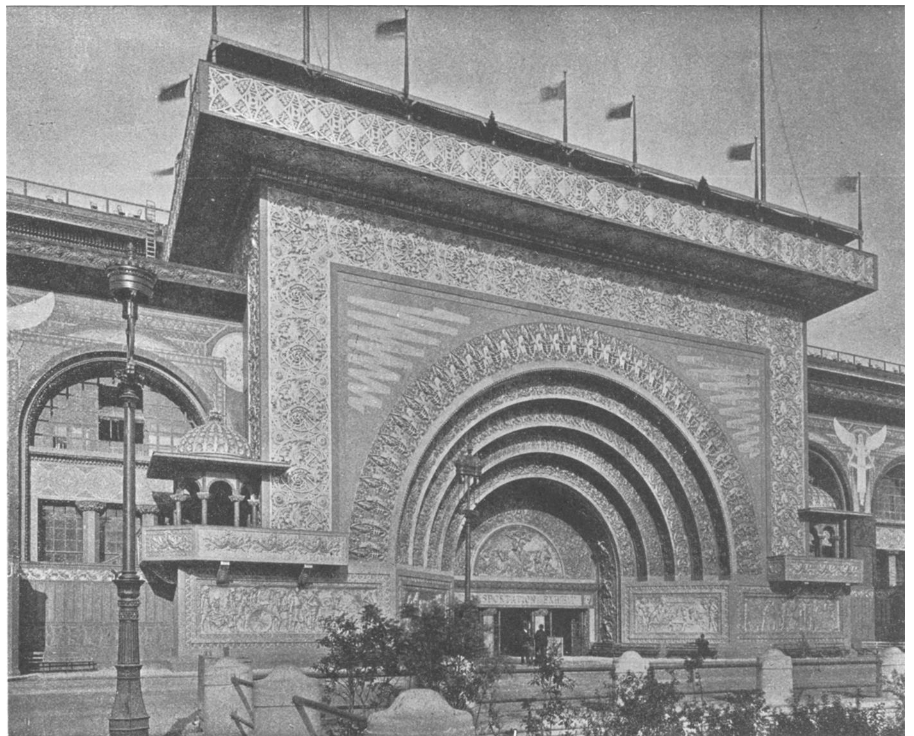


Visitors to the 1889 exposition swarmed over the Eiffel Tower and, like Edmond de Goncourt, had dinner at its restaurant: "This evening I dined on the platform of the Eiffel Tower with the Charpentiers, the Hermants, the Dayots, the Zolas, etc. Going up in the lift, I had a feeling in the pit of my stomach as if I were on a ship at sea, but no dizziness. Up there, we were afforded a realization, beyond anything imaginable on ground level, of the greatness, the extent, the Babylonian immensity of Paris, with odd buildings glowing in the light of the setting sun with the colour of Roman stone, and among the calm, sweeping lines of the horizon the steep, jagged silhouette of Montmartre looking in the dusky sky like an illuminated ruin." *(Journal, July 2, 1889, trans. Baldick.)*

Chicago 1893

The decision to erect a "White City" (of plaster) in the neoclassical style to house Chicago's Columbian Exposition of 1893 initiated a heated controversy. St. Gaudens considered the gathering of the fair's architects "the greatest meeting of artists since the fifteenth century" and the Palace of Fine Arts "the finest achievement since the Parthenon." Daniel Burnham, chief of construction, hailed the exposition as the beginning of a new era in America: "I can see all America constructed along the lines of the Fair, in noble 'dignified' classic style. The great men of the day all feel that way about it – all of them." In contrast, Louis Sullivan, whose Transportation Building was on the same scale as the other buildings but differed from them in every other way with its blatant colors, its golden door, and its very unclassical ornamentation, deemed the fair a disaster: "The damage wrought by the World's Fair will last for half a century from its date, if not longer. It has penetrated deep into the construction of the American mind, effecting there lesions significant of dementia."

In the midst of this furor, Henry Adams saw the buildings for what they were, a phase through which American art had to pass: "The first astonishment became greater every day. That the Exposition should be a national growth and product of the Northwest offered a step in evolution to startle Darwin; but that it should be anything else seemed an idea more startling still; and even granting it were not – admitting it to be a sort of industrial, speculative growth and product of the Beaux Arts artistically induced to pass the summer on the shore of Lake Michigan – could it be made to seem at home there? Was the American made to seem at home in it? Honestly, he had the air of enjoying it as though it were all his own; he felt it was good; he was proud of it; for the most part, he acted as though he had passed his life in landscape gardening and architectural decoration. If he had not done it himself, he had known how to get it done to suit him, as he knew how to get his wives and daughters dressed at Worth's or Paquin's. Perhaps he could not do it again; the next time he would want to do it himself and would show his own faults; but for the moment he seemed to have leaped directly from Corinth and Syracuse and Venice, over the heads of London and New York, to impose classical standards on plastic Chicago. Critics had no trouble in criticising the classicism, but all trading cities had always shown traders' tastes, and, to the stern purist of religious faith, no art was thinner than Venetian Gothic. All traders' taste smelled of bric-à-brac; Chicago at least tried to give her taste a look of unity." *(The Education of Henry Adams, 1918.)*

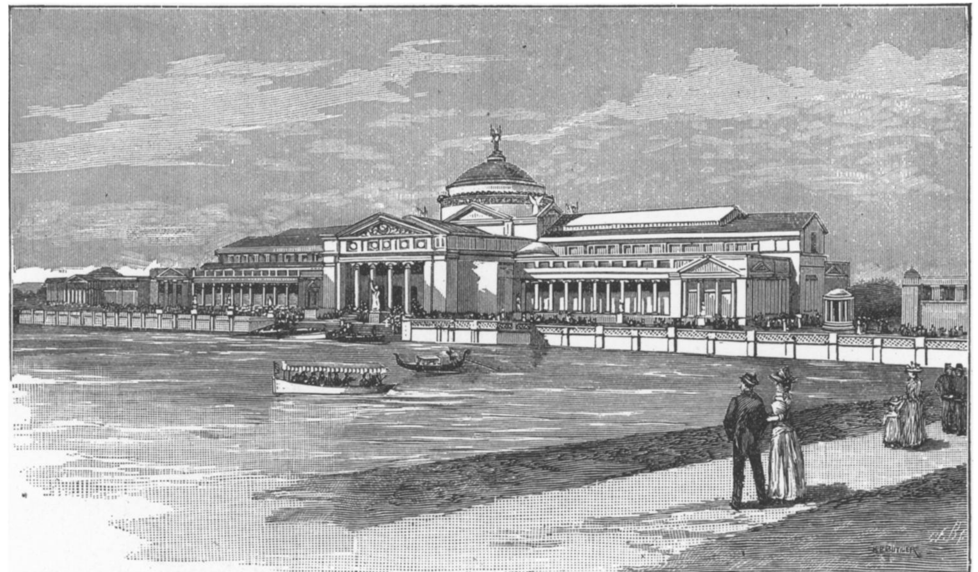


16. The golden door of Louis Sullivan's Transportation Building, Chicago, 1893, from Shepp's World's Fair Photographed (Chicago and Philadelphia, 1893). 6 x 8 inches. Gift of Lincoln Kirstein, 63.698.3

Almost limitless quantities of disparate objects, ranging from raw materials and manufactured goods to machinery and the countless creations of the arts, gathered from every corner of the globe and exhibited in buildings whose transient function has inspired their architects to design structures extraordinary to an extraordinary degree, make up the exotic blend that constitutes a World's Fair.

William James, who did not even visit the fair of 1893, describes the enthusiasm that such a mélange excites, in a letter to his brother Henry: "I shan't go to Chicago, for economy's sake – besides I *must* work. But *everyone* says one ought to sell all one has and mortgage one's soul to go there; it is esteemed such a revelation of beauty. People cast away all sin and baseness, burst into tears and grow religious, etc., under the influence!! *Some* people evidently."

17. The Fine Arts Building, Chicago, 1893, from Official Guide to the World's Columbian Exposition (Chicago, 1893). Wood engraving. 3⅝ x 6⅛ inches. Gift of Lincoln Kirstein, 63.698.2



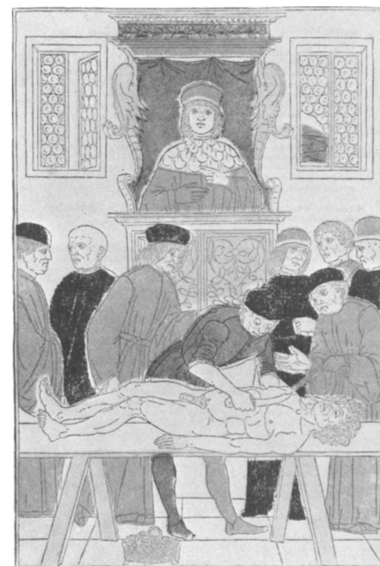
AN EXHIBITION *entitled The World's Fairs: Architecture of Fantasy, devoted to prints and photographs of the international exhibitions from 1851 to the present, will open on March 13.*

Artists as Anatomists

A. HYATT MAYOR *Curator of Prints*

In China and Japan, artists are judged by the various ways in which they paint mountains, pines, or carp; it was the egocentric Greeks who taught the West to judge artists by their ability to draw and model the human figure – especially the nude. Western artists since the Renaissance have represented the nude in two distinct manners: either with surgical particularity like Géricault and Eakins, or else according to a generalized scheme like Boucher and Ingres. Both of these approaches originated in Renaissance Italy, and both first became public property through celebrated engravings.

The detailed and surgical approach derives from the study of dissected cadavers, as practiced in recent times by both Géricault and Eakins. As early as the 1300s Italian artists could have seen anatomical dissections in the cold of carnival time, when holiday-makers paid the pennies charged for any sideshow to watch a barber-surgeon anatomize while a professor read aloud from a textbook. The Italian artists who were studying to represent the nude quickly discovered more than all the doctors about the shape and functioning of bones and muscles. Their purpose disregarded the viscera, which the physicians concentrated on in searching for the seats of illness. Artists nonetheless observed more sharply than doctors because you do not begin to see a thing until you draw it. Lynn Thorndyke has aptly remarked in his *History of Science* that in the Renaissance "sculpture and painting were more exact and interesting pursuits than physics and chemistry." Art and science, far from clashing, joined to study the visible world, for science needed the artist to draw and so communicate his observation to others, while art needed the scientist to explain God's handicraft, which artists wished to represent in all its clarity.



1. An Anatomical Dissection. From Fascicolo di Medicina, published in Venice in 1493. Woodcut, colored by stencils. 11⅝ x 7½ inches. Dick Fund, 38.52

Thus the sculptor Lorenzo Ghiberti, writing in Florence before 1448, says that a sculptor must have watched dissections ("*haver veduto notomia*") to learn the bones, muscles, tendons, and ligaments. He then bursts out: "O most noble! Without knowing the bones in the human body no one can shape a manly statue." (It strikes us as odd today that Ghiberti should not mention a woman's statue, and seems never to have made an important one, but his reading of antique literature probably persuaded him that man was the fairer creature.) Venetian artists also watched dissections, for one of the best of them (Gentile Bellini? Carpaccio?) drew such a scene from direct observation to make a woodcut in 1493 for the first beautifully illustrated medical book (Figure 1).

OVERLEAF:

2. Battle of the Ten Naked Men, by Antonio Pollaiuolo (1429-1498), Italian. Engraving. 15⅛ x 23³⁄₁₆ inches. Purchase, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, 17.50.99

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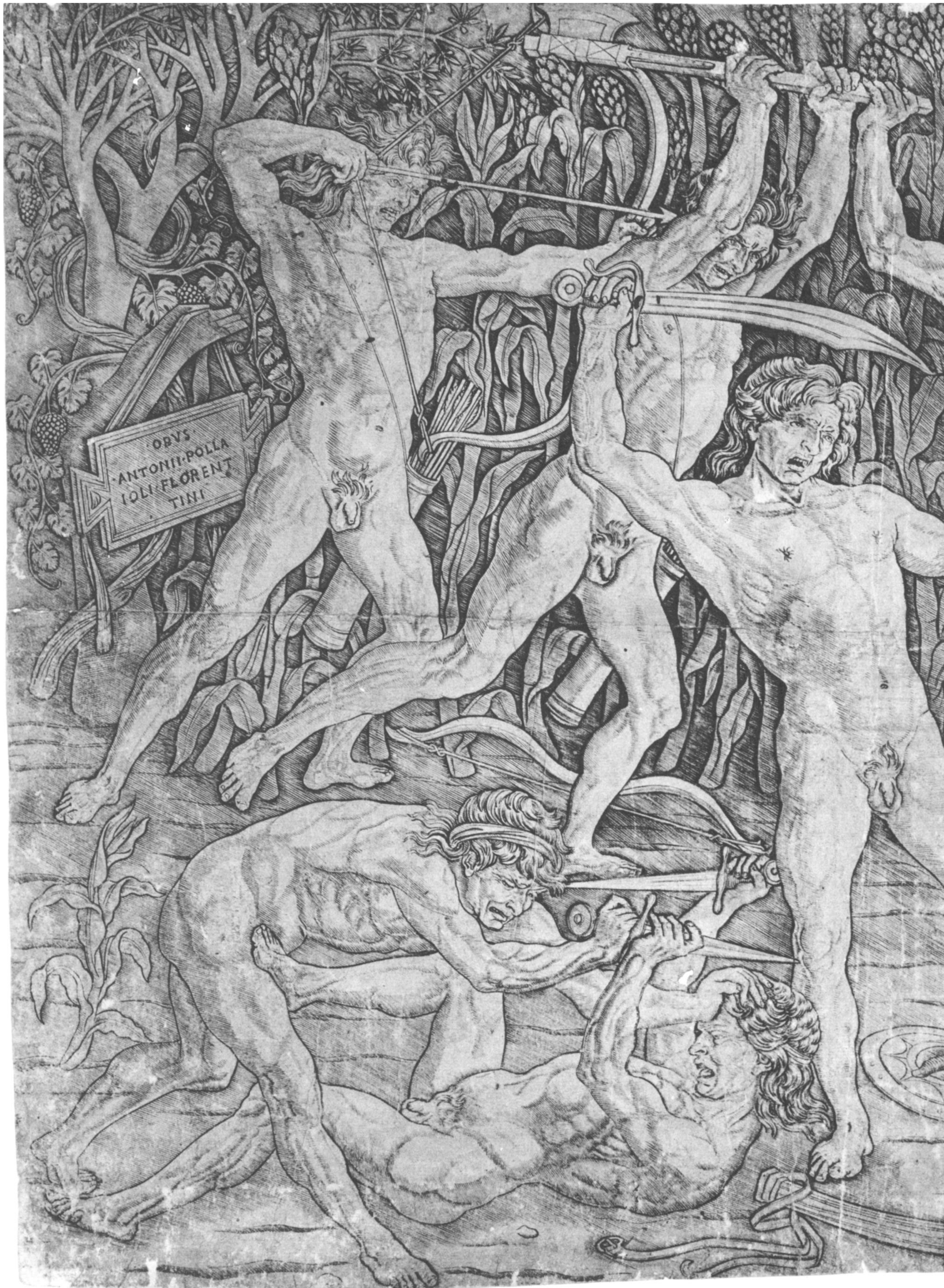
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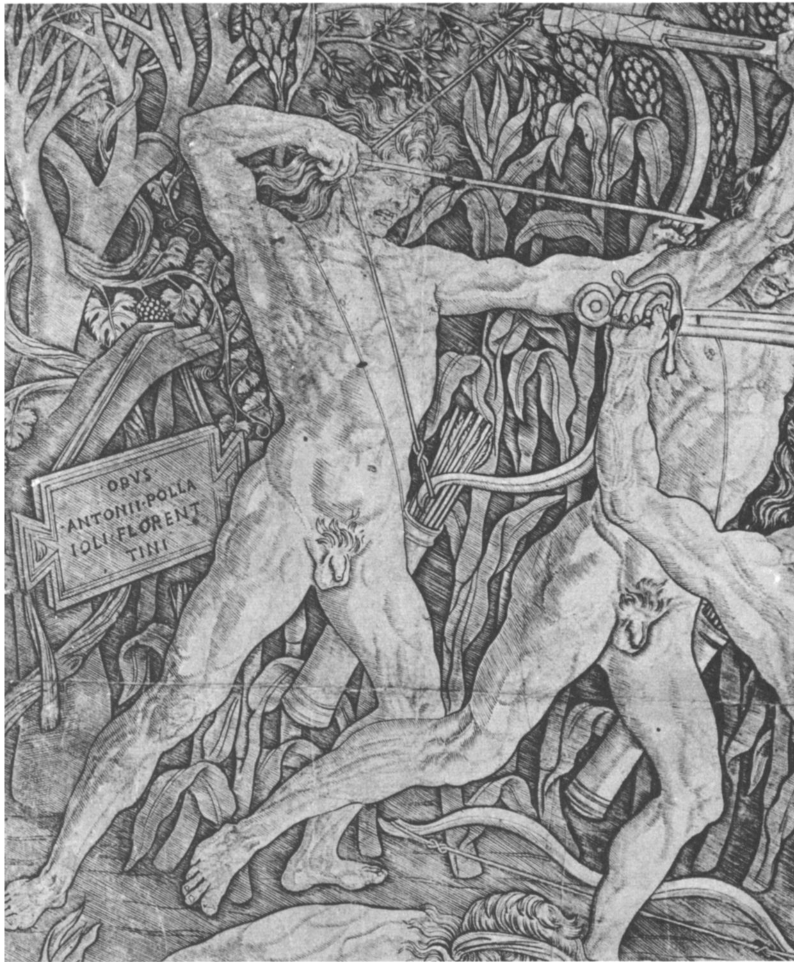
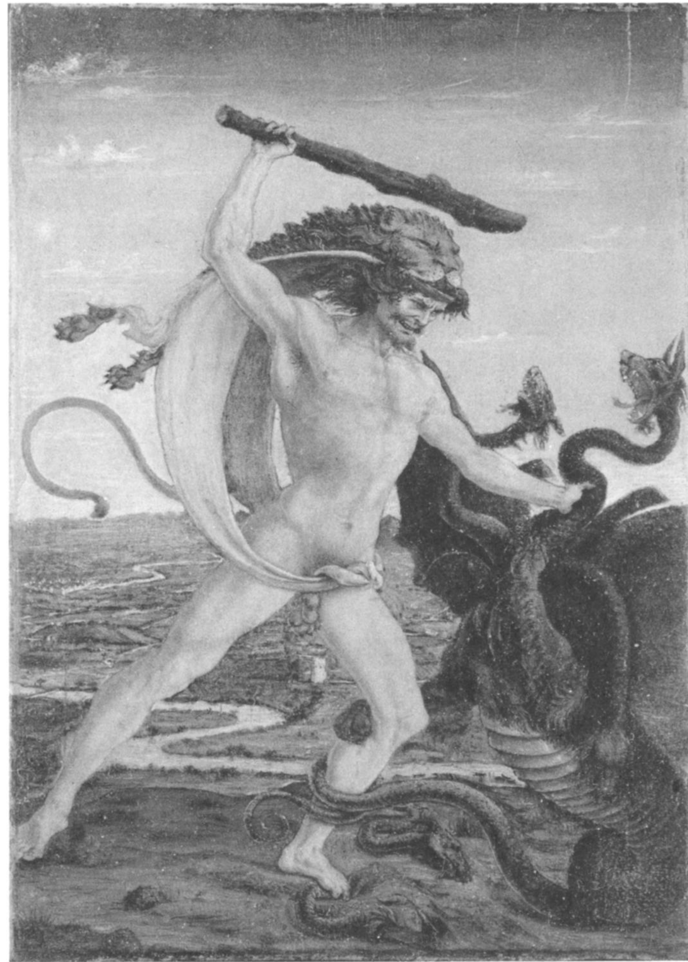




3, 4. Left: Detail of Figure 2. Right: Hercules and the Hydra, by Pollaiuolo. Uffizi Gallery

The earliest artist who took up the knife himself was Antonio Pollaiuolo, who, Vasari says, "skinned many human bodies to study the anatomy and was the first who thus investigated the action of the muscles in order to draw them correctly." Pollaiuolo ran the most enterprising artistic workshop in Florence, which turned out altarpieces, frescoes, panel paintings, bronzes, jewelry, designs for marquetry and embroidery, and crosses and other things decorated with engraved silver plates. The shop's only printed engraving that can be attributed with certainty is one mentioned by Vasari, labeled OPUS ANTONII POLLAIOLI FLORENTTINI ("Made by Antonio Pollaiuolo the Florentine;" to translate still further, *pollaiuolo* means "poulterer," from the artist's father's business). This print, known as the Battle of the Ten Naked Men, probably dates from about 1460 and is the earliest large copperplate engraving (Figures 2 and 3).

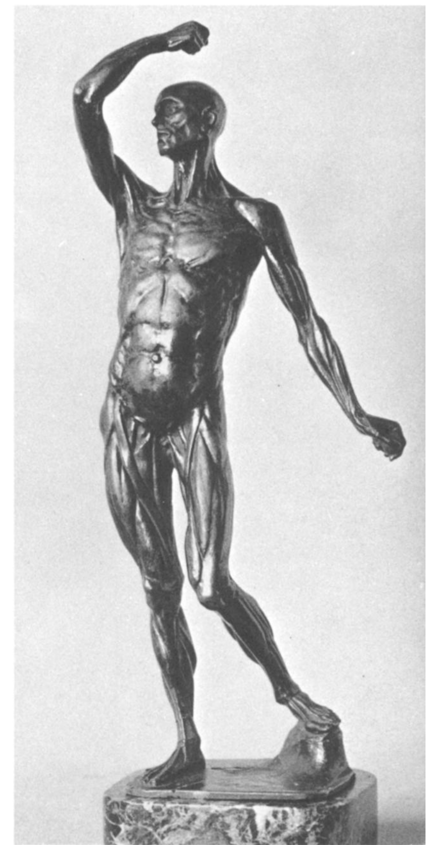
It is also the most influential print ever published in Florence, for it provided the first printed repertory of the muscles. It made history because it crammed a whole course of figure drawing onto one piece of paper, in a scrimmage of fighters stooping, reaching, striding, and striking, viewed from both front and back. But these ten men,

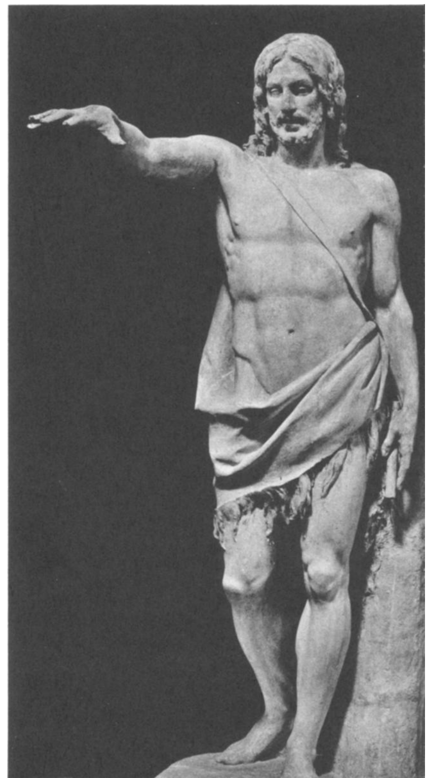
though they move too briskly to represent dissected cadavers, are stripped beyond nakedness. If not flayed, then their skins must be transparent to reveal all the muscles and sinews that Pollaiuolo crowded into them, regardless of which would flex for such actions and which would not.

Leonardo da Vinci was probably thinking of this famous engraving when he wrote that a good painter must know what muscles swell for any given action, "and must emphasize the bulging of those muscles only and not the rest, as some painters do who think that they are showing off their skill when they draw nudes that are knotty [*legnosi*] and graceless – mere sacks of nuts." But Pollaiuolo the didactic illustrator drew differently from Pollaiuolo the painter, who knew magnificently how to select and suppress for dramatic effect in Hercules and the Hydra (Figure 4) or the Martyrdom of St. Sebastian (Figure 7).

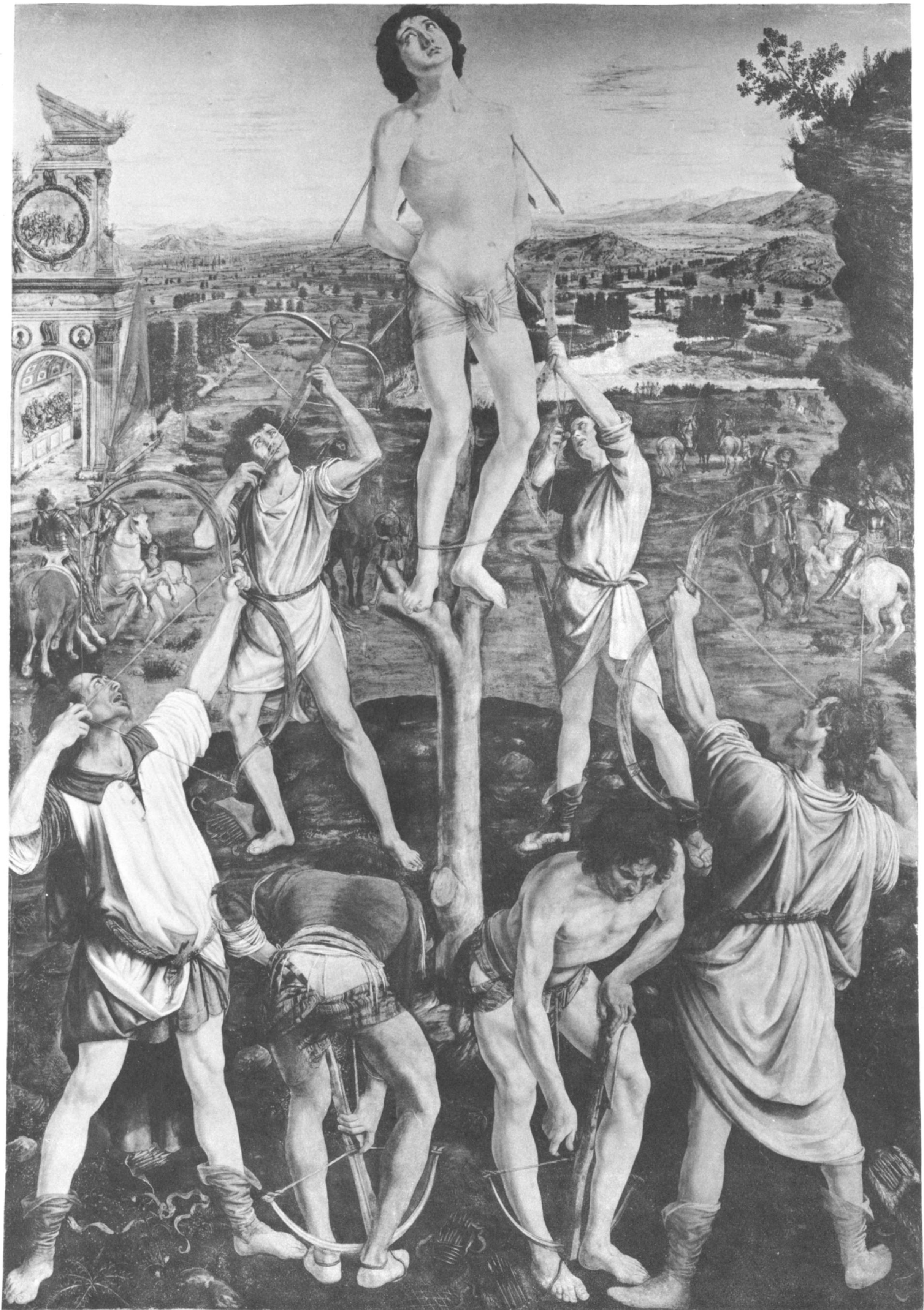
In the engraving Pollaiuolo deliberately surveyed the whole equipment of muscles to provide a syllabus for teaching. He dissected to uncover man with the eagerness of the navigators who were then exploring the shores of the expanding world. The two great ages of anatomical discovery, in Renaissance Italy and in the medical school at Alexandria, correspond to the two great ages of geographical discovery, through the Renaissance voyages and Alexander's conquests. These were also the two inventive ages of erotic art in the West, for happy findings inspire a hopeful curiosity about everything. (One may add that today, as we launch ourselves into outer space, we also are penetrating the microscopic functions of the body and groping into the cryptic energy of the emotions.) Leonardo da Vinci likened an anatomist to a geographer when he proposed to demonstrate man's body "on the same plan as Ptolemy's cosmography." Pollaiuolo was charting nothing less than the totality of man's muscles at the same time that Italian cartographers were trying to map the daily explorations of harbors and rivers that had never seen a sail. Both anatomist and cartographer felt obliged to fit the complete crop of discoveries into their pictures of the geography of man and the anatomy of the earth. The products of this enthusiasm, the Ten Naked Men and the maps engraved in Rome and Bologna in the 1470s, mark the first time that the thirty-year-old technique of printed engravings was used not for amusement or moral edification but for the propagation of knowledge.

How did Pollaiuolo record his dissections? Not one anatomical drawing by him seems to exist today – not even in a copy – though you would think that he must have made hundreds to plot the muscles in such detail. There is a chance, however, that he may not have drawn at all, but, like a proper sculptor, modeled dissections in wax. Now, if he copied all the dissected muscles in a wax model and then engraved his Ten Naked Men from the wax figurine, every muscle would appear in the engraving whether the body's action required it or not. And if he bent his wax manikin into a pose that he





5, 6. Above: Anatomical figure. Florentine school, about 1600. Bronze, height 9¾ inches. Gift of Ogden Mills, 25.142.11. Below: St. John the Baptist, by Jean Antoine Houdon (1741-1828), French. Borghese Gallery



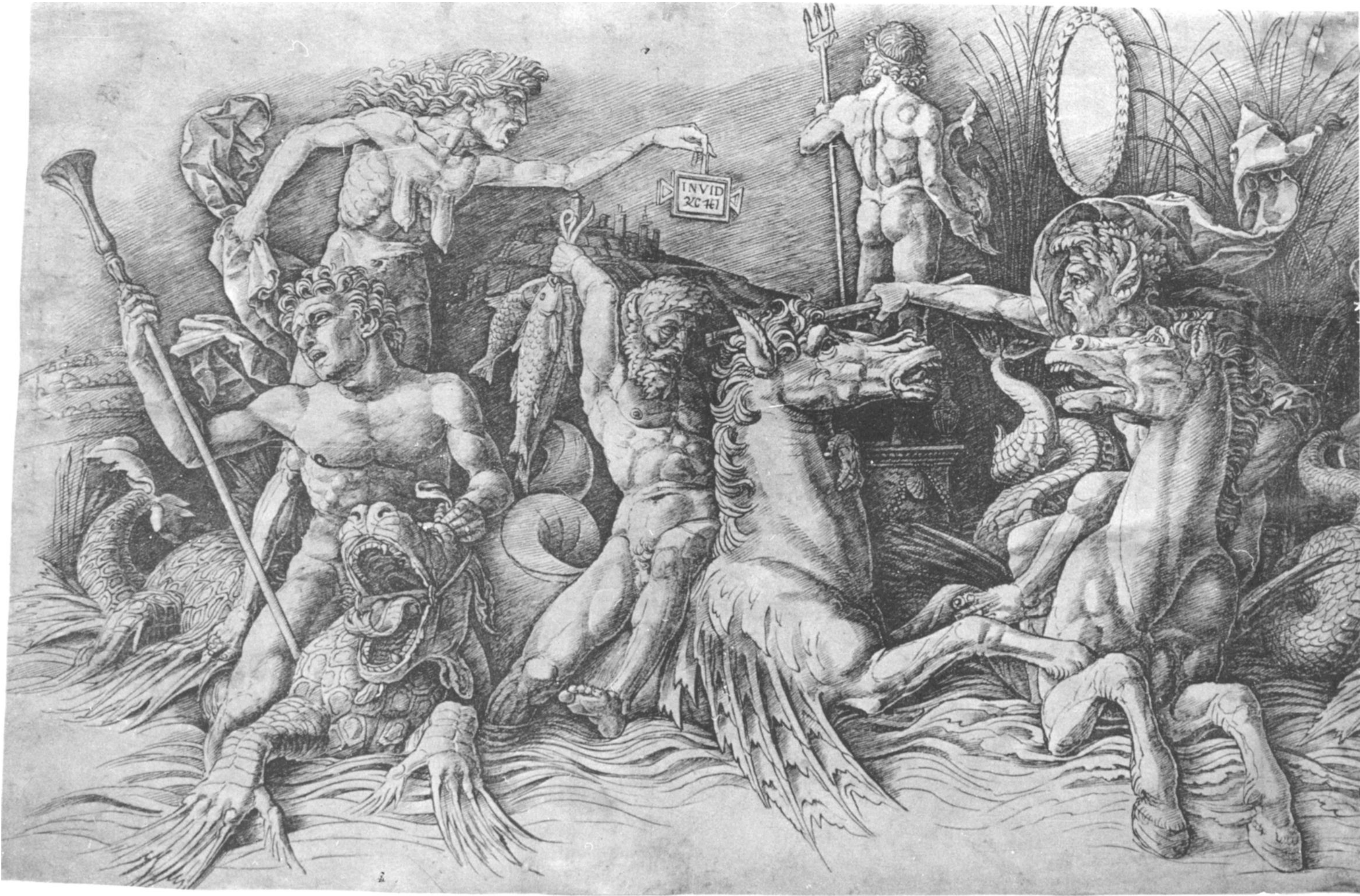
7. Martyrdom of St. Sebastian, by Pollaiuolo. National Gallery, London

then engraved from both sides, he would come out with the symmetrical clash of the ten strange combatants, who face each other like five men attacking a looking glass. The notion of modeling dissections in wax could have been suggested by a remark in Pliny's *Natural History* (xxxv), which all educated men read in the Renaissance. Pliny says that the Greek sculptor Lysistratos "was the first to reproduce the human form by molding plaster on the body itself, then pouring wax into the plaster mold, and retouching [the wax cast]. He was the first to get exact likenesses instead of beautifying." You would think that Pollaiuolo, a sculptor as well as a draughtsman, might have found his muscle man useful enough to warrant the cost of casting it in bronze. If he did, no trace of it exists today, though less than a century later bronze muscle men were in every studio (Figure 5). On the other hand, Pollaiuolo might have got more use out of a manikin in wax that he could bend into various poses. Such a manikin would explain the identity of pose of the engraved naked man at the left and the Hercules of 1460 (Figures 3 and 4). Which came first? Did Pollaiuolo find a wax model so convenient for painting the Hercules that he helped other artists by putting it through its paces in the Ten Naked Men? Or the other way around? We will never know, but certainly years later, in 1475, when he and his assistants painted the Martyrdom of St. Sebastian (Figure 7), a manikin must have been bent in three poses, and each pose painted from two aspects to assemble the symmetrical ring of six archers who circle around the saint.

Had Pollaiuolo made drawings of dissections, he could have done so from a body laid out on a table, but if he modeled, he would have had to study the body all around by hanging it from a beam, as it hangs in an engraving of a century later (Figure 8). This engraving shows one wrist tied to the neck in order to expose the whole rib cage on one side. If the wrist were to be tied to another beam, it would not only show the rib cage but would also keep drafts from revolving the body as the artist modeled. Either suspension would raise the arm in a gesture of entreaty or command, or that of a man about to strike a blow, which is the basic gesture of the Ten Naked Men – and also of every sculptured muscle man from the earliest right through to Houdon's. Houdon's muscle man, the most famous of all, started as a study for St. John the Baptist raising his hand to command attention as he preaches (Figure 6).

Pollaiuolo's swoopstake agglomeration of the muscles might have confused more than it clarified if it had not happened that, at about the same time, Andrea Mantegna engraved several nudes whose formal construction established a lasting model (Figures 9 and 10). Mantegna, working in the north Italian homeland of the first archaeologists, revived the simplified, balanced, and grand anatomy of antique marbles from their thousand-year sleep (Figure 11). He may never have seen a real Greek sculpture, but he owned bits of Roman copies. The Romans did not, like us, reproduce statues ac-

8. Detail, The Academy of Arts, by Cornelis Cort (1533-1578), Netherlands, after Stradanus. Engraving. 16¾ x 11¼ inches. The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 53.600.509



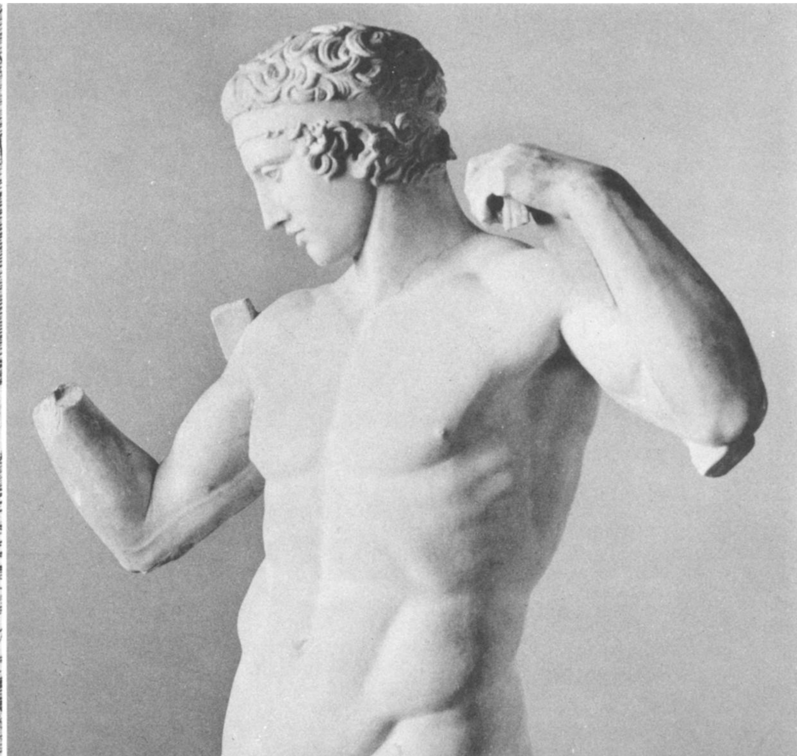
9. The Battle of the Sea Gods, by Andrea Mantegna (1431-1506), Italian. Engraving. 11 9/16 x 32 1/4 inches. Rogers Fund, 18.2 and 20.88.1

curately by direct bronze casts. Instead, they made plaster casts of the originals, which they copied in marble with a triangular pointing machine. Even when the copyist worked down the marble with points set close together, he still smoothed over delicacies of transition and trembling irregularities between the points. A good Greek original sculpture delights by being unexpected and alive, but the impersonal simplification of the Roman copy teaches a plainer lesson. So it may be lucky that Mantegna studied Roman copies instead of Greek originals because the copies gave him a diagram whose rational simplification projects at a distance like an actor's mask.

Mantegna's complete, ready-to-wear anatomical scheme organized the body with a logic whose classicism inspired Dürer, Raphael, Poussin, Ingres, Cézanne, and Léger. Pollaiuolo started artists on the lonely drudgery of dissection, on a confrontation with nature that led to more diversity. Out of this solitary labor came Leonardo da Vinci's exquisite swift drawings of dissections that unsurpassably combine the illusion of appearance with the intellectual analysis of a diagram. Out of it came also the brute impact of Caravaggio and Géricault, Eakins's remorseless steadiness of gaze, and Francis Bacon's tangle of tendons.

Some artists have combined both traditions, as Houdon did when he fitted what his surgery discovered into the grand scheme of the antique. But as long as man holds the center of the stage in the West – and can he bow himself out for keeps? – artists will remember the lessons engraved by Pollaiuolo and Mantegna.

10, 11. Left: Detail of Figure 9. Right: Diadoumenos. Roman copy of a lost Greek work of about 440-430 B.C. Fletcher Fund, 25.78.56. The torso has been restored with the aid of the marble replica from Delos in Athens



Prints for Sale

CAROLINE KARPINSKI

Assistant Curator of Prints

1. The Seller of Prints and Rosaries, by Giuseppe Maria Mitelli (1634-1718), Italian. From the series Cries of Bologna, after Annibale Carracci. Etching. 11 x 7⅝ inches. The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 51.501.3613

Prints, as a form of popular art, have seldom been executed on commission like painting or sculpture. Instead, they have always been sold in the marketplace: peddled in the streets (Figures 1 and 3) along with rosaries, rabbitskins, and lanterns, or sold at stalls, bookshops, and elegant dealers. In one of the earliest representations of printselling (Figure 2) prints and books are displayed next to metalwork and hats at a crowded bazaar in the great Gothic hall of the Castle of Prague; the prints are hung and stacked here as they have been in shops ever since.

The printselling business has occasionally been the subject of prints themselves – particularly those of France and England. In Paris, bookdealers who also sold prints were established from the time of the founding, in 1469, of the first printing press in the neighborhood of the Sorbonne. About the middle of the sixteenth century the two professions became separated, and the print dealers regrouped on the Right Bank along rue Montorgueil. By the end of the century and early in the seventeenth they were back in the neighborhood of the Sorbonne, and settled on rue St. Jacques, forming a colony of artists, artisans, and dealers that was to endure to the end of the Second Empire.

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2. Detail, Interior of the Castle of Prague, 1607, by Aegidius Sadeler (1570-1629), Netherlands. Etching. 20⅝ x 24¼ inches. Dick Fund, 53.601.10 (1)

The functions of engraving, printing, and selling were often united in one family. Some of the famous shop signs along the street were the Rooster of the Bonnarts, the Queen of France of the Avelines, the Two Pillars of Gold of the Audrans, the Charlemagne of the Cochins, and the Columns of Hercules of the Mariettes. An individual engraver such as Abraham Bosse might at times be his own dealer (Figure 4); Jacques Callot sold his own prints during an Italian sojourn, but upon his return to France he appointed a boyhood friend, the printer Israel Henriet, as his sole publisher, shipping all his copper plates from Nancy to be printed and sold in Paris. Callot made a fortune for Henriet, as the prints were an instant success.

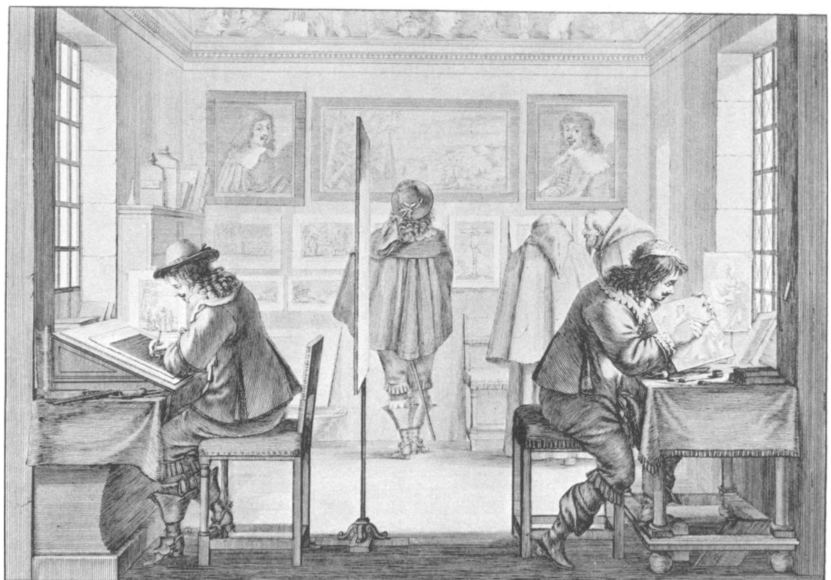
The Paris publishers continued to prosper in the eighteenth century. In 1786 C. F. Joullain, one of a dynasty of dealers, wrote a chapter on printmaking and selling in his *Réflexions sur la Peinture et la Gravure*, in which he observed that the crazy prices prints were reaching could not be sustained; and that the engravers were spoiling the business by their misuse of states (proof before letter, state with dedication and arms only, state with the address of the artist, and so on), thus profiting from the acquisitiveness of collectors. He added the prudent advice: Never buy a print under glass.

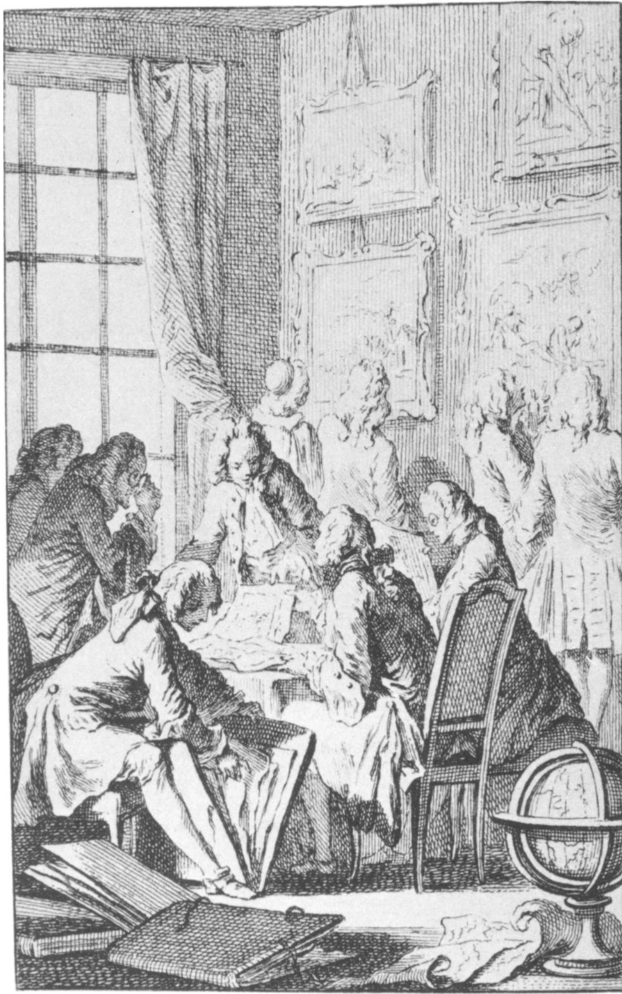
Several eighteenth century print publishers were well enough established to make substantial catalogues of their stock; they also issued a number of sale catalogues of collections to be auctioned. Figure 5, showing connoisseurs engrossed in print portfolios, is a frontispiece used in catalogues of four such large collections. The first catalogue, in 1744, was that of the Quentin de Lorangère collection, edited by E. F. Gersaint, whose famous picture shop was painted by Watteau. The last was that of Gersaint's own collection, for a posthumous sale in 1750.

One of the most superb collections of prints

3. Title page of Varie Figure, by Jacques Callot (1592-1635), French. Etching. 3½ x 3¾ inches. Bequest of Edwin de T. Bechtel, 57.650.373 (1)

4. The engraver and the etcher, by Abraham Bosse (1602-1676), French. Etching. 10⅛ x 12⅜ inches. Dick Fund, 26.49.51



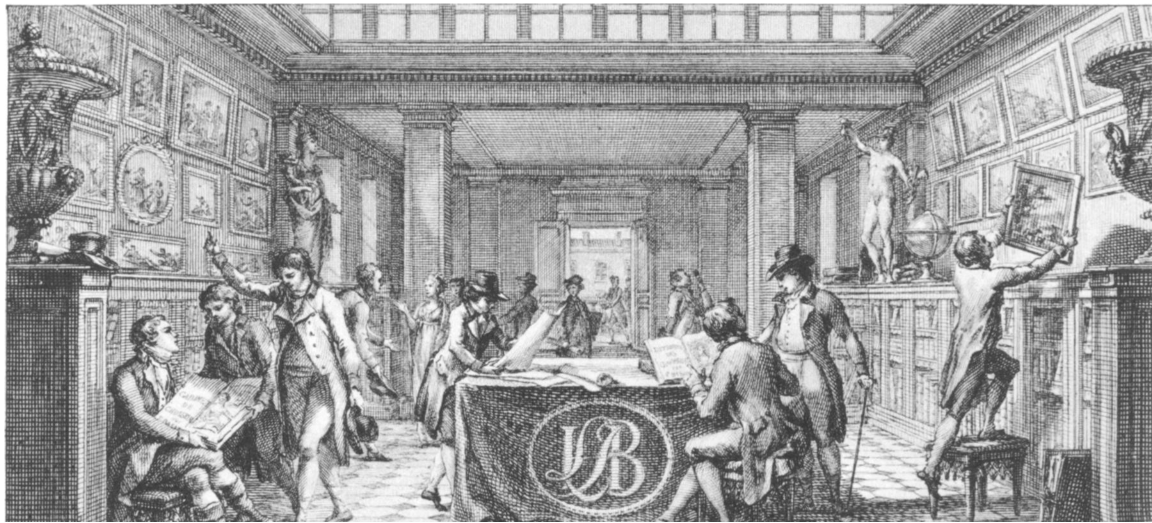


5. *Frontispiece first used for the Lorangère collection catalogue, 1744, by Charles Nicolas Cochin père (1688-1754), French, after C. N. Cochin fils. Etching. 4⅞ x 3⅛ inches. Dick Fund, 1659*

6. *Frontispiece for the Mariette collection catalogue, 1775, by Pierre Philippe Choffard (1731-1809), French, after C. N. Cochin fils. Etching. 6⅛ x 3⅞ inches. Dick Fund, 1002*

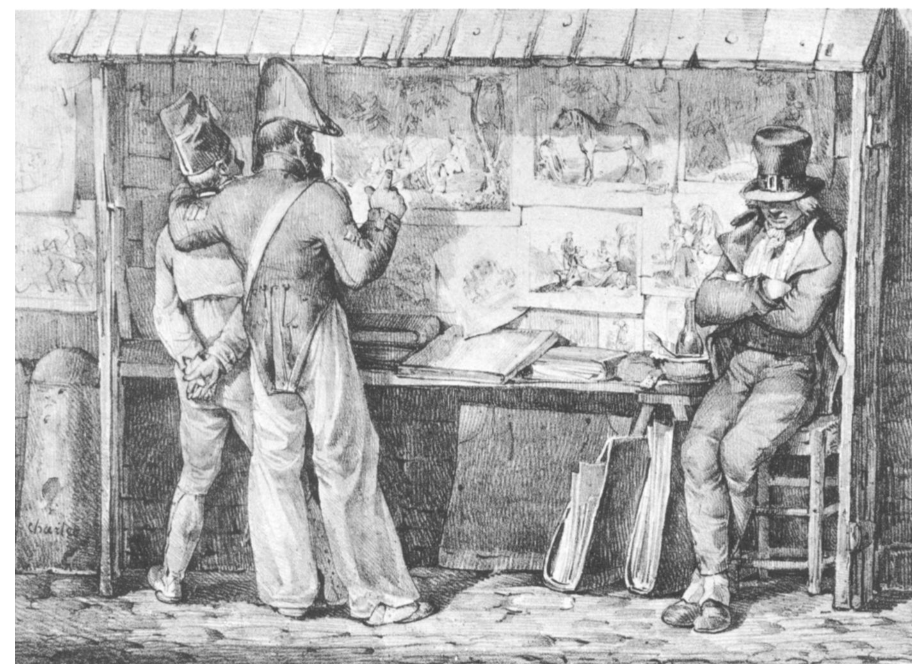
7. *Frontispiece for the Basan collection catalogue, by Pierre Philippe Choffard. Etching. 6¾ x 4⅜ inches. Rogers Fund, 19.20.22*

8. *Interior of the shop of H. L. Basan, 1803, by Pierre Philippe Choffard. Etching. 2¾ x 5⅜ inches. Gift of Henry W. Kent, 41.44.1530*

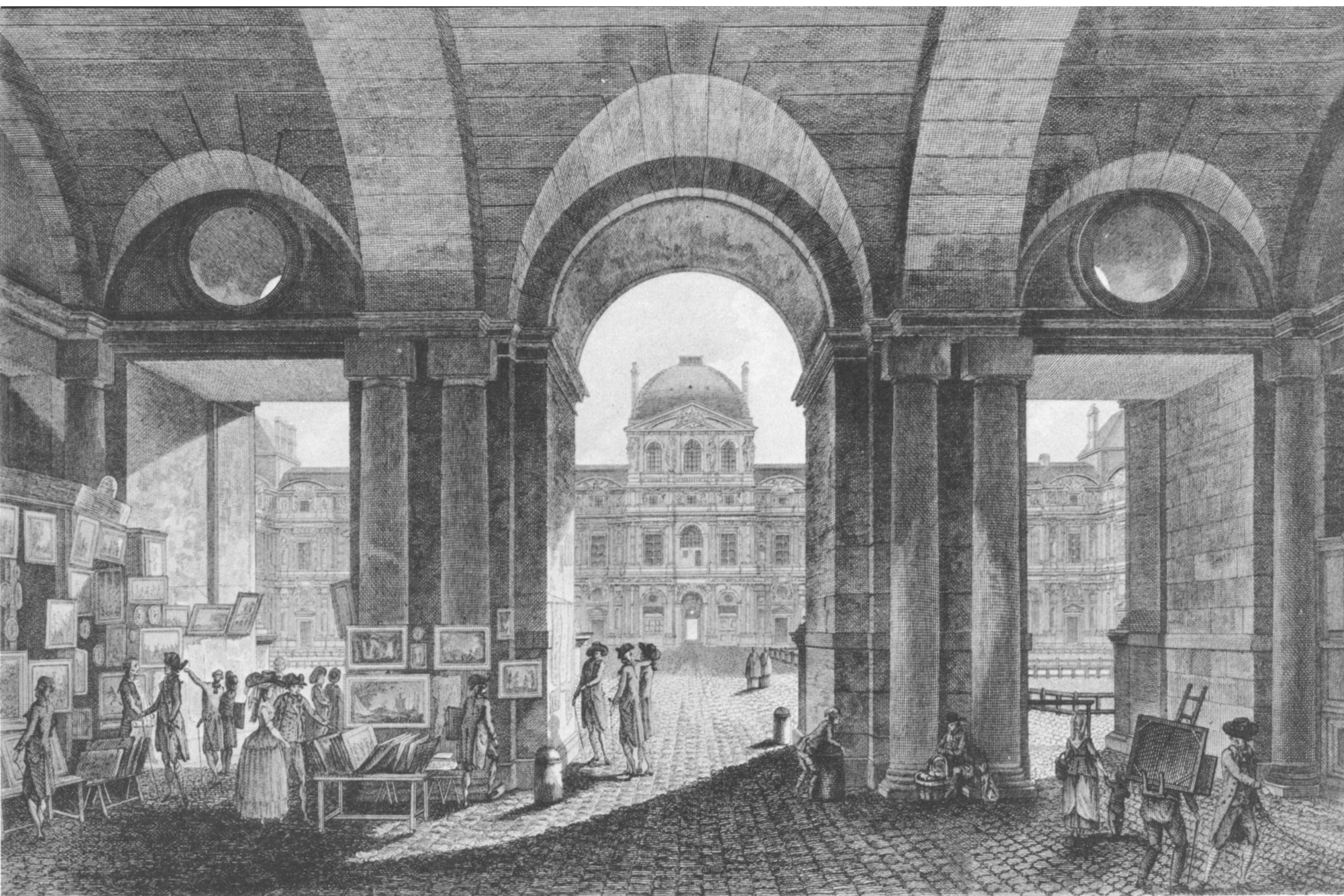


9. Detail, View of the Institut de France and the Pont du Carrousel, by Jean Baptiste Arnout and Jules Arnout, nineteenth century, French. Lithograph. 9⅜ x 12⅝ inches. Transfer from the Library, 21.36.201

10. Below: A Seller of Lithographs, by Nicolas Toussaint Charlet (1792-1845), French. Lithograph. 8½ x 12⅛ inches. Gift of Harry G. Friedman, 57.658.326



and drawings ever assembled went on sale at the end of the year 1775 and early in 1776. It had belonged to Pierre Jean Mariette, last in a line of three generations of dealers and collectors, who had died in 1774. Horace Walpole, who was in Paris in the autumn of 1775, wrote to an English lady: "The tempter took me up into the mountain and showed me all Mariette's collection of prints and drawings, which are to be sold in November, and offered me my choice of them if I would stay. I resisted, and preferred myself infinitely to Scipio: he might have had fifty other women; but where is there another room full of Raphaels, Correggios, Parmigianos and Michel Angelos?" In the frontispiece to the sale catalogue (Figure 6) Mariette *en buste* stands over allegorical figures personifying his life. Knowledge holds a torch and, appropriately, a print portfolio instead of the customary book. Although the God of Taste illuminates the scene, Know-



ledge draws chief light from the Science of Drawing, who holds a lamp and drawing pencil. History writes on the back of Time, and a rooster symbolizes all-night study.

Director of the Mariette sale and editor of the catalogue was the irascible Pierre François Basan, of whom a contemporary wrote:

Il tourmente son corps
Il tourmente son âme
Il tourmente son or
Il tourmente sa femme . . .
. . . Il s'ennuie partout. . . .

He was nevertheless productive. In the frontispiece (Figure 7) to the catalogue of the posthumous sale of his collection in 1798, his works are strewn about: the Mariette catalogue; the *Dictionnaire des Graveurs*, which he wrote in 1767; the *Cabinet Choiseul*, which he edited in 1770-1771; and the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid, for which he commissioned illustrations by Boucher, Gravelot, Eisen, Moreau *le Jeune*, and others.

Basan's elder son, in the early nineteenth century, also seems to have prospered as an art dealer, to judge from his substantial establishment (Figure 8). His large initials, HLB, ornament the table at which print connoisseurs are shown studying Basan *père's Dictionnaire des Graveurs*.

In the eighteenth century, curiosity shops clustered like barnacles under the arcades of the present Institut de France. From 1806 the arcades (Figure 9) became a favorite place for the sale of prints and paintings. When a shoemaker applied for permission to exhibit his wares there, recognition was given to the inventive aspect of his work, but his application was refused on the ground that only objects relative to art and science could be shown, like those on exhibition in the court of the Louvre (Figure 11). When the instal-

11. *The Court of the Louvre, by François Denis Née (1735-1818), French, after Meunier. From Voyage Pittoresque de la France (Paris, 1786). Etching. 6⅞ x 9⅝ inches. Library Fund, 1951*

Cartons — Raphael Urbin Pinx. — Cav.r Ghezze del. — Annibal Carracci inv.t — Leonard da Vinci Pinx.

3 CHARACTERS. — 4 CARICATURAS.

For a farthar Explanation of the Difference Betwixt Character & Caricatura See y.e Preface to Jo.h Andrews.

W Hogarth Fecit 1743

Rec.d July 11th 1743 of John Blackwood Esq.r Paid

Half a Guinea being the first Payment for Six Prints Called MARRIAGE A LA MODE which I Promise to deliver when finish'd on Receiving half a Guinea more.

N.B. The price will be one Guinea and an half after the time of Subscribing

W.m Hogarth

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lations in the arcades of the Institut were shut down in 1863, the dealers moved into the adjoining rue de Seine, which is still the center in Paris for old prints.

No such stall as that in Figure 10 appears in the picture of the Institut, although ones just like it have lined the banks of the Seine since the nineteenth century. An old soldier points to a lithograph by Hippolyte Lecomte and Horace Vernet, which, even though lightly sketched, can be identified as The Wounded French Attacked by Cossacks. The use of lithographs as propaganda by Charlet, Géricault, and Vernet kept alive the Napoleonic legend.

In England, as in France, one of the methods of selling editions of prints was by advance subscription. William Hogarth advertised in *The London Daily Post* on April 2, 1743: "Mr. Hogarth intends to publish by subscription Six Prints from Copper-Plates, engrav'd by the best Masters in Paris, after his own Paintings (the Heads, for better Preservation of the Characters and Expressions, to be done by the Author;) representing a Variety of *Modern Occurrences in High Life*, called 'MARRIAGE A-LA-MODE'. Particular care is taken that the whole Work shall not be liable to Exception on Account of any Indecency or Inelegancy, and that none of the Characters represented shall be personal. . . . Subscriptions are taken in at Mr. Hogarth's, the Golden Head in Leicester Fields; where may be had all his engrav'd Works." As a receipt, the subscriber got another print, Characters and Caricaturas (Figure 12), to which Hogarth affixed in red wax his seal, bearing a palette with a sheaf of brushes. The set of prints was issued two years later, in May 1745.

A characteristic English establishment was the caricature shop. Whereas Hogarth at least made some pretense to decency, the caricaturists engaged in yellow journalism. Prints became weapons that shook both monarchy and ministry in the early nineteenth century. At George Humphrey's shop at 27 St. James's Street (Figure 13), a boisterous crowd is shown assembled at the window, guffawing at the

OPPOSITE:

12. Characters and Caricaturas: subscription ticket to Marriage à la Mode, 1743, by William Hogarth (1697-1764), British. Etching. 8 x 8½ inches. Dick Fund, 32.35 (152)

13. The caricature shop of George Humphrey, 1821. Contemporary British hand-colored etching. 11½ x 16½ inches. Dick Fund, 17.3.888-326

latest shafts in the vendetta against Queen Caroline. Although the king attempted to suppress the more grossly offensive plates, his prohibitions were circumvented. Another major caricature shop was that of S. W. Fores. With an eye to visitors from abroad, he published, about 1793, a *New Guide for Foreigners:* "To the works of Hogarth, Bunbury, Sayre and Rowlandson is added every other Caricature Print . . . that has been published through the course of many years, the whole forming an entire Caricature History. . . ." These caricatures were let out by the folio for the evening. Not content with showing prints and drawings, Fores added such sensational attractions as wax casts of the head and hand of a nobleman recently executed by order of the King of Denmark, and, in 1793, a six-foot model of the guillotine.

Rudolph Ackermann's shop (Figure 14) was by contrast the utmost in decorum. The illustration was the first, fittingly, in a set of famous London shop interiors from his monthly magazine *The Repository of Arts, Literature, Commerce, Manufactures, Fashions, and Politics.* Eschewing all scandal, he sold few caricatures, and employed Rowlandson and others to illustrate the lavish books he published. Like Fores, he let out portfolios of prints and drawings in the manner of a circulating library, but his chief contribution was to provide the English art market with a proper and genteel atmosphere that survived into the Victorian age and after.

14. Interior of Ackermann's shop, by Augustus Pugin (1762-1832) and Thomas Rowlandson (1757-1827), British. From Ackermann's Repository of Arts (January 1809). Hand-colored etching. 5 x 8¾ inches. Dick Fund, 42.74.2 (1)

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American Paintings and Sculpture: Robert Beverly Hale, *Curator*. Albert TenEyck Gardner and Henry Geldzahler, *Associate Curators*

American Wing: James Biddle, *Curator*. Mary C. Glaze, *Assistant Curator*

Ancient Near Eastern Art: Vaughn E. Crawford, *Associate Curator in Charge*. Prudence Oliver Harper, *Assistant Curator*

Arms and Armor: Randolph Bullock, *Associate Curator in Charge*. Helmut Nickel and Norma Wolf, *Assistant Curators*. Leonard Heinrich, *Armorer*

The Costume Institute: Polaire Weissman, *Executive Director*. Stella Blum, Mavis Dalton, and Angelina M. Firelli, *Assistant Curators*

Drawings: Jacob Bean, *Curator*

Egyptian: Henry G. Fischer, *Associate Curator in Charge*. Nora E. Scott, *Associate Curator*. Eric Young, *Assistant Curator*

European Paintings: Theodore Rousseau, *Curator*. Claus Virch, *Associate Curator*. Margaretta M. Salinger, *Associate Research Curator*. Elizabeth E. Gardner, *Assistant Curator*. Hubert F. von Sonnenburg, *Conservator of Paintings*. Gerhard Wedekind, *Associate Conservator*

Far Eastern: Aschwin Lippe, *Associate Curator in Charge*. Jean Mailey, *Associate Curator*. Fong Chow, *Assistant Curator*

Greek and Roman: Dietrich von Bothmer, *Curator*. Brian F. Cook, *Assistant Curator*

Islamic Art: Ernst J. Grube, *Associate Curator in Charge*

Medieval Art and The Cloisters: Margaret B. Freeman, *Curator of The Cloisters*. William H. Forsyth, *Associate Curator of Medieval Art*. Thomas P. F. Hoving, *Associate Curator of The Cloisters*. Vera K. Ostoia, *Associate Research Curator*. Carmen Gómez-Moreno, *Assistant Curator*

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INFORMATION

The Main Building: Open weekdays 10-5; Sundays and holidays 1-5. Telephone: TRafalgar 9-5500. The Restaurant is open weekdays 11:30-2:30; Sundays 12-3; closed holidays. Coffee hours: Saturdays 3-4:30; Sundays 3:30-4:30.

The Cloisters: Open weekdays, except Mondays, 10-5; Sundays and holidays 1-5 (May-September, Sundays 1-6). Telephone: WAdsworth 3-3700.

Membership: Information will be mailed on request.

Income from endowment is the Museum's major source of revenue. Gifts and bequests are tax deductible within the limits allowed by law. For further information call the Office of Development and Membership.

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