

The Broad and Narrow Way From German Pietists to English Open-Air Preachers

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Human peregrinations form a characteristic component of many didactic images. In illustrations of the *Tabula Cebetis* as well as to Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* the narrative is often shown step by step through different scenes which visualize the progression. The lithograph *Der breite und der schmale Weg* (fig. 175)¹ – in its English version, *The Broad and Narrow Way* (figs. 177–179) – is one such notable example, based ultimately on Matthew's account (vii. 13–14) of the Sermon on the Mount with its characterization of the broad way leading to perdition and the narrow path to salvation. The German print, which became enormously influential, was devised by Charlotte Reihlen (1805–1868), the founder of the Deaconess Institute at Stuttgart² who, with her husband, a rich merchant, was a member of the Hahnsche Gemeinschaft, a Pietist community founded by Johann Michael Hahn (1758–1819).³ Like other Pietist groups, it aimed at a new reform of the church, judging that the Reformation had now fossilized in institutions and dogma.⁴

In a letter to Baron Julius von Gemmingen in 1887, Adolf Reihlen explained how his mother devised the allegory.

To my memory it was six years before her death, which occurred on the 21st of January, 1868 . . . that our departed mother formed the idea of having a noble engraving of THE BROAD AND THE NARROW WAY, that it might be circulated freely among the people.

Our dear mother was, as you know, gifted with very fine taste; but as she knew nothing whatever of the art

of drawing, she looked for a pious artist, who would be able to put her ideas on paper with full understanding and inspiration. In this endeavour she continued till she found in the person of Herr Schacher, a really pious artist. He was the son of an excellent and godly tutor at the Royal Grammar School here. Dear mother now told him accurately what she wanted; and he designed the chief parts of the Picture. These were again criticized by our dear mother, and altered according to her own mind, till she declared herself fully satisfied. My brother, Theodore, assisted my mother, specially by visiting frequently Herr Schacher; and he also did great service by his taste for the aesthetic in grouping.⁵

More information about circumstances of the print's origin was given by Mrs Stambach, the daughter of Charlotte Reihlen.

It seems that the print, roughly and imperfectly sketched, was found about seventy years ago by a Mr G. W. Hoffmann (the founder of Kornthal, a place near Stuttgart), among some stray papers . . . This picture was shown to Mrs Reihlen . . . as a curiosity. A year or two later several copies of the same print casually fell into her hands with some waste paper. She was impressed by this circumstance, and eventually produced her own Picture, greatly improved and enlarged.⁶

The composition became popular, and was published in various editions, some of them still in print.⁷ Its iconography was explained by Mrs Reihlen in a booklet (*Erklärung des Bildes 'Der breite und der schmale Weg', mit Anführung der auf dem Bilde meist nur angedeuteten Schriftstellen*),

I would like to thank D. Bindman, A. J. Greenbank, E. Jealous, E. McGrath, M. Scharfe, R. Scheller and R. P. Zijp for their assistance.

1. For the German print, see esp. M. Scharfe, *Evangelische Andachtsbilder. Studien zu Intention und Funktion des Bildes in der Frömmigkeitsgeschichte vornehmlich des schwäbischen Raumes*, Stuttgart 1968, pp. 267–270, figs. 149–150; also M. Scharfe, R. Schenda and H. Schwedt, *Volksfrömmigkeit, Bildzeugnisse aus Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, Stuttgart 1967, p. 71, no. 85, ill. p. 70; M. Scharfe, *Die Religion des Volkes. Kleine Kultur- und Sozialgeschichte des Pietismus*, Gütersloh 1980, pp. 84–87, and p. 85, fig. 7; Hamburg, Kunsthalle, 1983–1984, *Luther und die Folgen für die Kunst*, Munich 1983, p. 119, fig. 14.
2. For Charlotte Reihlen, see F. Baun, *Charlotte Reihlen (1803–1868). Ein Frauenbild aus der Stuttgarter Gemeinschaftskreisen*, Stuttgart 1922. For the foundation of the Deaconess Institute, see F. Buck, *Bilder aus dem christlichen Leben Württembergs im 19. Jahrhundert*, I, Calw etc. 1905, p. 158 and II, p. 252. A *Diakones-*

senhauss, incidentally, is found in the German print and in the English versions.

3. For the Hahnsche Gemeinschaft, see K. Algermissen's entry in the *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, iv, Freiburg 1960, col. 1323.
4. See for example M. Schmidt and M. Stallmann, 'Pietismus', *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, v, Tübingen 1961, cols. 370–383. For Pietism in Württemberg, see H. Lehmann, *Pietismus und weltliche Ordnung in Württemberg vom 17. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert*, Stuttgart etc. 1969.
5. *The Quarterly Record of the Open-Air Mission* [Thereafter *Quarterly Record* . . .], 1, London 1909, p. 172. The letter also reports that 'Herr Schacher died soon after, still a young man'.
6. *Quarterly Record* . . ., *op. cit.*, pp. 173–74. For allegories possibly known to C. Reihlen, see Scharfe, *op. cit.* in n. 1 (1968), pp. 268–269, figs. 151 and 152.
7. For an excellent account of the German editions, see Scharfe, *op. cit.* in n. 1 (1968), pp. 267–270, figs. 149 and 150. For various Dutch editions, see *infra*, n. 12.



175. ? Schacher, *Der breite und der schmale Weg*, 1866, lithograph, 474 × 382mm (Marburg, collection Martin Scharfe).



176. Anonymous after Schacher, published by H. de Hooghe, *De Breede en de smalle weg*, 1867, lithograph, 632 × 570mm (Utrecht, Rijksmuseum Het Catharijnconvent).



177. Charles Montague, *The Broad and Narrow Way*, c. 1883, lithograph, 588 × 463mm (London, British Library).



178. Anonymous after Montague, published by Marshall, Morgan & Scott, Ltd, *The Broad and Narrow Way*, after 1883, 620 × 492mm (London, Warburg Institute).

first published in Stuttgart, circa 1866.⁸ The allegorical print soon became known in the Netherlands, after one Pastor Israel, from Stuttgart, brought some copies with him. He gave one to a judge from Utrecht who passed it to H. de Hoogh, the leading religious bookseller in Amsterdam.⁹ De Hoogh republished it in 1867, with a few variations (fig. 176), together with a Dutch translation of the *Erklärung . . .*¹⁰ During his second visit to Holland (1868) Gawin Kirkham, an English preacher,¹¹ saw this Dutch version – *De Breede en de Smalle Weg* – in the shop window of de Hoogh, with whom he was in fact staying;¹² ‘Quickly recognizing the simple power and directness of this pictorial representation of the essential truths of the Gospel, he purchased a copy, and brought it back with him to England, together with the Dutch Explanation . . .’. He had it translated into English by a young Dutchman, Frederick Emmighausen, who was living in London.¹³

The allegory of *The Broad and Narrow Way* (figs. 177–179) follows Christ’s advice in the Sermon on the Mount as recorded in Matthew vii. 13–14: ‘Enter ye in at the straight gate: for wide is the gate, and broad is the way, that leadeth to destruction, and many there be which go in thereat: because strait is the gate, and narrow is the way which leadeth unto life; and few there be that find it.’

In the English versions¹⁴ the sign-post in the foreground points, on the left, to the wide, welcoming portal which leads to the broad way ending with Death and Damnation and, on the right, to the narrow gate where the pilgrim starts the difficult journey towards eternal life and salvation. The wide entrance to the broad way is flanked by statues of Bacchus and Venus, the latter symbolizing unbridled lust. The implications are expounded in the allegory and explained in the booklet:

‘The nature of Bacchus is shown by a *company of men and women* of all classes, who, in an elegant public-house garden, enjoy the careless amusement of singing, cards, news-

papers, eating and drinking, scolding and cursing’.¹⁵ The warning here is given by two biblical texts (Isaiah v.22 and I. Cor. x.7) which condemn such earthly pleasures.

‘Opposite the shrine of Bacchus, *Venus* offers her unsatisfying joys.’ Next to her ‘stands . . . a little house, at whose open door a *woman adorned as a harlot* seeks to entice a young passer-by . . .’¹⁶

The broad way is lined with rich buildings, a theatre, a tavern with a ballroom and a gambling house; these allude to worldliness. The fruits of unbelief are shown through the vices of those who displease the Lord and desecrate the Sabbath. The different scenes are always explained by biblical references. Even at this stage, there are still ways to escape from sin: the Prodigal Son (Luke 16.19) symbolizes those who repent and quit a life of vice. Those who withstand the call of God get their due punishment. To illustrate this, prisoners and slaves are, for their sins, given over to their enemies (Jer. xvii.4; xv.14) and ‘fearful war scenes’ are ‘carried on under the influence of Satanic spirits’.¹⁷ The way finally leads to the destruction of Babylon and of the kingdoms of this world, as well as to the Lake of Fire where Time has given place to Eternity and Earth to Heaven. There, ‘a whole band of *hellish monsters* show us that the foolish ones, who recognize too late that they have missed the right way, at last have reached the abode of Satan’.¹⁸

On the right, the narrow way is distinctly less inviting but brings heavenly reward. After squeezing through the tiny entrance gate the traveller is strengthened by the water of a fountain over which is placed the image of the crucified Redeemer; this reflects the text of the first Epistle to the Corinthians (I. Cor. x.4: ‘for they drank of that spiritual Rock that followed them; and that Rock was Christ’). The traveller now becomes an active Christian; this is symbolized by the Church and the building of the Sunday School. The narrow way shortly takes an uphill course: ‘On a *steep path* that sometimes seems *barren*, and leads past *rocks, thorns and precipices*, the Christian is instruc-

8. *Erklärung des Bildes ‘Der breite und der schmale Weg’, mit Anführung der auf dem Bilde meist nur angedeuteten Schriftstellen*, Stuttgart n.d. For a long quotation from this text, see Scharfe, *op. cit.* in n. 1 (1980), pp. 84 and 86.

9. *Quarterly Record . . .*, *op. cit.* in n. 5, p. 174; this information was provided by Mrs Stambach, the daughter of Mrs Reihlen.

10. *Quarterly Record . . .*, *op. cit.* in n. 5, p. 174.

11. For Gawin Kirkham, see F. Cockrem, *Gawin Kirkham: The Open-Air Evangelist*, London 1894. For his second visit to Amsterdam, see [G. Kirkham], *A Preaching Tour in Holland*, (Tenth Occasional Paper of the Open-Air Mission), London 1868.

12. *Quarterly Record . . .*, *op. cit.* in n. 5, p. 172. For the Dutch versions of the allegory see J. J. W. A. Wijchers, ‘De breede en de smalle weg’, *Aartsbischoffelijk Museum Utrecht*, 15–6 to 18–8 1974, *Vromen & Verlichten. Twee eeuwen protestantse geloofsbeleving 1650–1850*, n.p., fig. 24; Delft, Stedelijk Museum Het Prinsenhof, 1977, *Bijbels & burgers. Vijf eeuwen leven met*

de Bijbel, p. 107, no. 262; W. H. T. Knippenberg, ‘De breede en de smalle weg’, *Brabants Heem*, 33, Eindhoven 1981, pp. 112–113, ill. p. 107; R. P. Zijp, ‘De breede en smalle weg, een alternatief door de eeuwen heen’, *Vroomheid per dozijn*, Utrecht 1982, pp. 35–42, who records various Dutch editions, some of them printed in England.

13. Cockrem, *op. cit.* in n. 11, pp. 76–77, adds that Kirkham recognized that ‘Its meaning was evidently allegorical, and its teaching that of the Gospel. More than this, however, he failed to understand, and repeated examinations added little to his enlightenment’, until he had it translated.

14. The allegory is described in the *Explanation of the Picture ‘The Broad and the Narrow Way’, Translated from the German*, London 1885 (fourth edition). The only copy I know is in the British Library (4372.i.4).

15. *Explanation . . .*, *op. cit.* in n. 14, p. 8.

16. *Explanation . . .*, *op. cit.* in n. 14, p. 8.

17. *Explanation . . .*, *op. cit.* in n. 14, p. 13.

18. *Explanation . . .*, *op. cit.* in n. 14, p. 14.

ted, reproved, or encouraged, according to his need, by many a precious word of God.¹⁹

The wayfarer's virtuous actions are symbolized by the reference to Matthew xxv. 34–40 on the Works of Mercy. Various charitable institutions, including a Deaconess Institute,²⁰ are found along there. Above, the path becomes steeper and the soldier of Christ is tried and tempted by various passions and desires. His faithfulness however is rewarded and he comes nearer and nearer to his glorious goal. A rainbow, symbol of peace, now appears and we see palms and a crown in the clouds. A bridge leads the pilgrim across the river of death to the Heavenly Jerusalem where an angel keeps watch. There, on Mount Sion, Christ in the form of the Lamb sends forth rays of Glory.

Gawin Kirkham, who brought back the Dutch version of the print to England, had it reproduced as a large painting which he used for preaching; he probably started lecturing on the allegory as early as 1869,²¹ and continued to do so while he was Secretary of the Mildway Institutions, between 1872 and 1877. In that year he became Secretary of the Open-Air Mission, a society uniting open-air preachers of all evangelical denominations.²² From 1880 to 1892, he continued expounding on the meaning of the allegory. By 1881, it had 'become a part of the Secretary's winter work to exhibit and explain this picture During the season just closed it has been expounded fifty-three times – frequently to the poor without payment; but of the sum of £200 collected by the Secretary on his year's journeys, covering nearly 9,000 miles, about a third is due to this Dutch picture. It has thus been carried to the North in Lancashire, Westmoreland, and Yorkshire; to the West in Worcestershire; and to the South in Hants and Dorset; and the testimonies to its usefulness from mayors, magistrates, and ministers are very encouraging'.²³ During the winter of 1882 the Secretary expounded on it more

than fifty times.²⁴ From October to May 1883 he preached about it seventy-two times.²⁵ In 1886 the number of expositions was one hundred and twenty-four, and in all seven hundred and eighty-nine over seventeen years.²⁶ In 1892, Kirkham had expounded on its meaning one thousand one hundred and eighteen times, the last time only six days before his death.²⁷

As early as 1881, Gawin Kirkham realized that the 'Dutch Picture' was of German origin.²⁸ This led him to Stuttgart, a visit which was described by his friend Charles Young: 'The long anticipated visit to Stuttgart was made in the early weeks of the year 1890 . . .'. There, 'we were most hospitably entertained in the house of the late Mrs Reihlen, a Deaconess Institution in which orphans were lovingly cared for. Mr Kirkham was now to be privileged to lecture on the Picture for the 1000th time in the very city of its origin. The lecture had been well advertized, and on two successive nights an audience of 1,000 people crowded every corner of the Concert Hall, the finest building in Stuttgart. Mr Adolf Reihlen presided. At the close the people crowded round Mr Kirkham, and at least five-and-twenty kissed him on both cheeks!' After the lecture Charles Young returned to England with the large picture and Gawin Kirkham continued his journey to Palestine, taking a smaller copy with him.²⁹

When Gawin Kirkham used the larger picture, he sometimes had a friend point to the details mentioned in his sermon,³⁰ using a long pointer about twice the length of a normal billiard cue.³¹ Kirkham's successors, Frank Cockrem and H. Norman Stevens, and various lecturers of the Open-Air Mission, also used large paintings.³² The original painting, in fact, was succeeded by three others, each one larger than the preceding. The last, which was nine feet wide and twelve feet high, was suspended on a frame and lit by five powerful duplex lamps.³³ In 1909 advertisements for the lectures added that the allegory could also

19. *Explanation . . .*, *op. cit.* in n. 14, p. 9.

20. For Charlotte Reihlen's foundation of the Deaconess Institute in Stuttgart, see n. 2.

21. See *The Open-Air Mission: Thirty-Fourth Annual Report*, London 1887, pp. 13–14, where it is stated that in 1887 Kirkham had exhibited the print for seventeen years. In 1888, G. H. Pike, *Beneath the Blue Sky: Preaching in the Open-Air*, London 1888, p. 93, claims that he had lectured on it for sixteen years (and 672 times).

22. According to the *Quarterly Record . . .*, *op. cit.* in n. 5, p. 174, it was between 1872 and 1877 that he began to lecture on it.

23. *The Open-Air Mission. Twenty-Eighth Annual Report*, London 1881, pp. 14–15.

24. *The Open-Air Mission. Twenty-Ninth Annual Report*, London 1882, p. 18.

25. *The Open-Air Mission. Thirtieth Annual Report*, London 1883, p. 15.

26. *The Open-Air Mission. Thirty-Fourth Report*, London 1887, pp. 13–14. In 1888 it was 888 times; see Pike, *op. cit.* in n. 21, p. 93.

27. This information is found at the end of Cockrem, *op. cit.* in n. 11; see also the *Quarterly Record . . .*, *op. cit.* in n. 5, p. 174.

For an account of a week of preaching, see Cockrem, pp. 100–101; also the *Quarterly Record . . .*, p. 188.

28. *The Quarterly Record . . .*, *op. cit.* in n. 5, p. 172, claims it was in 1887. This information however, is already found in the fourth edition (1885) of the *Explanation . . .*, *op. cit.* in n. 14, p. 3, as well as in *The Open-Air Mission. Twenty-Eighth Annual Report*, London 1881, p. 14, where it is claimed that it came from Germany.

29. *The Quarterly Record . . .*, *op. cit.* in n. 5, p. 188; on p. 190, we are told that the picture 'was carried on extended tours to the United States, to Germany and other parts of Europe, and to the Near East'.

30. *The Quarterly Record . . .*, *op. cit.* in n. 5, p. 188.

31. I would like to thank Mr E. Jealous for this information.

32. *Record of the Fifty-Sixth Year of the Open-Air Mission*, London 1909, p. 80.

33. *The Quarterly Record . . .*, *op. cit.* in n. 5, p. 174. By 1880, the lectures were given with the help of a 'transparency', nine feet by seven; see *The Open-Air Mission. Twenty-Seventh Annual Report*, London 1880, p. 74 (also found in the reports of 1881, p. 81, and 1882, p. 72). The *Thirtieth Annual Report*, London 1883, p. 59, mentions a copy . . . nine feet by twelve (also found in some later Reports). *The Record of the Fifty-Sixth Year*



179. Anonymous, *The Broad and Narrow Way*, wood-engraving for the cover of *The Open-Air Mission. The Thirty-fourth Annual Report*, July 1887, page 14.

be shown in fifty beautiful lantern views (fig. 180).³⁴

Gawin Kirkham, who discovered the print in Amsterdam, had, as we have seen, the description republished in an English version.³⁵ Its success was

phenomenal. By December 1885 the booklet which had an image of the allegory on its cover (see fig. 179) was in its fourth edition, at 48,000 copies.³⁶ By 1888, more than 50,000 copies were in circulation.³⁷ In 1894, the

of the Open-Air Mission, London [May 1908], p. 80, tells us that the picture was lit by Quintuple Dual Illuminators. Mr Ernest Jealous remembers a large picture which was stored in the basement of the offices of the Open-Air Mission in a long black box. Apparently it used to be rolled up for storage when not in use. Sadly, he thinks that the picture was removed and destroyed when the offices were evacuated in 1939 (I would like to thank E. Jealous for this information).

34. *Record of the Fifty-Sixth Year of the Open-Air Mission*, London 1909, p. 80.

35. See fig. 5; also Cockrem, *op. cit.* in n. 11, pp. 77–78. The fact that Kirkham lectured on the allegory before the English version of the print was published is confirmed by E. W. Jealous, *How Can These Things Be? Further Chapters from the Continuing Saga of the Open-Air Mission's Ministry in Great Britain*, London 1981, p. 10.

36. This information is found on the frontispiece of the *Explanation . . .*, *op. cit.* in n. 14.

37. Pike, *op. cit.* in n. 21, p. 83.



180. Anonymous, *The Broad and Narrow Way*, illustrations of a lantern slide taken from *The Quarterly Record of the Open-Air Mission*, 1909, page 189.

lithograph, together with the *Explanation* could be purchased for a shilling; mounted on canvas with rollers, the price was two shillings and sixpence.³⁸ For the Victorians, the prints were 'very suitable for use in Sabbath-School Classes, Children's Services, and Open-Air Gatherings. A very large number have also been purchased by Cottagers for framing'.³⁹ The print could be deciphered with the help of the *Explanation* or, alternatively, directly by reference to the biblical quotations.

The earliest lithograph I know of the English version (fig. 177) was probably made in 1883 by Charles Montague and entered at Stationers' Hall by G. Kirkham; the publisher, as for later editions, was Morgan & Scott. The exact chronology of the different versions is not easy to

establish, but the earliest copies were printed in 1883, after Kirkham had discovered the origin of the image; in these, as in the fourth edition of the *Explanation* (1885), the artist who designed it is still misidentified.⁴⁰ Another version, which mentions Kirkham's death (1892), must obviously be later; the text is longer and the artist now is rightly identified as Herr Schacher.⁴¹ Later editions (fig. 178) have a different colour range and other variations.⁴² For example, Venus is no longer shown with bare breast but is draped in a long white dress. The 'woman adorned as a harlot', too, has lost some of her attractiveness.

The combination of word and image seems to have made the message especially powerful, as attested by John Edmond, a minister of Park Church, Highbury, London:

38. This information is found on the advertisement at the end of Cockrem, *op. cit.* in n. 11. In German the *Erklärung . . .*, was freely available to those who purchased the print (see the *Erklärung . . .*, *op. cit.* in n. 8, p. 8).

39. At the end of Cockrem, *op. cit.* in n. 11.

40. The artist, here, is called Walker; see also the *Explanation . . .*, *op. cit.* in n. 14, p. 3. For the dating of the earliest English versions, see n. 41. The English versions I know are often closer to the German than to the Dutch lithographs. Because of missing links however the exact relationship between the models and new, updated versions is often hard to assess.

41. The inscriptions of this print vary from those in fig. 177. The longer inscription now states that 'The Picture is of German origin. It was designed by Mrs CHARLOTTE REIHLEN, of Stuttgart, in 1862, and at her request, was painted by HERR SCHACHER, a young Artist, also of Stuttgart. A Dutch Edition was produced in Holland in 1866. One of these

Dutch copies was brought from Amsterdam in 1868 by Mr GAWIN KIRKHAM, from an enlarged copy of which he lectured more than eleven hundred times before his death in 1892. This English Edition was issued in 1883. The "History and Explanation of the Picture," with Portraits of Mrs REIHLEN and Mr KIRKHAM may also be had of the Publishers, One Penny'. Another, slightly earlier lithograph (London, coll. David Bindman) mentions that Kirkham 'has lectured nearly a thousand times' about it; certain specific details, in this work are closer to the Dutch version.

42. For fig. 178, see also R. Schleier, *Tabula Cebetis*, Berlin 1973, p. 125 n. 318, fig. 114. Another edition, which I have not seen, has the following inscriptions: 'Printed by Cotswold Printing Company. Distributed by Julian Usborne, Westley Farm, Chalford, Stroud, Glos' (I would like to thank M. Scharfe for this information).

I had the pleasure of hearing Mr G. KIRKHAM's lecture on 'The Broad and Narrow Ways' . . . I might almost say the advantage of *seeing* it as well, for the curious picture which Mr KIRKHAM hangs up to view and explains forcefully aids the impression produced by what he speaks . . . I admired the practical skill with which the Lecturer touched on many points, never dwelling unduly on any one topic but lighting on each with a telling gleam of thought and passing on to another.⁴³

The Open-Air Mission, too, was pleased with the result: These tours in country districts, day by day, exhibiting and explaining his pictorial treasure, yielded rich harvests of interest and blessing. Many received the truth through eye-gate, whose ears had long been deaf

to the message of the Gospel. They saw themselves in 'the way that leadeth to destruction', and, trembling prayed, repented and were saved. Thus a marvellous link of affection bound Mr Kirkham to his picture . . .⁴⁴ There is, however, a dissenting voice. Richard Weitbrecht wrote in his novel *Bohlinger Leute* (1911) that one of the characters, the pious Christine, took with her two pictures to her new home, to the anger of her father-in-law who did not like religious pictures and especially not the allegory of *The Broad and Narrow Way*.⁴⁵ For the father-in-law, such images probably had distinctly conservative associations. This was especially true in the German-speaking world where, in another representation of the allegory of the two ways, the tavern along the Broad Way was simply named 'Liberty'.⁴⁶

43. This information is found at the end of the *Explanation* . . . , *op. cit.* in n. 14 p. 18; Jealous (*op. cit.* in n. 35, p. 10) mentions how Mr Robert Gillies was so impressed by Kirkham's preaching that he decided to become a missionary. There Kirkham is described 'in the shape of a burly, frock-coated gentleman who was lecturing a large crowd and illustrating his talk from a huge canvas painting which he had entitled *The Broad and Narrow Way*.'
44. Cockrem, *op. cit.* in n. 11, p. 101; for some additional refer-

- ences to the picture used in preaching, see also the *Quarterly Record* . . . , *op. cit.* in n. 5, pp. 189–190; see also n. 29.
45. R. Weitbrecht, *Bohlinger Leute: Ein schwäbischer Bauern- und Pfarrerroman*, Heilbronn 1911, p. 255; see also Scharfe, *op. cit.* in n. 1 (1968), pp. 267–68.
46. See Scharfe, *op. cit.* in n. 1 (1968), pp. 268–69, fig. 152. For Charlotte Reihlen's reactionary views, see Baun, *op. cit.* in n. 2 esp. pp. 29–30 and 33; also Scharfe, *op. cit.* in n. 1 (1980), pp. 138–39 and 153.

Two Boucher Drawings Owned by and Etched for Basan père

Alastair Laing

Pierre-François Basan (1723–97) was not only an active dealer in Boucher's drawings, and the publisher of numerous engravings after both his drawings and his paintings, he was also proud to number at least two drawings by Boucher amongst his personal collection, as recorded by his sons in the *RECUEIL de cent vingt Sujets et Paysages divers, gravés à L'eau forte . . . Dont les dessins originaux font partie de la Collection du Sr. Basan Père à Paris* [1792].

The first of these (no. 9) has caused total confusion: there is no agreement as to its subject, date, or engraver – nor even as to whether it is after a drawing or a painting – nor does anyone appear to have recognized its origin in the *RECUEIL*, despite the clear clue contained in the ink inscription on the example in the print room of the British Museum: *No. 9 Collection Basan* (fig. 181).¹

So far, not even its subject has been established: none

1. See A. Ananoff and D. Wildenstein, *François Boucher*, Lausanne & Paris 1976, 1, pp. 162–63, no. 10; and by the same, *L'opera completa di Boucher*, Milan 1980, p. 86, no. 10; P. Jean-Richard,

L'Oeuvre gravé de François Boucher, Paris 1978, p. 395, no. 1641; *François Boucher*, exh. cat., Tokyo, Metropolitan Art Museum, and elsewhere, 1982, no. 125.