



FRENCH PAINTINGS

in The Metropolitan Museum of Art
from the Early Eighteenth Century
through the Revolution

FRENCH PAINTINGS

in The Metropolitan Museum of Art
from the Early Eighteenth Century
through the Revolution



FRENCH PAINTINGS

in The Metropolitan Museum of Art
from the Early Eighteenth Century
through the Revolution

KATHARINE BAETJER



The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
Distributed by Yale University Press, New Haven and London

Contents

Director’s Foreword	7
Acknowledgments	9
Donors of French Eighteenth-Century Paintings	11
A Note to the Reader	13

“The virtues of great men and the most elevated mysteries” <i>A Summary History of the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture in Paris, with Notes on the Salon</i> Katharine Baetjer	15
---	----

Dates of the Paris Salons, 1667–1810	29
Paintings in This Catalogue Identified as Paris Salon Exhibits	31

Catalogue

Nicolas de Largillierre	35	Charles Dominique Joseph Eisen	192
Hyacinthe Rigaud	40	Joseph Siffred Duplessis	194
Pierre Gobert	50	Jean-Baptiste Greuze	202
Alexandre François Desportes	52	François Hubert Drouais	227
Jean François de Troy	59	Abbé de Saint-Non	241
Antoine Watteau	62	Jean Pillement	243
Jacques de Lajoüe the Younger	76	Laurent Pécheux	245
Jean Marc Nattier	79	Jean Honoré Fragonard	250
Jean-Baptiste Oudry	94	Hubert Robert	273
Nicolas Lancret	97	Antoine Vestier	296
Charles Antoine Coypel	103	Anne Vallayer-Coster	299
Jean-Baptiste Joseph Pater	107	Piat Joseph Sauvage	302
Louis Tocqué	118	Jacques Louis David	306
Pierre Louis Dumesnil the Younger	122	Adélaïde Labille-Guiard	328
Jean Siméon Chardin	124	Van Blarenberghe	336
Pierre Hubert Subleyras	130	Elisabeth Louise Vigée Le Brun	339
Charles Joseph Natoire	137	Marie Victoire Lemoine	347
Pierre Charles Trémolières	141	Rose Adélaïde Ducreux	350
François Boucher	144	Carle (Antoine Charles Horace) Vernet	352
Maurice Quentin de La Tour	174	Nicolas Antoine Taunay	356
Carle (Charles André) Vanloo	177	Pierre Paul Prud'hon	358
Guillaume Voiriot	182	Antoine Jean Gros	366
Jean-Baptiste Marie Pierre	184	Marie Guilhelmine Benoist	370
Joseph Vernet	188	Marie Denise Villers	373
Jean-Baptiste Perronneau	189	François Gérard	379

Bibliography	389
Photograph Credits	406



Director's Foreword

The Metropolitan Museum opened in 1872, and the trustees immediately issued their first publication, a volume offering information on the newly purchased collection of 274 European old master paintings. Animal subjects by Jean-Baptiste Oudry and a head study by Jean-Baptiste Greuze, part of the founding purchase, are included in the present catalogue. In the years since its founding, The Met has acquired signature works by, among others, Jean Antoine Watteau, François Boucher, Jean Honoré Fragonard, Hubert Robert, and Jacques Louis David. Seven women artists are represented; a number of pastels and two pictures by Pierre Hubert Subleyras have been added in the twenty-first century. First in importance, though, is Baron Gérard's full-length portrait of the minister and diplomat Talleyrand, purchased in 2012 with funds provided by the Museum's legendary patron, Jayne Wrightsman.

Web cataloguing as well as bound volumes are a constant interest of the curators in the Department of European Paintings, and Katharine Baetjer, whose primary concern is with the eighteenth century, has been a contributor for more than thirty years. This will be the department's first collection catalogue primarily intended for online use. We are grateful to The BIN Charitable Foundation, Inc., for its generous support of this inspiring publication.

It is a pleasure to present this erudite and authoritative study of a magnificent group of paintings.

Max Hollein
Director
The Metropolitan Museum of Art



Acknowledgments

In the Department of European Paintings, I express my gratitude and appreciation to Keith Christiansen, John Pope-Hennessy Chairman, as well as to Asher Miller, Adam Eaker, Gretchen Wold, Rebecca Ben-Atar, and Patrice Mattia; in the Department of Paintings Conservation, I acknowledge Michael Gallagher, Sherman Fairchild Conservator in Charge, Dorothy Mahon, Charlotte Hale, and Evan Read. In Paper Conservation, I thank Marjorie Shelley, Sherman Fairchild Conservator in Charge; in Drawings and Prints, Perrin Stein; in European Sculpture and Decorative Arts, Daniëlle O. Kisluk-Grosheide, Henry R. Kravis Curator. I am indebted to Barbara J. Bridgers, who manages the Imaging Department, to photographer Juan Trujillo, and to all of their colleagues who captured an image for me in an emergency. In the Thomas J. Watson Library, I thank Kenneth Soehner, Arthur K. Watson Chief Librarian, and the librarians who expeditiously manage book orders and interlibrary loans. Ronald Fein has always given me a hand, and Fredy Rivera has delivered books to me several times each week for a number of years.

Philippe de Montebello, Director Emeritus, whose commitment to The Met's publishing operations is legendary, gave impetus to my writing career. Mary Sprinson de Jesús created, maintained, and improved our French old master paintings records, as Gretchen Wold has done since Mary's retirement. While contributions from colleagues outside the Museum are noted in individual cases, I would like to recognize the example of Colin Bailey's scholarship and the help and interest of Alastair Laing, Joseph Baillio, Paul Lang, Alan Salz, and Alan Wintermute. Margaret Oppenheimer and Paris A. Spies-Gans have shared their knowledge of women artists and studio practice at the end of the eighteenth century. Roald Hoffmann and I, together, have worked through matters relating to

Madame Paulze Lavoisier's practice as a scientific illustrator of her husband's landmark 1789 chemical text. I appreciate his help and am very grateful for his interest. From January through March 2012, through the good offices of Scott Schaefer and Peter Björn Kerber, I was a Getty Museum Scholar, one of the most agreeable experiences of my career, during which I studied principally the French Academy. Elizabeth Llewellyn contributed to an initial research project at an early and critical moment. I offer my warmest thanks to The BIN Charitable Foundation, Inc., for their contribution toward the publication of this book.

As one of their clients of long standing, I value the oversight and support of the Editorial and Publications Department. Mark Polizzotti, Publisher and Editor in Chief, suggested the subject for the introduction to this catalogue. I have depended upon Gwen Roginsky, Associate Publisher and General Manager; Michael Sittenfeld, Senior Managing Editor; and Peter Antony, Chief Production Manager. It has been my good fortune to work with Philomena Mariani, a splendidly resourceful and expeditious editor. Miko McGinty and Rita Jules have created a handsome design congenial to the material. During the writing of this catalogue, Carol Bergren Santoleri was my part-time research assistant. In various ways, her research skills are better than mine, and she was timely, thorough, and punctilious to a fault. Lastly, I thank Joan R. Mertens, curator in the Department of Greek and Roman Art, for her help over the more than forty years we have been employed at The Met.

Katharine Baetjer
Curator Emerita
July 2018



Donors of French Eighteenth-Century Paintings

- James A. Aborn
 Mr. and Mrs. Harry N. Abrams
 Walter and Leonore Annenberg
 The Annenberg Foundation
 Mrs. Vincent Astor
 The Jules Bache Collection
 Colonel and Mrs. Jacques Balsan
 Julia A. Berwind
 Martin Birnbaum
 Susan Dwight Bliss
 Edith C. Blum (et al.) Executors, in memory of
 Mr. and Mrs. Albert Blum
 George T. Delacorte Jr.
 Jessie Woolworth Donahue
 Barbara Lowe Fallass
 Isaac D. Fletcher
 René Fribourg
 Michael Friedsam
 Edward J. Gallagher
 Adelaide Milton de Groot, in memory of the de Groot
 and Hawley families
 Margaret V. Haggin
 Edward S. Harkness
 Mrs. William M. Haupt, from the collection of
 Mrs. James B. Haggin
 Mrs. Joseph Heine, in memory of her husband, I. D. Levy
 Mr. and Mrs. Henry J. Heinz II
 Lucy Work Hewitt
 Ethel Tod Humphrys
 Collis P. Huntington
 Marquis de La Bégassière
 Jack and Belle Linsky
 George A. Lucas
 Darius O. Mills
 J. Pierpont Morgan
 Joan Whitney Payson
- Charles and Jessie Price
 Mr. and Mrs. Frank E. Richardson III
 Mrs. Thorneycroft Ryle
 Florence S. Schuette
 Emma A. Sheaffer
 Mary Wetmore Shively, in memory of her husband,
 Henry L. Shively, M.D.
 Harry G. Sperling
 Mrs. Frederick M. Stafford
 Lillian S. Timken
 William K. Vanderbilt
 Catherine D. Wentworth
 Daniel Wildenstein
 Catharine Lorillard Wolfe
 Mr. and Mrs. Charles Wrightsman, in honor of Everett Fahy
 Mrs. Charles Wrightsman, in honor of Annette de la Renta
 Mrs. Charles Wrightsman, in memory of
 Jacqueline Bouvier Kennedy
- FUNDS**
- Friends of European Paintings
 Gwynne Andrews Fund
 Valerie Delacorte Fund
 Harris Brisbane Dick Fund
 Fletcher Fund
 Marquand Fund
 Munsey Fund
 Pfeiffer Fund
 Joseph Pulitzer Bequest
 The Alfred N. Punnett Endowment Fund
 Rogers Fund
 Wentworth Fund
 Victor Wilbour Memorial Fund
 Wrightsman Fund



A Note to the Reader

Since 1940, the Metropolitan Museum has published comprehensive catalogues on aspects of the European old master paintings collection. In the twenty-first century, each of these publications shows the impact of web-based research; the present catalogue, though freestanding, may be used in tandem with more expansive documentation on the Museum's website. This publication presents an opinion at a moment in time, while the web records of the Department of European Paintings grow and change continually. Because every former owner, previous exhibition, and publication known to us appears on the object web page, the present text includes only exhibitions and references that contribute new ideas or information to our knowledge. Contemporary criticism, of which there was suddenly an enormous quantity in the later eighteenth century, used to be very difficult of access, but no longer. We have cited as much early critical material as space allows, and there is more on the web, a reflection of the importance of the Paris Salons, the first modern public venues for the display of contemporary works of art. We include few detail color photographs of The Met's paintings because it is possible to enlarge all of the digital images online. Instead, we have attempted to illustrate as much comparative material as possible in a wide variety of media. Artist biographies are short and intended primarily as a scaffolding within which to

place individual works. In the interest of considering the artist's intention, we have used the original title of a work when known. As readers are not as familiar as they used to be with the history, literature, and mythologies of previous centuries and millennia, we have explained in some detail what is going on in the pictorial world, while resisting the idea that everyone who consults such a book wants to know as much as those of us who write them. The same approach applies to conservation records: against current practice, we have not provided details such as thread counts, but instead information that we believe will help the viewer understand how what he or she sees, when looking at a painting, may have been prejudiced by the passage of time, accident, or ill-treatment. Except for the complete bibliography (which is at the back of the catalogue), each entry or group of entries stands independently to facilitate web-based research. Anonymous French eighteenth-century paintings housed in the Department of European Sculpture and Decorative Arts, as well as a few pastels and oil sketches on paper acquired by the Department of Drawings and Prints, are not included in this volume but may be found on the website. Because it is intended primarily for online use, this catalogue has not been provided with an index.



LD

“The virtues of great men and the most elevated mysteries”

A Summary History of the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture in Paris, with Notes on the Salon

KATHARINE BAETJER

On January 20, 1648, a request was presented to the young Louis XIV and his mother, Anne of Austria, the regent, to form a new organization.¹ Because the artists in whose behalf the application was submitted were in the employ of or protected by the crown or other noble patrons, they had escaped the control of the ancient, monopolistic Paris guild, the *maîtrise*. However, the guild attempted to reassert its power in a time of political uncertainty, and the artists risked fines and seizures of their work. They argued that as painters—and sculptors—of superior training and more noble, moral, and intellectual purpose, they should not be regulated by craftsmen, whose primary concern was with materials and techniques. Artists should be separated from artisans. The group aspired to form an academy to protect the visual arts, modeled on the Académie Française, whose learned members were the guardians of French language and literature.

Their leader was the immensely successful young history painter Charles Le Brun (1619–1690) (fig. 1), who, trained in the studio of Simon Vouet (1590–1649) and influenced while in Rome by Nicolas Poussin (1594–1665), would later become first painter to the king. Le Brun was allied with Pierre Séguier, chancellor of France, administrator, bibliophile, and supporter of the Académie Française, and with Martin de Charmois, *conseiller d'état*, who served as the *chef de l'Académie* until the appointment of Jean-Baptiste Colbert as director in 1655, when the organization fell under the protection of Cardinal Mazarin. Several petitioners practiced classi-

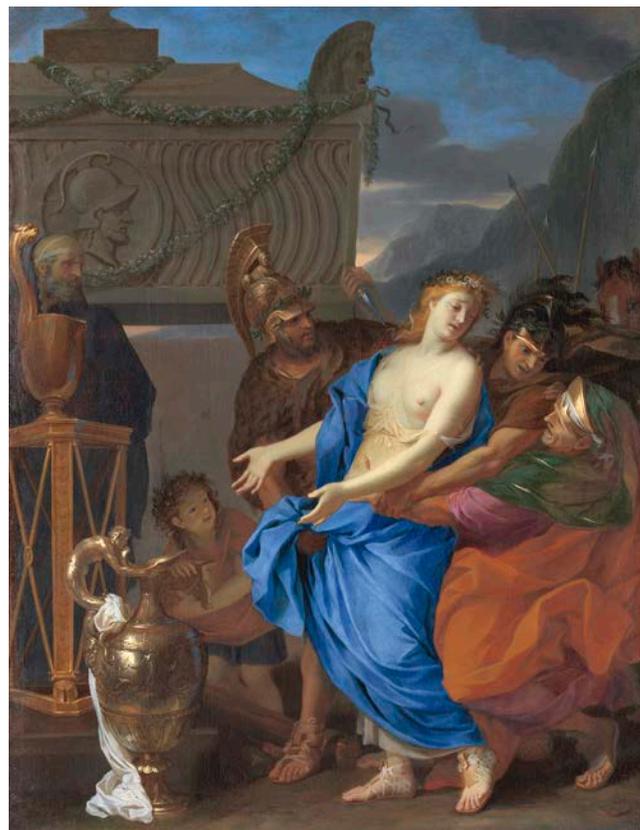


Fig. 1. Charles Le Brun (French, 1619–1690), *The Sacrifice of Polyxena*, 1647. Oil on canvas, 67 $\frac{3}{16}$ x 51 $\frac{1}{16}$ in. (171 x 131 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Purchase, 2012 Benefit Fund, and Bequest of Grace Wilkes and Fletcher Fund, by exchange (2013.183)

cizing styles developed under the influence of Poussin. A typical profile was that of Charles Errard (?1601–1689), a decorative painter and draftsman who left little finished work but was an important figure in the history of the newly established Académie Royale.² He lived principally in Rome in the 1630s and was admitted in 1633 to membership in the Accademia di San Luca, of which he became the *principe* (principal) in 1672–73, and again in 1676, on the second occasion serving in place of Le Brun, who was in Paris.³ As the academic tradition found its origins in antiquity and developed in Italy—the Accademia delle Arti del Disegno at the Florentine court of Cosimo I de’ Medici was greatly admired—French artists looked to Italy for their models.

The statutes of February 1648 establishing the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture describe the functions of a collective deliberative body and teaching institution.⁴ There were twelve founders, nine painters and three sculptors: Le Brun, Errard, François Perrier (1584/94–1650), Juste d’Egmont (Flemish, 1601–1674), Michel I Corneille (?1602–1664), Henri Beaubrun (1603–1677), Laurent de La Hyre (1606–1656), Sébastien Bourdon (1616–1671), and Eustache Le Sueur (1616–1655), with Simon Guillain (1581–1658), Jacques Sarrazin (1592–1660), and Gérard van Opstal (Flemish, 1594/1604–1668). The *anciens*, as the original members were called, would govern the organization and meet to conduct its business on the first Saturday of every month. Each would take charge for a month on a rotating schedule, and in the event of the death or extended absence of any one of them, the group would select a replacement. A candidate could be considered for admission only upon presentation of an example or examples of his work. The rooms of the Académie Royale (which met initially in Séguier’s residence) would be open for two—or in summer three—hours in the afternoon, except Sundays and holidays. Each of the founders would also take charge for a month in turn of the life drawing classes, which were open to any student who could pay the admission fees. A primary obligation of the senior academicians was to correct the drawings submitted by the participants in the classes, the first of which was held on February 1, 1648, the day the new organization met for the first time. A record-keeping system and a schedule of fees and fines were instituted. A major difficulty soon arose, however, when attendance at the life drawing classes began to fall off: the models declined to pose for fewer students, while those who were paying for the models’ time were frustrated by rising charges.

The guild seized the opportunity to open a rival school that offered two models and free life classes. In 1651 a truce was effected between the two organizations, whose members were linked by personal and professional ties but among

whom there was at the same time natural enmity, one organization having emerged from and rejected the other.⁵ The new arrangement, or *jonction*, offered some advantages for each, but the guild was for the most part obliged to subscribe to the dictates of the academicians, and did so under duress, with increasing resentment. In several years, separation between the two was reintroduced and would prove lasting.

The articles governing the Académie Royale were revisited in 1654, when a tighter hierarchy was established and the rights of the organization were reasserted.⁶ There would be a protector and vice-protector as well as a director, a *chancelier*, and four *recteurs*. The *anciens* became professors. In future, the Academy would have thirty senior members. In the absence of the director, a *recteur* or a professor, in order of seniority, would take charge. These individuals with the other officers and senior members would hold the power of decision. To provide an adequate theoretical basis, matters of concern to artists would be expounded at monthly lectures or *conférences*, a provision that at first was mostly honored in the breach.⁷ Engravers were admitted to membership. Each aspirant seeking membership would be required to present a painting or a sculpture and pay a fee; each engraver or designer of engravings would have to submit his project for approval and provide one or more examples of his work to the Académie Royale. Independent drawing schools directed by members were banned. Every year, on October 17, students would be invited to draw a preselected subject demonstrating the heroism of the king. Their drawings would be submitted to the judgment of the officers, and the winner would prepare a painting based on his design that would become the property of the Academy. He would be compensated monetarily and given access to a privileged seat in the drawing classes. Colbert gave his support to Le Brun’s efforts to reaffirm and strengthen the position of the organization and in 1661 became its protector and *surintendant des bâtiments du Roi, arts et manufacture de France*, or superintendent of the royal fine arts administration.

Statutes dating to 1664 stipulated that professors would be chosen from among adjunct professors who demonstrated competence in history painting, the highest category. The Académie Royale operated according to principles inferred rather than specified in the foundational documents, and often referenced as the so-called hierarchy of the genres. André Félibien, critic and honorary *conseiller*, presented this important argument in 1667 as follows:

He who makes perfect landscapes is above another who only paints fruit, flowers, or seashells. He who paints living animals is worthier of estimation than those who paint only things that are dead and without movement. And as the

figure of man is the most perfect work of God on earth, it is also certain that he who becomes an imitator of God by painting human figures is much more excellent than all the others. However, even though it is no small thing to make the figure of a man appear as if alive, and to give the appearance of movement to that which has none, nevertheless a painter who only makes portraits . . . may not pretend to the honor accorded to the most learned. For that, it is necessary to progress from the single figure to the representation of several together, to depict history and myth . . . the virtues of great men and the most elevated mysteries.⁸

In practice the organization was governed by history painters. Instruction in geometry, perspective, and anatomy was offered, but as the human figure was paramount, drawing the nude male remained the foundational discipline. The number of academicians rose to forty, while amateurs with advisory standing, whom Colbert hoped would put the Académie Royale on a more theoretical footing, would be admitted to contribute to the discourse. The germ of an exhibition process emerged when members were invited to lend one of their most recent works to the Academy every year on the first Saturday in July: these would be installed in their rooms for a brief period. In less than twenty years, a complex, hierarchical administrative structure under royal patronage was formed to direct and supervise the development of French painting and sculpture as liberal figurative arts.

The academicians looked to the future. A way had been required, and was found, to advance the careers of young attendees in the life drawing classes who demonstrated superior ability: talented candidates who were without resources could apply to the state for financial support.⁹ After review, a qualified student might be granted a subsidy by the *surintendant*. Most important, though, were the *grands prix* instituted in 1663, a first and second prize for painting and a first and second prize for sculpture. The winners would be selected by the academicians in assembly, and the awards provided for further study in Italy. The first prizes for painting went to Pierre Mosnier (1641–1703) and Jean-Baptiste Corneille (1649–1695), the son of, and trained by, one of the founders of what can only be called a patriarchal institution.¹⁰

In the belief that an artist's formation was not complete without prolonged exposure to Rome, where the arts of antiquity and of more recent centuries would influence his style and development during his formative years, Colbert established the Académie de France à Rome in February 1666.¹¹ There the students who had been selected would seek to advance their knowledge and abilities by copying specific paintings and ancient works of art and by having their draw-

ings corrected by an excellent master, who would supervise all of their studies. A modest place in which to live and work would be provided. A parallel course for sculptors was established. Of twelve candidates admitted, six would be painters and four sculptors (there were also two places for students of architecture who received training in an independent Paris academy). While Colbert's administration would fund and manage the program, it was left to the academicians to select from among their prize winners and schedule the recipients.

Errard became the first *recteur* of the school in Rome, serving until 1673, when he was succeeded by Noël Coypel (1628–1707) and then reappointed with the title of director. Twelve pensioners were presented to the membership of the Académie Royale and set off with Errard in the summer of 1666 (by some accident, their names are not recorded). In Rome, they rose at five o'clock—or six in winter—and retired at ten.¹² While similar to that followed in Paris, the program was residential and thus more closely supervised. The students ate with the *recteur*, who selected the historical texts read during meals. For two hours daily except Thursday and Sunday they studied arithmetic, architecture, geometry, and perspective. The model was posed. Copies were molded after the antique. Those who were sufficiently gifted were invited to be present when, once annually, the director performed a dissection. He chose each work to be copied, and selected principally Raphael, Michelangelo, and Annibale Carracci. The pensioners drew or modeled only what was assigned, and their output became the property of the king.

The closest possible supervision was imposed. In November 1666 Errard selected and sent to Paris five of the many drawings prepared by the students under his direction.¹³ Again the documents do not disclose their names, but do reveal that the academicians ranked the drawings and returned them. Errard reported to his colleagues on the progress of his students in March 1667, and the following year the Academy received “plusieurs tableaux” from Rome. At first it was thought that these should be exhibited until the next assembly, when they would be critiqued, but the final decision was to return them, as they could not be judged absent the originals upon which they were based. Works forwarded from Rome in 1669 were studied and discussed in assembly. Meanwhile, the French ambassador sent additional reports, and Gian Lorenzo Bernini, whom Colbert had interested in his project, visited the Académie de France to correct drawings and received young artists seeking his advice in his studio. (After his 1665 visit to Paris, Bernini was awarded a pension by the crown.)

Noël Coypel, who was esteemed by the *surintendant* and by Le Brun, departed in 1672 to take up the senior position in Rome.¹⁴ There he quickly received instructions from Colbert

with respect to the detailed report (“un mémoire exacte”) the minister expected relating to the progress of each pensioner during the first quarter of 1673.¹⁵ Colbert advised that while the students must draw and model, the director should paint without pause. Discipline was strict; the pensioners were not at first permitted to travel, and a term limit of three years, later raised to four, was imposed. The standing of the Académie de France was further strengthened in 1676 when Le Brun was elected *principe* of the Accademia di San Luca by acclamation. He accepted, but as he could not leave Paris, Errard, who had returned to Rome, served in his place.

Throughout its history, the French school alternated between periods of strength and weakness. At the end of the seventeenth century and early in the eighteenth, there was a precipitous decline, and in 1708 the school risked closure.¹⁶ However, Nicolas Vleughels (1668–1737) brought it back to life and to a more central position in Rome. Vleughels, who arrived in 1724, oversaw a period of growth that would last more than a quarter century.¹⁷ He moved the Académie de France to the Palazzo Mancini on the Corso, a central location and much visited. Little known as a painter, Vleughels was an innovative and enthusiastic teacher who afforded the pensioners rather greater liberty of expression. He was interested in the minor genres. He regretted the disappearance of landscape, and one of his innovations was to encourage students to go out into the countryside on Sundays, notably to Tivoli and Frascati, where they might find inspiration drawing out of doors. He sought access for them to private collections and encouraged them to propose to him works of art they wished to copy.

The school flourished also under **JEAN FRANÇOIS DE TROY**—a former pensioner and the son of a former director of the Académie Royale—who was admired as an academicien working for the court on a grand scale as a tapestry designer. Troy, gifted with both speed and facility as a painter, preferred to teach by example. The school, which became a less closely supervised environment, gained in prestige when Troy was elected *principe* of the Accademia di San Luca in 1744. His successor, Charles Natoire, accused of having been lax, nevertheless furthered the training of a gifted generation.

Just short of twenty years after the establishment of the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture, the first public exhibition took place. The possibility of showing works of art by members had been mentioned in the 1650 statutes and was confirmed in 1664: every year, officers and academicians would present an example of their recent work for temporary display (if any failed to do so, he would be disqualified from standing for election to vacant posts).¹⁸ At first the academicians were not ready to take up the matter in practice, and seventy-five years would pass before a regular schedule was

established,¹⁹ but meanwhile the first exhibition was scheduled for Holy Week 1667 and was held open for a second week, from April 9 through April 23, having inspired a public clamor. Jean Rou, *avocat au Parlement de Paris*, finding himself by chance among the carriages blocking the rue de Rivoli, decided to visit the Salon and offered what has become a famous account of his impressions.

I was, it seemed, the only one who knew nothing of a major gathering of men and women of every age and rank, who had come to the grand courtyard of the Hôtel Brion to admire the rich paintings and superb statues which the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture had installed there that day by the express order of His Majesty. Words could not express what an agreeable spectacle it was for me to see all at once a prodigious quantity of every kind of work in all the diverse aspects of painting; I mean *history, portrait, landscape, seascape, flowers, fruits*; nor convey by what sort of magic, as if I had been transported to foreign climes and to the remotest centuries, I found myself a spectator at those famous events the extraordinary written accounts of which had so often stirred my imagination. I could barely comprehend how I could find myself able to converse with the celebrated dead whom I had known before now only by the aura of their fame, or how, by some change of scenery, I could find myself in the solitude of the fiercest deserts, or just as quickly, in the fertility of the happiest countryside, or in the horror of storms and shipwrecks, while remaining in the midst of the streets of the most populous city on earth.²⁰

The exhibitions continued biennially. In 1669 and 1671 there were too many paintings and sculptures to fit into the Academy’s rooms in the Hôtel Brion, and additional submissions were installed in an interior court of the Palais Royal. In anticipation of a crush, the academicians decided to suspend all other official business for the duration of their fourth exhibition, in August 1673, which was accompanied by a brochure, or *livret*, containing a list of the artists and titles of works on view. The *livret*, offered for sale to visitors at the entrance to the venue, was the first catalogue of a public exhibition.²¹ (It was a useful tool, especially in view of the fact that at the time the exhibits were not labeled.) The *Livret de l’Exposition faite en 1673* survives in three editions.²² Four pages are given to paintings by the officers and the balance of four pages to work by other members, organized hierarchically in accordance with the rank of the exhibitor. First is a group of large canvases showing events from ancient history and culminating in *The Triumph of Alexander* by “Monsieur le Brun, Chancelier & Recteur.”²³ Though historical subjects



Fig. 2. Nicolas Langlois (French, 1640–1703), *The Salon of 1699*, 1700. Etching and engraving. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (41505368)

were in the majority, roughly one-third of the works were portraits, representing members of the royal family and officers of the Académie Royale among others, with most sitters named. There were a few sculptures, engravings, landscapes, and flower paintings, as well as several important designs for ceilings, and including eight submissions by women;²⁴ a total of some 135 works.

Exhibitions were held at irregular intervals, in 1675, 1681, and 1683, and the academicians prepared a display at the Church of the Oratoire in 1687 to accompany a service celebrating the king's recovery from illness.²⁵ The year 1699 brought a larger, more important presentation installed in half of the Grande Galerie of the Palais du Louvre (by this time the Academy had been provided with meeting rooms in the palace as well). The paintings were hung tightly, with the largest at the most desirable height against a background of tapestries borrowed from the royal storerooms (fig. 2). According to a statement of purpose published in the *livret*, the academicians were animated by a desire not only to compete among themselves, but also to hear the judgments of visitors.²⁶ However, despite this promising expression of interest in the public's responses, only two further exhibitions, in 1704 and (for a single day) in 1706, were held in the succeeding twenty-five years. There was a reason the academicians did not sufficiently anticipate: with the new century came the new criticism.

An explosion in publishing occurred toward the end of the seventeenth century. The *Mercure Galant*, later the *Mercure de France*, was issued monthly beginning in 1677 as a review of books, theater, and the visual arts, and to provide an account of events at court and in society. In 1698 the first history of art from antiquity through the Renaissance was published, while 1715 saw a catalogue of the collection of the Académie Royale (see fig. 3).²⁷ A new voice of the eighteenth century, that of the independent amateur, was the abbé Dubos, a member of the Académie française, whose *Réflexions critiques sur la poésie et sur la peinture* of 1719 came to be widely read. Dubos admitted subjective reaction to consideration and addressed the important role played by a literate and disinterested audience. Absent major exhibitions organized between 1704 and 1725 by the Académie Royale, the *Exposition de la Jeunesse*, held each year on the Fête-Dieu in Place Dauphine—and reviewed from 1722 on—gained greatly in popularity.²⁸ (The displays had evolved in the seventeenth century from the practice of decorating the route of annual religious processions honoring Saint Barthélemy.) Place Dauphine was the venue for those excluded from the Salons, including women, most of whom were denied membership in the Académie Royale. The academicians, some of whom had exhibited there as well, seem not to have been threatened by these events, which were held for a single day, and a number of them were among the visitors who went to have a look at what was on offer.



Fig. 3. Jean-Baptiste Martin (French, 1659–1735), *A Meeting of the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture at the Louvre*, ca. 1712–21. Oil on canvas, 11¹/₁₆ x 16¹/₁₆ in. (30 x 42 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris (RF 1998-36)

In 1725 the annual display was first installed in the Salon Carré of the Louvre, between the Galerie d'Apollon and the Grande Galerie.²⁹ It was the first in the reign of the young Louis XV and was open for ten days from August 25, the king's name day, in celebration of his marriage to Marie Leszczyńska. Absent a *livret*, the *Mercur de France* gave an account in the second of two September issues, describing a magnificent spectacle attended by what came typically to be described as a large and diverse audience of both sexes and all ages (“un concours infini de Spectateurs de toutes conditions, de tout sexe & de tout âge”).³⁰ Four of the senior members—François de Troy (1645–1730), Louis II Boullogne (1654–1733), **NICOLAS DE LARGILLIERRE**, and **HYACINTHE RIGAUD**—did not contribute, allowing attention to focus on the work of younger academicians, many of whom were their pupils. Of the twenty-two exhibitors, fifteen were painters. Among those singled out were **JACQUES DE LAJOÛE**, **NICOLAS LANCRET**, and **CHARLES ANTOINE COYPEL**. Extensive descriptions were provided for the work of **JEAN FRANÇOIS DE TROY** and **JEAN-BAPTISTE OUDRY**, while the still-life and animal specialist **ALEXANDRE**

FRANÇOIS DESPORTES was singled out (and may have been a source for the narrative).

The 1727 display was a competition by invitation, devoted exclusively to subjects from ancient history and mythology; beginning in 1737, seven exhibitions were held sequentially and provided with *livrets*.³¹ These were arranged under the leadership of the practical Philibert Orry, controller of finances, as general director.³² Openings were scheduled more regularly for the feast day of Saint Louis. Visitors were admitted without charge from nine in the morning until the late afternoon, and the installation and guardianship costs were covered partly by the proceeds of *livret* sales and partly by the royal agency. Small pictures were arranged frame to frame below larger ones, which were tilted forward, against a background of green fabric. Engravings were placed between the windows and in the embrasures. Small sculptures were displayed on tables; sculptures that could not be brought to the Salon Carré could be viewed in other venues, or in the artists' studios in the Louvre. A narrow staircase gave access to the hot, noisy, and crowded room, the Salon having become a much anticipated event.

From 1740 onward, styles of painting developed that were, then as now, more to the popular taste. It is not surprising that the Metropolitan Museum holds a smaller number of seventeenth-century French paintings in which only a few important names are well represented: Georges de La Tour, Nicolas Poussin, and Claude Lorrain. It has also been possible in recent years to add two works by Le Brun. The same is true of the early eighteenth century. We show two portraits by Largillierre and one oil sketch by Jean François de Troy, though **JEAN MARC NATTIER** is amply represented. We are fortunate to have two major paintings by **JEAN ANTOINE WATTEAU**, who was among the first painters of his time to defy the by then firmly established academic system of recognition and preferment. The Met's collection gains strength beginning with painters belonging to the generation born around 1700.

During the late reign of Louis XIV, who died in 1715, and the regency of Philippe II d'Orléans, whose Paris residence, the Palais Royal, became the seat of power, the grandeur of Versailles was gradually abandoned in favor of the lively pleasures and comforts afforded by the city. There the arts—painting, but also the decorative arts, music, and theater—were a vehicle by which the new moneyed class, through private patronage, might enter elite society. The programmatic celebration of virtue and nobility appropriate to the support of the monarchy and illustrated in heroic episodes from the narrative histories of Greece and Rome was provided by the academicians to the court and the Salon. Such works of art, large in scale and complex or perhaps incomprehensible in subject matter, held limited charm for a wider audience. An intimate and elegant social and domestic city life elicited a new style of painting and decoration. Mildly erotic pastoral and mythological themes flourished beside contemporary genre and portraits, many in the relatively new and vivid medium of pastel. The straight line curved and flowered into natural forms that embellished paneled walls, silver tableware, and porcelain. Paris developed an international style to which the generation of revolutionary artists led by **JACQUES LOUIS DAVID** would later give the (for them disparaging) name Rococo. The melancholy, introspective, and short-lived Antoine Watteau, admitted to full membership in the Académie Royale in 1717 but supported exclusively by private patrons, is among the earliest exponents, while **FRANÇOIS BOUCHER**, throughout a long career, was the most successful, particularly in view of the many official commissions he received from Madame de Pompadour, arbiter of contemporary taste.³³

The year 1745 saw the appointment of Charles François Paul Lenormand de Tournehem as *directeur général* of the Bâtiments du Roi.³⁴ A financier and a tax farmer, Lenormand

de Tournehem was the uncle, or possibly the natural father, of Jeanne Antoinette Poisson, whose upbringing he supervised and whom he married to his nephew. Madame Lenormand d'Etioles, as she became, separated from her husband in 1745 to assume the position of official mistress to Louis XV and a marquise as Madame de Pompadour. Tournehem, who had risen dramatically in society, was a man of personal wealth and refined taste. He was in addition an able, experienced administrator who understood that the management of the arts could be modified to serve both the king and the members of his own family to greater advantage. He relied upon **CHARLES ANTOINE COYPEL**, for whom the title *premier peintre du roi* was revived in 1747 and who succeeded as director of the Académie Royale. Later, upon the death of the *directeur général*, Madame de Pompadour's younger brother, Abel François Poisson de Vandières, succeeded to the position, one for which he had been carefully prepared.

The 1740s were somewhat barren years for the Académie Royale. The life drawing classes met as usual, and the prize competitions opened regularly in April, when the contestants presented themselves to the professor who chose their subject. They set to work *sur place*, preparing sketches no more than eight of which were presented to the next assembly. Those promoted were given private spaces in which to work, so that the originality of their submissions could be guaranteed, and there they painted finished pictures that were to be judged in August by the academicians. It became apparent, however, that the system of training was failing:³⁵ the results in 1740, 1742, 1744, 1745, and 1746 were either that no prizes were awarded, or no first prizes for painting, or that no competition was scheduled at all, in view of what the minutes of the Académie Royale described as the poor quality of the entries.³⁶ If the training was inadequate, what provisions must be called for?

The matter fell into the hands of Lenormand de Tournehem, and he chose to offer a more privileged provision to the talented few. Funding for gifted but impecunious students had been supplied by the director general in the past: the subsidy, for no more than six, was paid until the individual won the Prix de Rome, or for three years, whichever came first. On the basis of this model, in 1748 Tournehem established the Ecole Royale des Elèves Protégés.³⁷ Those seeking appointments would follow the usual rigorous program of submitting work for examination and review by the academicians. The winners would be housed in Paris at the expense of the state and instructed in history, geography, and mythology, as well as matters relating more directly to the arts. They would be taught by a professor of academic studies and a governor who was an academician. At the same time, the director general set up a review committee, or jury, to assure

that all of the works presented at the Salon met an acceptable standard of quality. Another rewrite of the regulations ensued in 1751, while students and many members rose in revolt against the ever more complex requirements.³⁸

Censorship has a long history in France, and even though official prohibitions were rigorously enforced during the reign of Louis XIV, an underground pamphlet press developed. As the eighteenth century wore on, authors and publishers became increasingly incautious. The 1740s saw the birth of the new discipline of art criticism, which took the form of independently published letters and essays about Salon exhibits, and soon grew from a trickle into a flood. The first of these was the *Lettre à Monsieur de Poiresson-Chamarande*, concerning paintings shown at the 1741 Salon.³⁹ The anonymous author described his personal impressions of certain pictures and famously addressed what he imagined to be the reaction of a woman of the “third estate” upon seeing reflections of herself, her life, and her family in a genre scene by the much admired **JEAN SIMÉON CHARDIN**.⁴⁰

Réflexions sur quelques causes de l'état présent de la peinture en France, a book addressing the 1746 exhibition written by Etienne de La Font de Saint-Yenne, is a more thorough, measured performance.⁴¹ La Font de Saint-Yenne did not withhold his attention from the senior academicians, but instead praised and criticized them in turn. He began with the most important exhibit by **CARLE VANLOO**: *Louis XIII Paying Homage to the Virgin for His Victory over the Heretics at La Rochelle*.⁴² He found the design beautiful and judicious and the composition unburdened by superfluous episodes, but he thought the Virgin could have been nobler. The drawing of the Christ Child was dry and careless; the head of the angel cold, the idea mediocre. While praising the figures of Louis XIII and his attendants, he did not hesitate to mention that faults, especially of drawing, are most evident in large paintings. Vanloo was a professor and the rising star among history painters. The academicians, until that time completely unaccustomed to negative opinions, did not expect such criticisms from a writer who was not an artist, and especially not from someone who presented his intuitive negative views as representing those of the public. What public? People reacted with interest to both sides of the argument, and even Coypel, who was fearful of the new developments, was forced to join battle.

The 1747 Salon began with an installation in the Galerie d'Apollon of eleven paintings commissioned from the officers of the Académie Royale.⁴³ While the choice of subjects was left to the participants, all of the canvases were the same large size, and every artist received the same remuneration. The *livret* announced that the *directeur général* regarded the occasion as an opportunity to demonstrate the superiority of

French painting; he anticipated that the work of the senior academicians would triumph, and that they would receive the visitors' homage. Although the subject matter of the pictures was exhaustively described, the artists were not identified in the *livret* (their names are recorded elsewhere). Most of the eleven chose not to exhibit in the Salon proper, though Vanloo sent a portrait of the queen, **CHARLES JOSEPH NATOIRE** submitted an overdoor for her apartments, and Boucher, who could count on his public, offered a selection of mostly royal commissions. Comment was muted. The *Mercur de France* supplied only a description of the works in the Galerie d'Apollon. The abbé Le Blanc published a semi-official answer to La Font de Saint-Yenne, while the academicians, succumbing to their frustration, declined to hold an exhibition in 1749, and then saw to it that from 1751 through 1791 the event became a biennial.⁴⁴

Pompadour's brother, Vandières, later marquis de Marigny et de Ménars, returned from Italy in 1751 to take over the Bâtiments du Roi from Tournehem and to direct the extensive building works in Paris for which the king would be remembered, not least the Place Louis XV, later Place de la Concorde, and the Church of Sainte-Geneviève, the Panthéon.⁴⁵ He played an enlightened role in the distribution of royal commissions, confirmed the status of history painters, and advanced the interests of landscape, notably the careers of **JOSEPH VERNET** and **HUBERT ROBERT**, while having to end his support to Natoire as director of the Académie de France in Rome when the Seven Years' War (1756–63) followed the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–48) in its crippling draws on the royal treasury. Privately, Marigny was an avid and discriminating patron of the lesser genres of painting as well as of the decorative arts.

In the second half of the eighteenth century the Salon exhibitions were increasingly popular, even if many visitors came simply to take part in and be seen at a relatively well-known event. The Salon lasted a month and remained free of charge and open to all. While there is no reliable information about numbers, more than 7,000 copies of the *livret* were sold in 1759 by comparison with well over 10,000 in the 1760s, and the total number of sales continued to climb in the following decade.⁴⁶ If, as has been suggested, no fewer than three people attended for every *livret* sold, there may have been 20,000 visitors in 1755 and as many as 30,000 by the late 1760s. Roughly forty artists contributed, and the size of the display more or less doubled between 1761 and 1781 to between 200 and 250 works.

Membership of the Académie Royale grew markedly even though artists seeking *agrément* (certification) still had to submit to the rigorous, old-fashioned system of application and endorsement. They were provided by the director with

subjects for their reception pieces, the *morceaux de réception*, and each work had to be approved by a two-thirds majority of the members in assembly. The extensive collection of painting and sculpture owned by the Académie Royale had been catalogued and installed at the Louvre in 1715, after the academicians moved in.⁴⁷ The walls of their premises were hung principally with history paintings and portraits, many representing Louis XIV and his ministers. In the life drawing room, where there was a stand for the model and benches raised one behind the other for the students, drawings and waxes by the professors of the month were usually displayed. To visit this permanent proto-museum, it was only necessary to apply to the concierge; however, reports are that few did.⁴⁸

How to describe the audience, or audiences, for painting and sculpture in the second half of the eighteenth century?⁴⁹ Apologists for the king's academicians were little more than a memory, and it fell to independent intellectuals, whose role had been to open a critical written discourse, to weigh the achievements of the nation's official artists and exhibitions in an effort to engage and channel public opinion. There was, as well, the "bas publique," bringing with them heat, noise, smells, and dust: sizable but regarded as inchoate and immeasurable, at first this group was disregarded except as the butt of ridicule or a vehicle for satire. The next step would be to take the instincts of large numbers of visitors into account and, recognizing their collective interest, will, and wisdom, to admit sentiments of contemporary political discourse into conversations about the arts. The open access and opportunity for display offered by the Salons remained unique. Reputations were made and broken, and an ambitious artist whose aspirations were other than to be a servant of the crown had no alternative.

Among the leading critics of the era (although not an entirely public voice) was the philosopher and *encyclopédiste* Denis Diderot, who sought to publish the sum of contemporary knowledge in the condensed form of a dictionary of the arts, sciences, and trades, and whose work was intermittently repudiated by both the state and church. Diderot was invited to write about the Salons by his friend the philologist Friedrich Melchior Grimm, author of a manuscript newsletter about cultural events in Paris prepared for a small and cultivated group of German princes, whose subscribers came also to include Queen Louisa Ulrika of Sweden and Empress Catherine II of Russia, among others. Diderot's first letter to Grimm dates to September 1759.⁵⁰ He contributed to the newsletter every two years from 1761 through 1771, in 1775, and in 1781. Diderot asserted that contemporary history painters could not match the achievements of the past, whether in the time of Raphael or in that of Poussin.

He wrote appreciatively about the scenes of country life and landscapes that were exhibited, whether they reflected the immutability or the violence of nature. He knew artists' ways and materials. An ardent admirer of Chardin and of Joseph Vernet, Diderot also promoted the work of the *agrés* JEAN-BAPTISTE GREUZE and JEAN HONORÉ FRAGONARD. He did not fail to draw attention to the great *Belisarius* of Jacques Louis David.⁵¹

Among the most important academicians was Chardin, a member of the Académie since 1728 and a regular exhibitor. He was elected a *conseiller*, the highest rank open to a genre and still-life painter, and from 1755 until 1774 also served as both treasurer and *tapissier*, dealing for the most part successfully with the delicate task of installing the Salons. He was regarded with respect and varying degrees of admiration by his fellow artists, critics, and the public. The marine and landscape painter Joseph Vernet had spent nearly twenty years in Rome, where he met Madame de Pompadour's brother. When Vernet finally settled in Paris in 1753, he received from Vandières one of the most important commissions of Louis XV's reign, for a series of large-scale views of the ports of France. His many exhibited works were widely admired at the Salon for their naturalism, and he contributed to the rising general interest in landscape, which had traditionally been ranked at the low end of the hierarchy of the genres.

Fragonard, born in Grasse, studied with Chardin and Boucher, who encouraged him to take part in the 1752 Prix de Rome competition. Having won, he entered the prestigious Ecole des Elèves Protégés, and after three years, in 1756, went on to the Académie de France in Rome. After his return to Paris in 1761, Fragonard painted *Corésus and Callirhoé*.⁵² The academicians were delighted with this extraordinary heroic picture and offered him his *agrément*; the *surintendant* bought it for the crown, intending that the design should be woven as a tapestry, and the work was exhibited at the Salon of 1765. Poised for a highly successful career as a history painter, Fragonard nevertheless withdrew, presumably to avoid the constrictions of the Académie Royale and to develop a circle of private clients. Diderot, who had admired the *Corésus* extravagantly, spoke of Fragonard no more.⁵³

Greuze also offers an atypical profile. Arriving from Tournus in 1750, he shifted for himself. In 1755 he showed works including *The Reading of the Bible* (private collection) to members of the Académie Royale and was invited to paint the director, Louis de Silvestre.⁵⁴ With this (lost) portrait, he was *agrée* as a *peintre de genre particulier*, suggesting that he was actually admitted on the basis of the qualities of *The Reading of the Bible*. He exhibited the two works among others to high praise and left for Rome with a private patron. On the instructions of Marigny, he was later given lodging at the Académie

de France. Greuze returned to Paris to show his Italian costume pieces in 1757 and *The Village Bride* in 1761.⁵⁵ He had tremendous success. This was noble painting, rigorously composed and observed, Diderot thought, and superbly felt, though clothed in the details of modern bourgeois life. In 1769, after a delay of eight years, Greuze finally submitted his *morceau de réception* on a subject from ancient history, *Septimius Severus and Caracalla*.⁵⁶ The work was accepted, but Greuze was admitted in the category of genre painter, the great disappointment of his professional life. At the Salon, *Septimius Severus* was accorded the same unhappy reception, with the result that Greuze withdrew from the academicians and their venue to show only in his studio. He did not exhibit again at the Salon until 1800.

During the ascendancy of Louis XV's last mistress, Jeanne Bécu, comtesse Dubarry, Fragonard received an order to decorate her new pavilion at the Château de Louveciennes, and in 1772 completed four canvases illustrating the "Progress of Love,"⁵⁷ a last glorious flowering of Rococo. Madame Dubarry refused the set and instead engaged Joseph Marie Vien (1716–1809), whose bland, stately lovers wear the so-called Grecian style of colorful classicizing costume.⁵⁸ She also favored FRANÇOIS HUBERT DROUAIS, but his portrait of her in white draperies⁵⁹ met with disaster at the 1771 Salon because of what was perceived to be her larger-than-lifesize seminudity. A prevailing change toward sobriety was evident in public taste. The Salon that year was not thought to have been of much interest, as none of the senior officers were represented, Vernet and Chardin (nearing the end of his career) being counted among the most important exhibitors, with Hubert Robert continuing to flourish.⁶⁰ Subjects that did not draw hostile criticism—that is, still lifes including flower paintings, ruins, and other landscapes—were present in large numbers. Toward the end of the king's reign, official commissions were fewer but were supplemented by orders from the church for the decoration of the chapel of the Ecole Royale Militaire, to which, among others, JEAN-BAPTISTE MARIE PIERRE, Joseph Marie Vien, Nicolas Guy Brenet (1728–1792), and Louis Jean Jacques Durameau (1733–1796) contributed.⁶¹ The series, devoted to Saint Louis, was not well received in an atmosphere of growing resistance to what was seen as the tyranny of the Académie Royale.

Louis XVI succeeded to the throne in 1774 and appointed to the Bâtiments du Roi Charles Claude Flahaut de La Billarderie, comte d'Angiviller. A former soldier and courtier and an influential advisor, he set out to return the visual arts (and its administration, which was millions of livres in debt) to a position of strength and influence.⁶² Angiviller was an excellent manager, although autocratic, as was Pierre, first painter to the king in succession to Boucher. The new direc-

tor general relied as well on Vien, who became director of the Académie de France in Rome; both were ardent advocates for the new Neoclassicism. Angiviller closed the disruptive Ecole des Elèves Protégés, and again shut down the drawing school of the *maîtrise*. New rules dating to 1777 put the Académie Royale under strict regulation.⁶³ His desire and intention were to reanimate interest in the often invoked sentiments of virtue and patriotism, and to that end he commissioned from academicians eight paintings with subjects from antiquity and French history that would serve as exemplars. Among the painters were Brenet and Durameau, who responded with immense canvases devoted to historical, moral medieval subjects, *The Death of Duguesclin* and *The Continnence of the Chevalier Bayard*, which were presented at the 1777 Salon.⁶⁴ The critics opposed the ever stricter controls, and soon set their sights on the next generation of young artists returning from Rome.

Angiviller's oversight extended to the Académie de France, where stringent requirements were reinforced under the energetic directorship of Vien, a former pensioner.⁶⁵ Students arose at five o'clock, and the model was posed at six. They studied anatomy and perspective. Their equipment and supplies were modest. Examples of their production were sent regularly to Paris to be judged and returned to Rome. Under rules differing little from those of the mid-seventeenth century, the pensioners sought inspiration from the antique while applying themselves zealously to the study of the nude male model.⁶⁶ Neoclassicism now triumphed. In the 1780s Vien received pensioners who responded in heroic terms to the inspiration of Rome and to the changing political climate in France: among them were Jean François Pierre Peyron (1744–1814), François Guillaume Ménageot (1744–1816), and Jacques Louis David, followed by Jean Germain Drouais (1763–1788), who unfortunately died young. When Peyron came back to Paris, he was patronized by the crown. David returned in time to exhibit at the 1781 Salon, presenting his *morceau d'agrément*, a major picture in scale and intent representing the blind Byzantine general and military hero Belisarius, begging for alms. He followed in 1783 with a Homeric subject, *Andromache Mourning Hector*,⁶⁷ which is marked by moral rectitude, sobriety, and rectilinearity, combined with the accurate depiction of antiquity based on drawings he had made while in Rome. The audience and the critics were at his feet.

It is possible to study the continuing development in history painting of the revolutionary period and the profound commitment to the human condition, and to new civic and social norms—the work of the followers of David in the next generation—only in France. However, a multiplicity of other styles and new proponents flourished in the 1780s and the



Fig. 4. Pietro Antonio Martini (Italian, 1738–1797) after Johann Heinrich Ramberg (German, 1763–1840), *The Salon of 1787*, 1787. Etching and engraving, 12¹¹/₁₆ x 19⁷/₁₆ in. (32.2 x 49.1 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund (49.50.244)

early 1790s. In genre painting, Greuze and Fragonard, despite their alienation from the Academy, retained an important clientele, while Vernet and Robert took up contemporary subjects and maintained their position as leaders in landscape. **JOSEPH SIFFRED DUPLESSIS**, **ADÉLAÏDE LABILLE-GUIARD**, and **ELISABETH LOUISE VIGÉE LE BRUN** advanced naturalism in portraiture, with Vigée’s controversial lifesize full-length of Marie Antoinette and her three children⁶⁸

anchoring the Salon display of 1787 (fig. 4). Women artists achieved greater visibility in the Academy not only as portraitists, but in still life (a traditional area of female interest), with **ANNE VALLAYER-COSTER**, an advancement that would manifest itself as an explosion at the Salon of 1801.

The year 1789 saw the fall of the Bastille, and consequently the last traditional Salon presentation and *livret* of the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture. Conflict

evolved into crisis at the November 18, 1789, meeting of the academicians, when one of the regular members, the engraver Simon Charles Miger (1736–1820), presented a letter of protest to Vien, first painter to the king.⁶⁹ Among many other abuses, Miger singled out private meetings and committees, financial support for officers only, and in general the exclusion of the regular members from participating in the business of the organization. A committee was empowered to recommend changes to accord with the egalitarian principles of the day, and relatively moderate proposals were put forward in June 1790. It was decided that *agrément* and *réception* would for the first time be decided by a majority of the entire membership, but the position of women, who still were afforded access only to the Salons, was not improved. Drafts of various proposals to be presented to the Assemblée Nationale circulated among the various factions over many months: conservatives, who were mostly officials of the Académie Royale; reformers, made up in great part by the general membership; and radicals, led by Jacques Louis David.

Against the wishes of most, but encouraged by David, the assembly opened the 1791 Salon to all (two catalogues representing the past and present were published).⁷⁰ The Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture was abolished by the Comité d’Instruction Publique on August 8, 1793, as was also, for a time, the Académie de France in Rome. David—with innumerable students himself—fostered the belief that he had learned not from academic instruction, but from Raphael and later generations, from antiquity, and from Rome. Others belonging to the Commune des Arts promoted this approach, unharnessed from a particular master, and believed in the efficacy of public museums for general instruction in the arts.⁷¹ In future, the support of the state would take the form of prizes and subventions awarded to, and purchases made from, Salon exhibitors. Between 1791 and 1795 the number of exhibitors tripled. However, the number of historical subjects diminished drastically: the state lacked funds to pay for paintings on a heroic scale, while the public preferred portraits, landscapes, and genre scenes. The unstable social and financial environment created by the Revolution could not in practice sustain and support artists working for the state, and they would be obliged to await the arrival of the Empire.⁷²

NOTES

1. The Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture and its associated organizations (the Académie de France à Rome and the Ecole Royale des Elèves Protégés) do not lack for documentation, but little is readily accessible and less in English. And from the second quarter of the eighteenth century until 1791, as the Salons became increasingly important public venues, the academicians and their work were the object of an

enormous body of published criticism. This text seeks to provide a brief overview of the structure and development of the several organizations and the Salon as a framework against which to study French eighteenth-century paintings, particularly those in the Metropolitan Museum. Readers seeking a comprehensive account should avail themselves of Christian Michel’s 2012 book. To understand the eighteenth-century Académie Royale, the schools, and the Salon, it is in any event necessary to be aware of their earlier history and the principles that governed their establishment and growth. See also Lichtenstein and Michel 2006–15, vol. 1, pp. 65–75, and particularly p. 70.

2. See Coquery 2013; Coquery 2016; Lapauze 1924, vol. 1, pp. 4–9. Until the publication of Coquery’s 2013 monograph, Errard was largely unknown to any century but his own; he was the founding director of the Académie de France à Rome.

3. The rules of the Académie Royale are similar to the statutes adopted on February 26, 1594, for the Accademia di San Luca. Many foreigners were granted admission to the Roman academy, and a merger was once considered. In 1658 Poussin was unanimously elected *principe* of the Accademia di San Luca, but as he could not take up the appointment, an Italian substitute was chosen to take his place, as Errard later stood in for Le Brun. See Arnaud 1886, pp. 3–17; Lukehart 2009, pp. 1–15.

4. Guérin 1715, pp. 13–22; Vitet 1861, pp. 327–28; Heinich 1993, pp. 16–25; Benhamou 2009, pp. 4–6 n. 16, 93–101.

5. Vitet 1861, pp. 95–99; Heinich 1993, pp. 60–64; Benhamou 2009, pp. 6–9, 103–8.

6. Guérin 1715, pp. 24–28; Vitet 1861, pp. 105–9; Benhamou 2009, pp. 10, 108–19.

7. Lichtenstein and Michel 2006–15.

8. Benhamou 2009, pp. 15–16, 121–30, and for Félibien see Baetjer 2016b, pp. 38 and 258 n. 35. Engravers and other members who were not history painters could theoretically be elected to governing status, but as applicants were required to have a sponsor who was an administrator, and almost all of them were history painters, senior membership was limited in other categories.

9. Courajod 1874, pp. 7–9.

10. Lapauze 1924, vol. 1, pp. 2–4, 10.

11. *Ibid.*, pp. xv–xxiv; Lecoy de La Marche 1874, pp. 2–8.

12. Lapauze 1924, vol. 1, pp. 7–8.

13. *Ibid.*, pp. 19–21.

14. *Ibid.*, pp. 36–42.

15. *Ibid.*, pp. 38, 41.

16. *Ibid.*, pp. 151–52.

17. *Ibid.*, pp. 180–88, 198–99, 204; Macsotay 2016, pp. 165–82; Leribault 2016, pp. 183–90.

18. Benhamou 2009, p. 128; Crow 1985, pp. 33–34.

19. See Wrigley 1993, pp. 41–43; Berger 1999, pp. 63–80.

20. “J’étois donc comme le seul au milieu d’une connaissance presque universellement répandue, qui ne savois rien d’un célèbre concours de plusieurs personnes de tout âge, de tout ordre et de tout sexe, lesquelles s’étoient rendues dans la grande cour du palais Brion pour y admirer les riches tableaux et les superbes statues que l’Académie royale de la peinture et de la sculpture y avoit étalés ce jour-là par ordre exprès de Sa Majesté. On ne sauroit dire quel agréable spectacle ce fut pour moi de voir tout à la fois une si prodigieuse quantité de toutes sortes d’ouvrages dans toutes les diverses parties de la peinture, je veux dire l’ *histoire*, le *portrait*, le *paysage*,

- les mers, les fleurs, les fruits; et par quelle espèce de magie, comme si j'eusse été transporté en des climats étrangers et dans des siècles tout à fait reculés, je me trouvois spectateur de ces fameux événements dont les surprenants récits m'avoient si souvent jeté dans l'admiration. J'avois de la peine à comprendre comment je pouvois me trouver en état de m'entretenir avec de célèbres morts qui jusqu' alors ne m'étoient connus que par l'éclat de leur renommée, ou par quel changement de théâtre je pouvois trouver tantôt la solitude des plus affreux déserts, tantôt la fertilité des plus riantes campagnes, tantôt l'horreur des tempêtes et des naufrages, au milieu des rues de la ville du monde la plus peuplée." Rou 1857, vol. 2, pp. 17–18, translated and adapted from Crow 1985, p. 34, and Berger 1999, p. 65.
21. Guiffrey 1873; J.-J. Guiffrey, "Avertissement," in *Livrets* 1869–72, vol. 1, *Salon de 1673*, pp. 5–27; Hagood 2016. As John Hagood explained, the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C., has systematically collected the Salon *livrets*.
 22. Berger 1999, pp. 65–69.
 23. Musée du Louvre, Paris, 2898.
 24. Baetjer 2016b.
 25. Crow 1985, pp. 36–39; Berger 1999, pp. 69–90.
 26. *Livrets* 1869–72, vol. 2, *Salon de 1699*, p. 11. Royal portraits and the Raphael tapestries of the *Acts of the Apostles* were incorporated into the display.
 27. Guérin 1715; Berger 1999, pp. 91–92, 99–100, 119, 138, 141–48.
 28. Crow 1985, pp. 83–88; Wrigley 1993, pp. 29–32; Berger 1999, pp. 149–56.
 29. Wildenstein 1924b. See also Berger 1999, pp. 157–60; Udolpho van de Sandt, "Le Salon de l'Académie de 1759 à 1781," in Sahut and Volle 1984, pp. 79–84.
 30. Wildenstein 1924b, pp. 38–39.
 31. Crow 1985, pp. 79–82; Berger 1999, pp. 160–66.
 32. Berger 1999, p. 166.
 33. Guiffrey in *Livrets* 1869–72, vol. 1, *Salon de 1673*, p. 11; Crow 1985, pp. 110–11; McClellan 1994, pp. 16–17.
 34. Crow 1985, pp. 111–13.
 35. Courajod 1874, pp. 5–15; Benhamou 2009, p. 23.
 36. Montaignon 1875–92, vol. 5, pp. 279, 327, vol. 6, p. 14.
 37. Courajod 1874, pp. liv–lv, lix.
 38. Benhamou 2009, pp. 23–27, 131–36.
 39. Crow 1985, pp. 88, 93–101; Duplessis 1881, p. 9, no. 14.
 40. Crow 1985, pp. 98–100; Wildenstein 1933, p. 72, "une Femme du Tiers-État." The painting is *The Morning Toilette* (Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, NM 782).
 41. Berger 1999, pp. 173–78; La Font de Saint-Yenne 2001, pp. 12–16, 43–94.
 42. La Font de Saint-Yenne 2001, pp. 59–60; Wrigley 1993, p. 15; Sahut 1977, p. 61, no. 105.
 43. *Livrets* 1869–72, vol. 13, *Salon de 1747*, pp. 6–7, 13–18, 20.
 44. Wrigley 1993, p. 42.
 45. Gordon 2003, pp. 1–13.
 46. Wrigley 1993, pp. 42, 78–82; Udolpho van de Sandt, "Le Salon de l'Académie de 1759 à 1781," in Sahut and Volle 1984, pp. 81–82. The latter notes that a *livret* cost ten to twelve sols and a brochure, usually sold in the environs of the Louvre, roughly the same amount.
 47. Berger 1999, pp. 137–40.
 48. Wrigley 1993, p. 85.
 49. See *ibid.*, pp. 97–112, for a summary of the state of play at the time.
 50. Jacques Chouillet and Anne-Marie Chouillet, "Les Salons de Diderot," in Sahut and Volle 1984, pp. 57–60; Pierre Rosenberg, "Diderot et la peinture," in *ibid.*, pp. 97–100.
 51. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lille, P. 436.
 52. Louvre 4541.
 53. Nathalie Volle and Else Marie Bukdahl, "Corésus and Callirhoé," in Sahut and Volle 1984, pp. 205–12, no. 55, ill.; Crow 1985, p. 168.
 54. Wildenstein 1924b; Edgar Munhall, "L'accordée de village" and "Septime Sévère et Caracalla," in Sahut and Volle 1984, pp. 222–27, 253–58, nos. 59 and 69, ill.; Crow 1985, pp. 138–68.
 55. Louvre 5037.
 56. Louvre 5031.
 57. The Frick Collection, New York, 1915.1.46–55.
 58. Louvre and Chambéry, Préfecture; Bailey 2011, pp. 55–63, 87–101, 167 nn. 89–91.
 59. Chambre de Commerce et d'Industrie de Versailles-Val-d'Oise-Yvelines.
 60. Crow 1985, p. 176.
 61. Cummings 1974, pp. 31–33; Crow 1985, pp. 189–90.
 62. Silvestre de Sacy 1953, pp. 1–3, 8–9, 17, 49–57.
 63. Benhamou 2009, pp. 41–42, 145.
 64. Musée National des Châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon MV 26; Musée de Grenoble MG 651. Crow 1985, 189–95; Cummings 1974, pp. 34–35.
 65. Lapauze 1924, vol. 1, pp. 348–60, 369–71; Cummings 1974, pp. 36–38.
 66. Brugerolles et al. 2013, pp. 54–56. Drawn from the holdings of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, most of the *académies* in the show were made in Paris. Nevertheless, the images of the exhibits constitute a very helpful overview, and the drawings cannot differ greatly from those made in Rome. For paintings of the nude, see several of the illustrations in Cummings 1974.
 67. Louvre DL 1969-1.
 68. Musée National des Châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon MV 4520.
 69. Benhamou 2009, pp. 52–54.
 70. *Ibid.*, pp. 51–61, and for the 1791 *livrets*, Schnapper 1974, p. 104.
 71. Schnapper 1974, pp. 105–10.
 72. Owing to the realities of installation of the European old master paintings, to a cataloguing system that distinguishes by birthdate, and to our desire to show many of the most important Wrightsman paintings together in the Jayne Wrightsman Gallery, several portraits painted between 1793 and about 1816, but by artists born before the Revolution, appear in this catalogue.



Dates of the Paris Salons, 1667–1810

COMPILED BY CAROL SANTOLERI

1667	April 9–23	1761	August 25–?September 25
1669	March 28–April 20	1763	?August 25–?September 25
1671	April 20–?	1765	August 25–September 30
1673	August 14–September 4	1767	August 25–?September 25
1675	August 14–?	1769	August 25–?September 25
1681	August 14–?	1771	August 25–?September 25
1683	September ?–?	1773	August 25–?September 25
1699	August 20–September 16	1775	August 25–September 25
1704	September 12–November 8	1777	August 25–?September 25
1706	August 25	1779	August 25–October 3
1725	August 25–September 3	1781	August 25–?September 25
1727	?May 15–?June 30	1783	August 25–?September 25
1737	August 18–September 5	1785	August 25–?September 25
1738	August 18–September 10	1787	August 25–?September 25
1739	September 6–30	1789	August 25–October 6
1740	August 22–September 15	1791	September 15–?December 3
1741	September 1–23	1793	August 10–?
1742	August 25–September 21	1795	October 2–December 1
1743	August 5–September 1	1796	?September 22–?October 21
1745	August 25–September 25	1798	?July 19–?
1746	August 25–?September 25	1799	August 18–?
1747	August 25–?September 25	1800	September 2–?
1748	August 25–?September 25	1801	September 2–?
1750	August 25–October 8	1802	September 2–?
1751	August 25–?September 25	1804	September 18–?
1753	August 25–September 25	1806	September 15–?
1755	August 25–?September 25	1808	October 14–?
1757	August 25–?September 25	1810	November 5–?
1759	?August 25–?September 25		

Between 1667 and 1683 the Salon exhibition was installed at the Palais Royale, at the adjoining Palais Brion, and in the courtyards. In 1699 and 1704 the venue was the Grande Galerie of the Palais du Louvre; in 1725, the Salon Carré of the Louvre; in 1727, the Galerie d'Apollon of the Louvre; and from 1737 on, again the Grand Salon (Carré). With the first and much larger open Salon of 1791 and thereafter, the overflow was exhibited in rooms adjoining the Salon Carré. The palace became a museum in 1793, called, from 1796, the Musée Central des Arts, and from 1803 to 1815, the Musée Napoléon.

August 25, the Fête de Saint-Louis, was also the name day of Louis XIV, XV, and XVI. Until the Revolution, the Salon generally opened on that date and lasted for a month. Occasionally, an exhibition was extended. The exhibitions in the first years of the nineteenth century were much larger and may from time to time have opened later for practical reasons. We have given preference to dates published in the *livrets* and the *Mercur de France*.

See also Janson 1978, Heim et al. 1989, and McWilliam et al. 1991.



Paintings in This Catalogue Identified as Paris Salon Exhibits

COMPILED BY CAROL SANTOLERI

1740

Charles Joseph Natoire, *The Rebuke of Adam and Eve*, 1987.279 (cat. 36)

1750

Jean Marc Nattier, *Madame Marsollier and Her Daughter*, 45.172 (cat. 17)

1751

Maurice Quentin de La Tour, *Jean Charles Garnier d'Isle*, 2002.439 (cat. 50)

Jean-Baptiste Marie Pierre, *The Death of Harmonia*, 69.129 (cat. 53)

1753

Jean-Baptiste Oudry, *Hunting Dog Guarding a Dead Fox and Game Birds*, 71.89 (cat. 20)

Jean-Baptiste Oudry, *Ducks Resting in Sunshine*, 71.57 (cat. 21)

François Boucher, *The Interrupted Sleep*, 49.7.46 (cat. 40)

1757

Jean-Baptiste Greuze, *Broken Eggs*, 20.155.8 (cat. 61)

1761

François Hubert Drouais, *Marie Rinteau, Called Mademoiselle de Verrières*, 49.7.47 (cat. 71)

1763

Jean-Baptiste Greuze, *Head of a Young Boy*, 32.100.137 (cat. 62)

Jean-Baptiste Greuze, *Charles Claude de Flahaut de La Billarderie, Comte d'Angiviller*, 66.28.1 (cat. 63)

1765

François Boucher, *Jupiter Transformed into Diana to Seduce Callisto*, 1982.60.45 (cat. 42)

François Boucher, *Angelica and Medoro*, 1982.60.46 (cat. 43)

François Boucher, *The Dispatch of the Messenger*, 44.141 (cat. 44)

Jean-Baptiste Greuze, *Portrait of a Man, Said to Be the Sculptor Jean Jacques Caffieri*, 56.55.3 (cat. 64)

1775

Hubert Robert, *The Return of the Cattle under the Ruins in the Setting Sun*, 35.40.1 (cat. 87)

Hubert Robert, *The Portico of a Country Mansion, near Florence*, 35.40.2 (cat. 88)

1777

Joseph Siffred Duplessis, *Madame de Saint-Maurice*, 69.161 (cat. 58)

1779

Joseph Siffred Duplessis, *Madame de Saint-Maurice*, 69.161 (cat. 58)

Joseph Siffred Duplessis, *Benjamin Franklin*, 32.100.132 (cat. 59)

Hubert Robert, *A Corner of the Courtyard of the Capitol, with Itinerant Musicians*, 17.190.30 (cat. 89)

1781

Anne Vallayer-Coster, *Vase of Flowers and Conch Shell*, 07.225.504 (cat. 100)

1783

Elisabeth Louise Vigée Le Brun, *Madame Grand*, 50.135.2 (cat. 113)

1785

Adélaïde Labille-Guiard, *Self-Portrait with Two Pupils, Marie Gabrielle Capet and Marie Marguerite Carreaux de Rosemond*, 53.225.5 (cat. 110)

1787

Antoine Vestier, *Eugène Joseph Stanislas Foullon d'Ecotier*, 1983.405 (cat. 99)

Jacques Louis David, *The Death of Socrates*, 31.45 (cat. 106)

1789

Carle Vernet, *The Triumph of Aemilius Paulus*, 06.144 (cat. 118)

1791

Jacques Louis David, *The Death of Socrates*, 31.45 (cat. 106)

Rose Adélaïde Ducreux, *Self-Portrait with a Harp*, 67.55.1 (cat. 117)

Carle Vernet, *The Triumph of Aemilius Paulus*, 06.144 (cat. 118)

1796

Marie Victoire Lemoine, *The Interior of an Atelier of a Woman Painter*, 57.103 (cat. 116)

1801

Marie Denise Villers, *Marie Joséphine Charlotte du Val d'Ognes*, 17.120.204 (cat. 124)

1802

Marie Guilhelmine Benoist, *Madame Philippe Panon Desbassayns de Richemont and Her Son, Eugène*, 53.61.4 (cat. 123)

1808

François Gérard, *Charles Maurice de Talleyrand-Périgord, Prince de Bénévêt*, 2012.348 (cat. 126)



Catalogue





NICOLAS DE LARGILLIERRE

Paris 1656–1746 Paris

Born in 1656 in Paris, where his father kept a shop on the Pont-au-Change, Largillierre moved with his family to Antwerp at the age of three. When he was nine, an English merchant invited him to London for a stay of about a year and a half, during which time he studied drawing. Upon his return to Antwerp, he was enrolled in 1668 in the Guild of Saint Luke as an apprentice to a local painter, Anton Goubau. In 1675 he was again in London, where he was engaged as an assistant to the court artist Sir Peter Lely; his earliest known works, still lifes dating to 1677 and 1678, were painted during the visit. In the following year, Largillierre settled permanently in Paris, where he was taken up by Charles Le Brun, director of the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture, and was thus more or less assured of future success. A candidate member of the Académie Royale in 1683, after a delay of three years he submitted a superb full-length portrait of Le Brun seated before his easel (Musée du Louvre, Paris) as his reception piece and was admitted as a history painter. He visited England for the third and final time in 1686, to paint James II and his queen. Largillierre's Anglo-Flemish bias was mediated in the 1680s by exposure to high-style French portraiture, of which he became a sought-after exponent, although he worked also in various other genres, notably history painting. Identified as a Rubéniste and as a naturalist, he was extremely prolific, leaving more than 1,200 works. Largillierre was professor, chancellor, director, and rector of the Académie Royale. He died six months before his ninetieth birthday, ending a career of more than sixty years that bridged the gap between the Northern schools and painting in Paris from the last decades of the seventeenth century through the 1740s.

LITERATURE ON THE ARTIST: Pascal 1928; Rosenfeld 1981; Brême 2003.

1 | Nicolas de Largillierre

Portrait of a Woman, Perhaps Madame Claude Jean-Baptiste Lambert de Thorigny, Accompanied by an Enslaved Servant, 1696

Oil on canvas, 55 x 42 in. (139.7 x 106.7 cm)

Signed and dated (lower left, on fountain): peint / par N. de / Largillierre- / 1696

Rogers Fund, 1903 (03.37.2)

This fine work, from the middle years of Largillierre's long career, came to light in a 1902 exhibition at the Guildhall, London, to which it was lent by Wildenstein with the title *Madame Lambert de Thorigny*. A handwritten note that was probably supplied to the Museum by Gimpel & Wildenstein



Fig. 1.1. Pierre Drevet (French, 1663–1738) after Nicolas de Largillierre, *Helène Lambert, Femme de François Marie de Motteville*. Engraving, 16¼ x 12⅞ in. (41.3 x 32.2 cm). Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (44550538)

in 1903 when the picture was acquired further identifies the sitter as Héléne Lambert de Thorigny and states that the canvas came from the “Marquis d’Ussel, château d’Oscamp, Belgium.” Héléne, the sister of Claude Jean-Baptiste Lambert de Thorigny, married François Marie de Motteville. There is an engraving by Pierre Drevet after her portrait by Largillierre (fig. 1.1), which is presumed lost. The work seems to have been similar in style and format and of approximately the same date as our painting, but it does not show our sitter. A second typescript, dating before 1905, instead calls the lady Marie Marguerite Bontemps,¹ born in 1668, who married on June 9, 1682, at the age of fourteen, Claude Jean-Baptiste Lambert de Thorigny, president of the Chambre des Comptes. She died in 1700, her husband in 1702 or 1703. The details concerning Marie Marguerite’s life were evidently drawn from a biography published by Augustin Jal in 1872.² The second identification seems promising.



Fig. 1.2. Pierre Drevet after Nicolas de Largillierre, *Marie de Laubespine, Femme de Nicolas Lambert, Seigneur de Thorigny*. Engraving, 16½ x 13⅓ in. (41.9 x 33.1 cm). Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (44550480)

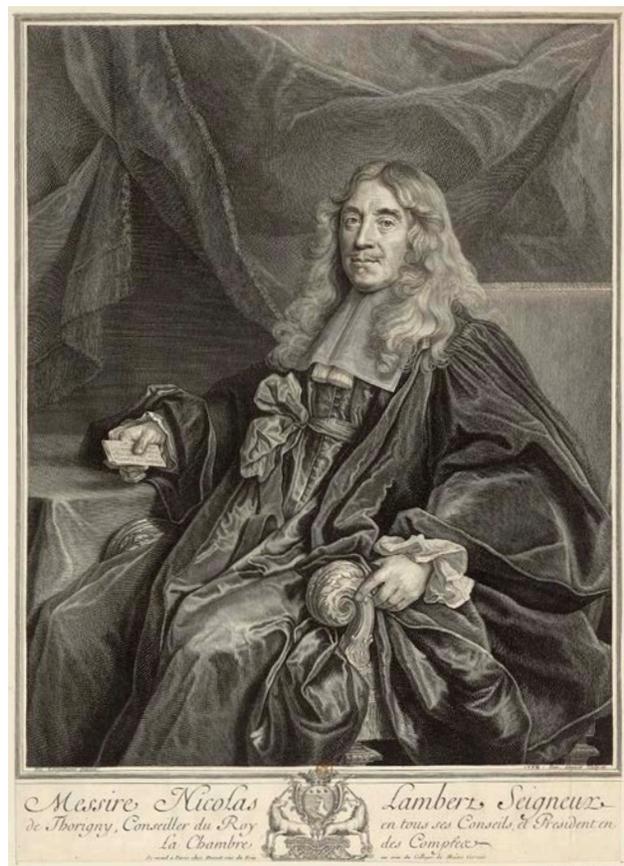


Fig. 1.3. Pierre Drevet after Nicolas de Largillierre, *Messire Nicolas Lambert, Seigneur de Thorigny*. Engraving, 16¼ x 13⅓ in. (42.5 x 33.8 cm). Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (44550478)

Largillierre's earlier association with the wealthy and powerful Lambert de Thorigny family is documented, and the importance he attached to the commissions he received from them is evidenced by the fact that he exhibited three portraits of members of the family in the Salon of 1699, the first such exhibition to be held since 1683. The sitters were Nicolas Lambert de Thorigny, president of the *Chambre des Comptes*, who died in 1692; Nicolas's wife, born Marie de l'Aubespine, who died in 1677/79; and their nephew, Nicholas (d. 1729).³ Engravings of the couple's portraits have survived (figs. 1.2–3). Nicolas, called "Lambert the rich," commissioned Charles Le Brun and other artists to decorate the family house on the Ile Saint-Louis in Paris that had been built by the architect Louis Le Vau in 1644.

Marie Marguerite was Claude Jean-Baptiste's wife and Hélène's sister-in law and could be the sitter in our portrait. The painting has no early history, and the claim cannot be made with any certainty.⁴ The family survived one further generation, when the last male died, ruined, toward the middle of the eighteenth century. This might account for the

balance of the Lambert de Thorigny portraits being lost, missing, or misidentified.

A small number of late seventeenth-century French portraits include enslaved children or adolescents of African descent.⁵ Presumably each of them was the servant of the aristocrat or prominent individual who was the principal sitter. Such portraits are likely to include trappings of conspicuous wealth, especially diamonds, pearls, and other jewelry. However, in this case the African boy, who is holding a dog, is presented with unusual simplicity in a dark uniform cap and coat trimmed with piping. He wears a hinged silver collar around his neck. The displacement of numbers of West Africans to the French islands of the Caribbean dates from the third quarter of the seventeenth century, when sugar became the chief crop as demand for it increased. France became a major player in the slave market only after the acquisition of Saint-Domingue (Haiti) in 1664. The French trade in enslaved Africans during this period is poorly documented, but the number of persons involved seems to have

been in the tens of thousands. Technically, slavery was outlawed in France itself, but a few hundred individuals were evidently admitted as the servants of French owners of Caribbean island properties.

The canvas has an airy, bright, open quality that is unusual for Largillierre. The delicate elaboration of the jewelry and the embroidery on the sitter's dress is typical. The artist's gift for still life is amply demonstrated by the flowering vine, perhaps honeysuckle, and the pale pink poppies with their weak stems and soft gray leaves. A brilliantly colored parrot clings to the basin of the wall fountain. The relationship between the fountain and the wall is difficult to read, however, and a large rock has been introduced, awkwardly, into the foreground. Largillierre rarely signed and dated his work, but when he did, the signature, as here, was neatly painted and conspicuous. If this is Marie Marguerite Lambert de Thorigny, she would have been twenty-eight years old and the mother of two sons.

NOTES

1. The proposed identification predates the Museum's first publication of the work; see MMA 1905, p. 98, no. 501.
2. *Jal* 1872, pp. 248–49, 732–33.
3. The portraits appear in the *livret* of the 1699 Salon as “M. Lambert de Torigny,” “Madame Lambert,” and “M. Lambert leur fils President des Enquêtes.” *Dézallier d'Argenville* 1762, vol. 4, p. 304, lists among Largillierre's important sitters, “Président Lambert, sa femme, sa fille, trois portraits historiques.” If the portraits of Nicolas and Marie Lambert de Thorigny were taken from life, they would have been painted in or before 1677/79, when she died, which is unlikely as Largillierre was in England most of that time. It is worth considering whether the pictures were commissioned by Claude Jean-Baptiste in the mid-1690s and based on earlier likenesses.
4. The sitter has also been identified as the marquise de Simiane, whose portrait was engraved by Drevet; because the resemblance is slight, the print is not reproduced here.
5. See Bindman and Weston 2011, pp. 151–55, figs. 143–47, who state that blacks began to appear in French court portraiture in about 1680.

EX COLL.: ?comte Charles Marie Leon d'Ursel, Oostkamp; Belgium; [Dowdeswell & Dowdeswell, London, and Gimpel & Wildenstein, Paris and New York, 1902–3; sold to MMA].

SELECTED EXHIBITIONS: London, Guildhall Art Gallery, *Selection of Works by French and English Painters of the Eighteenth Century*, April 22–July 26, 1902, no. 21 (as *Madame Lambert de Thorigny*, lent by M. Wildenstein) (exh. cat.: Temple 1902). Musée des Beaux-Arts de Montréal, *Largillierre and the Eighteenth-Century Portrait*, September 19–November 15, 1981, no. 18 (as *Portrait of a Woman*) (exh. cat.: Rosenfeld 1981).

SELECTED REFERENCES: Pascal 1928, pp. 63, 68, nos. 76, 127 (as *Madame Lambert de Thorigny*, 55 x 42 in. [139.7 x 106.7 cm]), with Wildenstein, and also as *La Marquise de Simiane*, 53 x 40 in. [134.6 x 101.6 cm], signed and dated 1696, at the Metropolitan Museum; Sterling 1955, pp. 95–97, ill.; Roussinova 2015, pp. 101–3, 164, fig. 14 (color).

2 | Nicolas de Largillierre

André François Alloys de Theys d'Herculais, probably 1737

Oil on canvas, 54¼ x 41½ in. (137.8 x 105.4 cm)

Inscribed (on the reverse, covered by a lining canvas):

peint par N. de Largillierre / 17[3?]7

Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Charles Wrightsman, 1973 (1973.311.4)

There is no reason to question the traditional identification of the sitter, as the portrait would then have passed by direct descent to his grandson, Antoine Marie Jules, who died leaving a daughter only, and whose universal legatee was the well-known entomologist Jules Künckel d'Herculais.¹ Amaury Alloys d'Herculais Jules Künckel's son, born before the marriage of his parents, with the result that his birth was registered under his mother's maiden name. The Allois (Alloys) were from Oulx in Piedmont and settled near Grenoble in the Dauphiné no later than the mid-seventeenth century. André François's father, Claude, was *président à mortier* of the Parlement de Grenoble, and his mother was Marie de Theys de Tournet. According to his family, the sitter was a captain of cavalry and took part in the French victory at Fontarrabie in the Basque Country in 1719. If so, he would have belonged to the Chartres regiment, but this has not been confirmed (military records before the middle of the eighteenth century are notably incomplete).² André François married in 1736 Claire Charlotte de Vaulserre des Andrets, and he was succeeded by his eldest son, a lieutenant-general and an émigré.

The Museum is fortunate to own two signed Largillierres (see also *cat. 1*). The present painting is a late work and, typically for the date, is signed on the reverse: the signature was photographed in the early 1960s before it was covered by the lining canvas (fig. 2.1). The lettering is rubbed but seems characteristic, while the numerals, which have always been transcribed 1727, could also read 1737.³ Largillierre's style developed slowly over more than fifty years, and there would likely have been little difference in the way the picture looked. If from 1737, it could have been commissioned to celebrate the sitter's marriage, and he would have been about forty-five rather than thirty-five.

Largillierre was surely seventy and may have been eighty when he painted André François Alloys in formal dress with



Fig. 2.1. Old photograph of the artist's signature and date on the reverse of *cat. 2*: “peint par N. de Largillierre / 17[3?]7” (painted by N. de Largillierre / 17[3?]7)



attributes of military service. A three-quarter-length view, the composition looks back to military portraits of the Renaissance. The sitter wears a burgundy-red, gold-embroidered velvet coat with deep cuffs and gilt buttons, and a waistcoat and knee britches. His wig is heavily powdered and tied with a silk ribbon. Everett Fahy noted⁴ that the chased and part-gilt cuirass with lion's-head buckles on the shoulder straps may have been a studio property, as it appears several times in Largillierre's portraits (fig. 2.2).⁵ Its highly polished surface reflects the brilliant blue drapery and soft fur that set off the figure. The seventeenth-century open-face helmet has an elaborate feather crest (see also fig. 2.3). While this is a studio portrait with an imaginary background, the castle with a crenellated wall and a turret wreathed in smoke and the minuscule mounted figures afford further reference to the sitter's military career. The painting of the hand and gloves especially is a tour de force.

NOTES

1. Cleaned and relined shortly before Mr. and Mrs. Wrightsman acquired it, the painting is in fine state and was catalogued in 1973 and 1985 by Everett Fahy. With respect to family descent, see among other sources "Allois d'Herculais," *Annuaire de la Noblesse de France* 31 (1875), pp. 121–22.
2. In a letter of July 24, 1971, Jean Brunon of the Musée de l'Empéri,

Salon-de-Provence, stated that the regiment was known as Clermont-Prince from 1724. He was unable to offer information on the sitter, who may no longer have been in the military when he was painted.

3. Myra Nan Rosenthal, in a letter of December 21, 1979, opted for 1737, which from a rather inadequate old file photograph seems to us more likely to be correct.

4. Fahy and Watson 1973, pp. 131–32, and Fahy 2005, p. 168.

5. Stuart Pyhrr (verbal communication, October 25, 2012) advises caution in dating armor, which by the eighteenth century was no longer worn for military purposes.

EX COLL.: the sitter (until d. 1779); Lieutenant-General Adrien Théodore d'Allois de Theys, comte d'Herculais (1779–d. 1822); Antoine Marie Jules d'Allois de Theys, comte d'Herculais (1822–d. 1869; his estate, 1869–70); Jules Künckel d'Herculais (1870–perhaps until d. 1918); Amaury Aloys d'Herculais (in 1928); (sale, Palais Galliera, Paris, March 30, 1963, no. 27, as *André-François de Theys d'Herculais au siège de Fontarabie [1727?]*, for Fr 54,000 to Seligman); [Jacques Seligmann, New York, 1963–64; sold to Wrightsman]; Mr. and Mrs. Charles Wrightsman, New York (1964–73).

EXHIBITION: Paris, Petit Palais, *N. de Largillierre*, May–June 1928, no. 62 (as *François-André Allois de Theys d'Herculais*, lent by M. Amaury Aloys d'Herculais) (exh. cat.: Paris 1928).

SELECTED REFERENCES: Fahy and Watson 1973, pp. 126–33, no. 14, ill. p. 129 (color), figs. 1–4 (details); Fahy 2005, pp. 167–69, no. 47, ill. (color).



Fig. 2.2. Nicolas de Largillierre, *Sir Robert Throckmorton, 4th Baronet*, 1729. Oil on canvas, 53¾ x 41¼ in. (136.5 x 104.8 cm). National Trust Collections, Coughton Court (135620)



Fig. 2.3. Nicolas de Largillierre, *Jacques François Léonor de Goyon-Matignon, duc de Valentinois, later Jacques I, Prince of Monaco*, ca. 1718. Oil on canvas, 57½ x 43½ in. (145 x 110 cm). H.S.H. Prince Albert II of Monaco

HYACINTHE RIGAUD

Perpignan 1659–1743 Paris

Hyacinthe François Honoré Mathias Pierre André Jean Rigaud, originally Rigau y Ros, was born into a family of Catalan artists in Perpignan. His earliest formal instruction seems to have been in Montpellier with Paul Pezet, and later he trained there with Antoine Ranc: he is recorded in Montpellier from the age of fourteen, remaining until he moved to Lyon in or about 1678. Having settled in Paris in 1681, he promptly entered the school of the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture and worked in the studio of the influential academician Charles Le Brun, who became his protector. Despite the fact that he won the coveted Prix de Rome in 1682, Rigaud, on the advice of Le Brun, remained in Paris to embark upon a career as a portraitist. Years later, in 1700, he finally presented two portraits for acceptance to full membership of the Académie Royale and, in view of his exceptional talents, was admitted as a history painter. He rose steadily through the official hierarchy, from assistant professor in 1702 to rector and director in 1733. Rigaud accepted relatively few commissions from middle-class sitters after about 1690, when he attracted the attention of the court at Versailles and in due course that of the king, Louis XIV, who sat for him in 1701 (the painting belongs to the Musée du Louvre, Paris). The trajectory of the artist's career indicates that he was politically astute as well as talented. He grew wealthy, devoting himself mainly to official court portraiture, and he had a large, well-organized, and highly productive studio with many assistants. His most important works were constantly replicated, in accordance with his commissions and the needs of the court. Rigaud's account books, complex documents that are essential to the study of his career, are held at the Institut de France and the Ecole Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, Paris. There had been a dearth of scholarly writing about the artist, but two important monographs have recently appeared.

LITERATURE ON THE ARTIST: Rigaud 1919; Perreau 2004; Perreau 2013; James-Sarazin 2016.

3 | Hyacinthe Rigaud

Portrait of a Man, 1693

Oil on canvas, 32½ x 25¼ in. (82.6 x 65.4 cm)

Inscribed and dated (reverse, now covered by a lining canvas):
fait par hyacinthe Rigaud / 1693¹

Bequest of Catherine D. Wentworth, 1948 (48.187.733)

This oval portrait of an unidentified middle-aged sitter—beautifully preserved and in a fine period frame—was

bequeathed as part of a collection comprising primarily decorative arts by Mrs. Edward Spencer Wentworth, who had lived with her husband in Paris for some twenty-five years, until the mid-1930s. Unpublished, it has been exhibited infrequently, and not at all since 1982; because the inscription had been misread as 1673 rather than 1693, the attribution had been questioned. The portrait is now judged to be an autograph work by Rigaud dating to the last decade during which he took private commissions from people of relatively modest social consequence.² As to the sitter, for Stéphan Perreau, writing in 2013, there are several possibilities, the most likely of which is Hilaire Rouillé du Coudray (1651–1729), *procureur général* of the Chambre des Comptes. Ariane James-Sarazin has also identified various candidates from Rigaud's records: the tax farmer Louis Bauyn de Cormery (1644–1701), Rouillé du Coudray, and Gilles de La Loëre (ca. 1655–1706). The information adduced is far from definitive.

The wig and elegant costume—an embroidered coat with a lace ruff and a jewel—are rather informal and suggest wealth but no specific rank or position. The face and hair are delicately painted, and the lace especially is described with proficiency and close attention to detail. The contrast of burnt orange for the silk coat and blue for the velvet drapery is typical of Rigaud. The oval format and the size were used by the artist throughout his career (his portraits on this scale generally did not include the hands). He charged about 120 to 180 livres for each of them. According to Perreau, the phrase “fait par hyacinthe Rigaud” and a date, painted on the reverse, is not a signature but instead marks receipt of payment and release of the portrait from the artist's studio (fig. 3.1).

NOTES

1. The inscription was photographed in 1942, by or for the conservator who lined and restored the painting (the photograph and a notary certificate are glued to the horizontal stretcher bar).
2. I express my appreciation to Ariane James-Sarazin and to Stéphan Perreau for their emails of September 8 and 9, 2012, respectively; they agreed on the attribution and date, and each provided information about

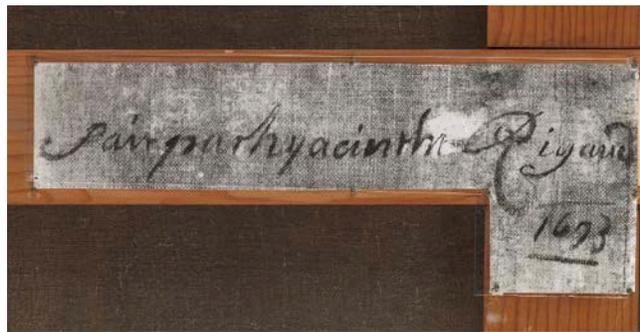


Fig. 3.1. Old photograph of the inscription and date on the reverse of cat. 3: “fait par hyacinthe Rigaud / 1693” (made by Hyacinthe Rigaud / 1693)



possible sitters. This entry and the two that follow are largely dependent on their unpublished and published scholarship, which in recent years has entirely transformed Rigaud studies.

EX COLL.: Mrs. Edward Spencer (Catherine D.) Wentworth, Paris, later Santa Barbara, Calif. (by 1937–d. 1948).

REFERENCES: Perreau 2013, p. 105, no. P.339, ill.; James-Sarazin 2016, vol. 1, p. 442, ill. (color), vol. 2, pp. 131, 292, no. P.381, ill. (color).

4 | Hyacinthe Rigaud

Portrait of a General Officer, probably ca. 1705

Oil on canvas, 54 x 41 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (137.2 x 105.1 cm)

The Alfred N. Punnett Endowment Fund, 1959 (59.119)

Rigaud painted military portraits from 1689 onward with the three-quarter length as his preferred format. The composition of the present work (in which the baton is held in front of the body) was used twice for portraits of Henri Louis de La Tour



d'Auvergne, comte d'Evreux, born in 1679. He was named *maréchal de camp* on October 26, 1704. It is assumed that the first version of the count's portrait, which was exhibited at the 1704 Salon, is a painting now in Kassel (fig. 4.1).¹ Another version, presumed lost, was in Rigaud's estate at the time of his death: the cavalry skirmish in the background of that painting was said to be by Joseph Parrocel, who died on March 1, 1704. These details indicate that the two paintings were executed more or less simultaneously. A drawing recording the composition was made in the Rigaud studio and is now in the Albertina (fig. 4.2),² while an engraving by Georg Friedrich Schmidt, which reverses the drawing, is dated 1739 (fig. 4.3). The drawing and engraving differ in the same details from the Kassel picture and must therefore record the lost canvas. Although it is not clear why Rigaud's portraits of the comte d'Evreux should have excited so much admiration, many replicas and copies survive.

Our portrait has no early history. Since the late nineteenth century it has been identified as autograph, and since 1910 the subject had been identified as the comte d'Evreux. Recently, both Stéphan Perreau and Ariane James-Sarazin independently concluded that our sitter had been misidentified.³



Fig. 4.1. Hyacinthe Rigaud, *Henri Louis de La Tour d'Auvergne, comte d'Evreux*, 1703. Oil on canvas, 48¼ x 37¼ in. (123 x 95.5 cm). Museumslandschaft Hessen Kassel (GK 1148)



Fig. 4.2. Hyacinthe Rigaud, *Henri Louis de La Tour d'Auvergne, comte d'Evreux*. Black chalk and graphite on blue paper, 14¹/₁₆ x 11¹/₁₆ in. (37.3 x 29.1 cm). Albertina, Vienna (11921)



Fig. 4.3. Georg Friedrich Schmidt (German, 1712–1775) after Hyacinthe Rigaud, *Henri Louis de La Tour d'Auvergne, comte d'Evreux*, 1739. Engraving, 19³/₁₆ x 13½ in. (48.7 x 34.3 cm). British Museum, London (1838,1215.76)



Fig. 4.4. Hyacinthe Rigaud, *Portrait of a General Officer*, ca. 1705. Oil on canvas, 54 x 41 $\frac{5}{16}$ in. (137.2 x 105 cm). Private collection

He is fair and his jaw is much wider and heavier than the Kassel sitter's; his hairline is different; and a powdered wig is set well back on his forehead. The baton is that of an officer lower in rank than a *maréchal*. The arrangement of the cavalry figures as well as the ends of the sash and details of the armor are closer to the drawing and the engraving than they are to the Kassel canvas. The source, therefore, must be the portrait of the comte d'Evreux that has gone missing.

A second, nearly identical version of our painting was discovered in 2004 by Perreau (fig. 4.4).⁴ Characteristically inscribed on the reverse "fait par Hyacinthe Rigaud / 1705," it should therefore be given priority. All indications are, then, that the unidentified sitter was a general officer who saw Rigaud's portrait of the comte d'Evreux in the 1704 Salon and requested something similar. The artist, having retained another version, used it as a model. A replica—our canvas—was ordered subsequently. For James-Sarazin, on the other hand, the colors of our picture and of the one discovered by Perreau indicate a much later moment, perhaps about 1725. Rigaud's work is extremely difficult to date. However, it seems to me that about 1705 for our canvas is more likely.

NOTES

1. Rigaud 1919, pp. 101, 105–6, 112–14, 119, 127, 135; Perreau 2013, pp. 176–77, no. PC.793, ill.
2. Ariane James-Sarazin, in an email of September 8, 2012, drew my attention to the drawing.
3. This was pointed out by James-Sarazin (see note 2), and by Stéphan Perreau, in an email of September 9, 2012.
4. Perreau 2004, p. 207, fig. 187.

EX COLL.: Pourtalès family, Neuchâtel; Dr. and Mrs. Corrado Cramer Pourtalès, Milan (by 1871–his d. 1918, as *Il Maresciallo Goffredo Maurizio de La Tour d'Auvergne*); Mrs. Corrado Cramer Pourtalès, Milan or Como (1918–d. 1935); Cramer Pourtalès family, Milan or Como (from 1935; sold to Böhler); [Böhler, Munich, until 1959; sold to MMA].

EXHIBITIONS: Milan, Palazzo di Brera, *Esposizione delle opere d'arte antica*, August 26–October 7, 1872, no. 20 (as *Ritratto d'un maresciallo*, by Hyacinthe Rigaud, lent by Corrado Cramer) (exh. cat.: Milan 1872). Milan, Palazzo della Permanente, *Ritratti del Settecento*, 1910, no. 19 (as *Il Maresciallo Goffredo Maurizio de La Tour d'Auvergne*, lent by Dott. Cramer Pourtalès, Milan) (exh. cat.: Milan 1910).

REFERENCES: Perreau 2004, pp. 207, 236 n. 310, 240; Perreau 2010, ill. (color); Perreau 2013, pp. 189–90, no. PC.872, ill.; James-Sarazin 2016, vol. 1, p. 432, ill. (color detail), vol. 2, pp. 281, 311, 337, 501–2, no. P.1442, ill. (color).

5 | After Hyacinthe Rigaud, possibly by François Albert Stiémart (Douai 1680–1740 Versailles)

Louis XV (1710–1774) as a Child, ca. 1722–24
Oil on canvas, 77 x 55 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (195.6 x 141 cm)

Purchase, Mary Wetmore Shively Bequest, in memory of her husband, Henry L. Shiveley, M.D., 1960 (60.6)

Louis XV, great-grandson of Louis XIV, was born at Versailles on February 15, 1710, to Marie Adélaïde de Savoie (see cat. 6) and Louis, duc de Bourgogne. As a baby, he was the fourth in an apparently secure line of succession. However, his grandfather and the king's heir, Louis, called "le Grand Dauphin," died in 1711, and his father, the duc de Bourgogne, with Marie Adélaïde and his older brother, succumbed to measles in 1712. At Louis XIV's death on September 1, 1715, therefore, as the surviving younger son of the duc de Bourgogne, he succeeded as Louis XV. Philippe, duc d'Orléans, Louis XIV's nephew, assumed the regency; the king's coronation took place much later, in 1722, at Reims Cathedral.

In Hyacinthe Rigaud's famous 1701 standing portrait of Louis XIV,¹ the aging king wears the robes and regalia of France: white hose, a blue velvet mantle strewn with gold fleurs-de-lis and lined with ermine, the collar and cross of the Order of the Holy Spirit, and the sword, crown, and scepter terminating in the fleur-de-lis. The first official portrait of Louis XV was commissioned from Rigaud in September 1715





Fig. 5.1. Hyacinthe Rigaud, *Louis XV, King of France and of Navarre*, 1715. Oil on canvas, 74¼ x 53¾ in. (189 x 135 cm). Musée National des Châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon (MV 3695)

by the regent for the Palace of Versailles, where it remains (fig. 5.1).² The five-year-old is shown seated and wearing the same costume. Louis XV gave Rigaud a sitting at Vincennes for a study of his head on a small canvas, which the artist later

applied to the full-scale canvas in the studio. On August 18, 1716, the king directed the prior of Saint-Denis to send the royal regalia to Rigaud's studio (this was of course where the royal portrait would have been finished). In addition to



Fig. 5.2. François Albert Stiémart after Hyacinthe Rigaud, *Louis XV*, ca. 1716–21. Oil on canvas, 74¹³/₁₆ x 55³/₄ in. (190 x 141.5 cm). Musée des Beaux-Arts, Rouen (X 18)

the crown, the sword, and the scepter with the fleur-de-lis, the scepter terminating in an ivory hand, called the *main de justice*, appears in the painting. The red drapery and tassels and the floor coverings are essentially the same in the two

pictures. As a child, Louis XV could not have worn the enormous ermine-lined mantle of his predecessor. Rigaud, having conceived a design appropriate to his small stature, would presumably have posed an adult model wearing the essentials



Fig. 5.3. Detail of cat. 5



Fig. 5.4. Detail of fig. 5.1



Fig. 5.5. Detail of fig. 5.2

of the costume. In June 1717 the finished work was presented to the regent and to the king, who is said to have admired the resemblance. In payment Rigaud received 8,000 livres.

His account book lists a total of eleven “replicas”:³ in 1716, three painted by himself, each priced at 1,200 livres, plus four by Charles Sevin de La Penaye and one by Pierre Benevault; and in 1717, two by himself for “le Grand duc” (presumably the regent) and the archbishop of Aix, at 300 livres each, and one by La Penaye. Stéphan Perreau argues persuasively that few if any of these were the same enormous size as Rigaud’s first official portrait, and that in fact most of the ones in the account book were smaller models showing the king in half-length, wearing a breastplate, with or without hands.

Beginning in 1716, many other replicas were commissioned by the administration of the Bâtiments du Roi. Now at issue is the role of François Albert Stiémart, who was once a famous and well-remunerated copyist and restorer.⁴ Born at Douai in 1680 and a student at the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture from 1703, Stiémart entered Louis XIV’s service in 1704 and was paid 850 livres for three portraits of the king, two of which were copies after Rigaud’s 1701 full-length.⁵ Stiémart was received into the Académie in 1720, in the presence of Rigaud, upon presentation of a copy of that artist’s 1715 portrait of Louis XV. Perreau believes that all of the copies that can be attributed to Stiémart are full size. He identifies a version of the Louis XV portrait in Rouen as that artist’s reception piece (fig. 5.2; see also figs. 5.3–5),⁶ and believes that The Met’s is also by him and datable to 1722.⁷ The date finds support in the circumstances: the king presented it in 1724 to Monsieur d’Ombreval, when he was promoted to *lieutenant-général de police* for the city of Paris (fig. 5.6). Perreau has assigned to the same hand versions at Chambéry, Frohsdorff (Vienna), Raleigh, Reims, and Versailles.⁸

NOTES

1. Musée du Louvre, Paris, 7492.
2. Rigaud 1919, p. 178. Ariane James-Sarazin, in an email of September 8, 2012, and Stéphan Perreau, in an email of September 9, 2012, provided material for this entry.
3. Rigaud 1919, pp. 178 n. 4, 182–84; James-Sarazin 2016, vol. 2, p. 440.
4. While Perreau brought Stiémart to my attention, the artist had been rediscovered by Guillaume Glorieux (see Glorieux 2009).
5. Glorieux 2009, pp. 163–65. Stiémart also restored, enlarged, and made copies after old master paintings in the royal collection with considerable success.
6. The proposal that the Rouen painting (Musée des Beaux-Arts X18) might be the reception piece was accepted by Malgouyres 2000, p. 175, no. 156. The work had been seized during the Revolution with the collections of the academies, sent to the Louvre, and later allocated to the Tribunal de Commerce in Rouen.



Fig. 5.6. Inscription on the frame of cat. 5: “DONNE / PAR-LE-ROY / AM-DOMBREVAL / 1724” (Given by the King to M. Dombreval / 1724)

7. The size, closely corresponding, is drawn from the documentation of the Bâtiments du Roi: “Copie du Portrait du Roy en pied conformément à l’original du Sieur Rigaud, 6 pieds de haut sur 4 pieds 4 pouces de large [76¾ x 55¾ in. (194.9 x 140.7 cm)], 1400#.” Archives Nationales, Paris, O¹ 1921a, *Etat des ouvrages de peinture faite pour le roy depuis 1716 jusques et compris 1729*. Perreau, in an email of September 9, 2012, provided the provenance reported here.

8. Paintings at Brunswick, Caen, Chantilly, Compiègne, Fontainebleau, Hampton Court Palace, Winnipeg, and on the Paris art market are also recorded in the Rigaud literature.

EX COLL.: Nicolas Jean-Baptiste Ravot d’Ombreval, Paris (1724–d. 1729); Thérèse Geneviève Ravot d’Ombreval and her husband, Vicomte Honoré Charles Henri de Buissey, Château de Long (1729–his d. 1762); Vicomte Pierre de Buissey, Château de Long (1762–d. 1787); Anne Charlotte de Buissey-Long and her husband, Marquis Amédée Charles Marie de Boubers-Abbeville-Thunc, Château de Long (1787–their d. 1846); Ilda Rose Blanche de Boubers-Abbeville-Thunc and her husband, Pierre Jules du Maisniel de Saveuse, Château de Long (1846–his d. 1887); Fernand Pierre Marie du Maisniel de Saveuse, Château de Long (1887–d. 1888); Edith Rose Marie Josèphe du Maisniel de Saveuse and her husband, Comte Jules Jean Joseph Le Mesre de Pas, Château de Long (1888–his d. 1903); Eliane Le Mesre de Pas and her husband, Comte Jean de Robien, Château de Pont-Rémy, near Abbeville, Somme, Picardy (1903–59; sold to Heim); [Heim, Paris, 1959–60, as by Rigaud; sold to MMA].

SELECTED EXHIBITION: Paris, Orangerie des Tuileries, *Le cabinet de l’amateur*, February–April 1956, no. 90 (as by Rigaud) (exh. cat.: Paris 1956).

REFERENCES: Perreau 2013, pp. 42–43, fig. 37, pp. 249–50, no. P.1247-1, ill.; James-Sarazin 2016, vol. 2, p. 441, ill. (color).

PIERRE GOBERT

Paris or Fontainebleau 1662–1744 Paris

Of Gobert's early life nothing is known other than that he was the son of a sculptor and had begun working as a court painter by 1682. Many years passed before he was accepted as a candidate member of the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture in 1701; by December, having submitted two portraits, he had been admitted to full membership. Gobert sent no less than seventeen works to the 1704 Salon, and his sitters included both the duc and duchesse de Bourgogne, who is portrayed in the painting described below (cat. 6). Between September 1707 and March 1709 he was in Lunéville in the employ of Léopold, duc de Lorraine, and his wife, born Elisabeth Charlotte d'Orléans, taking sittings for portraits of the couple and their several children and also preparing, or overseeing the preparation of, sixty copies of Lorraine family portraits. He also worked for the prince-elector of Bavaria and for the Conti and Condé families and at last received four commissions by order of the young king Louis XV between 1719 and 1724. He was subsequently elected a counselor of the Académie Royale and in 1725, a high point in his career, was sent to Wissembourg in Alsace to take sittings from the only daughter of the ex-king of Poland, Marie Leszczyńska, who would shortly become queen of France. Gobert disappeared from view after the Salon of 1737. He rarely signed his work, much of which is probably misidentified.

LITERATURE ON THE ARTIST: Engerand 1897; Thoison 1903.

6 | Pierre Gobert

Marie Adélaïde de Savoie, Duchesse de Bourgogne, 1710

Oil on canvas, oval, 28¾ x 23¾ in. (73 x 59.1 cm)

Inscribed and dated (top): ADELAÏDE DE SAVOIE / DUCHESSE DE BOURGOGNE. 1710

Gift of the Marquis de La Bégassière, 1963 (63.120)

Born in Turin in 1685, Marie Adélaïde was the eldest daughter of Vittorio Amedeo II di Savoia and Anne Marie d'Orléans, niece of Louis XIV. Marie Adélaïde's parents were second cousins, and on the day after her twelfth birthday, in 1697, she in turn married her second cousin, Louis, duc de Bourgogne, eldest son of the heir to the throne of France, Louis, called "le Grand Dauphin." Reportedly the event heralded not only a political alliance but also a happy marriage. The duchess was not pretty, and her teeth had been ruined by eating too much sugar, but she was lively and vivacious, and because she was much loved by Louis XIV, she became the principal ornament of the court at Versailles. Marie Adélaïde was the mother of three sons, two of whom died very young. We know

relatively little about her because she herself succumbed to measles in 1712, at age twenty-six, and also because both her husband and her father-in-law predeceased Louis XIV. The king was succeeded by her only surviving son, born in 1710, who took the throne in early childhood as Louis XV of France. The present painting is neither signed nor specifically recorded, but is typical of Gobert, for whom the duchess sat on various occasions; it dates to the year the future Louis XV was born, which would have been a logical time to commission



Fig. 6.1. Antoine Coysevox (French, 1640–1720), *Marie Adélaïde de Savoie as Diana*, 1710. Marble, 78¾ x 32¾ x 31½ in. (200 x 83.5 x 80 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris (MR 1817)



further portraits and replicas. As Marie Adélaïde is not in court dress, the canvas may be a reduced replica of a lost allegorical portrait from which the attributes are omitted.

The appearance of the duchess is known from several other works of art. A painting universally accepted as her

portrait in hunting dress in the park at Fontainebleau was shown at the 1704 Salon. In it she looks very slight and child-like. As Diana, she is represented lifesize and at full length by Antoine Coysevox in a marble statue (fig. 6.1) dated 1710 from the French royal collections that is in the Musée du Louvre,



Fig. 6.2. Pierre Gobert, detail of *Marie Adélaïde de Savoie, duchesse de Bourgogne, with Her Children*, 1712. Oil on canvas, 85 x 105½ in. (216 x 268 cm). Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid (P2274)

Paris. Closest in style and appearance to the present work is the central figure in Gobert's allegorical family group (fig. 6.2) of the duchess with her children in the Museo del Prado, Madrid.

EX COLL.: [Galerie Marcus, Paris, after 1945–62; sold to La Bégassière]; Jacques and Joyce, marquis and marquise de La Bégassière, Paris and Oyster Bay, N.Y. (1962–63).

ALEXANDRE FRANÇOIS DESPORTES

Champigneulle 1661–1743 Paris

Desportes, whose father sent him to live with a relative in Paris, was apprenticed there in 1676 to the Flemish animal painter Nicasiaus Bernaerts. When Bernaerts died two years later, Desportes continued his studies at the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture and worked as a journeyman. In 1692–93 he was at the Gobelins manufactory restoring animals in the cartoons for a tapestry series called *Les Anciennes Indes*, while in 1696 he was briefly engaged as court painter to the king of Poland, Jan III Sobieski. He gained preliminary admission to the Académie Royale in 1698 and the following year, when elected to full membership, presented his *Self-Portrait as a Hunter* (Musée du Louvre, Paris) as a reception

piece. Desportes was greatly favored by Louis XIV in the last years of the king's life: in about 1700, for example, he received commissions for five hunting subjects for the Ménagerie and in 1702 orders for four overdoors representing the most beautiful dogs in the royal kennels. The artist was always punctilious in his attendance at meetings of the Académie Royale, of which he became a counselor in 1704, while working at regular intervals for both the king and the dauphin, the future Louis XV. In 1712–13 he visited England, where he already had important patrons, while 1716 saw the first of many payments for designs of exotic and indigenous plants as well as a wide variety of animals for the royal manufactories of Savonnerie and Gobelins. Desportes had shown portraits and still lifes at the 1699 and 1704 Salons; from 1737 to 1742 he also exhibited decorative paintings and tapestry cartoons. Having worked for two monarchs and for the regent, Philippe, duc d'Orléans, as well as for distinguished private collectors of various nationalities, he died greatly admired at the age of eighty-two. The monograph by Georges de Lastic and Pierre Jacky published in 2010 has transformed our knowledge of this prolific, multifaceted artist.

LITERATURE ON THE ARTIST: Desportes 1854; Lastic and Jacky 2010.

7 | Alexandre François Desportes

Panthers Eating Grapes, ca. 1716–20

Oil on paper, laid down on card (paste-paper), 13⅝ x 6¾ in. (34.6 x 17.1 cm)

Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1906 (07.225.287)

This is a preliminary design for one of six Savonnerie tapestry panels (fig. 7.1) that could be made up into large folding screens. The first weavings date to 1719–20. A tapestry based on the sketch was described in a contemporary document as follows: "There is a terrace where two tigers are eating grapes, and a vine arbor and a sky background above which there are two blue and red parrots on a yellow ground, surrounded by a crimson border."¹ Although the animals are called tigers, they are panthers (spotted leopards). One lies on the ground devouring a mound of grapes, while the other, one paw against the trunk of a vine, reaches with his mouth for a bunch of grapes hanging from a branch. Two parrots perch among the branches: the one at left in the panther tapestries follows our sketch. Both birds as presented in the weavings are closely similar to an independent study on brown paper that is at the Sèvres manufactory (fig. 7.2).² A bird in flight against the sky in the tapestry panels was not included at this early design stage. As the overall proportions were adjusted for the weavings, in which the height more greatly exceeds the width, in the corresponding tapestries a hillock and some





Fig. 7.1. Savonnerie Manufactory (Manufacture Royale, established 1663) after Alexandre François Desportes, *Folding Screen: Six Panels Representing Animals*, woven ca. 1719–69. Wool, each panel 7¾ x 25 in. (186 x 63.5 cm). Waddesdon Manor, Aylesbury, Buckinghamshire (2318)



Fig. 7.2. Alexandre François Desportes, *Two Macaws*, ca. 1716–20. Oil on paper adhered to card, 12¾ x 20¾ in. (31 x 51.3 cm). Manufacture Nationale de Sèvres (Fp§6-1814-21; P II no. 38)

foliage are introduced behind the recumbent animal to fill up the background. The red border is an integral part of both the woven compositions and the oil sketch on paper. The mounting to card seems to date from the eighteenth century.³ There would also have been a full-scale cartoon by Desportes for each of the six panels, but none survives.

Additional tapestry designs were centered on pairs of hounds, foxes, and monkeys, and on two different arrangements of rare and more common birds; four of the five (the exception is the foxes) included dense foliage, and all had arbors or garlands against sky-blue grounds. Desportes was paid for studies for screens between 1716 and 1720, but the documentation lacks enough descriptive detail to sort out this set from the others.⁴ In 1784 Louis XVI bought from the painter's nephew and deposited at Sèvres the entire contents of the artist's studio, including two additional sketches from the series to which ours belonged. These are also in oil on paper glued to card, and the dimensions vary only slightly. One is for the hounds tapestry (fig. 7.3) and the other is for the monkeys; thus three are presumed lost. In 2006 some studies at Sèvres were transferred to the Musée de la Chasse et de la Nature in Paris.

Six-fold Savonnerie screens incorporating all of the motifs are preserved in the James A. de Rothschild Collection at Waddesdon Manor and at the Huntington Art Collections in San Marino, California.⁵ The screens were made principally for rooms used by members of the royal family. Sadly, the whimsy and animation of the sketches do not carry through entirely to the larger weavings.

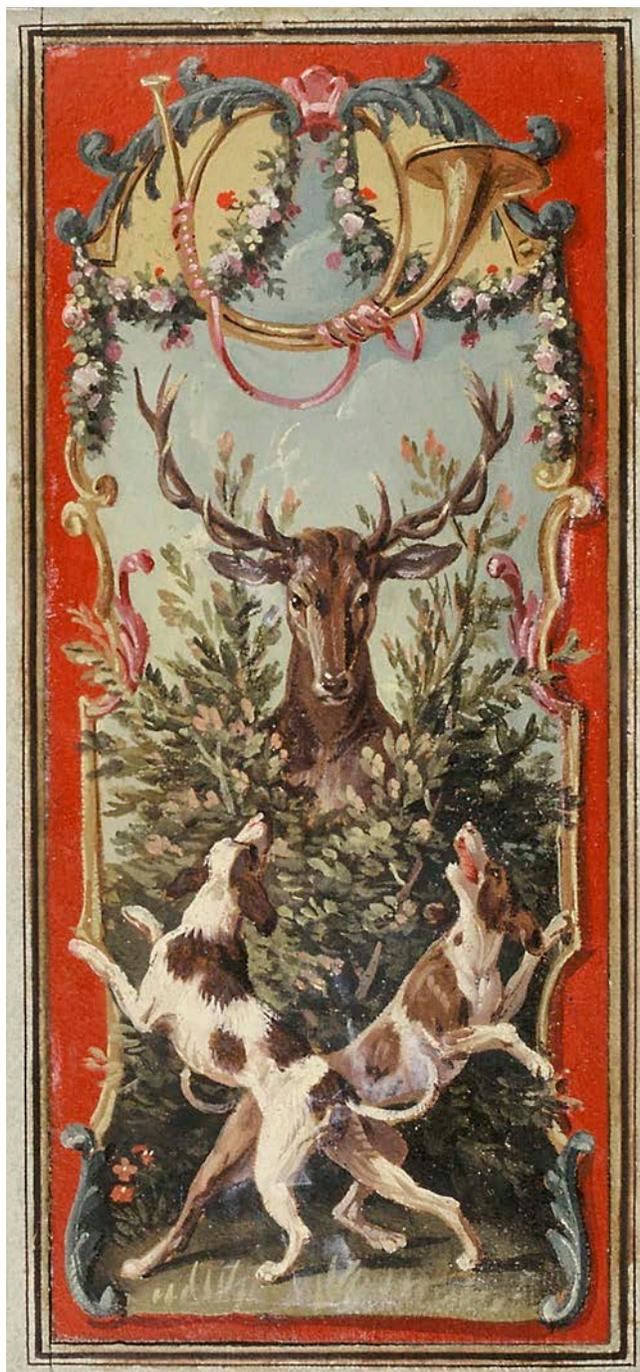


Fig. 7.3. Alexandre François Desportes, *Dogs and Stag's Head*, ca. 1716–20. Oil on paper adhered to card, 12 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (31.4 x 13.6 cm). Manufacture Nationale de Sèvres, on deposit at the Musée de la Chasse et de la Nature, Paris (D511-1873-23; P IV no. 48)

NOTES

1. Verlet 1982, p. 330: “Il y a une terrasse surquoy sont possé deux tigres mageans du resin, et un berceau de vigne et un fond de ciel audeus duquel il y a deux peroquets bleux et rouge sur fond jaune, entouré d’un fond pourpre.”
2. Lastic and Jacky 2010, vol. 2, p. 160, no. P606, ill. (color).
3. This information was supplied in 2012 by conservator Marjorie Shelley.

4. Lastic and Jacky 2010, vol. 2, pp. 154–60.

5. Verlet 1982, pp. 330–40, 466–67, no. 15, ill., and Wark 1961, pp. 75–76, ill. The Waddesdon tapestries (2318), with arched tops that do not match the original design, measure 73 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 25 in. (186 x 63.5 cm), while the Huntington panels (11.41) are 69 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 24 in. (176.5 x 61 cm).

EX COLL.: [Georges Hoentschel, Paris, until 1906; sold to Morgan]; J. Pierpont Morgan, New York (1906).

REFERENCES: Baron Ferdinand de Rothschild in Verlet 1982, pp. 330–40, fig. 210; Lastic and Jacky 2010, p. 160, no. P607, ill. (color); Charissa Bremer-David in Bennett and Sargentson 2008, pp. 300, 301 n. 8.

8 | Alexandre François Desportes

Buffet with Silver and Gold Plate, Hardstone Vessels, Japanese Porcelain, Flowers, and Fruit, ca. 1726

Oil on canvas, originally with chamfered corners, 103 x 73 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (261.6 x 187.3 cm)

Signed (lower right edge): Desportes.; reportedly once dated 1726¹

Purchase, Mary Wetmore Shively Bequest, in memory of her husband, Henry L. Shively, M.D., 1964 (64.315)

Images of elaborate displays of foodstuffs and serving pieces have existed since the late Middle Ages, and a sixteenth-century buffet quite similar to this one is illustrated in a mythological fresco by Giulio Romano at Palazzo Te in Mantua (fig. 8.1).² During a fete held at Versailles in the summer of 1668, Louis XIV visited an enclosed garden where five tables “arranged as a buffet, and providing all the things that could make a magnificent collation,” had been set out around a pool and a fountain (fig. 8.2).³ Two of the tables are shown in an engraving, one with the marzipan facade of a palace and the other with an infinity of vases filled with all sorts of liqueurs. **WATTEAU** painted such a buffet several years before his death in 1721: it is tiny but elaborate nonetheless, set up in a niche on a terrace overlooking a garden in *The Pleasures of the Ball* (fig. 8.3). Buffets of the sort seen here were primarily intended to display the most opulent, ostentatious tableware, as the food and flowers had become secondary elements of the design.⁴

Desportes painted still lifes during the second half of his life. Quantities of oil sketches on paper were found in his studio after he died, several of which represent dead game (deer and a wild boar), porcelain, drapery, and porphyry vessels.⁵ Absent any specific evidence, these are usually assigned to the late seventeenth century. The earliest formal composition to come to light is signed and dated 1703 and shows a partridge hanging in a niche; the artist’s submissions to the 1704 Salon included paintings of birds and of fruit, subjects that, with the addition of dead game, were much sought after





in subsequent decades.⁶ Two still lifes on a heroic scale can be dated to 1714 and were ordered by Louis XIV.⁷

In choosing large, elaborate displays of gold and silver plate, Desportes was preceded by Jean-Baptiste Belin de Fontenay, who at the beginning of the eighteenth century signed and dated a buffet belonging now to the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond (fig. 8.4).⁸ The canvas, more than two meters in height and width, offers a symmetrical arrangement of gold basins and trays as well as hardstone vessels, interspersed with garlands of flowers and set up under a pergola presided over by a statue with panpipes. The work differs significantly from that of Desportes, however, because it includes two half-length figures, a maid carrying a tray with a pyramid of oranges balanced on her head, and a turbaned black man presenting plateaux of peaches and

Left: Fig. 8.1. Giulio Romano (Italian, Roman, ?1499–1546), detail of *The Wedding Banquet of Cupid and Psyche*, ca. 1532–35. Fresco. Palazzo Te, Sala di Psiche, Mantua

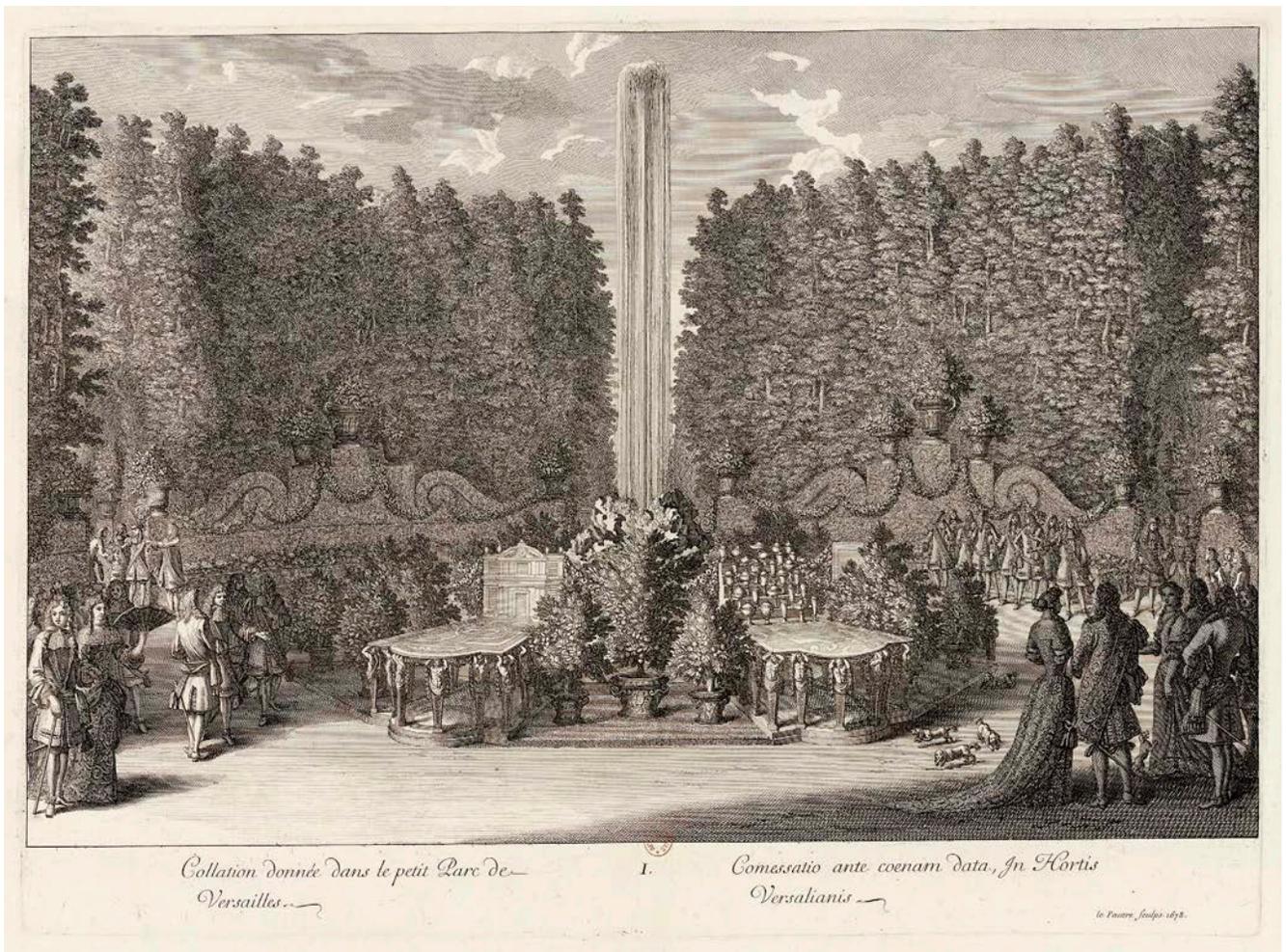


Fig. 8.2. Jean Lepautre (French, 1618–1682), *Collation donnée dans le petit parc de Versailles . . . 18 juillet 1668*, 1678. Etching and engraving, 12 x 16¹/₁₆ in. (30.5 x 41.5 cm). Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, Collection Michel Hennin, 4479 (41503652)



Fig. 8.3. Antoine Watteau (French, 1684–1721), detail of *The Pleasures of the Ball*, ca. 1715–17. Oil on canvas, 20 $\frac{1}{16}$ x 25 $\frac{1}{16}$ in. (52.5 x 65.2 cm). Dulwich Picture Gallery, London (156)

grapes. A similar, smaller buffet with a trellis and a statue is signed by Pierre Nicolas Huilliot and dated 1718.⁹

Of several comparable examples by Desportes, the earliest, signed and dated 1720, shows a horizontal arrangement of mostly gold vessels with flowers and fruit against a pale sky and trees.¹⁰ A splendid upright with quantities of porcelain as well as plate measures 104 $\frac{5}{16}$ x 73 $\frac{3}{16}$ inches (265 x 186 cm) and is signed and dated 1727.¹¹ It illustrates a *nef* (a vessel in the shape of a ship) said to have been made for the royal family and two silver platters attributed to the royal silversmith Thomas Germain.¹² An upright canvas with a



Fig. 8.4. Jean-Baptiste Belin de Fontenay (French, 1653–1715), *Buffet under a Trellis*, 1700. Oil on canvas, 89 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 85 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (227.8 x 216.4 cm). Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond, Adolph D. and Wilkins C. Williams Fund (83.65)

similar but simpler composition, with silver by Germain and an arched top, bears the signature and date 1740.¹³ As the arrangement of the objects in our picture is relatively crowded and chaotic, the date 1726 seems reasonable.¹⁴ There is no documentation to suggest that any of the Desportes buffets were painted for a specific patron, though they are likely to have been commissioned and intended for dining rooms.

The ewers and basins depicted here appear to be sets dating from the mid-seventeenth century or earlier, while the platters could be of the same period.¹⁵ Tiered platters came into use after this canvas was painted, suggesting that the platters in the foreground are simply supported by the fruit. Silver was melted down when styles changed or funds were required; consequently, little metalwork of the kind survives, and none of the individual pieces can be identified. Louis XIV and his contemporaries also prized turned vessels of semiprecious stone, of which there are three pairs, one apparently made of agate and another of jasper. The porcelain is Japanese, including two bowls of Kakiemon ware and one of Imari, more or less contemporary in date with the painting.¹⁶

Our canvas, originally shaped, was later pieced out to form a rectangle so that it could be stretched: the pieces filling in the corners at the bottom show flatter curves than those at the top. The elaborate signature is too close to the edge, thus the canvas must have been cut all around. A copy sold in 1989

shows the linen napkin and the vessels at the edges complete and a top cut in and rounded.¹⁷ The original canvas was very brittle, with numerous bulges, some of which are still visible, separations from the lining canvas, wear, and local damages: of necessity it was relined, treated, and provided with a new stretcher by conservator Gerhard Wedekind in 1965.

NOTES

1. The date is reported by Faré 1962, vol. 1, p. 337 n. 731, as information from Jacques Helft, but is not referenced in either of the two undated documents that Helft must have provided to the Museum at the time of purchase. The painting may have been restored in the 1930s.
2. For an overview, see Lastic and Jacky 2010, vol. 1, pp. 206–27, 294–95 nn. 46–77.
3. Félibien 1679, p. 7: “en manière de bufets, chargées de toutes les choses qui peuvent composer une collation magnifique.”
4. In its relative sobriety, Jean Siméon Chardin’s *The Buffet* (Musée du Louvre, Paris, 3198), presented as his reception piece to the Académie in 1728, is a noteworthy exception.
5. Lastic and Jacky 2010, vol. 2, p. 72, nos. P307–10, ill. (color), p. 77, no. P328, ill. (color), p. 78, no. P335, ill., p. 79, nos. P338, P340–42, ill. (color).
6. *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 105, no. P424, ill. (color), pp. 108–9, nos. P435–39. There is no evidence to support the claim of Desportes’s son (1854, pp. 104–5) that the artist painted buffets in about 1704–5: he was perhaps thinking of the Salon exhibits.
7. Lastic and Jacky 2010, vol. 2, pp. 140–41, nos. P547, P548, ill. (color), both over two meters high. Note also a large basin described as “orfèvrerie de la Renaissance” in a painting of 1717 commissioned by the regent (*ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 162, no. P613, ill. [color]).
8. Belin de Fontenay’s *Buffet under a Trellis* (sale, Sotheby’s, Monaco, October 26, 1981, no. 575, ill. [color]) is signed and dated 1700. I am grateful to Mitchell Merling, curator, and his assistant Sara Moriarty for information about the Richmond picture.
9. *Still Life with Silver and Gold Vessels, Fruit, and Flowers*, in Temperini 1996, pp. 129–30, ill. (color).
10. Lastic and Jacky 2010, vol. 2, p. 167, no. P630, ill. (color).
11. *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 198, no. P721, ill. (color).
12. For the *nef* and for Thomas Germain, see *ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 197, no. P720, ill., and p. 200, no. P728, ill. (color).
13. *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 229, no. P820, ill. (color).
14. *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 196, no. P718, ill. (color), where it is assigned to 1726–30.
15. Claire Vincent, former associate curator, Department of European Sculpture and Decorative Arts, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, in a memo of December 11, 2012.
16. Denise Leidy, former curator of Asian art, in an email of December 13, 2012.
17. The copy (109¾ x 82¼ in. [279 x 210 cm]) was sold at Christie’s, Monaco, June 16, 1989, no. 54, ill. (color).

EX COLL.: ?Yvon, Paris (anonymous sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, January 27–28, 1881, no. 14, as *Fruits*, 104⅞ x 72⅜ in. [265 x 185 cm], for Fr 5,600); (sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, May 30, 1903, no. 18, as *Un Dressoir*, 102⅞ x 72⅜ in. [260 x 185 cm], signed, for Fr 7,010 to Lévy); (sale, Galerie Charpentier, Paris, March 31, 1938, no. 28, as *Le Buffet*, 103⅞ x 73⅜ in. [262 x 186 cm], for Fr 23,500); [Jacques Helft, Paris and Buenos Aires, 1938–64]; [Société Matteo, Paris, 1964; sold to MMA].

EXHIBITIONS: Paris, Musée des Arts Décoratifs, *Louis XIV, faste et décors*, May–October 1960, no. 518 (as *Nature morte, figurant des pièces d’orfèvrerie royale*, signed lower right, lent by M. J. Helft) (exh. cat.: Paris 1960). Musée National des Châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon, *Versailles et les tables royales en Europe, XVIIème–XIXème siècles*, November 3, 1993–February 27, 1994, no. 38 (as *Buffet avec pièces d’orfèvrerie et de porcelaine*, dated 1726) (exh. cat.: Versailles 1993).

SELECTED REFERENCE: Lastic and Jacky 2010, vol. 1, pp. 222–24, ill. (color), vol. 2, p. 196, no. P718, ill. (color).

JEAN FRANÇOIS DE TROY

Paris 1679–1752 Rome

The son and pupil of the portraitist and academician François de Troy, Jean François was a pupil at the school of the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture in 1696. Owing in part to this privileged position, he departed for Italy two years later without having won the Prix de Rome and in 1699 was received as a pensioner of the Académie de France. He spent long periods in Florence as well as Rome before returning to Paris in 1706. Little is known of his early work. His father became director of the Académie Royale in 1708, the year Jean François was approved and admitted as a history painter at one session, submitting as his reception piece *Niobe and Her Children* (Musée Fabre, Montpellier). He favored religious and mythological subjects, but the latter predominated, and he was also a highly accomplished interpreter of the female nude and painted a few portraits. Troy was appointed associate professor in 1716 and professor in 1719. He is credited with developing the so-called *tableau de mode*, in which he vividly detailed the costumes, interiors, habits, and amusements of his wealthy, stylish Parisian contemporaries. Troy exhibited at Place Dauphine in 1723, 1724, and 1725, the year he showed for the first time at the Salon. In the 1730s he contributed to the decoration of the royal châteaux of Versailles and Fontainebleau. The year 1738 saw his appointment to the position of director of the Académie de France in Rome, where he successfully taught and mentored a generation of students. Because he could work quickly and on a very large scale, he was adept at designing tapestries, notably the series dedicated to the story of Esther, begun in Paris and completed in Rome, and that of Jason, one of his last important commissions, which he undertook in 1748. A fine monograph by Christophe Leribault is also the first on one of the most important French artists of the first half of the eighteenth century.

LITERATURE ON THE ARTIST: Leribault 2001 and 2002.



9 | Jean François de Troy

The Triumph of Mordecai, ca. 1736

Oil on canvas, 33 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 59 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (86 x 150.2 cm)

Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1906 (07.225.285)

The commission for a series of tapestry designs recounting the life of Esther, the Jewish queen of Ahasuerus, king of Persia, was awarded to Jean François de Troy in 1736. In antiquity, Esther had interceded with her husband to protect the Jews of Persia from extinction, and her story was popular in the eighteenth century because it embodied important moral precepts and included moments of high drama.

Troy's sources would have been the Old Testament book of Esther and the tragedy written in 1689 by Jean Racine, which had been commissioned by Madame de Maintenon, the morganatic wife of Louis XIV, to be performed by young noblewomen attending a school she sponsored. The play remained popular with the royal family and was performed throughout Louis XIV's reign.

The Esther tapestry set was intended for the Versailles apartments of the future wife of Louis XV, who, born in 1710, had succeeded his grandfather in 1715 at the age of five. As a boy, the dauphin had been briefly engaged to the daughter of Philip V of Spain, but both were too young to marry. In 1747, after lengthy consideration and negotiation, Louis XV finally took as his wife Marie Leszczyńska, daughter of the former king of Poland. This lady would have found the Esther

tapestries decorating her private rooms, where they had been installed in March 1745.

The tapestries were woven at the royal Gobelins manufactory after full-scale cartoons provided by Troy. Remarkably, the oil studies,¹ the cartoons, and many of the weavings² survive. While the set of seven proposed design studies dates to 1736, the preparation of the cartoons, given their size, was a lengthy process. Troy began with the most popular episode, *Esther before Ahasuerus*, which is the fourth of seven and shows Esther appearing unbidden, fainting with fear, to beg the king to spare the Jews. The artist received payment in November 1737, and in 1738 the weaving was assigned to the workshop of Michel Audran. Next were *The Toilette of Esther* and *The Coronation of Esther*, while the fourth cartoon and the sixth scene chronologically was *The Triumph of Mordecai*. Troy meanwhile moved and assumed the direction of the Académie de France in Rome. He completed the Mordecai cartoon (fig. 9.1) in time to send it back to Paris for exhibition at the 1740 Salon, having been paid on June 1 of the same year. Each cartoon measures roughly 11 feet in height, but the one for the Mordecai tapestry is by far the widest, at about 23 feet. The Audran shop wove the design between 1741 and 1744. The finished tapestries were turned over to the Garde-Meuble on December 3, 1744.

The present canvas is a preliminary design, but it is not one of the set of seven that Troy prepared in 1736. The sketch belonging to that group is 21 $\frac{5}{8}$ inches (55 cm) in height, as are



Fig. 9.1. Jean François de Troy and Workshop, *The Triumph of Mordecai*, 1739. Cartoon for a Gobelins tapestry. Oil on canvas, 10 ft. 9½ in. x 23 ft. 3½ in. (329 x 710 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris (8219)

all of the others; it belonged in 1890 to Gustave Rothan, was later reunited with its fellows, and is now in a Paris private collection.³ Christophe Leribault described precisely the differences in detail between the Rothan painting and ours. Additionally, the central group of Haman and Mordecai is brought slightly forward as the focus of attention in the Rothan sketch. By contrast, our canvas measures 33⅞ inches (86 cm) in height.⁴ And although all of the cartoons adhere closely to the designs presented in the sketches, the Mordecai cartoon is closer to the ex-Rothan picture than to ours. It is therefore reasonable to identify our painting as a first thought, also dating to 1736, for what Troy conceived to be the principal subject in the Esther series, one of the most important commissions of his career.⁵

According to the Old Testament, Queen Esther, an orphan, had been adopted and brought up by her cousin Mordecai, a Jew and a loyal servant of the king of Persia, Ahasuerus, whom he had saved from harm. Mordecai later found himself in conflict with the king's minister, Haman, who sought revenge against him by securing the permission of Ahasuerus to kill the entire Jewish population. When, by her appeal, Esther saved the Jews, Mordecai was raised up, arrayed in royal garments, seated upon a royal horse, and paraded through the capital city in a public demonstration of the degree to which the king honored him. Haman, who is shown holding the lead rein of Mordecai's richly caparisoned white

horse, was later executed in Mordecai's place. If the setting for this episode was inspired by Rome, the connection is remote, because Troy's sketches were painted in Paris, when he had not visited Italy for thirty years.

NOTES

1. Six of the seven studies are reproduced in color in Merle du Bourg 2012.
2. Examples of each of the weavings with details are reproduced in color in Leribault 2001.
3. See Leribault 2002, p. 352, no. P.252b, for the only published photograph.
4. The painting—in generally good condition but with a discolored varnish—was cleaned by conservation fellow José Luis Lazarte Luna in 2017. The tacking edges had been cut, and the darks had suffered some abrasion during the earlier relining process. X-radiography revealed cusping along the left and right margins. Darkened overpaint (which has been readjusted) covers a fill approximately one inch wide around all four sides. The original canvas was prepared with a gray layer over a pinkish layer, providing a creamy middle tone, and the artist applied the paint layers fluidly, using a wet-on-wet technique.
5. A copy in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Beaune (882-3-1), belongs to a group of four that are attributed to Troy's studio in Rome. It follows not the ex-Rothan painting but our sketch.

EX COLL.: [Georges Hoentschel, Paris, until 1906; sold to Morgan]; J. Pierpont Morgan, New York (1906).

SELECTED REFERENCES: Jean François de Troy, letter to M. Orry, August 29, 1738 (published in Montaiglon 1899, p. 349); Valory 1854, p. 277; Sterling 1955, pp. 117–18, ill.; Leribault 2002, pp. 98, 352–53, 360, no. P.252a, ill. on pp. 97 (color), 352.

ANTOINE WATTEAU

Valenciennes 1684–1721 Nogent-sur-Marne

The artist is presumed to be the Jean Antoine Watteau baptized on October 10, 1684, at the Church of Saint-Jacques in the Franco-Flemish town of Valenciennes. Nothing is known of his early life beyond the fact that his father was a roofer. Several biographers indicate that Watteau was in Paris in 1702, employed as a copyist. He is thought to have worked with Claude Gillot and Claude III Audran, and Gillot doubtless contributed to the development of his passion for theater, while Audran would have given him access to the Rubens Marie de Médicis cycle at the Palais du Luxembourg, by which he was influenced. On April 6, 1709, Watteau participated in the Prix de Rome competition of the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture. He prepared a submission on the chosen historical subject, but, winning only second prize at the judging on August 31, grew discouraged and returned to his native town. On July 30, 1712, he presented himself to the Académie Royale once again and was granted preliminary admission, and the exceptional privilege of choosing the subject of his own reception piece. In 1717 he finally offered *The Pilgrimage to the Island of Cythera* (Musée du Louvre, Paris), a “feste galante,” a genre created for him in which he depicted elegant people in bucolic settings. Late in the year he was staying in the house of Pierre Crozat, for whom he painted a cycle of the seasons; in 1718–19 he was housed by a fellow artist, Nicolas Vleughels, and in 1720, with the shopkeeper Edme François Gersaint, who commissioned the famous shop sign (Schloss Charlottenburg, Berlin). Watteau was in England in 1719–20; upon his return to Paris, he was presented to the Venetian pastelist Rosalba Carriera. They met again, and he sat for her on February 11, 1721. In the spring he moved to a house belonging to a friend at Nogent-sur-Marne, and there died of tuberculosis. Watteau was private and unsettled. His possessions may have been limited to a collection of theatrical costumes and his own magnificent drawings.

LITERATURE ON THE ARTIST: Goncourt 1875; Dacier et al. 1921–29; Grasselli and Rosenberg 1984; Rosenberg 1984; Moureau and Grasselli 1987; Rosenberg and Prat 1996; Vogtherr 2011.

10 | Antoine Watteau

Mezzetin, ca. 1718–20

Oil on canvas, 21¼ x 17 in. (55.2 x 43.2 cm)

Munsey Fund, 1934 (34.138)

Jean de Jullienne was an immensely wealthy Parisian textile merchant, collector, and patron of the arts who took a particular

interest in Watteau, desiring to secure the reputation of an artist who was as private as he was gifted and who seems not to have made any effort at all to sell his work during his lifetime. The Museum owns two paintings by Watteau, *Mezzetin* and *French Comedians* (cat. 11). Through Jullienne’s good offices, and owing to a strenuous campaign of promotion—represented by the publication from 1726 to 1735 of more than 600 reproductive engravings comprising *L’oeuvre d’Antoine Watteau . . .*, the so-called *Recueil Jullienne*¹—*French Comedians* was purchased for Frederick the Great of Prussia, and *Mezzetin* was acquired, perhaps directly from Jullienne’s estate, for Catherine II, empress of Russia.² Watteau could hardly have imagined more distinguished homes for his pictures.

The 1767 catalogue of Jullienne’s posthumous sale offers this description:

A Mezzetin playing the guitar, he is seated on a bench in a garden. The painting is well preserved, [and] the flesh tints have the coloring of Rubens: these advantages distinguish it. It is painted on canvas, of 54 centimeters [21¼ in.] in height, by 49.5 centimeters [19½ in.] in width. Its form is oval.

As noted, Watteau presents a costumed musician who would have been recognized immediately as “a Mezzetin,” that is, a comic character type from the commedia dell’arte, the vernacular musical theater of Italian origin that, adapted to the French stage, had long been popular with all classes of Paris society. The picture is one of a handful of single figures in Watteau’s painted oeuvre, and it is exceptionally colorful, with a variety of flesh tints, which led the expert cataloguer to mention Rubens, who significantly influenced Watteau’s development. It is also of interest that the physical condition of the painting was thought worthy of comment at so early a date: the artist was careless about technique and given to repainting, and *Mezzetin* is exceptional even now because of its fine state of preservation. X-radiographs and infrared reflectography confirm that Watteau made no significant changes in the composition. He used a rather small canvas (large paintings by him are few). He gave little attention to painting out the corners, indicating that at an early stage he conceived of the work as an oval, the way in which, in 1767, it was framed.³

Mezzetin was engraved, in reverse, as a finished upright (fig. 10.1) by Benoît II Audran for the *Recueil Jullienne*. The letterpress on the print is limited to the title, omitting a *z*. The image was usually presented (not all bound volumes are the same) on a page beside a single figure titled *Sultane*, but in some copies it was instead coupled with *La Finette*, indicating that the pairings were casual. The experts Emile Dacier and Albert Vuaflart made the important point that there are often





slight differences between painting and print, which is the case here, especially in the plant material and in the distribution of the foliage in the foreground.

Jullienne's collection had been the subject of a manuscript guide, a tour of the principal rooms of his house in the rue des Gobelins, that seemingly dates to about 1756–58.⁴ This guide takes the form of a list accompanied by elevations of the walls of the various rooms with miniature colored drawings of the paintings, drawings, and pastels. A total of 367 works in all media are installed in symmetrical groupings. *Mezzetin* is one of nine Watteaus. The picture hangs on the first floor, to the left of the door leading to Jullienne's gallery, an important

Left: Fig. 10.1. Benoît II Audran (French, 1698–1772) after Antoine Watteau, *Mezzetin*, 1729–35. Etching with some engraving, 11 $\frac{3}{16}$ x 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (28.4 x 21 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Herbert N. Straus, 1928 (28.113(1.34))

Below: Fig. 10.2. Jean de Jullienne (French, 1686–1766) and Jean-Baptiste François de Montullé (French, 1721–1787), "Cabinet avant la Galerie, Coté opposé a la Porte d'Entrée / 29." In *Catalogue des tableaux de M. de Jullienne*, ca. 1756. Pen, ink, and watercolor on album leaf, 7 $\frac{11}{16}$ x 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (19.6 x 26 cm). Morgan Library & Museum, New York, Purchased as the gift of the Fellows (1966.8)



position. Curiously, the illustration shows it framed as a horizontal oval (fig. 10.2). While the size and the relationship between the figure and the statue are the same, the composition is extended by about one-third to the right, and the space is filled with ill-defined architecture. In view of the dimensions published in the 1767 sale catalogue and the format of Audran's print, it is probable that the tiny drawing was widened so that it would not be off center.

Mezzetin is among Watteau's most brilliant inventions. A late work, it is dated by consensus to the years 1718–20. The bearded head and the large, angular hands are unusually expressive, and the face, outlined by indications of a beret or hat, was first studied in a drawing in several colored chalks, Watteau's famous *trois crayons*, from the model. The Met is doubly fortunate to own the study of the head (fig. 10.3), which is half again larger than the head in the painting. In both, there are gaps between the teeth of the figure. The slight beard is not neatly shaven. The pupils of the eyes roll upward into the skull. The shadow, pupil, and white of the left eye are boldly marked and read clearly. Although Watteau made few studies in preparation for a specific picture, the connection in this case seems to be both immediate and direct.

According to the traditions of the Italian improvisational theater, *Mezzetino* was among the *zanni* (servant-tricksters), and usually he played with, and opposite, Arlecchino, or sometimes as his second. Often *Mezzetino/Mezzetin* took the part of a servant or valet who was devious and a troublemaker; he was musically inclined and played the guitar, an instrument very popular in the eighteenth century; he pined for love but did not find it. Watteau draws attention to this tradition by presenting a statue of a woman in modern dress, with her back turned, partly engulfed in the wild growth of an untamed garden. The musician and the statue (which oddly enough shares the green color of the shrubbery) are juxtaposed in eternal opposition. *Mezzetin* wears a costume of traditional design, a ruff and a beret and suit comprising a striped jacket and knee britches, but the pastel colors are atypical: actors in the role usually wore red and white.

The role had been popularized at the Comédie Italienne in Paris by Domenico Biancolelli, who died in 1688 at age fifty-one.⁵ Angelo Costantini, who joined the company to double Biancolelli in 1683, succeeded him and made his first appearance in 1686. Costantini, who played without a mask, introduced the vertically striped suit in which he was portrayed by **JEAN FRANÇOIS DE TROY**.⁶ Owing to perceived transgressions against established rules, the Comédie Italienne was expelled from their theater at the Hôtel de Bourgogne on May 14, 1697, and barred from performance by order of Louis XIV. Although many of the actors continued to appear at the fair theaters on the outskirts of Paris, an official

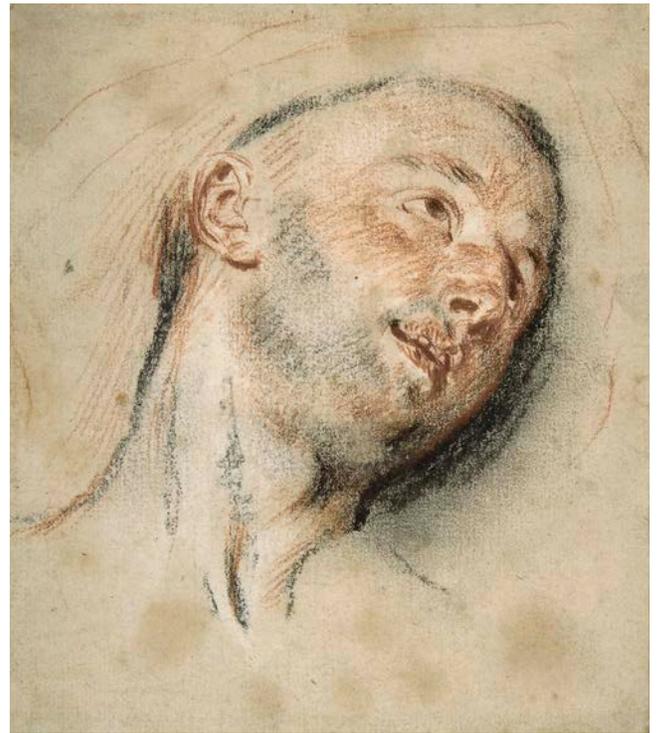


Fig. 10.3. Antoine Watteau, *Head of a Man*, ca. 1718. Red and black chalk, 5 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 5 $\frac{3}{16}$ in. (14.9 x 13.1 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Rogers Fund, 1937 (37.165.107)

invitation to a troupe from Parma to take up residence in the French capital was not extended until 1716. Costantini entered the employ of the king of Poland and did not return to Paris until 1729. Watteau knew nothing of the two actors beyond their reputations, as the first was dead and the second absent when he arrived in Paris. Owing to his northern origins, the nostalgic artist particularly admired the traditional Franco-Flemish vernacular tradition, and he would not have been drawn to Luigi Riccoboni's newly arrived Italian troupe. It is unlikely that either of the persons whom he drew and painted as *Mezzetin* were theatrical professionals.

Several pictures by Watteau show a man with a beak nose and brown curly hair in a striped and slashed costume, the predominant colors of which are rose and white. Hatless, he is seated on a bench playing the guitar, either alone or in company. His pose is opposite to that of our *Mezzetin*, with the proper left arm fully extended and the head facing to left. A single guitarist is the subject of a small upright painting on wood.⁷ On a larger panel, a comparable figure is paired with an amorous Rubensian couple. Formerly thought to have been lost, the work was on the art market in 2008 and now belongs to the J. Paul Getty Museum (fig. 10.4).⁸ A *fête galante* showing more than a dozen people includes the same musician in the foreground group farthest to the right.⁹ There are drawings associated with the figure, and the costume appears so



Fig. 10.4. Antoine Watteau, *La Surprise*, 1718–19. Oil on wood, 14 $\frac{5}{16}$ x 11 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (36.4 x 28.2 cm). The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles (2017.72)

often that the artist could have owned it and used it at will. The model for our *Mezzetin* was studied only once, however, suggesting a person in passage, and the pastel suit was never painted again. The melancholy, solitary Watteau may have responded instinctively to the marginal role that *Mezzetin* played in the theatrical environment of his time.

NOTES

1. For the publication history of the *Recueil Jullienne*, see Tillerot 2011 and *Recueil Jullienne* 2010.
2. One of eight oil paintings by Watteau in Jean de Jullienne's estate sale of March 30, 1767, *Mezzetin*, no. 253, made the third highest price of 700 livres 1 sol. The most valuable was *Fêtes vénitiennes* (Scottish National Gallery, Edinburgh, NG 439), no. 250, sold for 2,615 livres, followed by *La Sérénade italienne* (Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, NM 5650), no. 251, for 1,051 livres. See Pierre-Jean Mariette's annotated copy of Pierre Remy, *Catalogue raisonné des tableaux, desseins & estampes . . . de M. de Jullienne* (Paris, 1767), pp. 100–101, which belongs to the Victoria and Albert Museum, National Art Library, London, and is transcribed in Vogtherr and Tonkovich 2011, p. 143.
3. The outline of the oval shape is evident even now, particularly in photographs.

4. The illustrated album, *Catalogue des tableaux de M. de Jullienne*, ca. 1756, is in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, and is published in part in Vogtherr and Tonkovich 2011. *Mezzetin* was in the “Cabinet avant la Gallerie: Côté opposé à la Porte d’entrée” (room before the gallery: side opposite the entrance door); see Vogtherr and Tonkovich 2011, p. 68, pl. 72, ill. (color).
5. Moureau 1992, pp. 20–21, 30, 112–14, 121–24.
6. The Troy painting (Musée Condé, Chantilly, PE 367) was repeatedly engraved; see Garnier-Pelle 1995, pp. 133–35, ill.
7. Musée Condé, Chantilly, PE 371. Garnier-Pelle 1995, pp. 134, 152–54, no. 112, ill. (color), 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 6 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (24 x 17.5 cm). It was not engraved.
8. Baetjer 2009, pp. 42–44, no. 11, ill. (color).
9. Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Dresden, 781. Oil on canvas, 23 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 29 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (60 x 75 cm).

EX COLL.: Jean de Jullienne, Paris (until d. 1766; inv., ca. 1756, no. 157; posthumous inv., 1766, no. 1112; his estate sale, Remy and Julliot, Paris, March 30, 1767, no. 253, *Un Mézétin jouant de la guitare, il est assis sur un banc dans un jardin*. “Ce Tableau est bien conservé, les carnations ont le coloris de Rubens: ces avantages le distinguent. Il est peint sur toile, de 20 pouces de haut, sur 17 de large. Sa forme est ovale,” for 700.1 livres to Remy); Catherine II, empress of Russia, Saint Petersburg (ca. 1767–d. 1796); Russian imperial collection, Saint Petersburg (1796–1917); Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg (1917–30; cats., 1903, no. 1503, and 1916, no. 1503; sold to Gulbenkian); Calouste Gulbenkian, Paris (1930; sold to Wildenstein); [Wildenstein, Paris and New York, 1930–34; sold to MMA].

SELECTED EXHIBITIONS: Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, *Watteau, 1684–1721*, June 17–September 23, 1984, no. 49 (exh. cat.: Grasselli and Rosenberg 1984); Paris, Grand Palais, *Watteau, 1684–1721*, October 23, 1984–January 28, 1985, no. 49; Berlin, Schloss Charlottenburg, *Watteau, 1684–1721*, February 23–May 27, 1985, no. 119. Ottawa, National Gallery of Canada, *The Age of Watteau, Chardin, and Fragonard: Masterpieces of French Genre Painting*, June 6–September 7, 2003, no. 10 (exh. cat.: Bailey 2003); Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, *The Age of Watteau, Chardin, and Fragonard: Masterpieces of French Genre Painting*, October 12, 2003–January 11, 2004, no. 10; Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, *The Age of Watteau, Chardin, and Fragonard: Masterpieces of French Genre Painting*, February 8–May 9, 2004, no. 10. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Watteau, Music, and Theater*, September 22–November 29, 2009, no. 12 (exh. cat.: Baetjer 2009).

SELECTED REFERENCES: *Recueil Jullienne* 1735, vol. 1, fol. 34; Goncourt 1875, pp. 80–81, no. 86; Dacier et al. 1921–29, vol. 2 (1922), pp. 58, 67, 93, 97, 102, 132, 151, vol. 3 (1922), pp. 100–101, no. 215, vol. 1 (1929), pp. 223–24; Wehle 1935, ill. (overall on cover and detail); Allen 1938; Sterling 1955, pp. 105–8, ill.; Parker and Mathey 1957, vol. 2, pp. 337, 339, under no. 726; Rosenberg 1984, pp. 246, 362–65, no. 49, ill. p. 363 (color), fig. 10 (Audran engraving); Margaret Morgan Grasselli in Rosenberg 1984, p. 188; Rosenberg and Prat 1996, vol. 2, p. 1048; Baetjer 2009, pp. 44–47, no. 12, ill. (color and color detail on dust jacket); Tillerot 2010, pp. 136, 388–89, no. 210, fig. 23, pl. XXXI (color); Vogtherr and Tonkovich 2011, p. 143, ill. p. 68 (color).



11 | Antoine Watteau

French Comedians, ca. 1720–21

Oil on canvas, 22½ x 28¾ in. (57.2 x 73 cm)

The Jules Bache Collection, 1949 (49.7.54)

The meaning of Watteau's pictures, which he did not title (Jean de Jullienne may have done so), is often impossible to elucidate. This late work is a theatrical subject, and since the art dealer Edme Gersaint mentioned that the artist made drawings of quacks and comic actors from an early age, it serves to confirm that his interest in the performing arts was lifelong. Early eighteenth-century Paris was alive with opera, music, dance, and theater. During the season, the Comédie Française staged two plays a day, alternating tragedy and comedy, and even though the Comédie Italienne had been dismissed in 1697, many disenfranchised actors performed at the fairs on the outskirts of the city. Watteau and his teacher Claude Gillot were nostalgic for the informal French and South

Netherlandish style that emerged from the Italian improvisational tradition, and both evoked its variety and mystery.

In December 1731, the literary journal *Mercure de France* announced the publication of an engraving by Jean Michel Liotard after a painting by Watteau called *French Comedians, playing a tragi-comedy* (fig. 11.1).¹ The picture belonged to Jullienne, whose name appears as the owner on the print, which is inscribed in French and Latin with the title still in use. After Watteau's death, Jullienne continued to advocate for him. An amateur engraver, Jullienne owned dozens of Watteau's pictures and hundreds of his drawings, which he published from 1726 to 1735 in the so-called *Recueil Jullienne*. A decade later, in 1744, he sold *French Comedians*, through General Graf Friedrich von Rothenburg, who was in Paris acting as agent for his king, to the discerning and voracious Frederick the Great.²

The principal figure in *French Comedians* is one of a group of four, and their elaborate formal costumes, of a type



Fig. 11.1. Jean Michel Liotard (Swiss, 1702–1796) after Antoine Watteau, *Comédiens français* (French Comedians), 1731. Etching and engraving, plate 16¹⁵/₁₆ x 12⁵/₁₆ in. (43 x 31.2 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Herbert N. Straus, 1928 (28.113(1.20))



Far left: Fig. 11.2. Claude Gillot (French, 1673–1722), detail of *Three Actors of the Comédie Française in Heroic Antique Costume and Two Head Studies*. Pen and ink and India ink, with reddish brown wash, overall 6¹/₈ x 7³/₄ in. (15.6 x 19.7 cm). Private collection

Left: Fig. 11.3. Jean I Berain (French, 1640–1711), *Pluton* (Costume of Pluto for the Opera *Prosperine*), 1680. Etched silhouette, black chalk, pen, ink, and watercolor, 9¹/₂ x 9 in. (24.2 x 22.9 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris, Collection Rothschild (1743 DR)



Fig. 11.4. Pierre Dupin (French, ca. 1690–1751) after Antoine Watteau, *Spectacle français* (French Spectacle). Engraving, 7¼ x 9½ in. (18.1 x 25.2 cm). Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (44553344)

Watteau almost never depicted, would have been better suited to an opera-ballet in the reign of the late Louis XIV. The costume of the hero is particularly old-fashioned. His wide skirt and plumed tricorne hat worn over a full wig would have been understood in the early eighteenth century to reference an antique subject. The fringed silver garment may be read as a parade armor: it is padded from the neck to the waist and lavishly embroidered with a palmette, like the panels of the skirt. Watteau would have seen similar designs for opera-ballet costumes by both Gillot (fig. 11.2)³ and Jean I Berain (fig. 11.3), whose work was extensively engraved. The dress of the protesting heroine is more up-to-date but still Berain-like, in that the overskirt and bodice are embroidered with palmettes that are en suite in color and design with the hero's costume. Each member of the quasi-couple (the moment is one of rejection) is accompanied by an overwrought supporter of his or her own sex who amplifies the dynamic, but it is not

clear whether the gestural language of the players indicates tragedy or absurdity.

Interpretation is complicated by the presence of Crispin, whose comic role had developed in the Théâtre Italien and who thus represents a completely different tradition. He climbs the stairs from a formal garden with a fountain in the background. Crispin's persona was that of a disgruntled, lugubrious, interfering manservant. He appears here as a heavysset man wearing the traditional black suit and hat, white linen collar, wide leather belt, and leather gloves, and with a sword at his waist. Watteau was acquainted with Paul Poisson of the Comédie Française, who was among the most famous interpreters of the role and who in his sixties was still on the stage, and several experts have presumed that this is he, but there is no adequately attested image.⁴ Watteau drew few portraits; instead, as a matter of practice, he made his drawings from models and intended them for future use. All that can be



Fig. 11.5. Infrared reflectogram (IR) of cat. 11

said with certainty is that he used the same face for Crispin several times, and that the face figures among his studies.⁵

Emile Dacier and Albert Vuaflart drew attention to the first idea for the composition, a small panel painting known only from an engraving by Pierre Dupin in the *Recueil Jullienne* titled *Spectacle françois* (fig. 11.4).⁶ This early work also features a group of two principals and two others in supporting roles. A second group in the middle distance comprises a woman and two men, one of them Crispin, in black with a wide collar and a black hat. At lower left is a fountain with a putto riding a dolphin that rests on a shell. Behind and to the left is a theater flat covered with a tapestrylike pattern of greenery. To the right, a curtain is looped around the trunk and branch of a tree, from which, in reference to antiquity, a plumed helmet and a shield are suspended. Apparently this is an al fresco performance with a larger but equally incoherent cast of characters. But what in fact is the subject? Much has been written but nothing decided.⁷ With one exception, Watteau never painted narrative.⁸ He imagines but does not

describe. Proposals to identify a specific source are without adequate foundation.

A date for *French Comedians* of 1720 or 1721 is universally accepted. When in the German imperial collection, the canvas was slightly cut down⁹ and repainted.¹⁰ If the dimensions recorded on the Liotard print are correct, then the surface had been roughly an inch greater in height and width. The print image suggests a significant loss only at the top, where there had been a shield with three fleurs-de-lis (arms of the French kings in the eighteenth century), above the swags crossed and tied with ribbon that are still preserved. The architectural format was never symmetrical, and is thus inconsistent with eighteenth-century theatrical practice; the pilasters and balustrade are disproportionately small by comparison with the figures. The elegant and carefully ruled setting is unusual and may have been designed by another hand.

Conservator Michael Gallagher has described a major change in the composition made by Watteau himself. Recent examination with infrared reflectography (fig. 11.5)

revealed that all of the architecture was carefully drawn out, including an elaborate balustrade on the left side and two central columns that were painted over by the artist. The principal male figure was sketched with a notably deft and fluid touch using a fine brush, and, with the exception of a few errant strokes, the architectural underdrawing was placed around him, indicating that he was the key protagonist from the outset. The same is true of his male companion. The outstretched arm of the principal female figure and the left side of her dress overlap the columns and balustrade, but her distressed companion is painted over the architecture, suggesting that her inclusion was a late decision. In contrast, the figure of Crispin was clearly planned from an early stage as the underdrawing of the distant column stops short of his contour. The only change in this figure was a substantial reduction in the size of his hat when it was painted.

NOTES

1. The *Mercure de France* refers to “des Comédiens François, représentant une tragi-comédie”; Dacier et al. 1921–29, vol. 3 (1922), p. 95, no. 205, vol. 4 (1921), no. 205, ill., list “Comédiens François.”
2. This information was published in Vogtherr 2011, pp. 653–55, no. A4, ill.
3. Joseph Baillio, in an email of August 2016, suggested that the Gillot drawing might be the direct source for the principal male in *French Comedians*. Watteau certainly took account of the morphology of performers by Gillot and Berain, with their slender calves and small feet in shoes with sharply pointed toes.
4. See Dacier et al. 1921–29, vol. 3 (1922), p. 29, no. 55, and vol. 4 (1921), no. 55, ill., for Watteau’s *Poisson en habit de Paisan*. The actor—either Paul Poisson or his son Raymond—has a beefy face, a long nose, a double chin, and a quantity of curly, shoulder-length hair. It is impossible to say from the print or the related drawings whether this is the Crispin of the *French Comedians*. (Watteau left less than a dozen portraits, representing, in addition to Poisson, Brother Blaise (after Troy), Antoine de La Roque, Jean François Rebel, the painter Nicolas Vleughels, members of the Sirois family, two actresses, and an unidentified male.)
5. According to various experts, the compositional drawings and single figures that Watteau may have consulted when painting the picture include Rosenberg and Prat 1996, vol. 1, pp. 180–81, no. 114, ill., pp. 242–43, no. 155 verso, ill., pp. 278–81, no. 179 verso, ill., vol. 2, pp. 816–17, no. 487, ill., pp. 966–67, no. 569, ill., pp. 1058–59, no. 621, ill., pp. 1094–95, no. 640, ill. Several are thought to represent the figure in the plumed hat and have been identified as Jullienne. However, the engraving of Watteau and his patron in the *Recueil* and JEAN FRANÇOIS DE TROY’S portrait of Jullienne at the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Valenciennes (P. 146.1.144), show a man with a long, narrow face. Even less likely is the suggestion (Vogtherr 2011, p. 654) that Watteau based the head on a drawing by the little-known Bernard Picart at Windsor (Royal Collection Trust 913105).
6. Dacier et al. 1921–29, vol. 3 (1922), p. 124, no. 294, and vol. 4 (1921), no. 294, ill., as “Spectacle François.”

7. Consult the complete bibliography at www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/437925. It is now agreed that The Met painting is not a pendant to *Italian Comedians* in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. (1946.7.9). The attribution of the Washington painting has been disputed. See Conisbee 2009, pp. 472–79, no. 99, ill. (color overall and details).

8. For the narrative subject, see Dacier et al. 1921–29, vol. 3 (1922), p. 104, no. 227, and vol. 4 (1921), no. 227, ill., a lost work.

9. The dimensions according to the Liotard engraving were 1 pied 10 pouces x 2 pieds 4 pouces, or 23³/₁₆ x 29⁹/₁₆ in. (59.6 x 75.8 cm). The height was variously reported in the nineteenth century as 22⁹/₁₆, 23¹/₄, and 22⁷/₁₆ in. (58, 59, and 57 cm), and the width as 28³/₄ in. (73 cm).

10. Goncourt 1875, p. 64, no. 64, observed that according to Robert Dohme, the emperor’s librarian, the costumes had only been sketched and the picture was rather poorly restored.

EX COLL.: Jean de Jullienne, Paris (until 1744); Frederick II, king of Prussia, Stadtschloss, Potsdam (1744–d. 1786); by descent, Potsdam and Berlin (1786–1888); Kaiser Wilhelm of Prussia, Neues Palais, Potsdam (1888–1927; abdicated in 1918 and fled to the Netherlands; the picture, which remained in Germany, was sold through Hugo Moser to Duveen); [Duveen, Paris, London, and New York, 1927–28; sold for \$275,000 to Bache]; Jules S. Bache, New York (1928–d. 1944; his estate, 1944–49; cats., 1929, unnumbered; 1937, no. 55; 1943, no. 54).

SELECTED EXHIBITIONS: Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, *Watteau, 1684–1721*, June 17–September 23, 1984, no. 70 (exh. cat.: Grasselli and Rosenberg 1984); Paris, Grand Palais, *Watteau, 1684–1721*, October 23, 1984–January 28, 1985, no. 70; Berlin, Schloss Charlottenburg, *Watteau, 1684–1721*, February 23–May 27, 1985, no. 121. Munich, Kunsthalle der Hypo-Kulturstiftung, *Friedrich der Große: Sammler und Mäzen*, November 28, 1992–February 28, 1993, no. 84 (exh. cat.: Hohenzollern 1992). New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Watteau, Music, and Theater*, September 22–November 29, 2009, no. 14 (exh. cat.: Baetjer 2009).

SELECTED REFERENCES: *Mercure de France* 2, December 1731, p. 3091; *Recueil Jullienne* 1735, vol. 1, fol. 20 (Liotard engraving); Goncourt 1875, p. 64, no. 64; Dacier et al. 1921–29, vol. 2 (1922), pp. 35, 63, 95, 97–98, 130, 142, 162, vol. 3 (1922), p. 95, no. 205 (the engraving), vol. 1 (1929), pp. 64, 240, 264, no. 205; Sterling 1955, pp. 102–5, ill.; Boerlin-Brodbeck 1973, pp. 23, 124–38, 141, 151, 179, 200–202, 214, 219, 243, 259, 261, 299–304, 311, 315, 336; Eisler 1977, pp. 302–3, 305; Grasselli and Rosenberg 1984, pp. 172, 178, 436–40, 477, 489, 546, 551, no. 70, ill. p. 437 (color); François Moureau, “Theater Costumes in the Work of Watteau,” in Grasselli and Rosenberg 1984, pp. 517–18, 525, ill. (details); Posner 1984, pp. 10, 266, 291 nn. 65–66, colorpl. 56; Roland Michel 1984b, pp. 89, 177, 179, 185, 266, ill. pp. 91 (detail), 180, 184 (color); André Blanc, “Watteau et le théâtre français,” in Moureau and Grasselli 1987, pp. 200–202, pl. 68; Moureau 1992, pp. 78, 81, 97, 112–13; Michel 2008, pp. 84, 145–46, 208, fig. 32; Baetjer 2009, pp. 50–52, no. 14, ill. (color) and color detail on p. vi; Vogtherr 2011, pp. 653–56, no. A4, ill. (color).



Cat. 12

12 and 13 | Style of Antoine Watteau

***The Country Dance*, late 18th century**

***The Cascade*, late 18th century**

Oil on wood, each diameter 8½ in. (21.6 cm)

Bequest of Lillian S. Timken, 1959 (60.71.20, .21)

The 600-plus engravings after Watteau's paintings and drawings of the *Recueil Jullienne*, published by 1735, became the vehicle by which the oeuvre of this previously little-known artist reached a wide public within fifteen years of his death in 1721.¹ The many engravers who contributed to the project were chosen and supervised by Jean de Jullienne. He may also have selected the titles for the paintings. Emile Dacier

and Albert Vuaflart's remarkable study of the *Recueil*,² published in the 1920s, provides most of the information we can bring to the study of the Metropolitan Museum's roundels (more than one pair of roundels exist). However, Watteau's originals, when engraved, were not circular.

Two prints treated as pendants in the *Recueil* are *La Danse Paysane* (fig. 12.1) by Benoît II Audran, which is inscribed as after a panel painting that measured 16¼ x 12½ inches (40.8 x 31.7 cm), and *La Cascade* (fig. 13.1) by Gérard II Scotin, likewise inscribed as after a panel, measuring 16⅞ x 12⅞ inches (41 x 31.9 cm). Publication of the latter was announced in the March 1729 *Mercur de France*. The engravings were said to be the same size as the pictures, then belonging to a Monsieur



Cat. 13

de Monmerqué. Dacier and Vuaflart traced what they believed to be the original panel paintings through numerous eighteenth- and nineteenth-century sales to the Michel-Lévy collection, which, with a catalogue illustrated in black-and-white, was dispersed at a Paris auction in 1919. According to the entry in the catalogue, the principal male figure in *La Danse Paysane* wore a rose-colored suit.³ The same figure in the Metropolitan Museum's roundel wears a buff-colored suit embellished with salmon-colored ribbons.

There is no compelling reason to suppose that the history of the originals is other than that proposed by Dacier and Vuaflart, even though there are gaps in the dates of ownership. In 1780 the paintings presumed to have been

Monmerqué's measured $17\frac{1}{4} \times 12\frac{3}{16}$ inches (43.8 x 32.5 cm); their format was still upright in 1784, but the dimensions had been reduced to $11\frac{1}{4} \times 8\frac{1}{16}$ inches (29.8 x 21.7 cm); in 1831, the size of each was recorded as $8\frac{9}{16} \times 8\frac{9}{16}$ inches (21.7 x 21.7 cm).⁴ A crude print by the connoisseur and amateur artist Claude Henri Watelet, who died in 1786, shows a version of *La Danse Paysane* as a roundel, suggesting that the two were cut down between 1784 and 1786.⁵

The panel that is generally identified as the roundel, or tondo, fragment of Watteau's original *Danse Paysane*, with the dancer in rose—set into a larger rectangular nineteenth-century surround—was bequeathed in 1978 to the Huntington in San Marino, California (fig. 12.2).⁶ Little

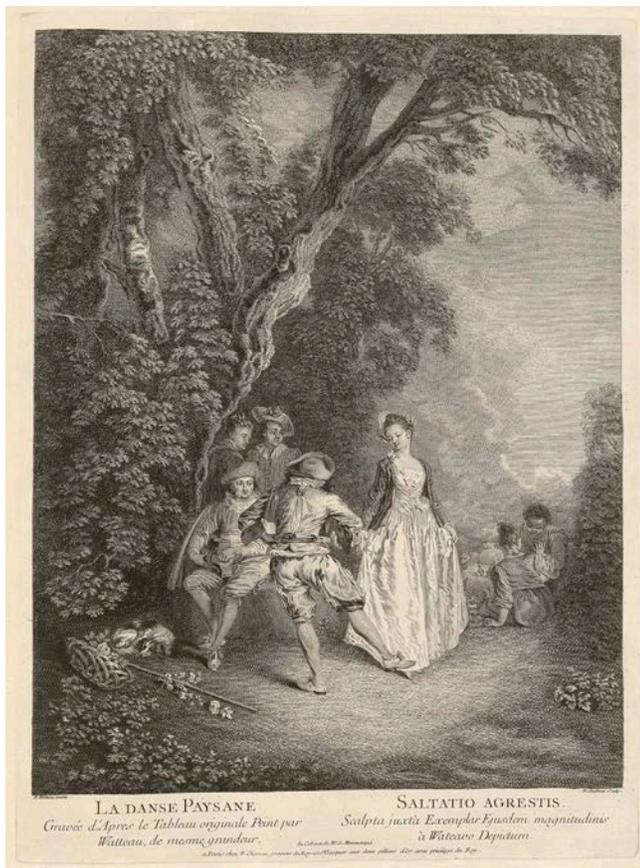


Fig. 12.1. Benoît II Audran (French, 1698–1772) after Antoine Watteau, *La Danse Paysane* (*The Country Dance*), 1726–29. Etching and engraving, 17 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 13 $\frac{1}{16}$ in. (45.4 x 33.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Herbert N. Straus, 1928 (28.113(1.52))

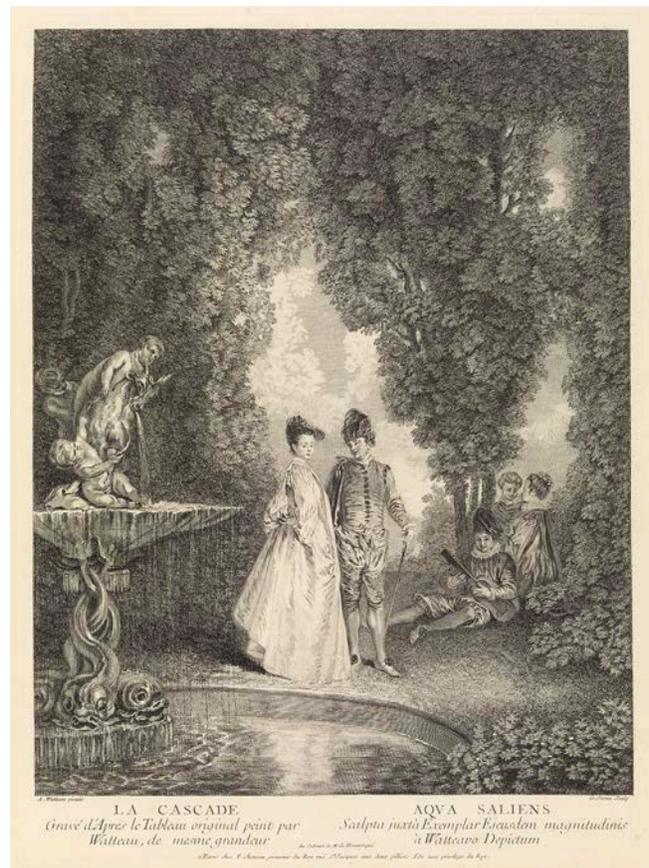


Fig. 13.1. Gérard II Scotin (French, 1698–1755) after Antoine Watteau, *La Cascade* (*The Cascade*), 1729. Etching and engraving, 17 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 13 $\frac{1}{16}$ in. (45.4 x 33.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Herbert N. Straus, 1928 (28.113(1.53))

can be said of the corresponding fragment from *La Cascade*, which was similarly enlarged, because it is presumed to be a painting sold at auction in Zurich in 1980 and not seen since.⁷ It is difficult to imagine why two small panels would have been first reduced in size and then turned into roundels, or why, before 1897, the same roundels would have been set into wood supports of the original dimensions repainted to match the engravings, but this is what happened. The reproductions in the Michel-Lévy catalogue show the round insertions rather clearly.

The roundels bequeathed in 1959 to the Metropolitan Museum have English-language labels on the reverses and can be traced back to the estate sale of the first earl of Carysfort in 1828. They are to all intents and purposes unpublished but, over forty years, have been examined and rejected as Watteaus by many experts, including Pierre Rosenberg, Donald Posner, Edgar Munhall, Martin Eidelberg, Marianne Roland Michel (with some hesitation

about *The Country Dance*), Margaret Morgan Grasselli, and Alan Wintermute.⁸ Only Francis Watson, writing in 1961, thought they might be autograph. Those who have expressed an opinion dated them to the eighteenth century and were inclined to view *The Country Dance* as of better quality. We are convinced that neither is by Watteau, and that the two are by different hands.⁹ The wood does not match, while in one case the grain is on the diagonal with respect to the composition.¹⁰ In view of the difference in the color of the male dancer's costume, The Met's *Danse Paysane* is unlikely to have been copied directly from the Michel-Lévy tondo. Our panels may date to the late 1780s or 1790s.

NOTES

1. See Tillerot 2011, pp. 33–35.
2. Dacier et al. 1921–29, vol. 4 (1921), nos. 27, 28, ill. (engravings), vol. 3 (1922), pp. 17–19, nos. 27, 28, vol. 1 (1929), p. 259, no. 27.
3. Michel-Lévy 1919, nos. 26, 27, as *La Danse paysanne* (bois, 42 x 32 cm [16 $\frac{1}{16}$ x 12 $\frac{3}{16}$ in.]) and *La Cascade* (bois, 42 x 32 cm [16 $\frac{1}{16}$ x 12 $\frac{3}{16}$ in.]), with



Fig. 12.2. Antoine Watteau, *The Country Dance*, ca. 1711. Oil on wood, roundel, overall 17 x 12¼ in. (43.2 x 32.4 cm). Huntington Art Collections, San Marino, California, Adele S. Browning Memorial Collection, gift of Mildred Browning Green and Honorable Lucius Peyton Green (78.20.19)

annotations: “Collection du Plessis-Bellière, vente les 10–11 mai 1897 [nos. 145, 146] . . . avec la mention *attribué à*”; and “Deux tableaux dont la description s’applique . . . ont figuré à la vente Poullain, 15 mars 1780, no. 113.”

4. Dacier et al. 1921–29, vol. 3 (1922), p. 18, nos. 27, 28, who also report that in 1897 they were described as on canvas (T[oile]). Two sales identified by Martin Eidelberg (verbal communication, May 28, 1980) as possibly pertaining to our paintings would fit just as well into the provenance of *La Danse Paysane* (now in the Huntington, San Marino, California; see fig. 12.2) and its companion piece. See *Vente du cabinet de M. Lollier*, Paillet, Paris, April 6, 1789, no. 54, 7 pouces 6 lig., for 501 livres, to “Defer”; and the L[acaille] sale, Le Brun, Paris, January 23, 1792, no. 56, 7 pou., for 180 livres, to “Que...d.” The descriptive phrases are identical, the sizes are close, and the two catalogues probably refer to the same works. The reduction in price could be explained by the harsh realities of the political situation during the revolutionary period.

5. Dacier et al. 1921–29, vol. 3 (1922), p. 18, no. 27A. An example of Watelet’s print may be found at the New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations.

6. Kimberly Chrisman-Campbell in Bennett and Sargentson 2008, pp. 385–89, no. 145, with a technical note, ill. (color), and figs. 149 (tondo format), 150 (x-radiograph). The surface of the roundel shows contraction and wrinkling and is extensively abraded. Old labels on the reverse are in French. A copy in horizontal format is in Dijon, and another copy was first recorded by Dacier and Vuaflart.

7. Sale, Galerie Koller, Zurich, May 16–17, 1980, no. 5182, pl. 14 (color), where it is inadequately reproduced. The same painting or a variant had been brought to the Museum on exam by a Washington, D.C., dealer, Mrs. Coggeshall Kuhn, in 1961–62; the same or another was offered by Richard Lehrman in 1966. Among other copies and variants are works in The Wallace Collection, London; the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Tours; and formerly in the Alfred de Rothschild collection.

8. Pierre Rosenberg, in letters of June 22, 1977, and February 3, 1989; Donald Posner, in a letter of September 28, 1977; Edgar Munhall, verbal communication, 1979; Martin Eidelberg, verbal communication, 1980; Marianne Roland Michel, verbal communication, January 12, 1989, who thought *La Danse* possibly by Watteau or Pater; Margaret Morgan Grasselli, January 31, 1989, who tentatively dated them to the first half of the eighteenth century; and Alan Wintermute, August 4, 2016. See also MacColl 1924 for observations on the Wallace Collection picture. All of the documentation is in the archives of the Department of European Paintings.

9. The writer, who has held this opinion since 2002, and conservators Michael Gallagher and Dorothy Mahon on August 4, 2016.

10. Conservator George Bisacca, January 12, 1989. The x-radiograph of *La Cascade* shows the torso and head of a winged putto, revealing that the support was reused. The other panel was not (this can be clearly seen in the infrared reflectogram made in 2016, which shows only the grain of the wood).

EX COLL.: John Joshua Proby, first earl of Carysfort, Elton Hall, Peterborough, and London (until d. 1828; estate sale, Christie’s, London, June 14, 1828, no. 29, as *A pair, small, a Masquerade and Musical conversation*, for £63); Reverend John Lucy, Hampton Lucy, Warwick (until d. 1874; posthumous sale, Christie’s, London, May 1, 1875, no. 88, as *Dance Champêtre*, 8 in. [20.3 cm] circle, with no. 89, *Musical Conversation*, 8 in. [20.3 cm] circle, for £535.10 to Wertheimer); [Wertheimer, London, from 1875]; Sir Edward Henry Scott, fifth baronet, Westbury Manor, Brackley, and London (until d. 1883); Sir Samuel Edward Scott, sixth baronet (1883–1924; his sale, Christie’s, London, July 4, 1924, no. 150, to Colnaghi); [Colnaghi, London, 1924–26]; William R. Timken, New York (1926–49); Lillian S. Timken, New York (1949–59).

REFERENCES: Wallace Collection 1928, p. 330; MMA 1960, pp. 36–37, ill.; Ferré 1972, vol. 1, chronology, under 1875, vol. 2, pp. 760, 763, figs. 508, 520, nos. P58, P70, vol. 3, pp. 1072–73, nos. P58, P70, vol. 4, pp. 1106, 1120–23; Kimberly Chrisman-Campbell in Bennett and Sargentson 2008, pp. 388–89 n. 23.

JACQUES DE LAJOÛE THE YOUNGER

Paris 1686–1761 Paris

It is perhaps not surprising that the son of a master mason should have chosen a career as a painter and designer of elaborately artificial architectural and ornamental subjects. We know nothing of Jacques de Lajoüe's early training. His father died in 1711, the year before he applied for membership in the

Paris guild, the Académie de Saint-Luc. Lajoüe is next heard of in 1721, when he was accorded the honor of reception as a full member of the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture upon presentation of two imaginary views, each described as "une perspective dans un paysage," or an architectural perspective in a landscape (one survives, at the Musée Baron Martin, Gray). In the same year, he exhibited a small landscape with architecture and figures at Place





Fig. 14.1. Jacques de Lajoüe the Younger, *Winter: A Frozen Fountain with Figures on a Staircase, in a Painted Oval*. Oil on canvas, 17¼ x 39½ in. (44 x 100.4 cm). Private collection

Dauphine. Lajoüe's style as a painter of staffage was influenced by **WATTEAU**, **LANCRET**, and **BOUCHER**. The artist received two of his most important commissions in 1731, for a perspective for the library of the Paris abbey of Sainte-Geneviève, and in 1734, for overdoors and other decorations for the Paris townhouse of the aristocrat and collector Joseph Bonnier de la Mosson. With the reopening of the Salon in 1737, Lajoüe sent a portrait of himself with his wife and son (Musée du Louvre, Paris), a moonlight scene, an architectural and landscape subject, and a sketch for a return from the hunt. He exhibited there regularly until 1753. His style epitomizes the Rococo idiom, and while his popularity inevitably waned with changing taste, his engravings, many of which were published in compendia by Gabriel Huquier, were among the most widely studied and imitated of all Rococo images. Little of his work is signed and hardly any dated. An ornamentalist, he is fortunate to have been the object of Marianne Roland Michel's considerable talent for research.

LITERATURE ON THE ARTIST: Roland Michel 1984a.

14 | Jacques de Lajoüe the Younger

Allegory of Winter, ca. 1736–40

Oil on canvas, irregular, 39¼ x 41½ in. (99.7 x 105.7 cm)

Signed (bottom right): Lajoüe

Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1906 (07.225.258)

The shaped bottom edge and steep perspective employed for this allegory indicate an overdoor, and it is likely that originally the canvas was secured by carved moldings that formed

an extension of a door frame. There is no evidence to suggest that it was one of a set, particularly in view of the fact that only one group of drawings of the four seasons survives in the artist's entire oeuvre.¹ The composition is anchored by a pyramidal marble sculpture group comprising a woman and a putto, the woman seen from below at a sharp angle. Muscular and partly veiled as if to shield herself from the cold, she gazes over her shoulder at the red globe of the setting sun. The putto beside her is much in the spirit of **FRANÇOIS BOUCHER** and holds a shepherd's crook. At her feet are squash with their foliage and the head of a wild boar. The figures are larger than usual for Lajoüe with respect to the scale of the canvas. They are set atop and form part of the decoration of a fountain with a base of typically Rococo scrolls and curves and, at the center, a mask with a beard of icicles. The largely leafless branches of the trees with their exposed roots fill the corners and arch over and around the group. To the left is a pedestal that supports an urn with a wide lip, and an asymmetrical curving wall that diminishes in height from left to right, behind the figures. The stone of the figure, the putto, and the base is painted in slightly different colors, producing a strangely animate effect.

The pose of our female nude is compared by Marianne Roland Michel to a very similar male (fig. 14.1), a sculpture forming the centerpiece of a circular fountain around the basin of which icicles are suspended.² For this canvas, a wide horizontal, originally an oval, she suggested a date of about 1738. The two paintings share a muted palette of white, ice blue, gray, beige, and rose. Also very much like but in reverse to ours is a sketch of a woman accompanied by a putto with a



Fig. 14.2. Jacques de Lajoüe the Younger, *Project for a Fountain: Nymph and Putti*, ca. 1740. Oil on canvas, with frame: 16¼ x 15½ in. (42.5 x 40 cm). Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris (11304)

trident, both seated in a scallop shell, the principal motif of a design for a wall fountain (fig. 14.2).³ All three canvases are signed. The year 1736 saw the publication of the *Livre nouveau de douze morceaux de fantaisie*, with a frozen fountain (fig. 14.3) engraved by Jean-Baptiste Guélard after a drawing by Lajoüe that may have been the first statement of the motif.⁴ In preference to Roland Michel's date of about 1740, we would propose circa 1736–40. Fountain figures were an essential component of Lajoüe's repertory of designs, of which more than a quarter involve the element water.

NOTES

1. Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, NMH Anck. 227, 228, 229, 230.
2. Roland Michel 1984a, p. 192, no. P.29, fig. 70, and see also fig. 72 for what she believes to be the source of the motif, a print by Claude Gillot titled *Le Grand Hiver de l'année MDCCCLX*.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 217, no. P.167, fig. 144.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 326, no. G.61, fig. 368, as *Fontaine glacée*.

EX COLL.: [Georges Hoentschel, Paris, until 1906; sold to Morgan]; J. Pierpont Morgan, New York (1906).

REFERENCES: Sterling 1955, pp. 118–19, ill.; Roland Michel 1984a, pp. 192, 327, no. P.30, fig. 71.

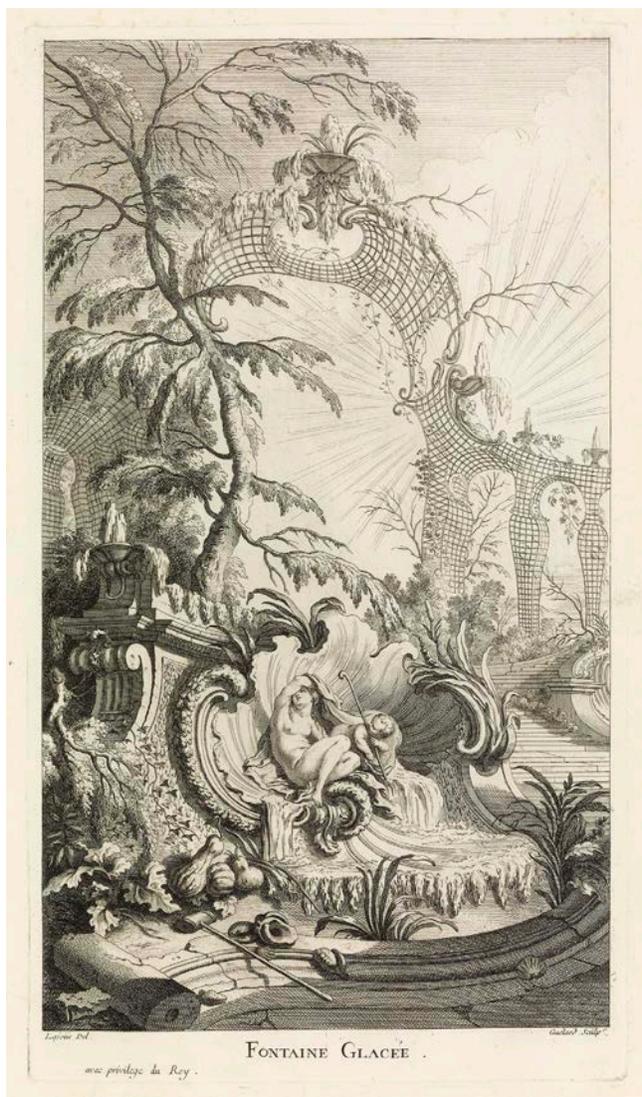


Fig. 14.3. Jean-Baptiste Antoine Guélard (French, active 1730s) after Jacques de Lajoüe the Younger, *Fontaine Glacée* (Frozen Fountain), ca. 1736. *Livre nouveau de douze morceaux de fantaisie*, p. 5. Etching, overall 19 $\frac{1}{16}$ x 12 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (50 x 32.4 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1950 (50.598.1)

JEAN MARC NATTIER

Paris 1685–1766 Paris

Jean Marc Nattier trained with his father, Marc, an academician, and with his godfather, Jean Jouvenet, a history painter specializing in religious subjects who had worked under Charles Le Brun. As early as 1700 the fifteen-year-old boy won a prize for drawing at the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture. In 1702 Marc Nattier engaged Jean Marc and his older brother Jean-Baptiste in an important venture: the preparation of copies of the twenty-four paintings by Rubens

that constituted the Marie de Médicis cycle, then in the Palais du Luxembourg, to be used in the creation of a series of engravings by many of the most important printmakers of the time; the engravings were published in 1710. Jean-Baptiste received the Prix de Rome and was admitted in 1712 to the Académie Royale as a history painter, but met a tragic early death. Jean Marc remained in Paris and was admitted to full membership in the Académie Royale as a history painter in 1718. The year before, he had been summoned to Holland to take sittings for portraits during the visit of the emperor Peter the Great of Russia and his consort (the paintings are in the State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg). By the mid-twenties Jean Marc Nattier had for the most part abandoned his pretensions to history painting in favor of an exceptionally successful career as a portraitist, developing a style that was at the same time naturalistic and ingratiating. Often presenting his sitters in draperies or in allegorical guise, he exhibited regularly at the Salon from 1737 until 1763. Society embraced him, and by the 1740s he had attracted the notice of the court, where he took sittings for various exceptionally fine portraits of the younger daughters of Louis XV, as well as of Queen Marie Leszczyńska, that are at the Château de Versailles.

LITERATURE ON THE ARTIST: Nolhac 1905; Salmon 1999.

15 | Jean Marc Nattier

The Source, 1738

Oil on canvas, 31 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 25 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. (80.6 x 65.1 cm)

Signed and dated (lower left, on rock): Nattier-pxi~ / 1738¹

Gift of Jessie Woolworth Donahue, 1956 (56.100.2)

The lady depicted here was identified as the princesse de Bourbon-Conti in the catalogue of the 1918 Paris sale of the vicomte de Curel, where the portrait first appeared in the modern era. According to the entry in the catalogue, it is also signed and dated “Nattier, pinxit, 1738, à Paris” on the reverse, but the inscription is no longer visible owing to the presence of a lining canvas. Nattier specialized in a form of allegorical guise whereby the sitter or model, often shown as here in a white chemise, is presented as either a goddess or a personification. In view of the presence of reeds and a ceramic vessel from which water flows, this young woman should be identified as the spring, or, using more traditional language, the source. Comparison with other Nattiers from the period and in a similar style, some of them young or not so young women presented “en source,”² confirms the date.

The identification of the sitter depends upon comparison with other firmly attributed portraits, in this case a Nattier signed and dated 1744 that shows the duchesse de Chartres, as the princesse de Bourbon-Conti then was, as Hebe, in the





Fig. 15.1. Jean Marc Nattier, *Louise Henriette de Bourbon-Conti, duchesse de Chartres, as Hebe*, 1744. Oil on canvas, 51 $\frac{1}{16}$ x 41 $\frac{3}{16}$ in. (131 x 105 cm). Nationalmuseum, Stockholm (NM 1186)

Nationalmuseum, Stockholm (fig. 15.1). Louise Henriette de Bourbon-Conti, born in 1726, was the daughter of Louis Armand II de Bourbon, prince de Conti, and of Louise Elisabeth, daughter of Louis III de Bourbon, prince de Condé. Her parents were cousins. In 1743 she married Louis Philippe, duc de Chartres, later duc d'Orléans, and she was the mother of Philippe Egalité and the grandmother of Louis Philippe. The portrait in Stockholm, which shows her at eighteen, was exhibited at the Paris Salon of 1745 and descended in her husband's family. The identification is therefore without question. The Stockholm picture is large, serious, and suitable for a duchess of impeccable aristocratic descent.

It is acknowledged, although rarely stated, that when a portrait sitter is known, the painting is worth rather more than if not, and also that the more important the individual

the greater the interest. If the young woman in our relatively modest canvas is the future duchesse d'Orléans, she would have been twelve. However, she does not resemble the dignified Hebe in Stockholm, nor does she look so young. During examination and cleaning in 2013, it emerged that the fabric covering her left breast was a later edition, and, in accordance with the artist's intention, it is now fully, and for a duchess inappropriately, revealed.³ Nattier has rather carelessly depicted her as if she were standing up to her waist in the water that occupies the entire foreground. Her skin, drapery, and pearls are loosely but delicately painted. It is reasonable to presume that this fairly small-scale work was drawn from a model and intended for the art market. Another, nearly identical work that is close in size and perhaps slightly less refined in handling belongs to Waddesdon Manor.⁴

NOTES

1. The signature and date are visible in spectral light. See also note 3.
2. See Salmon 1999, pp. 78–81, no. 11, ill. (color), pp. 188–90, no. 48, ill. (color) and fig. 1, and pp. 223–29, no. 64, ill., for important sitters in this guise, which had general currency at the time.
3. The canvas was treated by conservators Karen E. Thomas and Sophie Scully in 2012–13. The tacking margins had been removed at an earlier date when the picture was lined, but scalloping indicated that the size was not altered. There were drying cracks in the dark areas and overall craquelure. The priming was found to be dark red, with an additional gray layer under the figure only. Removal of the varnish layers revealed that the left breast had been overpainted twice, but the original paint layer was largely intact though stained and requiring some toning. Slight indications of the signature and date at lower left were also revealed.
4. The Waddesdon picture (286.1997) is first recorded with Baron James de Rothschild (died 1868). A smaller copy with the left breast bared was sold at Christie's, New York, June 6, 2012, no. 62, ill. (color).

EX COLL.: ?Joséphine Hélène Noël des Vergers, marquise de Toulangeon (in 1868); vicomte de Curel (until 1918; his estate sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, May 3, postponed until November 25, 1918, no. 43, as *Louise Henriette de Bourbon-Conti*, for Fr 125,000 to Trotti); [Trotti, Paris, 1918–20; sold to Knoedler]; [Knoedler, New York, 1920–24; sold to Harkness]; Mr. and Mrs. Edward Harkness, New York (1924–35); [Knoedler, New York, 1935–39; sold to Donahue]; Jessie Woolworth (Mrs. James P.) Donahue, New York (1939–56).

SELECTED REFERENCES: Grate 1979, p. 155, fig. 6; Salmon 1999, pp. 38, 249–50, fig. 4.

16 | Jean Marc Nattier

Marie Françoise de La Cropte de Saint-Abre, Later Marquise d'Argence, ca. 1744

Oil on canvas, 32½ x 25½ in. (82.6 x 64.8 cm)
 Gift of Jessie Woolworth Donahue, 1958 (58.102.1)

The sitter was the daughter of Léonard de La Cropte de Saint-Abre, who died in 1719 at the age of fifty-three, and of his second wife, born Renée Dexmier. There were many military officers and members of the clergy in her family, which was from Périgord, and through her father she was distantly related to the famous archbishop, theologian, and poet François Fénelon. She was born at Surin (Vienne) on January 16, 1714. On February 17, 1744, the year she may have sat for Nattier,¹ she married, in Paris, François Achard Joumard Tison, marquis d'Argence. She was likely a little older than her husband, born in 1719, whose ancestors had been established for centuries in Angoulême and Périgueux. François Achard suffered a head wound at the Battle of Dettingen in 1743 and was obliged to retire after a brief career in the army. The couple, settled on a family property in Dirac, soon had a daughter and two sons. Later the marquis became a correspondent and disciple of Voltaire. When he visited the

philosopher at Ferney, probably in 1764, Voltaire wrote to the sitter in the following terms:

a madame
 la marquise d'argence de dirac,
 Vous aurez toujours son hommage,
 Et vous ne serez point réduite à la moitié.
 C'est avec vous qu'il se partage
 Entre l'amour et l'amitié.²

This straightforward frontal half-length shows the young woman in a pale gray dress. Her stiffened V-shaped bodice, trimmed with a panel of lace and an edging of pearls, is worn over a split skirt and a white underskirt. An extravagant length of taffeta-like fabric is knotted at her breast. Her hair, in tight curls, is heavily powdered and dressed with pearls and artificial flowers. The background of trees, some with the leafless branches of winter, is unusual for a work in this relatively small size. Our picture is similar to that of an unidentified sitter, signed and dated 1752 and sold in Paris in 1935 (fig. 16.1).³ It is very well preserved.⁴ Format and palette are both typical for the artist.



Fig. 16.1. Jean Marc Nattier, *Portrait of a Young Woman*, 1752. Oil on canvas, 28¾ x 22¼ in. (72 x 58 cm). Reproduced in *Catalogue . . . succession de Madame L. Surmont*, sale cat., Galerie Charpentier, Paris, March 15, 1935, no. 4



NOTES

1. The artist's and sitter's names and the year 1744 are inscribed on the stretcher and on a label fastened to it, which may date to the time of the 1869 exhibition.
2. Voltaire 1820, p. 105. That is, roughly: "To Madame / the Marquise d'Argence of Dirac, / You will always have his homage, / and you will never be reduced to half of it. / It is with you that he divides / his love and friendship." The correspondence between the two men lasted from François Achard's visit to Ferney in 1760 until Voltaire's death in 1778.
3. Sale, Succession de Madame L. Surmont, Galerie Jean Charpentier, Paris, March 15, 1935, no. 4, ill.
4. The canvas, which is in a very fine state of preservation, was treated in 2012–13 by conservator Sophie Scully. A discolored natural resin varnish was removed. The painting had been lined and slightly enlarged so that the tacking edges had been brought on to the front, and the scalloping preserved. The priming layer is dark red. The composition was blocked in with very light blue-gray denoting the sky and golden brown for the figure, which was then painted with semi-opaque layers apparently containing much lead white. For the face, the brushstrokes were softly blended, while for the costume, the handling was more gestural.

EX COLL.: François Achard Joumard Tison, marquis d'Argence, Dirac (until d. 1793); by descent to his great-grandson, Alfred Achard Joumard Tison, marquis d'Argence, Bailleau-l'Évêque, Sarthe (by 1869–d. 1893); ?Hippolyte Achard Joumard Tison, marquis d'Argence (1893–d. 1905); ?Frédéric Achard Joumard Tison, marquis d'Argence, Château de Touvoie, Savigné-l'Évêque, Sarthe (from 1905); [Wildenstein, Paris, London, and New York, in 1937]; Barbara Hutton, New York; Jessie Woolworth (Mrs. James P.) Donahue, New York (until 1958).

SELECTED EXHIBITION: Chartres, Société Archéologique d'Eure-et-Loir, *Exposition Départementale*, 1869, no. 63 (as *Françoise de Saint-Abre, marquise d'Argence*, 1744, lent by the marquis d'Argence, Bailleau-l'Évêque) (exh. cat.: Chartres 1869).

SELECTED REFERENCE: Salmon 1999, p. 262, fig. 4.

17 | Jean Marc Nattier

Madame Marsollier and Her Daughter, 1749

Oil on canvas, 57½ x 45 in. (146.1 x 114.3 cm)

Signed and dated (right, on pilaster): Nattier pinxit. / 1749
Bequest of Florence H. Schuette, 1945 (45.172)

Among Nattier's better-known works is this double portrait of Madame Marsollier at her dressing table and accompanied by her daughter, Marie Thérèse, which was presented at the 1750 Paris Salon. Of Madame Marsollier we know that she was born Marie Catherine Leleu. Her marriage contract is dated January 29, 1736,¹ and she died and was buried at Saint-Eustache, Paris, on January 10, 1756, at the age of forty. According to the single contemporary account we have of her, written by the duc de Luynes just after her death, she had married below her station René Marsollier, a wealthy silk merchant whose business premises were in the rue Saint-

Honoré.² It was reported that after her marriage she would enter neither her husband's shop nor the street in which it was located, and for this reason she was referred to in jest as the "duchesse de velours"—the velvet duchess.

René Marsollier, the third and last of that name, represented the fourth generation of a family whose members purveyed silk and other luxury textiles to the court and aristocracy.³ Their shop and residence were in the rue de la Lingerie, just by the rue Saint-Honoré. René III, born in 1702, took charge in 1731 and maintained control until 1745, thereafter sharing the management with his cousins and longtime associates, members of the Nau family. Meanwhile, he and his wife and daughter removed to a nearby *hôtel particulier* in the rue de la Coquillière. At her father's death in 1763, Marie Thérèse, an only child, inherited in great part his immense fortune of 1,500,000 livres.

Born in 1738, Marie Thérèse⁴ married at eighteen Claude Christophe Lorimier de Chamilly; she died aged forty-nine. Her husband held a position at court and in 1794 was condemned as a counterrevolutionary and lost his life to the guillotine. The painting remained with the family until about 1910, when it was sold privately. Though the names and titles of the sitters were often confused, perhaps because the picture descended in the female line, they are correct in the inscription on Nattier's reproductive drawing (fig. 17.1): *j.m. Nattier. p.x. Madame Marsollier et M.lle Sa fille et delinea vit 1757.*⁵

Madame Marsollier is statuesque in her undress: she wears a chemise and Nattier's preferred blue-and-white draperies clasped with a jeweled belt. One lock of her hair, which is curled, powdered, and beribboned, lies on her exposed shoulder. Her nubile body is that of a very young woman, and the nipple of one breast is barely visible. Her hands and her daughter's hold the two figures together, but their glances draw them apart. The palette for the little girl is unusually colorful: she wears a gold cloak, and a black feather and spray of tiny pansies will be added to the pearls in her powdered hair. The dressing table is draped in lace. The accoutrements are expensive objects of high quality and elegant design, and several of them are as much as fifty years earlier in date than the picture. The mirror and two of the boxes, called *carrés de toilette*, are made of tortoiseshell and brass marquetry in the style of André Charles Boulle. The Museum owns examples of each (fig. 17.2). The boxes in the picture are decorated with landscapes.⁶ The marble arches in the background indicate a palatial interior, not a dressing room, while abundant swags of velvet drapery looped with tassels endow the composition with dignity and gravitas.⁷

The title given the painting in the *livret* of the 1750 Salon is *Madame Marsollier à sa Toilette*. In the eighteenth century, in the circles in which she moved, dressing was an elaborate and





Fig. 17.1. Jean Marc Nattier, *Madame Marsollier and Her Daughter*, 1757. Black chalk, stump, highlighted with white chalk, 16 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 12 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (42.8 x 32.4 cm). Schlossmuseum Weimar (KK 9412)

time-consuming social ritual occurring in the middle of the day, during which a lady received not only family members but (usually male) guests. Many important artists painted the toilette, including **JEAN SIMÉON CHARDIN**, **FRANÇOIS BOUCHER**, **FRANÇOIS HUBERT DROUAI**s (fig. 17.3), and Louis Michel Vanloo.⁸ Chardin's and Boucher's are genre scenes, while Nattier, Drouais, and Vanloo were responding to commissions for likenesses that would be judged by their recipients. We do not know how an artist and a patron agreed on sending a portrait to the Salon, but we do know that sitters other than those of the highest rank in society usually were not named. It has been suggested that Madame Marsollier wished to draw attention to herself,⁹ but her portrait did not receive particular notice. The boxes and mirror could be personal possessions, but otherwise, for a toilette, the painting

is lacking in intimacy. The scale of the interior is vast, and the presentation of the principal figure verges on the heroic. The relationship between mother and daughter may describe complex, socially coded learned behaviors rather than affection. In the case of both the Nattier and the Drouais works, it is difficult to understand the boldly reflexive self-conscious stares of the children.¹⁰

NOTES

1. Marraud 2009, p. 165 n. 108.
2. The account of the duc de Luynes dates to January 17, 1756, just after Madame Marsollier's death. He is quoted in Salmon 1999, p. 203, and translated in Posner 1996, p. 133.
3. Marraud 2009, pp. 126–27, 162–67, 198–99, 219–20, writes about the Marsollier business and explains the means by which Parisian merchant families so greatly prospered over the generations with their rights regulated and renewed by contract.



Fig. 17.2. Toilet casket, French, 1700–1715. Wood veneered with marquetry of tortoiseshell and brass, rosewood, gilt bronze, and steel, $5\frac{1}{16}$ x $13\frac{3}{8}$ x $10\frac{1}{4}$ in. (12.9 x 34.6 x 26 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Purchase, Mr. and Mrs. Sid R. Bass Gift, in honor of Mrs. Charles Wrightsman, 2011 (2011.12)

4. A bust-length portrait signed and dated 1757 and exhibited at Colnaghi's in 1996 was tentatively identified as Marie Thérèse Marsollier because it apparently came from a château that had belonged to the Marc de Saint-Pierre family. Donald Garstang in *Wintermute* 1996, p. 97, pl. 13 (color).

5. See the entry by David Mandrella in *Weimar* 2005, p. 182, no. 64, ill. The drawing may have remained in Nattier's collection and figured in his 1763 sale.

6. The J. Paul Getty Museum in Los Angeles has such a box (88.DA.111), illustrated in *Bremer-David* 2011, fig. 42a (color), and dated ca. 1680–90.

7. Except for age and traction cracks and oxidized, discolored surface coatings, both synthetic and natural, the painting, which was cleaned by conservation fellow Laurent Sozzani in 1988, was found to be in excellent condition. Overpaints in many areas showed a misunderstanding of the artist's loose brushwork. These were removed, and minor areas of lifting were consolidated; small losses and cracks were retouched. Local tone was applied to some forms to integrate them.

8. Servants appear less frequently, except perhaps in prints. For related material, see Posner 1996, *passim*, and Joseph Baillio's entry on the Drouais family portrait in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., in *Conisbee* 2009, pp. 136–41, no. 27, ill. (color), and figs. 2–4. The Metropolitan Museum holds paintings of a single figure at the dressing table by both Duplessis (cat. 58) and Drouais (cat. 71).

9. Posner 1996, p. 134, and Salmon 1999, p. 203. There is at least one good copy of our painting, the size of the original, that includes a false signature and date. It was with Frost & Reed and reproduced in color in *The Connoisseur* 148 (December 1961), p. xix, from the collection of Reginald Vaile. The same or more probably another (the height differs) was sold at the Hôtel Drouot, Paris, November 17, 1986, no. 60, ill. A third is recorded in the Santa Barbara Museum of Art in California.

10. Further to the artificiality of the dress, which is neither allegorical nor a costume, see Hollander 2002, pp. 84–86, fig. 67 (color). For additional questions that might be asked about such a portrait, see Bordes 2009, pp. 307–9, fig. 1 (color).



Fig. 17.3. François Hubert Drouais (French, 1727–1775), *Family Portrait*, 1756. Oil on canvas, $96\frac{1}{16}$ x $76\frac{3}{4}$ in. (244 x 195 cm). National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Samuel H. Kress Collection (1946.7.4)

EX COLL.: René Marsollier, Paris (until d. 1763); Marie Thérèse Marsollier, marquise de Chamilly (1763–d. 1787); Claude Christophe Lorimier, marquis de Chamilly (1787–d. 1794); Adélaïde Marie Octavie Lorimier de Chamilly, marquise de Pernon (1794–d. 1849); Théodore, vicomte Marc de Saint-Pierre (1849–d. 1861); Maurice, vicomte Marc de Saint-Pierre (1861–91); Jules Porgès, Paris (1891–at least 1910; sold to Wildenstein); [Wildenstein, Paris and New York, from about 1913; sold to Duveen]; [Duveen, New York, by 1925–27; sold to Rice]; Mrs. A. Hamilton Rice, New York (1927–29; sold to Wildenstein); [Wildenstein, New York, 1929–30; sold to Schuette]; Mrs. Robert W. Schuette, New York (1930–45).

SELECTED EXHIBITIONS: Paris, Salon, August 25–October 8, 1750, no. 67 (as *Madame Marsolier à sa Toilette, avec Mademoiselle sa Fille*). Musée National des Châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon, *Jean Marc Nattier, 1685–1766*, October 26, 1999–January 30, 2000, no. 54 (ex. cat.: Salmon 1999).

SELECTED REFERENCES: Trumble 1891, p. 21; Nolhac 1905, pp. 109–10, 146, 157; Sterling 1955, pp. 120–21, ill.; Posner 1996, ill.; Salmon 1999, pp. 203–6, no. 54, ill. (color).



18 | Jean Marc Nattier

Portrait of a Young Woman, 1753

Oil on canvas, 31½ x 25¼ in. (80 x 64.1 cm)¹

Signed and dated (center left, on tree trunk): [N]attier.

p. x. / 1753

The Jack and Belle Linsky Collection, 1982 (1982.60.42)

The complex history of ownership and the proposed identity of the sitter as the marquise de Cypierre are intertwined. Florimonde Parat de Montgeron, born in 1740, was the daughter of a financier and the wife of Jean Claude François Perrin, marquis de Cypierre, who was thirteen years her senior. Their only son, Adrien Philibert, was born in or about 1759.² Perrin de Cypierre was appointed *intendant* of the king in Orléans in 1760 and in that capacity was responsible for the finances of the *généralité* of Orléans. Wealthy and well placed, he speculated in Paris real estate. The marquise died in 1788 and the marquis in 1789. Their son was succeeded by a grandson, Casimir, a well-known collector of eighteenth-century art who may have owned the picture at the time of his death in 1844. The evidence that this lady is his grandmother is entirely circumstantial, however. In the catalogue of his sale, there is a description that could apply to the painting, but (even if the identification with the work is correct, which it probably is) the sitter is not named: “*Young woman holding flowers in her two hands*. She is seen in three-quarter view against a landscape background. Low-cut white robe, light shawl of blue silk, tied at the breast.”³ The three-quarter view and the format with the shelf or railing in the foreground supporting a basket of closely observed and carefully painted flowers are unusual. The description does not mention the still life, though, and the catalogue unfortunately does not include sizes.

Turning to the later history of the picture, it is likely that the connoisseur, collector, and dealer Charles Fairfax Murray bought it in 1892 and then associated it with the work previously in the Cypierre sale. Murray may have taken the next step and given the sitter the name of the seller’s grandmother. He deposited the picture with Agnew’s⁴ in 1905, and it was exhibited there as *La Marquise Perrin de Cypierre: . . . wife of the . . . Governor of Orleans*, but the gallery did not find a buyer. From Murray, to whom it was returned in 1907, the portrait went to Imbert and thence to the Morgan and Linsky collections. If this is the marquise, then as she was Casimir de Cypierre’s ancestor, he would probably have known.⁵

The young woman’s high color, forthright gaze, and very tight curls must be highly individualized, which is unusual for Nattier. One senses that she was closely observed. The painting, signed and dated 1753, is a late work.

NOTES

1. The canvas was cleaned shortly after it was acquired by the Museum in 1982. It was provided with a new stretcher, matching the original dimensions, around which were folded later additions measuring 1¼ in. (3.2 cm) at bottom, 1 in. (2.5 cm) at left, and ½ in. (1.3 cm) at right.
2. Genealogical information is lacking and/or inconsistent. The date of the couple’s marriage is given on at least one site as 1760.
3. Casimir Perrin was born within the lifetime of his grandmother.
4. This information was kindly communicated by Julian Agnew, who in a letter of September 2, 1983, advised that the painting, most likely on consignment, was returned to Murray on September 4, 1907.
5. Nine paintings are given to Nattier in Cypierre’s sale (nos. 91–99). He was an important collector, owning among other major works Fragonard’s *Young Girl Reading*, *Blindman’s Buff*, and *The Swing*, in the National Gallery, Washington, D.C. (1961.16.1, 1961.9.16, 1961.9.17), for which see Richard Rand in Conisbee 2009, pp. 160–61, no. 31, ill. (color), pp. 195–98, nos. 40, 41, ill. (color).

EX COLL.: ?Casimir Florimonde Joseph Perrin, marquis de Cypierre, Paris (until d. 1844; his estate sale, Paris, March 10ff., 1845, no. 91, as *Jeune femme tenant des fleurs dans ses deux mains*. “Elle est vue de trois quarts sur un fond de paysage. Robe blanche décollée, léger châle de soie bleue, noué sur le sein,” for Fr 295); ?Mrs. Isabella Maria Malton, London (until 1892; her estate sale, Christie’s, London, March 10, 1892, no. 167, as *Portrait of a Lady, with a basket of flowers*, for £106.1.0); Charles Fairfax Murray, London (by 1905–10, as *La Marquise de Cypierre*; sold to Imbert); [Alexandre Imbert, Rome, 1910; sold to Morgan]; J. Pierpont Morgan, London (1910–d. 1913); J. P. Morgan, London and Wall Hall, Aldenham, Hertfordshire (1913–d. 1943; inv., 1917; inv., 1937; his estate sale, Christie’s, London, March 31, 1944, no. 138, for 3,045 gns. to Koetser for Linsky); Mr. and Mrs. Jack Linsky, New York (1944–his d. 1980); The Jack and Belle Linsky Foundation, New York (1980–82).

EXHIBITIONS: London, Thomas Agnew & Sons, *Eleventh Annual Exhibition on Behalf of the Artists’ General Benevolent Institution*, November–December 1905, no. 1 (as *La Marquise Perrin de Cypierre: daughter of the Duc de Vienne, wife of the Intendant of the King [Louis XV.] and Governor of Orleans*) (exh. cat.: London 1905). Paris, Jeu de Paume, *Cent portraits de femmes*, April 23–July 1, 1909, no. 83 (as *Portrait de femme*, lent by Fairfax Murray) (exh. cat.: Paris 1909b).

SELECTED REFERENCES: Brière 1909, pp. 135–36; Dayot et al. 1910, p. VIII, no. 83, ill.; Salmon 1999, p. 308.

19 | Jean Marc Nattier

Madame Bergeret de Frouville as Diana, 1756

Oil on canvas, 53¼ x 41¾ in. (136.5 x 105.1 cm)

Signed and dated (lower right): Nattier p.x. / 1756·

Rogers Fund, 1903 (03.37.3)

Between about 1730 and 1760, the arc of Nattier’s successful career, he used two different types for portraits of women: court or formal costume or allegorical guise. Most sitters wore their hair short, ornamented, and powdered. The artist’s colors of choice were blue or gray, and red. He painted bust-



Fig. 19.1. Jean Marc Nattier, *Madame de Maison-Rouge as Venus Hitching Doves to Her Chariot*, 1757. Oil on canvas, 48 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 38 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (123 x 97 cm). Lynda and Stewart Resnick, Los Angeles

half-, and three-quarter lengths, the latter especially well suited to disguised portraits in which an attribute or attributes identify the subject. A grassy knoll or a cloud bank is generally arranged around the sitter, who is comfortably seated. While Nattier may have had a preference for Diana, goddess of the hunt, with her bow and a quiver of arrows, it is also true that women often sat for him before their marriage, in which case the role of the virgin goddess was appropriate and understood by all. The twining ivy embracing the oak, a symbol of strength, is also typical for the subject. A tiger skin, or in any event a skin of some kind, must have been one of the artist's studio properties.

The painting reportedly came from a château near Cherbourg belonging to the Mondésir family¹ and may have been sold shortly before the Metropolitan Museum acquired it in 1903. An old label removed from the reverse or from the frame alleges that it represents the princesse de Condé²

and had been given to a lady of the house of Mondésir by Marie Antoinette. Pierre de Nolhac first published the portrait in 1905, rightly rejecting these hypotheses as groundless,³ and the sitter remained nameless for a century. In 1999 Xavier Salmon, who included the portrait in the 1999 Nattier exhibition at Versailles, proposed to identify her as Mademoiselle Belot, the fourth wife of Etienne de Maison-Rouge, who held the title *receveur général des finances* for Amiens. The couple married in 1756. This suggestion was based on the close resemblance to a portrait of Madame de Maison-Rouge belonging to Lynda and Stewart Resnick, which is signed and dated by Nattier in 1757 and was shown the same year at the Salon (fig. 19.1). It is unusual to be able to provide a name for a previously anonymous sitter, and a person other than a member of the royal family rarely sat to the same artist twice in two years, but neither of these were reasons to question Salmon's argument.





Fig. 19.2. Jean Marc Nattier, *Portrait of a Woman as Diana*, 1735. Oil on canvas, 54 $\frac{5}{16}$ x 41 $\frac{1}{16}$ in. (138 x 105.5 cm). Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Cholet (989-128)

Now, however, it is possible to identify the young woman on firm evidence as Elisabeth Marguerite Thérèse de La Haye des Fossés, daughter of Salomon de La Haye des Fossés, who married in Paris on August 5, 1749, Jean François Bergeret de Frouville.⁴ As she was born on June 20, 1732, she would have been seventeen, and much younger than her husband; she died on January 3, 1770. The two wealthy, prominent families eventually lived side by side in Paris townhouses in the rue Béranger. We owe this identification to Ólafur Þorvaldsson, who drew our attention to a copy of the painting offered for sale in Vienna at E. P. Deutsch on April 30, 2018, as number 59.⁵ The canvas bears the arms of both families at the upper right. An old label further identifies the sitter and her parents, and provides the relevant dates.

Nattier made good use of the allegorical persona of Diana. In 1735, as a companion to a hunting portrait of her husband, the artist painted an unidentified woman in this guise (fig. 19.2). The composition of the present work closely

matches it, but there is no evidence that the 1735 portrait was ever exhibited. What sort of record might he have had of it and how might he have suggested the design to a later patron? In 1742 he exhibited a portrait of Madame Bonnier de la Mosson, married in 1740, as Diana (fig. 19.3). She is in a different pose, but the setting, attributes, and color scheme are largely the same. In 1745 Nattier received seven commissions from the royal family and presented to the Salon a full-length of Madame Adélaïde as Diana reclining in a wood: again the white and rose palette, tiger skin, bow, and arrows.⁶ Conceivably the Bergeret de Frouville couple wanted a costume similar to that chosen by Monsieur and Madame Bonnier de la Mosson, or perhaps enough time had passed and nobody noticed.⁷

NOTES

1. Paintings often changed hands upon the death of a family member, and the owner would have been Albert Pioerron de Mondésir (1831-1901), who died at the Château de Rochemont, ten miles from Cherbourg.



Fig. 19.3. Jean Marc Nattier, *Madame Bonnier de la Mosson as Diana*, 1742. Oil on canvas, 51 x 38 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (129.5 x 96.8 cm). The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles (77.PA.87)

2. Charlotte de Rohan (1737–1760), daughter of the prince de Soubise, married in 1753 Louis Joseph de Bourbon (1737–1818), prince de Condé, and died young.

3. The painting bears no resemblance to an attested portrait of the princesse de Condé by Jean Marie Ribou at the Musée Condé, Chantilly (PE 397.38).

4. Mahiet 1929, pp. 257–58, ill., and Claeys 2011, vol. 1, pp. 207, 648. Bergeret de Frouville commissioned two works by Hubert Robert that are now in The Met’s collection; see *cats.* 87 and 88.

5. Ólafur Þorvaldsson, in an email of April 23, 2018. The copy sold in Vienna is smaller, measuring 50 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 38 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (128 x 97 cm), and the label apparently mistranscribes the sitter’s family name.

6. Another version of the portrait is catalogued and reproduced in Salmon 1999, pp. 177–80, no. 43, ill. (color), who on p. 100, figs. 2–4, reproduced three three-quarter-length Dianas dating respectively to 1743, 1744, and 1745.

7. The painting was cleaned in 2008 by conservator Karen E. Thomas. It was found to be in fairly good condition, but with four parallel vertical damages about 6 in. (15.2 cm) in length (possibly tears in the primary support). One was below the proper right knee, and three—separated from each other by about 2 in. (5.1 cm)—reached into the salmon-colored drapery to the right. The colored draperies had been damaged by previous cleaning, in the

process of lining, or both, and the damage had been camouflaged by broad toning, particularly of the salmon-colored areas. Strong cracking was visible across the paint surface. The varnish coating, several layers, was yellow. After most of the varnish and restorations were removed, some more subtle shadows were discernible. Larger losses, including one at the upper right, were retouched with gouache and then glazed; smaller losses were glazed. More substantial red glazes may have existed but cannot be fully restored with any degree of certainty.

EX COLL.: possibly by descent to Albert Pioerron de Mondésir, Château de Rochemont, Valognes, Manche (until d. 1901); [Gimpel & Wildenstein and Dowdeswell & Dowdeswell, New York, until 1903; sold to MMA].

SELECTED EXHIBITION: Musée National des Châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon, *Jean-Marc Nattier, 1685–1766*, October 26, 1999–January 30, 2000, no. 76 (as Madame de Maison-Rouge) (exh. cat.: Salmon 1999).

SELECTED REFERENCES: Nolhac 1905, p. 122; Sterling 1955, pp. 121–23, ill.; Salmon 1999, pp. 100, 184, 266–70, no. 76, ill. (color); J. Patrice Marandel in Los Angeles 2010, p. 127.

JEAN-BAPTISTE OUDRY

Paris 1686–1755 Beauvais

Jean-Baptiste was the son of Jacques Oudry, a painter and later president of the Académie de Saint-Luc and an art dealer. The boy trained with his father and in Marseilles with Michel Serre, but his principal teacher was **NICOLAS DE LARGILLIERRE**, in whose studio he spent several years and from whom he learned portraiture. He was also gifted at depicting animals, flowers, and fruit and could work in practically any genre. Oudry gained entry in 1708 to the guild of Saint-Luc, becoming a professor in 1717. He was awarded preliminary membership in the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture in 1717, and in 1719, submitting *Abundance with Her Attributes* (Musée National des Châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon), he was received as a history painter. From 1722 to 1725 he showed each year at Place Dauphine, attracting public notice, and in 1725 he exhibited twelve paintings at the Paris Salon. Among his most important works for the crown were the very large canvas representing *Louis XV Hunting the Stag in the Forest of Saint-Germain* (Musée des Augustins, Toulouse), completed in 1730, and nine full-scale cartoons for royal hunting tapestries (Musée National du Château de Fontainebleau and Musée du Louvre, Paris), which were ordered beginning in 1733. Oudry had important foreign patrons, not least Christian Ludwig II, duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, who had a gallery devoted to his work, and, through Carl Gustaf, count Tessin, the kings of Sweden. He was appointed codirector of the tapestry manufactory at Beauvais in 1734 and in 1748 became the superintendent at the Gobelins manufactory, where his hunting tapestries had been woven under his own supervision. He was prolific, exhibiting regularly at the Salons from 1737 until 1753, and distinguishing himself as a landscape painter and as a draftsman, with, for example, several hundred drawings illustrating the fables of La Fontaine, which were engraved.

LITERATURE ON THE ARTIST: Gougenot 1854; Locquin 1912; Opperman 1977 and 1982.

20 | Jean-Baptiste Oudry

Hunting Dog Guarding a Dead Fox and Game Birds, 1753

Oil on canvas, 25½ x 31¾ in. (64.8 x 80.6 cm)

Signed and dated (lower left): JB. oudry. 1753

Purchase, 1871 (71.89)

The 1753 Paris Salon, Oudry's last, was held less than two years before his death. He sent twelve paintings and five drawings, plus an additional six paintings borrowed from their

private owners; several engravings after his drawings of fables were also presented for the first time. Leaving aside the prints, the very large number of exhibits was not really atypical, as in the course of his career the artist showed a prodigious 175 works at fourteen Salons. This canvas and the following (cat. 21) were among four of the same modest dimensions. Presumably they were intended for the art market, and it is unsurprising that they were not noticed by the press, whose admiration was mostly reserved for one of the artist's most sympathetic animal paintings, *Hound Nursing Her Pups*.¹

In the *livret* the Museum's still lifes are numbered 28 and 31, indicating, as Hal Opperman pointed out, that Oudry did not treat them as a pair, nor as necessarily belonging together. However, sometime after 1764 they were acquired by the distinguished Parisian connoisseur Ange Laurent de La Live de Jully (who therefore was not their first owner) and then sold by him in 1770 as one lot, and they have always been together since.² The artist gave the others in the group the titles *A Fox Holding and Intending to Devour a Coq* and *A Bird of Prey Overturning a Wild Goose*. While neither has been seen again,³ it is clear from the descriptions that the subjects were active rather than passive, as here. La Live de Jully owned various eighteenth-century French still lifes and in 1764 already had two works by Oudry, a small landscape on wood with two hunting dogs, a hare, and a partridge, and a *Drunken Silenus*.⁴

Among Oudry's most important works are hunting subjects in which dogs chase, point, and attack a variety of wild animals and birds. Traditionally, and sometimes in the present day, the dead game was or is hung, as here, not only to store and preserve it but to enhance its flavor. However, the setting is artificial: a dead tree and an implausible arrangement of neatly dressed stone blocks against which to show elements of still life. In the Salon catalogue, the artist identified the game birds as a pigeon, a green woodpecker, a curlew, and a Eurasian jay. The latter have been hung together with a fox, but the fox is not eaten and is only for display. In this unreal world, a tense white hunting dog menaces but does not attack or seize the creatures. There may be some further license in the fact that the pigeon is very large in proportion to the dog. The painting has been admired for the accuracy of its detail and for its high degree of finish.

NOTES

1. Musée de la Chasse et de la Nature, Paris, 71.2.1.

2. Bailey 1988, pp. lviii–lix, 30, no. 70.

3. The first composition could be represented by a work ascribed to the artist and titled *Renard Attaquant un Coq* (sale, Oger-Camper, Paris, December 20, 1999, no. 70, 81 x 98 cm [31½ x 38¾ in.], ill.), for which see www.arcadja.com/auctions/fr/renard_attaquant_un_coq/artwork/promo/4730072/1450516005.



4. Opperman 1977, vol. 1, p. 515, no. P413, p. 548, no. P497. The second painting appeared at auction in 1986, as *The drunken Silenus and the nymph Aegle* (Christie's, Monaco, June 15, 1986, no. 29). Signed and dated 1730, it was well received when exhibited at the Salon of 1738.

EX COLL.: Ange Laurent de La Live de Jully, Paris (after 1764–70; his sale, Remy, Paris, May 2–14, 1770, no. 70, as *Un chien de chasse qui paroît aboyer en regardant un renard, une bécasse & un autre oiseau attachés avec un corde à une branche d'arbre. On remarque encore un pigeon & un autre oiseau mort. Tout cela est peint dans un paysage*, with 71.57 [cat. 21] for 501 livres to Leroy or Le Roy); [Léon Gauchez and Alexis Febvre, Paris, until 1870; sold to Blodgett]; William T. Blodgett, Paris and New York (1870–71; sold half share to Johnston); William T. Blodgett and John Taylor Johnston, New York (1871).

SELECTED EXHIBITIONS: Paris, Salon, August 25–September 25, 1753, no. 28 (as *Un Renard mort, un Chien qui paroît aboyer, un Ramier, un Pivert, un Courlis & un Geai*). Paris, Galeries Nationales du Grand Palais, *J.-B. Oudry, 1686–1755*, October 1, 1982–January 3, 1983, no. 121 (exh. cat.: Opperman 1982).

SELECTED REFERENCES: Gougenot 1854, p. 392; Locquin 1912, p. 37, no. 188; Sterling 1955, pp. 130, 132, ill.; Opperman 1977, vol. 1, pp. 117, 205, 233, 500, 516–17, no. P416, vol. 2, fig. 355; Opperman 1982, pp. 25, 220–21, 255, no. 121, ill. pp. 27 (color) and 220.

21 | Jean-Baptiste Oudry

Ducks Resting in Sunshine, 1753

Oil on canvas, 25½ x 31¾ in. (64.8 x 80.6 cm)

Signed and dated (lower left): JB. oudry / 1753

Purchase, 1871 (71.57)

Oudry's picture is unusual in being entirely placid and without artifice: in a wooded landscape, seven ducks sun themselves on the bank of a stream or pond on a fine summer day. Probably all are domestic variants of the mallard, which may vary considerably in its coloration.¹ While there are many

Oudry paintings of dogs, especially spaniels, pursuing or attacking ducks, there do not seem to be any others of ducks at rest. In 1751 he did paint a small canvas with a single duck, *A Male Smew Swimming near Reeds*.²

NOTES

1. Information kindly provided by Dale Humburg, Chief Scientist, Ducks Unlimited, Memphis, Tenn., October 21, 2013.

2. Sale, Sotheby's, New York, May 28, 1999, no. 182, ill. (color), 21 x 25 in. (53.5 x 63.5 cm), signed and dated 1751.

EX COLL.: Ange Laurent de La Live de Jully, Paris (after 1764–70; his sale, Remy, Paris, May 2–14, 1770, no. 70, as *Sept canards vivants*, with 71.89 [cat. 20] for 501 livres to Leroy or Le Roy); [Léon Gauchez and Alexis

Febvre, Paris, until 1870; sold to Blodgett]; William T. Blodgett, Paris and New York (1870–71; sold half share to Johnston); William T. Blodgett and John Taylor Johnston, New York (1871).

SELECTED EXHIBITIONS: Paris, Salon, August 25–September 25, 1753, no. 31 (as *Autre de deux pieds sur deux & demi, représentant des Canards qui se reposent au Soleil*). Paris, Galeries Nationales du Grand Palais, *J.-B. Oudry, 1686–1755*, October 1, 1982–January 3, 1983, no. 146 (exh. cat.: Opperman 1982).

SELECTED REFERENCES: Gougenot 1854, p. 393; Locquin 1912, p. 69, no. 347; Sterling 1955, pp. 131–33, ill.; Opperman 1977, vol. 1, pp. 122, 205, 233, 500, 517, no. P380, vol. 2, fig. 356; Opperman 1982, pp. 220–21, 255–56, no. 146, ill.



NICOLAS LANCRET

Paris 1690–1743 Paris

Lancret enjoyed a quite long and uneventful but productive and successful career in Paris as a genre painter. He was at first apprenticed to an engraver and then to the academicien Pierre Dulin, a little-known history painter. His principal biographers assert that as he wished to work in the genre popularized by **WATTEAU**, he then joined the atelier of Watteau's teacher, Claude Gillot. It is also reported that Watteau himself urged the young artist to study nature. Lancret enrolled in the school of the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture no later than 1708. Awarded provisional entry into the Académie Royale in 1718, he was named an academicien in 1719, presenting a *Conversation Galante* that is possibly a painting in The Wallace Collection, London. He was admitted a painter of *fêtes galantes*, the category that had been created two years earlier for Watteau. Lancret showed at Place Dauphine in 1722, 1723, and 1724 and at the Salon in 1725 and from 1737, when it was reestablished on a regular basis. After Watteau's death in 1721, Lancret (together with **JEAN-BAPTISTE PATER**) took his place in the esteem of such important Parisian collectors as Jean de Jullienne and Ange Laurent de La Live de Jully. Lancret worked extensively for Louis XV and was a favorite of Frederick the Great of Prussia. He was a gifted storyteller, and his style is colorful, lively, and more humorous and anecdotal than that of Watteau. Admired by his contemporaries as a connoisseur, Lancret formed a significant personal collection of prints and drawings.

LITERATURE ON THE ARTIST: Wildenstein 1924a; Holmes 1991.

22 and 23 | Nicolas Lancret

Brother Philippe's Geese, ca. 1736

Oil on copper, 10¾ x 13⅞ in. (27.3 x 35.2 cm)
Purchase, Walter and Leonore Annenberg and
The Annenberg Foundation Gift, 2004 (2004.86)

The Servant Justified, ca. 1738

Oil on copper, 11 x 14 in. (27.9 x 35.6 cm)
Purchase, Walter and Leonore Annenberg and
The Annenberg Foundation Gift, 2004 (2004.85)

Collections of the tales (*contes*) or fables redacted in the seventeenth century by the much admired writer Jean de La Fontaine remained popular throughout the eighteenth, inspiring editions of the texts, and paintings, drawings, and engravings. At his death on July 25, 1736, **JEAN-BAPTISTE PATER** had illustrated eight tales in small

horizontal pictures on copper. The February 1733 issue of the *Mercure de France* announced the first two of eight engravings by Pierre Filloeul after the paintings, suggesting that Pater began work on the series in 1732.¹ Four of the engravings are dated 1736, and two further engravings by Filloeul after a certain P. Le Mesle were soon added. Lancret in his turn painted twelve tales, on slightly smaller copper supports, all of which were engraved by Nicolas de Larmessin. The twenty works by Pater and Lancret (plus two by Le Mesle) formed part of a larger group to which Nicolas Vleughels and **FRANÇOIS BOUCHER** contributed four each, while Sébastien II Leclerc and Lorrain contributed two each, for a total of thirty-four in all.² The Bouchers and Vleughels were also engraved by Larmessin, who published the series. A later edition included four engravings after **CHARLES EISEN**, thereby increasing the total number of images to thirty-eight.

Of the nine Lancret paintings on copper that are known to survive, eight are in public collections, and all are the same size. The Met's two are a pair only in the sense that they reappeared together in the Rodolphe Kann collection in 1900. Two others from the series are first recorded a little earlier, in the London sale of Mrs. Lyne Stephens held May 9–13, 1895; these belong now to the Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute in Williamstown, Massachusetts (figs. 22/23.1–2). A fifth is in the Musée du Louvre, Paris (fig. 22/23.3), and a sixth in the State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg (fig. 22/23.4);³ these were exhibited at the Salon of 1738, as was *Le Faucon*, which was with Wildenstein in 1924. Others may be found at The Wallace Collection, London (fig. 22/23.5) and the Musée Nissim de Camondo, Paris (fig. 22/23.6).⁴ The final four—documented only by Larmessin's reproductive engravings—include *A Femme avare galant escroc*, which was also exhibited in 1738 (figs. 22/23.7–10). The prints by Larmessin after Lancret's *Les Oyes du frère Philippe* (fig. 22/23.11) and Vleughels's *Frère Luce* were presented to the Académie Royale on January 26, 1737, and the paintings should therefore likely be dated to 1736.⁵ The engraver may have taken up the Pater/Filloeul series immediately after Pater's death, and the two prints presented to the Académie could have been among four not specifically described that were exhibited at the 1737 Salon. This would have been good promotion for a new venture.

The presence of additional works at later Salons sheds further light on the chronology of the so-called Larmessin Suite. Lancret showed *Les Deux Amis*, now in Williamstown, at the 1739 Salon, with a picture of a lady drinking coffee and two scenes from the theater. And in 1742 Larmessin had three more exhibits: engravings of *Le Calendrier des Vieillards* after Boucher, and after Lancret, *Les Rémois* (fig. 22/23.18) and *On ne s'avise jamais de tout* (fig. 22/23.8).



Cat. 22



Fig. 22/23.1. Nicolas Lancret, *Nicaise*. Oil on copper, 11 x 14 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (27.9 x 35.9 cm). The Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, Williamstown (1955.957)



Fig. 22/23.2. Nicolas Lancret, *Les Deux Amis (The Two Friends)*, ca. 1739. Oil on copper, 11 $\frac{3}{16}$ x 14 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (28.7 x 36.5 cm). The Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, Williamstown (1955.956)



Cat. 23



Fig. 22/23.3. Nicolas Lancret, *Le Gascon puni* (*The Gascon Punished*), ca. 1738. Oil on copper, 11 x 14 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (28 x 36 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris (MI 1074)



Fig. 22/23.4. Nicolas Lancret, *Les Troqueurs* (*The Barterers or The Marriage Contract*), ca. 1738. Oil on copper, 11 x 14 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (28 x 36.5 cm). The State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg (GE-1132)



Fig. 22/23.5. Nicolas Lancret, *Le petit chien qui secoue de l'argent et des pierreries* (*The Little Dog Who Secretes Gold and Jewels*). Oil on copper, 10 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 13 $\frac{5}{16}$ in. (27.6 x 35.4 cm). The Wallace Collection, London (P409)



Fig. 22/23.6. Nicolas Lancret, *Les Rémois* (*The Men from Reims*), ca. 1740. Oil on copper, 10 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 13 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (27 x 35 cm). Musée Nissim de Camondo, Paris (705.1)



Fig. 22/23.7. Nicolas de Larmessin (French, 1684–1755) after Nicolas Lancret, *A Femme avare galant escroc* (*For a Miserly Woman a Galant Crook*), ca. 1738. Engraving, 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 13 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (27.3 x 35 cm). Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (44572054)



Fig. 22/23.8. Nicolas de Larmessin after Nicolas Lancret, *On ne s'avise jamais de tout* (*We Never Advise Any*), ca. 1740. Engraving, 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 13 $\frac{5}{16}$ in. (27.3 x 35.4 cm). Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (44572071)

Brother Philippe's Geese, which by comparison with others in the series displays a particularly soft and delicate range of tones, illustrates the concluding moment in a tale first told by the Italian poet Boccaccio. Philippe, having lost his young wife, decided to become a hermit and devote himself to God. He therefore took his infant son to live with him in a cave in the mountains, in solitude, free from sin. Only when the youth reached eighteen did Philippe, out of concern for his future, allow him to venture out into the world. The young man questioned his father about everything

he was seeing for the first time. As illustrated here, the two soon came upon a party of young women, and when asked to identify these beautiful creatures, the old man replied in seeming innocence that they were a party of geese. "Oh, agreeable goose, sing that I might hear your voice," the son cried out in delight. "Father, I beg you, let us take one [with us]."

La Fontaine attributed the tale illustrated in *The Servant Justified* to the queen of Navarre.⁶ Lancret shows the first scene, in which the master of a household seduced a serving

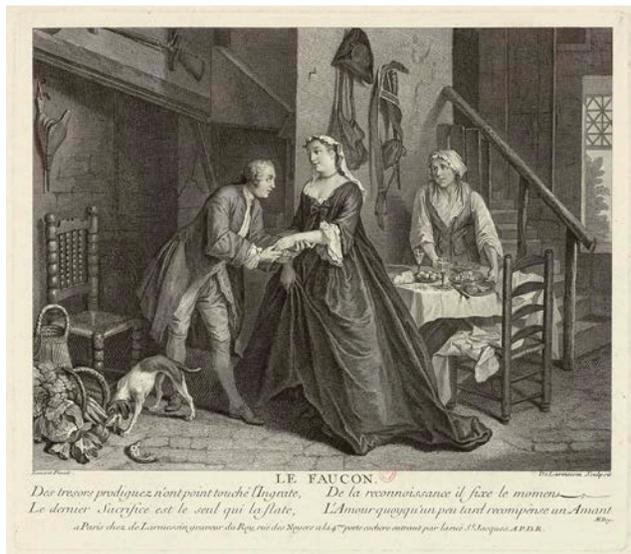


Fig. 22/23.9. Nicolas de Larmessin after Nicolas Lancret, *Le Faucon* (*The Falcon*), ca. 1738. Engraving, 10¹¹/₁₆ x 14 in. (27.2 x 35.5 cm). Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (44572053)

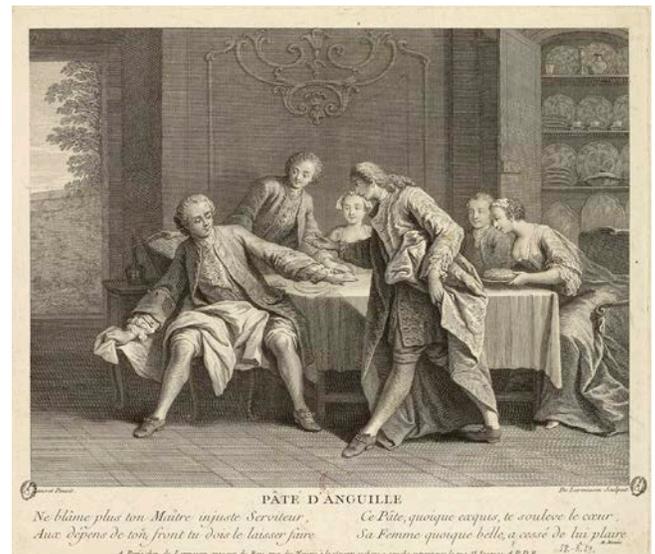


Fig. 22/23.10. Nicolas de Larmessin after Nicolas Lancret, *Pâte d'anguille* (*Eel Paté*). Engraving, 10% x 13¹³/₁₆ in. (27 x 35.3 cm). Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (16864714)



Fig. 22/23.11. Nicolas de Larmessin after Nicolas Lancret, *Les Oyes de frère Philippe*, ca. 1736. Engraving, 10% x 13³/₄ in. (27 x 35 cm). Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (44572052)



Fig. 22/23.12. Nicolas de Larmessin after Nicolas Lancret, *La Servante justifiée*. Engraving, 10% x 13¹³/₁₆ in. (27 x 35.1 cm). Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (44572061)

girl in a garden, where she had gone to gather flowers for her mistress on that lady's birthday. The wayward husband was at first unaware that he was observed by an interfering neighbor (the small figure in a cap and fichu leaning with her elbows on the sill of the upstairs window in the top left corner of the engraving). When he realized that the woman was watching him, he abandoned the servant and went off in search of his wife, whom he persuaded to visit the garden so that he could ravish her there in turn. Later, therefore, when the neighbor reported having seen the husband with the maid in

compromising circumstances, his wife responded that it was not the maid but she herself in the garden, enjoying the pleasures of conjugal life.

The young husband wears the costume and wide beret of a Mezzetin, an amusing and perhaps slightly unscrupulous type from the commedia dell'arte famously painted by **WATTEAU** (cat. 10). He hovers over the serving girl in the appropriate cap and apron who, having fallen to the ground and lost her blossoms, resists his advances only slightly. The little picture has a highly theatrical quality, and indeed the

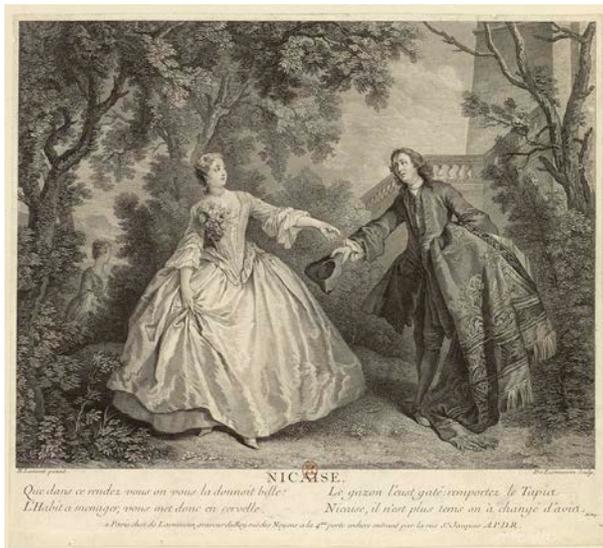


Fig. 22/23.13. Nicolas de Larmessin after Nicolas Lancret, *Nicaise*. Engraving, 10 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 13 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (27 x 34.9 cm). Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (44572051)



Fig. 22/23.14. Nicolas de Larmessin after Nicolas Lancret, *Les Deux Amis*, ca. 1739. Engraving, 10 $\frac{1}{16}$ x 13 $\frac{1}{16}$ in. (27.4 x 35.1 cm). Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (44572055)



Fig. 22/23.15. Nicolas de Larmessin after Nicolas Lancret, *Le Gascon puni*, ca. 1738. Engraving, 10 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 13 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (27 x 35.3 cm). Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (44572065)

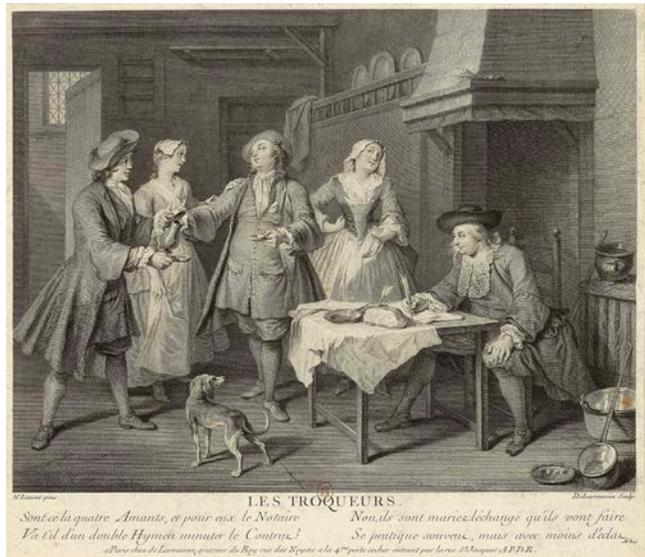


Fig. 22/23.16. Nicolas de Larmessin after Nicolas Lancret, *Les Troqueurs*. Engraving, 10 $\frac{1}{16}$ x 13 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (27.2 x 35.2 cm). Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (44572069)

story of the servant justified was performed as a comic opera in one act on various occasions in the 1740s.⁷

NOTES

1. According to Ingersoll-Smouse 1928, pp. 14–15, 74–76, figs. 185–92, two prints by Filloeuil after Pater were announced in the *Mercure de France* in February 1733, two in May 1734, and four in July 1736. The August issue stated that there would be ten, and after Pater's death two after P. Le Mesle were added in 1737–38, for which see Hédé-Haüy 1893, pp. 119–21.
2. Hédé-Haüy 1893, pp. 118–26; La Fontaine 1926 illustrates the entire series.
3. Mary Tavener Holmes in Vogtherr 2011, pp. 688–89, no. A19, ill.

4. The Wallace Collection: Ingamells 1989, pp. 226–27, no. P409, ill. Musée Nissim de Camondo: Paris 1973, p. 113, no. 705.

5. Holmes in Vogtherr 2011, p. 688. See Montaignon 1883, pp. 192–93. As always, I offer Tav Holmes my warmest thanks for help with matters concerning Lancret.

6. The queen in question was Marguerite de Valois (1553–1615), daughter of Catherine de Médicis and Henri II, who married Henri III of Navarre, becoming queen of Navarre in 1572 and of France in 1589.

7. *Le servent justifiée*, a comic opera in one act by Messieurs Favart and Fagan, was performed on March 19 and October 2, 1740; on February 3, 1742; and subsequently. It was “un plein succès” according to Parfaict 1767, vol. 5, p. 140.



Fig. 22/23.17. Nicolas de Larmessin after Nicolas Lancret, *Le petit chien qui secoue de l'argent et des pierreries*. Engraving, 10% x 13 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (27 x 34.9 cm). Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (44572068)



Fig. 22/23.18. Nicolas de Larmessin after Nicolas Lancret, *Les Rémois*, ca. 1742. Engraving, 10% x 14 in. (27 x 35.5 cm). Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (44572059)

EX COLL.: Rodolphe Kann, Paris (by 1900–d. 1905; his estate, 1905–7; cat., 1907, vol. 2, no. 150; sold to Duveen); [Duveen, Paris, 1907–17; sold to Michelham]; Herbert Stern, 1st Baron Michelham, Paris (1917–d. 1919); Captain Alfred Löwenstein (or Loewenstein), London and Brussels (until d. 1928); ?Madame Alfred (Madeleine Misonne) Löwenstein (or Loewenstein), Brussels (from 1928); [Matthiesen, London, until 1950; sold to Ortiz-Linares]; Graziella Patino de Ortiz-Linares, Paris (from 1950); her son, George Ortiz, Geneva (until 2004; consigned to Stair Sainty Matthiesen); [Stair Sainty Matthiesen, New York, 2004; sold to MMA].

EXHIBITION: London, Guildhall Art Gallery, *Selection of Works by French and English Painters of the Eighteenth Century*, April 22–July 26, 1902, no. 27 (as *La Servante justifiée*) and no. 31 (as *Les oies du Frère Phillip*), lent by Rodolphe Kann (exh. cat.: Temple 1902).

SELECTED REFERENCES: Montaignon 1883, pp. 192–93 (year 1737); Bode 1900, p. XXXII, ill. (gallery photograph), p. VI, pls. 95, 96; Kann 1907, vol. 2, pp. 59–60, nos. 149, 150, ill. before p. 59 and opp. p. 60; Wildenstein 1924a, pp. 114–15, nos. 658, 671, figs. 162, 164; Gaudio 2009, pp. 45, 47–48, fig. 18 (color); Vogtherr 2011, p. 688.

CHARLES ANTOINE COYPEL

Paris 1694–1752 Paris

When Charles Antoine was born in 1694, his father, Antoine Coppel, was rising through the ranks at the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture. Coppel senior succeeded as director of the Académie Royale in 1714 and as first painter to Louis XV in 1715; the younger Coppel, well placed to achieve distinction, would follow in his footsteps. He was educated for his profession in his father's studio at the Louvre and in

the school of the Académie Royale but did not seek training in Italy. At twenty-one, in 1715, he presented his reception piece, a dramatic six-foot canvas representing *Jason and Medea* (Schloss Charlottenburg, Berlin) in which the triumphant sorceress has avenged herself by killing her own children. He was simultaneously received and admitted an academician, as a history painter, at a session over which his father presided. Coppel's first major commission was for vignettes for tapestry cartoons with scenes from *Don Quixote* (Musée National du Château de Compiègne), which he prepared for the Gobelins manufactory beginning in 1716 and which occupied him intermittently for more than a decade. They are theatrical in their gestural language and mise-en-scène. When he was young, he also wrote sketches for plays that he submitted to the Théâtre Italien, but only one, dating to 1717, was staged, *Arlequin dans l'île de Ceylan* (*Harlequin on the Island of Ceylon*). In 1720 Louis XV danced as Amour in Coppel's opera-ballet *Folies de Cardenio*, but further presentations were suppressed after the king caught a chill from overexertion, and the artist never found the success he had hoped for in the theater. He was a prolific draftsman and an occasional but nevertheless gifted pastel portraitist. His oeuvre comprises genre scenes, some showing children in the guise of adults, and satirical caricatures, in addition to portraits and historical and religious subjects in the grand manner. He was appointed *premier peintre du roi* and elected director of the Académie Royale in 1747.

LITERATURE ON THE ARTIST: Lefrançois 1994.



24 | Charles Antoine Coypel

François de Jullienne and His Wife, 1743

Pastel, black chalk, and watercolor on four joined sheets of handmade blue laid paper, mounted on canvas, 39 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 31 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (100 x 80 cm)

Signed and dated (at right, on chair frame): C. Coypel 1743
Purchase, Mrs. Charles Wrightsman Gift, in honor of Annette de la Renta, 2011 (2011.84)

Seemingly, this very large signed and dated double portrait in pastel went unrecorded in the eighteenth century, and in fact no trace of it was found until 1974, when it was sold at auction in Brussels as a portrait of the “Comte & Comtesse de Julonne,” the title having been transcribed from an old label on the reverse (fig. 24.1). Thierry Lefrançois, in his 1994 monograph, realized that this was likely a misreading and tentatively identified the sitters as François de Jullienne and his wife, born Marie Elisabeth de Sérè de Rieux. At the same time, Lefrançois also published an oil painting by Coypel of the sitters that varies only slightly in design and is more strongly colored (fig. 24.2). The unsigned canvas had come to light in a 1982 Paris sale, catalogued as a couple in an interior by Jean Valade.¹ The figures in the painting are smaller with respect to the support, and Madame de Jullienne wears only one black lace ruffle and diamond brooch. The semiprecious stone in her bracelet has been replaced by a portrait miniature of a man in a red coat. She has a double chin, and both she and her husband look a little older and much stiffer. His wig sits less comfortably on his head. His waistcoat is embroidered on a rose-colored ground. However, most of the details are so close that Coypel must have had access to the pastel when he was working on the painting. Its quality seems to be somewhat inferior.

François de Jullienne was born in 1722 and Marie Elisabeth in 1724. The couple married in 1741.² While she held a more distinguished position in society, he brought new wealth to what was bound to have been an arranged marriage. François was the only surviving child of four born to Jean de Jullienne,

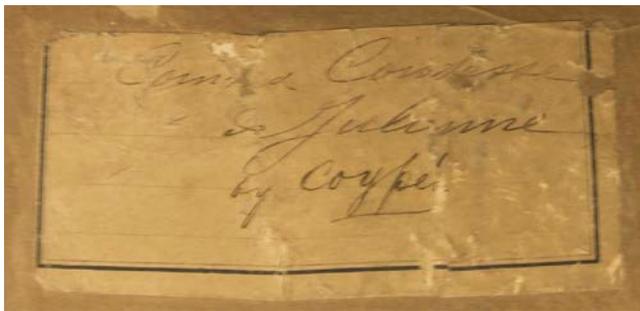


Fig. 24.1. Old label on the reverse of cat. 24: “Comte & Comtesse / de Julonne / by Coypel”



Fig. 24.2. Charles Antoine Coypel, *François de Jullienne and His Wife*. Oil on canvas, 39 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 31 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (100 x 80 cm). Private collection

the highly successful Parisian textile merchant and collector of paintings and drawings who is famous as a patron as well as the editor of the published work of **ANTOINE WATTEAU**. Born in 1686, Jean de Jullienne was self-made: having begun his career as a dyer, in 1729 he took over the management of the manufactories that were the source of his fortune and in 1738 was able to buy out the other family members who were shareholders. He was granted a patent of nobility in 1736 in recognition of his commercial success. François celebrated his twenty-first birthday in 1743, the year in which he sat for this portrait. In 1744, his son having chosen to distance himself from the family business and seek preferment at court, Jean de Jullienne purchased for him the title of *gentilhomme ordinaire du roi*. Judging from the appearance of the couple as well as what we know of their circumstances, they rejoiced in the life of leisure and great luxury that his father provided for them. They shared his house near the Gobelins, living on the second floor. Their marriage was childless. François died in 1754 and was survived by his father, whose celebrated collection was dispersed at auction. Marie Elisabeth, of whom her father-in-law remained fond, survived more than forty years, until 1795. Her heirs had emigrated during the Revolution, and her property was divided with the state. It is not surprising that the pastel simply disappeared.

Other than the label, the evidence for the identification of the sitters is circumstantial. Jean de Julienne was interested in pastels but apparently he did not own any by Charles Antoine Coypel, although he did have a painting by the artist, an as yet unidentified *Crucifixion* that hung in his wife's bedroom.³ He had a pastel of his daughter-in-law in a ballgown by Louis Vigée.⁴

While Coypel is regarded principally as a painter and a fluid and gifted draftsman, his relatively few pastels display a dazzling control of the colored crayons. The earliest known examples of his work in pastel, dating to 1717, represent Nicolas Charles Silvestre and his wife (both private collection), who were artists and drawing masters to the children of the royal family. In view of his father's connections, Coypel surely would have known them. He met the famous Venetian pastelist Rosalba Carriera on several occasions in 1720, when she was in Paris, and he exhibited five pastel portraits, including a double portrait, all thus far unidentified, at the Salon of 1725. Several of his most important pastels are self-portraits (for example, the one in the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, of 1734) or depict people in his immediate circle, notably his brother Philippe and his sister-in-law, who sat in 1742 (Art Institute of Chicago). As professor in the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture, he would have met Jean de Jullienne when he was appointed to honorary, advisory membership in 1739, if not before.

This beautifully crafted and very well preserved lifesize double portrait epitomizes the Rococo in its immediacy, intimacy, and elegance and must have been commissioned by and for a family member and intended for a high-style domestic interior. The pearls are large, the diamonds brilliant, and the lace, satin, and velvet worthy of the wealthy young couple. However, the elaborate costumes do not detract from the penetrating connection offered by the gazes of the sitters or from François's compelling introductory gesture. To make knots ("faire des noeuds") was a pastime so appropriate to a lady of standing that it engaged the attention of the daughters of Louis XV.⁵ The shuttle or navette that Marie Elisabeth holds was a popular accessory (fig. 24.3).

As conservator Marjorie Shelley has pointed out, the importance of the commission is attested by the exceptionally large scale of the pastel. The support is composed of four sheets of blue paper carefully joined with a vertical seam through the young man's sleeve and a horizontal seam that crosses his wife's chin. First the paper was mounted to canvas and tacked at its edges to a wood framework, which in the present case was reinforced with a center crossbar and wedges at the corners to adjust the canvas tension. This may be the earliest example of a keyed stretcher, and precedes by more than a decade the description published in 1757 by Antoine Joseph

Pernety, who referred to it as a new invention.⁶ The first illustration of such a support was published in 1771 in Diderot's *Encyclopédie*.⁷ The dimensions and the heavy, costly glazing for the frame would have necessitated such a rigid support.

NOTES

1. The painting has the following history of ownership: Monsieur S. (until 1982; his posthumous sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, March 23, 1982, no. 30, as *Un couple dans un intérieur* by Jean Valade); (sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, March 25, 1991, no. 132, as *Un couple dans son intérieur* by Valade); (sale, Christie's, New York, January 12, 1996, no. 82 (as *François de Jullienne standing beside his Wife* by Charles Coypel, bought in).
2. Information about the family is from Dacier et al. 1921–29, vol. 1, pp. 224–28, 247–48, fig. 95, and Tillerot 2010, pp. 42–49, 324–25, nn. 32–36, 50–56, p. 364, no. 59, and see also no. 60. See also Vogtherr and Tonkovich 2011.
3. Tillerot 2010, p. 364, no. 58.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 386, no. 198.
5. See, for example, Nattier's 1756 portrait of Madame Marie Adélaïde de France making knots (Musée National des Châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon, MV 3801). Nollac 1905, pp. 96–97. Carol Santoleri has noted similarities to a pastel portrait of a woman doing needlework, signed and dated (upper left) "C. Coypel 1746," which was exhibited at the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, in *The Birth of Pastel*, June 9–December 17, 2017, L.2017.16 (from a private collection). She pointed out that the lace is apparently identical and could have belonged to the artist. The costumes of the two women are comparable. Coypel's punctilious technique was perhaps relatively time-consuming.
6. Pernety 1757, p. 57.
7. Diderot 1771, p. 145, pl. V, fig. 5.

EX COLL.: (sale, Mul, Palais des Beaux-Arts, Brussels, May 28–30, 1974, no. 44, as *Comte et Comtesse de Julonne*, signed and dated 1743); private collection, Paris (by 2010–11; sold through Didier Aaron to MMA).

EXHIBITION: New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Pastel Portraits: Images of 18th-Century Europe*, May 17–August 14, 2011 (exh. cat.: Baetjer and Shelley 2011).

REFERENCES: Lefrançois 1994, pp. 327–28, no. P.224, ill.; Baetjer and Shelley 2011, pp. 5, 8, 20, 39, ill. p. 4 (color, cropped) and back cover (color detail).



Fig. 24.3. Shuttle (navette), 1764–65. Maker: Mathieu Coiny fils (born 1723). Gold and enamel, $\frac{3}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{4} \times 1\frac{15}{16}$ in. (1.9 x 10.8 x 3.4 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Bequest of Catherine D. Wentworth, 1948 (48.187.484)

JEAN-BAPTISTE JOSEPH PATER

Valenciennes 1695–1736 Paris

Jean-Bapiste Pater was the son of a sculptor and the nephew of a painter. In 1706 he was placed by his father with a local artist, Jean-Baptiste Guidé. Edme Gersaint would later report that it was Pater's father who sent him to Paris to study with **ANTOINE WATTEAU**: probably the two painters left Valenciennes together after Watteau's visit to his native town, late in 1709 or in 1710. Again according to Gersaint, Pater thought his gifted compatriot intransigent and impatient and did not remain with him for long. After they separated, Pater evidently found great difficulty in making a living on his own in Paris and eventually returned to Valenciennes. In 1716, established there, he fell afoul of the local guild of Saint-Luc because, although he was not a member of the guild, he was nevertheless working as a professional artist while his father was selling his pictures. He appeared before a magistrate claiming to be an amateur; exchanges between him and his father and representatives of the guild went on until 1718, when he decamped to Paris, there to remain for the rest of his life. In 1721 he was summoned by Watteau to Nogent to receive instruction, but Watteau shortly died. In 1728 Pater was received into the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture (after a delay of three years during which the Académie Royale awaited his reception piece) in the category of painter of *fêtes galantes*, the genre the academicians had invented for Watteau. The two had many traits in common: Pater, from a Franco-Flemish cultural milieu, lived an austere existence, had a difficult temperament, and died young. He worked for his many private patrons tirelessly and with facility, throughout his life fearing poverty and failure. His most important sponsor was Frederick II, the Great, of Prussia, and a major part of Frederick's holdings may be seen at Schloss Sanssouci in Potsdam.

LITERATURE ON THE ARTIST: Ingersoll-Smouse 1928; Vogtherr 2011, pp. 3–20, 245–447.

25 and 26 | Jean-Baptiste Joseph Pater

Troops on the March, perhaps ca. 1725

Troops at Rest, perhaps ca. 1725

Oil on canvas, each 21¼ x 25¾ in. (54 x 65.4 cm)

Bequest of Ethel Tod Humphrys, 1956 (56.55.1, .2)

The lands from which Pater came had been reunited with France not long before he was born and were again contested while he was young. On September 11, 1709, Louis XIV's armies were defeated at the Battle of Malplaquet, near Valenciennes. It would be reasonable to suppose that Pater

saw and even suffered various forms of deprivation in the wake of the troop movements. **WATTEAU** revisited Valenciennes in the late summer or autumn of 1709 and the following year went back to Paris, taking Pater with him. Watteau had financed his trip home by selling to the Paris dealer Pierre Sirois a picture showing a departure of troops, and while in Valenciennes he painted a pendant for the same client, *Bivouac*.¹ This would have been the period of closest contact between the two artists who were natives of the town. Fifteen years later, Pater was approved for admission to the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture, and in 1828 he submitted his reception piece, a military subject, *Soldiers Merry-making*.²

As is the case with Watteau, Pater's paintings of troops describe armies marching or settled in temporary encampments: he shows no fighting and only rarely the smoke of battle. Many seem to have been conceived as pairs, though Florence Ingersoll-Smouse lists about fifty camp scenes as opposed to twenty-five troop marches.³ Pater's soldiers, like Watteau's, are closely observed. The fighting men are mostly of the lower ranks, but a few are mounted and wear breastplates and feathers in their hats. The foot soldiers, in coats of various colors, carry a combination of sabers, muskets, pikes, and commodious ammunition bags. They are accompanied by the victualers who travel with wagons of food and drink, build fires in camp, and sell provisions. Additionally there are camp followers, women to entertain the troops and live as they can and mothers with infants and other small children. All the figures are minutely painted in a tight, descriptive style. The mood is serious, pastel colors are eschewed, and the overall tone is rather dark for Pater. A wounded man with his arm in a sling is traveling in the wagon at left in *Troops on the March*. The landscape is furnished with imaginary ruined towers, walls, gates, and dilapidated houses set among rocks, hills, and filmy trees.⁴

A signed painting whose size, composition, and color scheme are nearly identical to our *Troops on the March* belonged to the Fondation Rau (fig. 25.1).⁵ As the colors are the same throughout, one was based on the other. In the right foreground of the Rau picture, a traveling trunk and what seems to be a pike are differently arranged; two soldiers on foot near the center are not accompanied by the dog that is present in ours. The Rau variant, lacking the dog, was thus the one engraved by Nicolas de Larmessin.⁶

Another painting of troops marching includes a group closely similar to that in the lower right corner of our canvas, a groom loading a packhorse.⁷ He is shown in both pictures with his back turned, his weight unevenly distributed, and his arms extended, as if the pose were taken from the same drawing; in both he wears a green coat. The horses have forequarters



Cat. 25



Left: Fig. 25.1. Jean-Baptiste Joseph Pater, *Halting at an Inn*, ca. 1728. Oil on canvas, 20 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 25 $\frac{3}{16}$ in. (53 x 64 cm). Sammlung Rau for UNICEF (GR 1.24), on loan to the Arp Museum, Remagen



Cat. 26

lighter in color than their rears, though the angles of their necks do differ slightly, and one is less wall-eyed than the other. The same half-figure of a victualer in a red vest is also present in both.

No chronology for Pater's oeuvre exists. His military subjects are usually dated to the last years of his relatively short life despite the fact that they show knowledge of Watteau's work of about 1709–10 in the same genre. And while Pater did submit a painting of troops rejoicing to secure admission to the Académie in 1728, the unusual subject was chosen by the director, who must already have known that he painted works of the kind. The troop paintings are not consistent in either style or quality, and it is not certain that they were painted within a short interval of time.

The subject of *Troops at Rest* exists in many variants. A mother with an infant and an admirer form a well-lit triangular group at the center and are loosely joined to a group of

four males. These in turn are presided over by a cook wearing an apron and ladling food from a pot suspended over a fire. A mother with an infant riding a mule and a cart horse with a collar from which a baby in a basket is suspended are attentively observed. A drawing in the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles (fig. 26.1) is perhaps close enough to have been a study for the central figure of the seated woman. A painting with a simpler composition but the same principal figure groups and colors was sold in New York in 2005 (fig. 26.2).⁸

NOTES

1. Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow, 1226.
2. Musée du Louvre, Paris, 7137.
3. Ingersoll-Smouise 1928, pp. 69–74, nos. 397–469. The first group embraces a wider variety of subjects and includes paintings similar to Pater's reception piece and his *fêtes galantes*, the genre in which he and Watteau were admitted to the Académie Royale.



Fig. 26.1. Jean-Baptiste Joseph Pater, *Study of a Seated Woman*, ca. 1725–30. Red chalk, 6 x 6 $\frac{1}{16}$ in. (15.2 x 16.7 cm). The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles (86.GB.613)



Fig. 26.2. Jean-Baptiste Joseph Pater, *Soldiers and Camp Followers at Rest*. Oil on paper laid on canvas, 17 x 19 in. (43 x 48.5 cm). Private collection

4. Conservator Mark Leonard described the state of the pictures as nearly perfect in 1979. In preparation for loan, both were surface cleaned, buffed, and varnished by conservators Dorothy Mahon and Karen E. Thomas in 2005. A heavy layer of dirt and grime was removed.
5. For provenance and other details, see Cécile Bouleau in Restellini 2000, pp. 104–5, no. 37, ill. (color).
6. A smaller (roughly 6 $\frac{1}{16}$ x 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. [17 x 32 cm]) horizontal version with many slight differences is catalogued in Ingersoll-Smouse 1928, p. 73, no. 450, fig. 124.
7. Stiftung Preussische Schlösser und Gärten Berlin-Brandenburg, GK I 5626. See Vogtherr 2011, pp. 355–68, nos. 34, 35, ill. (color), for the Berlin picture and its paired camp scene, which may not be precisely contemporary. For the camp scene, a date of ca. 1728 has been proposed, and for the march, ca. 1735. The march, illustrated in color, is painted in a range of darker tones than ours.
8. Sotheby's, New York, January 27, 2005, no. 14, ill. (color). By comparison with the Museum's, the composition in this case is cropped at the top and on both sides, and it is also considerably simplified. The figures appear as if enveloped in a dusty haze.

EX COLL.: Baron Adolphe de Rothschild, Paris (until d. 1900); Baron Maurice de Rothschild, Paris (1900–1924; sold to Wildenstein); [Wildenstein, New York, from 1924; sold to Macbride]; Mrs. Herbert Macbride, later Mrs. Julian Humphrys, New York (by 1928–d. 1956).

SELECTED EXHIBITIONS: Martigny, Fondation Pierre Gianadda, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York: Chefs-d'oeuvre de la peinture européenne*, June 23–November 12, 2006, nos. 34, 35 (exh. cat.: Martigny 2006). New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Watteau, Music, and Theater*, September 22–November 29, 2009, nos. 20, 21 (exh. cat.: Baetjer 2009).

REFERENCE: Ingersoll-Smouse 1928, p. 73, no. 449, pp. 16, 70, no. 417, figs. 125–26.

27 | Jean-Baptiste Joseph Pater

Children's Games, perhaps late 1720s

Oil on wood, overall, with added strips, 7 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 9 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (18.7 x 25.1 cm); original painted surface, 6 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 9 in. (16.2 x 22.9 cm)
The Jack and Belle Linsky Collection, 1982 (1982.60.43)

This little panel has a distinguished early history. It is recorded in Hébert's *Dictionnaire pittoresque* of 1766 as one of a pair of paintings belonging to Ange Laurent de La Live de Jully: "Deux petits tableaux sur bois, de Jean-Baptiste Pater, représentans des Jeux d'enfans," that is, "two little pictures on wood, by Jean-Baptiste Pater, representing Children's Games."¹ La Live de Jully was the wealthy son of a tax farmer.² He studied drawing and engraving with the painter CHARLES JOSEPH NATAOIRE and in 1754 was named an honorary associate member of the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture. A patron of GREUZE, he formed a collection of modern French paintings and sculpture and of seventeenth-century Dutch and Flemish paintings that was among the finest in Paris. La Live de Jully was born in 1725 and cannot have commissioned the Paters, but he may have been their second owner and evidently admired them very much as he engraved them himself, under one title, *L'Age d'or*, or *The Golden Age* (figs. 27.1–2).

The two were sold as a single lot in 1770 and 1798; later they were separated. The pendant reappeared in the Paris estate sales of Robert de Saint-Victor, on November 26, 1822, and January 7, 1823.³ The description, a group of children with a little girl riding in a cart shaped like a cradle and pulled by two dogs, agrees with La Live de Jully's engraving, and



Fig. 27.1. Ange Laurent de La Live de July (French, 1725–1779) after Jean-Baptiste Joseph Pater, *The Golden Age* (1 of 2). Etching, 6½ x 8¾ in. (15.5 x 21.9 cm). Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (44571651)



Fig. 27.2. Ange Laurent de La Live de July after Jean-Baptiste Joseph Pater, *The Golden Age* (2 of 2). Etching, 6½ x 8¾ in. (15.5 x 21.9 cm). Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (44571651)

the size is the same. The painting has not been seen since. Our panel, which was cleaned after it was acquired by the Museum in 1982, is in an exceptionally fine state of preservation.⁴ It is one of a number of paintings that Mr. and Mrs.

Linsky acquired at public auction. The size and support are unusual for Pater, as is the fact that it depicts children only.⁵ Four little girls, all about the same age, are dressed in miniature adult costumes in accordance with the custom of the

time. The three in bright colors are brought to a higher degree of finish; two wear silk stockings, which, because they are so boisterous, are wrinkled, and flat brown shoes tied with ribbons. One has a tiny cap trimmed with feathers pinned in her hair, two are playing with stick horses, and a fourth holds up a windmill pinwheel mounted on a stick to catch the breeze. Of the three younger children, at least one, in the right foreground doing a somersault, wears a trouser suit and so must be a boy. The position of the spotted dog mimics that of the boy. La Live de July introduced the title *Golden Age* well after the artist's death, for the reproductive engravings. We have reverted to an earlier description.

NOTES

1. Hébert 1766 (possibly a second edition of a book published in 1756), vol. 1, p. 122. See also La Live de July 1764, p. 36, as *Des Jeux d'enfants*.
2. See Scott 1973.
3. Ingersoll-Smouse 1928, p. 77, nos. 503–4, states that the pendant, no. 576 in the 1822 Saint-Victor sale, is on canvas, but the abbreviation reads “B(ois).” Our painting is not no. 575: the dimensions differ, and one child is described as wearing the costume of a Pierrot.
4. The uncradled panel was cleaned by conservator Nancy Krieg, and the surface was found to be in very good state, with minor retouches. The overall size, with added strips, was 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (18.7 x 25.1 cm). As the strips cannot be seen when the painting is framed, they were not removed. The original dimensions match the size recorded in the eighteenth century. Two coats of arms impressed in wax on the reverse have not been identified.
5. A painting by WATTEAU belonging to the Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth (AP 1981.05), is also small, was one of a pair, and shows children only. It is recorded at auction in 1737, but acquired its title (*Heureux age! Age d'or; Happy Age! Golden Age*) long after the artist's death.

EX COLL.: Ange Laurent de La Live de July, Paris (by 1764–70; cat., 1764, p. 36, as *Jeux d'enfants*, one of two panels, “Six pouces de haut sur huit pouces & demi de large [6 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 9 in. (15.9 x 22.9 cm)]”; his sale, Remy, Paris, March 5ff., 1770, no. 73, as “deux tableaux . . . , dans l'un on voit un enfant dans un chariot tiré par deux chiens & cinq autres enfans dont le conduit; dans l'autre, sept enfans jouent ensemble, dont deux courent à cheval sur des bâtons; ils sont peints sur bois, & portent chaque 6 pouces de haut, sur 8 pouces 6 lignes de large. M. de la Live les a gravés sous le titre de l'âge d'or,” for 520 livres to Ménageot); Cit. *** (Laferté) (until 1797; his estate sale, Le Brun, Paris, February 20, 1797, no. 77, as “Deux tableaux; l'un offre sept petites filles qui jouent; l'autre, composé de six enfans faisant aller un petit chariot . . .”); (sale, Le Brun, Paris, February 16–17, 1798, no. 52, as “Deux tableaux, composés chacun de six figures. L'un représente deux chiens atelés à un petit chariot. . . . L'autre offre différentes petites filles tenant des moulins à vent . . . ,” for 250 livres); Monsieur E. H . . . (until 1951; sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, March 9, 1951, no. 53, for Fr 3,150,000 to Linsky); Mr. and Mrs. Jack Linsky, New York (1951–his d. 1980); The Jack and Belle Linsky Foundation, New York (1980–82).

REFERENCES: Hébert 1766, vol. 1, p. 122; Louis Courajod in Duvaux 1873, vol. 1, p. 283; Ingersoll-Smouse 1928, p. 77, no. 503, fig. 205 (La Live engraving, in reverse, as *L'age d'or*); Katharine Baetjer in Linsky 1984, pp. 116–18, no. 44, ill.; Bailey 1988, p. LX.

28 | Jean-Baptiste Joseph Pater

The Fair at Bezons, ca. 1731–33

Oil on canvas, 42 x 56 in. (106.7 x 142.2 cm)

The Jules Bache Collection, 1949 (49.7.52)

The painting was unknown to the world of scholarship until 1925, when it was exhibited by Joseph Duveen. Then, in her 1928 Pater monograph, Florence Ingersoll-Smouse drew attention to a work titled *La foire de Bezons*, which had been sold by Jean-Baptiste Pierre Le Brun at auction in Paris in 1793. The well-known dealer and connoisseur thought his fair was Pater's best: “This immense composition with such varied groups and also so interesting because of the spirit, the drawing, and the color of each individual figure, is known as the masterpiece of this celebrated artist.”¹ The sizes were close, and in time it was understood that the two works were one and the same. The New York *Fair* is Pater's largest, most complex and important painting. The composition, inspired by WATTEAU, comprises a panorama in which innumerable small figures eat and drink, shop, play music and dance, engage in amorous dalliance, and watch comic entertainment. The background is an idealized landscape with Italianate ruins and trees. While the setting does not pretend to be a real place, the traditional title refers to a real event. Bezons was a small village on the Seine several miles to the northwest of Paris where a fair was held annually on the last Sunday in August, the feast of Saint Fiacre, who was a patron of the local church. The Bezons fair culminated in a masked ball celebrating married couples.

There were many such events in and around Paris, and outings to fairs and fair theaters were wildly popular in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The genre of the *fête galante* mirrors the pleasure people belonging to all classes of society took in this rather casual, democratic, and exuberant form of social life. A comedy by the actor and writer Florent Carton Dancourt titled *La Foire de Bezons* received numerous performances beginning in 1695. The debut of his play was shortly succeeded by the opening of another, Evariste Gherardi's *Le Retour de la Foire de Bezons*. In 1725 the painter François Octavien, who was also a singer and thus well acquainted with theatrical performance, submitted as his reception piece to the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture a canvas representing what might be a more literal view of the Bezons fair (fig. 28.2). Watteau also painted a fair scene with many figures;² his canvas of about 1710 must have been known to Pater, and Watteau in turn had been inspired by Rubens, whose typically Flemish *Kermesse* was in the French royal collection.³

As Le Brun observed, our picture is notable for the complexity and variety of its staffage. Here Pater painted about



170 figures (fig. 28.1), as well as several dogs and a performing monkey. Gathered around a table under an awning at the lower left are country folk reminiscent of Rubens, worked up in darker tones: a woman holding a pitcher, a man drinking from a barrel, a couple embracing, a child sleeping on a bench, a vignette of the type familiar from Pater's military scenes. In the opposite corner and also in shadow, several elegant couples play the role of spectators who have come from Paris in the sort of carriage drawn by two horses that is waiting in the background. The single most important figure is the dancer wearing a feathered cap and a dress with an overskirt gathered up with rosettes and trimmed with artificial flowers. She has been identified as, but more likely was inspired by, the comic actress Marie Anne Botot d'Angeville, whose portrait by Pater, presumed lost, is known to have been engraved in 1731. A smaller and less elaborate version of the Metropolitan Museum picture with fewer figures is at Schloss Sanssouci, Potsdam, and is signed and dated 1733 (fig. 28.3). These dates



Fig. 28.1. Detail of cat. 28



Fig. 28.2. François Octavien (French, active 1720s), *The Fair at Bezons*, 1725. Oil on canvas, 53 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 76 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (135 x 195 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris (INV 6993)



Fig. 28.3. Jean-Baptiste Joseph Pater, *The Fair at Bezons*, 1733. Oil on canvas, 35 $\frac{7}{16}$ x 51 $\frac{1}{16}$ in. (90 x 130 cm). Stiftung Preussische Schlösser und Gärten Berlin-Brandenburg (GK I 5292)

provide chronological parameters for the New York canvas. Slight changes made to our composition are absent from the one in Potsdam and indicate that ours is earlier.⁴

NOTES

1. Citoyen Lebrun, Paris, May 22ff., 1793, pp. 24–25, no. 101, 42 x 54 pouces (44 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 57 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. [113.7 x 146 cm]): “Cette composition immense en groupes aussi variés et aussi intéressans par l’esprit, le dessin et la couleur de chaque personnage en particulier, est le chef-d’oeuvre connu de cet artiste célèbre.”

2. Vogtherr 2011, pp. 115–22, no. 1, ill. (color), dates Watteau’s painting about 1708/10 and believes, as did Ingersoll-Smouse, that it directly inspired Pater’s 1733 fair picture (p. 370, no. 37, ill. [color]) as well as this one. Watteau’s canvas may have been titled *Feste de la Foire du Lendit*. Perhaps Pater also had in mind Watteau’s slightly later *Village Wedding*, for which see *ibid.*, pp. 123–32, no. 2, ill. (color), and fig. 4 (Cochin engraving).
3. Musée du Louvre, Paris, INV 1797.

4. Conservator Charlotte Hale noted in 2006 that the x-radiograph, which was difficult to read, revealed very few changes in the composition: the head of a woodwind player at the center was originally lower, and the tree

at left may have been taller. No tack holes relating to the cusping were observed. The ground, which appeared to have been applied with a spatula, is a warm mushroom color.

EX COLL.: d'Espagnac and others (sale, Le Brun, Paris, May 22ff., 1793, no. 101, as *La foire de Bezons*, for 3,001 livres to Desmarests); Baron Alfred Charles de Rothschild, Paris (until d. 1918); Almina, Lady Carnarvon, London (from 1918; sold to Duveen); [Duveen, Paris, London, and New York, until 1925; sold for \$175,000 to Bache]; Jules S. Bache, New York (1925–d. 1944; his estate, 1944–49; cats., 1929, unnumbered; 1937, no. 53; 1943, no. 52).

SELECTED EXHIBITIONS: Paris, Petit Palais, *Le paysage français de Poussin à Corot*, May–June 1925, no. P.245 (as *Une fête champêtre*, lent by Sir Joseph Duveen) (exh. cat.: Hourticq 1925). Ottawa, National Gallery of Canada, *The Age of Watteau, Chardin, and Fragonard: Masterpieces of French Genre Painting*, June 6–September 7, 2003, no. 21 (exh. cat.: Bailey 2003); Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, *The Age of Watteau, Chardin, and Fragonard: Masterpieces of French Genre Painting*, October 12, 2003–January 11, 2004, no. 21; Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, *The Age of Watteau, Chardin, and Fragonard: Masterpieces of French Genre Painting*, February 8–May 9, 2004, no. 21. Valenciennes, Musée des

Beaux-Arts, *Watteau et la fête galante*, March 5–June 14, 2004, no. 27 (exh. cat.: Ramade and Eidelberg 2004). New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Watteau, Music, and Theater*, September 22–November 29, 2009, no. 22 (exh. cat.: Baetjer 2009).

SELECTED REFERENCES: Alexandre 1925, ill. p. 189; Ingersoll-Smouise 1928, pp. 8, 12, 15–17, 42, no. 55, fig. 45; Sterling 1955, pp. 112–14, ill.; Conisbee 1981, pp. 154–55, ill.; Christoph Martin Vogtherr in Bailey 2003, pp. 160–61, 358, no. 21, ill. (color).

29 | Jean-Baptiste Joseph Pater *Concert Champêtre*, ca. 1734

Oil on canvas, 20½ x 26¾ in. (52.1 x 67.9 cm)

Signed (lower left): PATER, F.

Purchase, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, 1937 (37.27)

The feathery, indeterminate landscape that embraces groups of elegant figures in a variety of elaborate clothes is typical of Pater and illustrates what the artist avowed: that he owed





Fig. 29.1. Jean-Baptiste Joseph Pater, *Concert Champêtre*, 1734. Oil on canvas, 20% x 26¹⁵/₁₆ in. (53 x 68.5 cm). Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid (313 [1935.14])

everything to **WATTEAU**. The man with the beret at the far left is based on a figure in Watteau's *Italian Recreation*.¹ Pater reused this figure many times. The ladies' tightly curled hair and costumes, with pointed bodices, open necklines, and long sleeves worn over wide skirts, are more or less contemporary, while the short jacket, ruff, and shoe rosettes of the gentleman with the walking stick refer to the theater. The artist often contrasted burnt orange with pink and white, used here for the costumes of the main figures. The painting really does not have a subject, but the dolphin and putti seated on a stone cloud emerging from the shrubbery emphasize the playful nature of the occasion.

In 1928 Florence Ingersoll-Smouse published the painting and its presumed pendant, signed and dated 1734 (fig. 29.1), for the first time, having seen them together in 1907 in the Pierpont Morgan collection. Pater very rarely put his name to his work, so the commission may have been an important one,

though the two pictures, with unrelated groupings and settings, are not complementary. Ingersoll-Smouse proposed that they had belonged to the comte Dubarry, sold in 1774, and they seem also to have been with the baron d'Aubigny, and exhibited in 1892, despite slight discrepancies in both the sizes and the descriptions. The magnificent bequest made by Morgan through his son, one of the most important in the Metropolitan Museum's history, did not include the Paters, which may have remained with a family member until the mid-1930s.² Baron Thyssen acquired the pendant in 1935.

Pater is neither much admired nor adequately served by the limited scholarly literature. The ownership history of this painting is distinguished, but the work is a variant of earlier compositions. The principal motifs in the canvas and its pendant had been explored earlier in two of a set of four exceptionally interesting paintings belonging to Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II (figs. 29.2-3), which are first



Fig. 29.2. Jean-Baptiste Joseph Pater, *Fête Champêtre*, ca. 1728–34. Oil on canvas, 19¹/₁₆ x 23¹/₁₆ in. (50.6 x 60.2 cm). Royal Collection Trust: H.M. Queen Elizabeth II (RCIN 400671)



Fig. 29.3. Jean-Baptiste Joseph Pater, *Fête Champêtre with Flute Player*, ca. 1728–34. Oil on canvas, 19⁷/₈ x 23¹/₁₆ in. (50.5 x 60.5 cm). Royal Collection Trust: H.M. Queen Elizabeth II (RCIN 400673)



Fig. 29.4. Jean-Baptiste Joseph Pater, *Fête Champêtre*. Oil on canvas, 28¹/₂ x 35 in. (72.4 x 88.8 cm). Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (PD.121-1992)



Fig. 29.5. Jean-Baptiste Joseph Pater, *Fête Champêtre*. Oil on canvas, 22¹/₂ x 26 in. (56.2 x 66 cm). Norton Simon Museum, Pasadena, The Norton Simon Foundation (F.1985.3.P)

recorded at Buckingham House, London, in 1819, with an attribution to Watteau.³ The two are distinguished by the greater care and attention to detail with which they are painted and especially by the exchanges of glance that connect the figures one to another. Two other canvases

differ from the present work only in minor details: one is at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (fig. 29.4), and the other at the Norton Simon Museum, Pasadena (fig. 29.5). A drawing at Valenciennes may be a study for the hurdy-gurdy player (fig. 29.6).



Fig. 29.6. Jean-Baptiste Joseph Pater, *Study of a Seated Woman*. Red chalk on white paper, $7\frac{3}{16} \times 5\frac{5}{16}$ in. (18.3 x 14.1 cm). Musée de Valenciennes (D.76.24)

NOTES

1. Williams 1937, p. 150. Stiftung Preussische Schlösser und Gärten Berlin-Brandenburg, GK I 5599; see Vogtherr 2011, pp. 213–20, no. 8, ill. (color). It was in the Paris collection of Jean de Jullienne in 1733; the figure that inspired Pater is leaning on a pedestal and wears a bronze suit, a cape, and a beret. For a closer variant, see sale, Sotheby's, New York, January 25, 2007, no. 98, ill. (color).
2. Jennifer Tonkovich of the Morgan Library (email dated April 18, 2013) believes that they were probably among the works dispersed by Mr. Morgan's children in about 1934–36.
3. See Evans 1990, pp. 84–91, nos. 35–38, ill. (color). The others are theatrical subjects.

EX COLL.: comte Dubarry, Paris (until 1774; his [M. L. C. de D.] sale, Remy, Paris, November 21, 1774, no. 85, 19 x 24 pouces, with its pendant, for Fr 1,712 to ?Langlin); baron d'Aubigny, possibly Baron Arthur Richard d'Aubigny, Paris (in 1892, with its pendant); Rodolphe Kann, Paris (until 1896; sold to Agnew); [Agnew, London, 1896; sold to Morgan]; J. Pierpont Morgan, London (1896–d. 1913; his estate, from 1913; cat., 1907, unnumbered, with its pendant); [Arnold Seligmann, Rey & Co., New York, by 1936–37; sold to MMA].

SELECTED EXHIBITION: Paris, Galerie Georges Petit, *Cent chefs-d'oeuvre des écoles françaises et étrangères*, June 8–?, 1892, no. 33 (as *Scène champêtre*, lent by baron d'Aubigny) (exh. cat.: Paris 1892).

SELECTED REFERENCES: Roberts 1907, n.p.; Ingersoll-Smouse 1928, p. 39, no. 24, fig. 50; Williams 1937, ill.; Sterling 1955, pp. 114–15, ill.

LOUIS TOCQUÉ

Paris 1696–1772 Paris

After the death in 1710 of his father, the painter Luc Tocqué, Louis studied with Nicolas Bertin and then entered the atelier of **JEAN MARC NATTIER**, where his style as a portraitist was formed. Arnould Doria suggests that this may have been in about 1717–18. Tocqué himself would later speak of the importance of studying and copying portraits of the Flemish, Dutch, and Italian schools in the French royal collection and elsewhere during the period of his training. Evidently he remained for many years with Nattier, as he did not become a candidate member of the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture until 1731. He was received as an academician in 1734 upon presentation of two portraits and in the same year sent two works to Place Dauphine. The six portraits that he showed in the Salon of 1737 were afforded an enthusiastic critical reception: he was more than forty when his successful thirty-year-long career was launched. In 1738 he received high praise for a full-length portrait of the dauphin Louis (Musée du Louvre, Paris), son of Louis XV and Marie Leszczyńska, and the queen herself sat for him in 1740 (Louvre). He married Nattier's daughter Marie Catherine Pauline (she was almost thirty years his junior) in 1747, and the two artists formed an even closer bond. Tocqué, accompanied by his wife, traveled to Russia in 1756 to paint the empress Elizabeth (State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg), and in 1758–59 they moved to Copenhagen, where the king and queen, Frederick V and Juliana Maria, sat for him (Amalienborg Palace, Copenhagen). During his stay Tocqué was elected an academician and a counselor of the new royal academy, the Kongelige Danske Kunstakademi. He returned to Paris in time to exhibit at the 1759 Salon. Wealthy and successful, he ceased to paint in the mid-1760s and died in 1772.

LITERATURE ON THE ARTIST: Goncourt 1906, vol. 3, pp. 7–56; Doria 1929.

30 | Louis Tocqué

Jean Marc Nattier, ca. 1740

Oil on canvas, $30\frac{1}{2} \times 23\frac{1}{4}$ in. (77.5 x 59.1 cm)

Gift of Colonel and Mrs. Jacques Balsan, 1955 (55.205.1)

NATTIER was born in 1685, and while his appearance seems to have changed surprisingly little over time (fig. 30.1), this portrait, to judge by his age, looks later than 1730. Tocqué retained the picture or, less likely, borrowed it back from his father-in-law,¹ as it is the source for his 1762 reception piece for the Royal Danish Academy, to which he had been elected in November 1758, and to which in January 1759 Nattier had



been admitted as well, but in absentia, as a foreign associate member. Both were to present examples of their work according to custom.² When Tocqué returned to Paris on June 23, 1759, after a long absence, he had many commitments, and then in 1760 he fell ill and found it necessary to inform his colleagues in Copenhagen that for the moment he was unable to fulfill his obligation. His Danish royal portraits were

completed and dispatched in May 1762. Although the Danish Academy's portrait of Nattier by Tocqué (fig. 30.2) is signed and dated 1762, it probably did not travel in the same transport, as the two reception pieces were received and framed shortly before November 4, 1762.³ Tocqué is most likely to have painted it in the early summer, as Nattier attended sessions of the Académie Royale in May and June but in July was



Fig. 30.1. Jean Marc Nattier (French, 1685–1766), *Jean Marc Nattier and His Family*, 1730, completed 1762. Oil on canvas, 58 $\frac{1}{16}$ x 63 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (149 x 162 cm). Musée National des Châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon (MV 4419)



Fig. 30.2. Louis Tocqué, *Jean Marc Nattier*, 1762. Oil on canvas, 31 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 25 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (81 x 65.5 cm). Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts, Copenhagen (KS 185)

incapacitated and on August 14 drew up his will, indicating that by that time his health was impaired.⁴

Tocqué's Copenhagen portrait shows his father-in-law with his palette and brushes seated before an easel in a chair upholstered in blue damask. Nattier has a heavysset, good-tempered face and looks much older than he does in the sketch, as indeed he was. He wears a heavily powdered wig that is rather out of date, a splendid fur-lined velvet coat with gold brandebourgs, a damask waistcoat, and velvet knee britches. The portrait has a dark, silvery tonality, and is painted with utmost precision. The daubs of paint along the edge of the palette, for example, are easy to read.

The portrait of Tocqué (fig. 30.3) that Nattier painted for Copenhagen is likewise signed and dated 1762—the year of the onset of the illness from which Nattier never fully recovered. It depicts an elegant, upright, and very gentlemanly Tocqué in a peach-colored coat, holding a palette, against a light background, and is a variant of a work Nattier signed and dated in 1739, when the younger artist was in his mid-forties.⁵ According to the minutes of the Copenhagen Academy, Nattier promised to send a portrait of Tocqué as early as February 26, 1759.

Absent any evidence, it is still possible to construe the various portraits as an acknowledgment of the friendship that existed between the sitters and, in the case of the Danish commissions, of their long-lasting and successful professional relationship. Our unfinished sketch is smaller than Nattier's 1739 portrait of Tocqué. Both of the earlier works show the artists as they actually looked, while the later ones may show them as they wished to be remembered, and honored, in an academic context. The canvases delivered in 1762 are almost exactly the same size and may have been planned as a pair, since it would have been anticipated that the two would be shown side by side. It seems that while they were reaching the ends of their careers, in fact both sitters look significantly younger than they were, as evident in a portrait of Nattier by Guillaume Voiriot painted about 1759 (fig. 30.4).⁶ And if one were to believe Nattier, Tocqué's appearance changed hardly at all in a quarter of a century.

Our sketch shows Nattier in exactly the same pose as the 1762 portrait but wearing less formal attire, that is, white linen, a white and gold waistcoat, and a brown coat with wide cuffs but no trim.⁷ The buttons down the front of the coat are indicated by single strokes of paint. The linen ruffle is suggested by a few wet and dry strokes, and the contours of the sleeve and back of the arm are drawn in black in a line that widens into a shadow. The hands are slightly indicated, and Nattier's painting hand particularly is sensed rather than described, with a patch of gray, two of brown, and a thread of white. Tocqué drew the top and side of the canvas on the

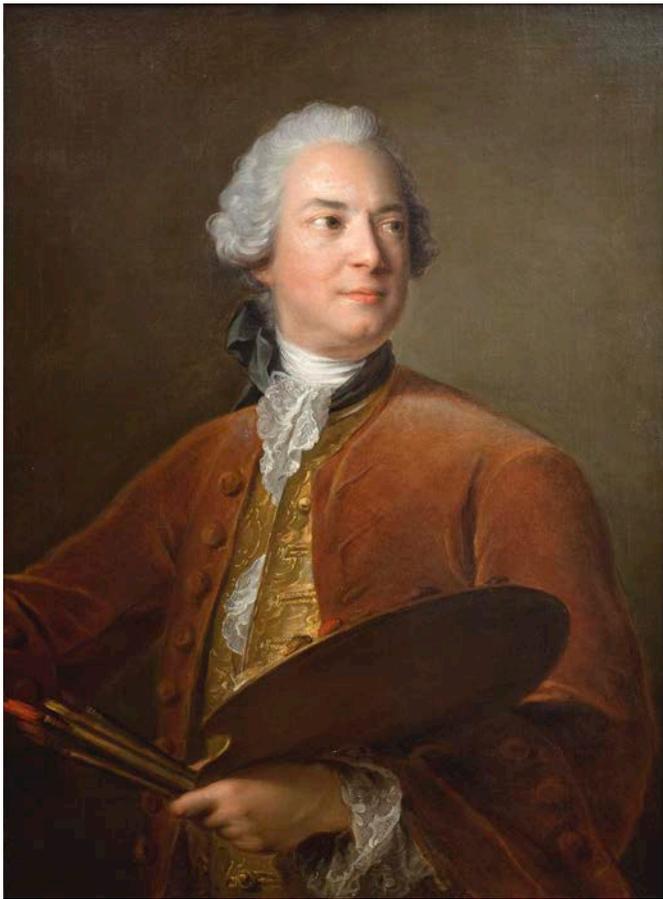


Fig. 30.3. Jean Marc Nattier, *Louis Tocqué*, 1762. Oil on canvas, 31 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 25 in. (81 x 63.5 cm). Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts, Copenhagen (KS 148)



Fig. 30.4. Guillaume Voiriot (French, 1713–1799), *Jean Marc Nattier*, ca. 1759. Oil on canvas, 51 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 38 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (130.5 x 97.5 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris (INV 8483)

easel in several long, uneven contour lines of dark brown, and then, using the background tone, worked up the suggestion of a female figure, more or less frontal, draped over the head and shoulder, and wearing a V-shaped bodice.⁸ The sitter's face, on the other hand, is finished, the blended strokes suggesting delicate plump features, fair skin, a soft jawline, and rosy cheeks. While the eyebrows are dark, the lashes are light. The domed, rounded forehead is plucked. The ground color shows through, especially in small areas between the curls of the wig, which is skillfully drawn and colored, contributing to the illusion of depth.

NOTES

1. The oil sketch was in Tocqué's collection when he died, for which see Marandet 2013.
2. Sass 1966 gives a full account but reaches the unlikely conclusion that the Copenhagen portrait of Tocqué was painted by him though signed by Nattier.
3. Information from Emma Salling, research librarian, Kunstakademiet Bibliotek, Copenhagen, in a letter of November 3, 1999.
4. See Salmon 1999, p. 311.
5. Museu Calouste Gulbenkian, Lisbon, 2384; see Salmon 1999, pp. 120–22,

and on the relationship more generally, pp. 32–34. Salmon draws attention to the fact that a third portrait of Tocqué by Nattier is mentioned in the literature. It is impossible to know which was exhibited in the 1759 Salon. 6. Sass 1966, pp. 187–88, fig. 3, remarks on how old and infirm Nattier looks in Voiriot's portrait, which was submitted to the Académie Royale in 1759 as his reception piece. The less talented Voiriot had perhaps rather little imagination.

7. The varnish was discolored and degraded, and the painting was cleaned by conservator Charlotte Hale in 1990. The canvas had been cut down: the tacking edges, part of the original paint surface, had been cropped to the thickness of the stretcher bar ($\frac{3}{8}$ in. [1.7 cm]). While an earlier relining had resulted in weave emphasis, the painting was otherwise in a very good state of preservation. The only sizable loss was an old tear in the palette that had been patched on the reverse and had become more evident with time.

The ground, a thick salmon-colored layer, fills the interstices of the canvas and is seen throughout, especially in the more freely painted lower left quadrant. The paint is applied broadly: thinned down in the background, it is built to a low impasto in areas with white. The face and wig are built up with much greater detail. Remnants of a later inscription at the top naming the sitter were retained but touched out. The damage in the area of the palette was repaired and retouched.

8. In the 1762 portrait the canvas on the easel shows a female figure in contemporary dress seated and seen from the back.

EX COLL.: the artist, Paris (until d. 1772); Madame Louis Tocqué, née Marie Catherine Pauline Nattier, Paris (1772–d. 1775); her sister, Madame François Philippe Brochier, née Charlotte Claudine Nattier (1775–d. 1779); ?by descent through the Goupil family; Adrien Raffard (until 1924; as *Self-Portrait* by Nattier; sold to Wildenstein); [Wildenstein, Paris, 1924; sold to Balsan]; Colonel and Mrs. Jacques Balsan, Paris and New York (1924–55).

SELECTED EXHIBITION: Paris, Galerie Beaux-Arts, *Le siècle de Louis XV, vu par les artistes*, 1934, no. 182 (as *Son portrait par lui-même*, by Nattier, lent by Colonel Balsan) (exh. cat.: Paris 1934).

SELECTED REFERENCES: Doria 1929, p. 128, no. 243; Sass 1966, pp. 189–93, ill.; Salmon 1999, pp. 120, 122, ill.; Marandet 2013.

PIERRE LOUIS DUMESNIL THE YOUNGER

Paris 1698–1781 Paris

Pierre Louis Dumesnil belonged to a family of painters and is referred to as Dumesnil the Younger because his brother, Louis Claude, who died in Paris in 1769, was called Dumesnil the Elder. As a former professor at the Académie de Saint-Luc, Louis Claude showed several religious subjects, a history painting, and two portraits there in the years 1751 through 1753; in 1762 he exhibited as associate rector. Like his brother, Pierre Louis Dumesnil is known principally for his connection with the Académie de Saint-Luc, where he participated in all seven exhibitions held between 1751 and 1774. (The exhibitions were held by the *maîtrise* only in the years 1751, 1752, 1753, 1756, 1762, 1764, and 1774, on the model of the Salons of the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture.) The younger Dumesnil served the guild as associate professor, as professor from 1748, and as rector from 1773. Mainly interested in genre themes, for which he was known, Dumesnil occasionally contributed religious and historical subjects and, in 1774, engravings after his own paintings. He is also recorded as a portraitist. He visited Bordeaux in 1756 and 1759. His style shows the influence of both **JEAN FRANÇOIS DE TROY** and **JEAN SIMÉON CHARDIN**.

LITERATURE ON THE ARTIST: *Livrets* 1872.

31 | Pierre Louis Dumesnil the Younger *Card Players in a Drawing Room, ca. 1750s*

Oil on canvas, 31½ x 38¾ in. (79.1 x 98.4 cm)

Bequest of Harry G. Sperling, 1971 (1976.100.8)

The picture is first recorded on the London art market in 1961 as by **JEAN FRANÇOIS DE TROY**, an attribution that was changed in 1967 to Pierre Louis Dumesnil the Younger

by Harry G. Sperling, principal of the art dealing firm of Kleinberger, on the advice of Charles C. Cunningham.¹ By way of explanation, Cunningham mentioned having found a similar picture in the catalogue of the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Bordeaux (fig. 31.1). That work is a satirical portrait of Nicolas Beaujon, born in 1718, a highly successful Bordeaux merchant active mostly in his native town until about 1751 and then in Paris, where he made a fortune in banking. Judging by the sitter's age and circumstances, it is unlikely to be earlier than the 1750s. There are few paintings by this artist in public collections, but three in the Musée Carnavalet, Paris, when taken together with that in Bordeaux, are enough to assure that the attribution of our canvas is correct. In the 1752 exhibition, Dumesnil exhibited a pair of pictures—both listed as number 6—depicting a mother watching her children play (fig. 31.2) and a room in which a servant dresses two children.² That same year he showed as number 8 a second pair, a charitable woman giving directions to a nun and a young abbot receiving a child for catechism.³ Both were engraved.

Each picture shows a room with moldings, furnishings, and accoutrements attentively described. The details are more convincing than the scale and perspective of the spaces. All of the figures have round, puffy cheeks and turned-up noses, and all of the women wear caps. The drawing room in our picture is elegantly decorated with a gilt bronze clock on a pedestal and several framed oil paintings. The portrait hanging on the far wall could well be that of the gentleman seated on the sofa, his hand resting on the knee of the lady beside him. The fireplace is surmounted by a mirror reflecting the light of six candles; the fire is tended by a black servant, and a pair of tongs lie on the floor next to him. The young black man is formally dressed in a livery coat trimmed with gold braid, white stockings, and a plumed turban.⁴ He wears an earring. His presence confirms the wealth of the owner of the house, who is likely to have held property in the Caribbean and thus owned slaves. The full skirts of the ladies playing cards are draped over their chair arms. They wear gloves with the fingers open, the better to manipulate the cards. The younger man holds a muff. Despite the fire, the drawing room must have been cold as well as dark. A lap dog barks at a cat crouching on a chair back. A date not earlier than the 1750s may be suggested.

NOTES

1. Cunningham was director of the Wadsworth Atheneum and of the Art Institute of Chicago.

2. *Livrets* 1872, p. 22: “Deux autres Tableaux . . . l'un représentant une Mere qui regarde jouer ses Enfants; l'autre, une Chambre où une Servante habille des Enfants. Ces deux Tableaux . . . portant 2 pieds & demi de haut, sur 3 & demi de large” [32 x 44¼ in. (81.2 x 113.7 cm)]. The discrepancy is small and proportionate and could be accounted for by the presence of frames. Later, each was falsely signed with Chardin's name and the date 1731.



Fig. 31.1. Pierre Louis Dumesnil the Younger, *The Merchant*. Oil on canvas, 12 $\frac{1}{16}$ x 17 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (32.3 x 44.1 cm). Musée des Beaux-Arts, Bordeaux (Bx E 1069.312)



Fig. 31.2. Pierre Louis Dumesnil the Younger, *A Mother Watching Her Children Play*, ca. 1750. Oil on canvas, 29 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 42 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (75.2 x 108 cm). Musée Carnavalet, Paris (P2799)

3. Ibid. “Une Dame de Charité, donnant ses orders à une Soeur Grise; l’autre, un jeune Abbé de Catéchisme, qui reçoit un jeune Enfant amené par sa Soeur. . . . Hauteur 15 pouces de large, sur 1 pied de haut” [12¾ x 16 in. (32.5 x 40.6 cm)]. The dimensions of the painting of the Abbé, which is also at the Musée Carnavalet, are a close match. The pendant, of the same size, was sold at Galerie Charpentier, Paris, December 5, 1955, as no. 14.
4. There were not more than a few thousand blacks, enslaved or free, in eighteenth-century France. Most were admitted on a short-term basis as servants of their owners. In order to stress their exoticism, they were often shown as here in Oriental costume. France abolished slavery twice, in 1794 and in 1848. See also [cat. 1](#).

EX COLL.: [Duits, London, until 1961; sold for \$10,000 to Kleinberger]; [Kleinberger, New York, 1961–75, as by Jean François de Troy; bequeathed by Harry G. Sperling, last surviving partner, to MMA].

EXHIBITIONS: Atlanta, High Museum of Art, *The Rococo Age: French Masterpieces of the Eighteenth Century*, October 5–December 31, 1983, no. 55 (exh. cat.: Zafran 1983). Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, *Paris: Life & Luxury in the Eighteenth Century*, April 26–August 7, 2011, no. 87 (exh. cat.: Bremer-David 2011); Houston, Museum of Fine Arts, *Paris: Life & Luxury in the Eighteenth Century*, September 18, 2011–January 1, 2012, no. 87. Château de Versailles, *Fêtes & divertissements à la cour*, November 29, 2016–March 26, 2017, no. 258 (exh. cat.: Caude et al. 2016).

SELECTED REFERENCE: Baillio 1984, p. 21, fig. 10.

JEAN SIMÉON CHARDIN

Paris 1699–1779 Paris

Chardin, the son of an artisan, was born in Paris and spent his life there. He was a pupil of Pierre Jacques Cazes, and of Noël Nicolas Coypel, both history painters, but their styles seem to have left little impression on him. He gained entry to the Paris guild, the Académie de Saint-Luc, in 1724, and four years later, in the spring of 1728, exhibited *The Ray* and *The Buffet* (both Musée du Louvre, Paris) in the *Exposition de la Jeunesse* at Place Dauphine. He brought the same paintings among many others to the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture in September 1728, and when they had been examined, he was received and admitted simultaneously—but in the least important category, that of still life, as a painter of animals and fruit—and presented the two works as his reception pieces. In 1732 Chardin again showed in Place Dauphine, and in 1734, for the first time, his exhibits there included genre scenes from daily life, *Woman Sealing a Letter* (Schloss Charlottenburg, Berlin) and probably also *The Washerwoman* (Nationalmuseum, Stockholm). At each Salon from 1737 through the 1740s he exhibited subjects of the kind, while beginning in 1753 he presented an occasional portrait and a number of still lifes. Always an active member and supporter of the Académie Royale, Chardin was appointed counselor in 1743 and

treasurer in 1755. From 1761, as *tapisseur*, he was entrusted by his colleagues with the controversial task of installing the biennial Salons. In his last years, when because of the risk to his failing sight he could no longer use oil paints, the artist made head studies and portraits in pastel, of which a small number survive (principally in the Louvre). Engravings of his genre paintings were published and widely collected from 1738 onward. Louis XV owned several examples of Chardin’s work, which was sought after not only in Paris but throughout Europe.

LITERATURE ON THE ARTIST: Wildenstein 1933 and 1969; Rosenberg 1979a/b; Roland Michel 1994; Rosenberg 1999/2000.

32 | Jean Siméon Chardin

The Silver Tureen, ca. 1728–30

Oil on canvas, 30 x 42½ in. (76.2 x 108 cm)

Signed (left of center): J.chardin

Fletcher Fund, 1959 (59.9)

Chardin’s earliest dated works were painted in 1728, the year he was admitted as an academician. These include *The Buffet*, a large upright canvas with an elaborate still life of fruit on a shelf and a dog in the foreground, and a smaller picture of dead rabbits, one suspended from a nail in the wall, with a game bag, a powder flask, and an orange.¹ Both show enclosed interior spaces, stone walls and shelves, and in the case of *The Buffet*, a stone floor. In 1730, by contrast, the artist painted another large and ambitious upright that includes a hare lying on a stone shelf, a mallard duck suspended above, and a spaniel, but set out of doors against a landscape background (private collection). A half dozen undated canvases depicting a dead hare or rabbit fastened to a wall in an interior space are loosely associated with these works, and it is reasonably argued that they were painted slightly earlier or slightly later.

The Silver Tureen belongs to the group as well, but it is larger in scale than most. The shelf or sill, curving forward to the right, is found also in *The Buffet*, where there is a different silver vessel and another live animal. Also related is a horizontal canvas with an almost identical hare lying on a flat rock beside a game bag and a powder flask; in front is a stone wall, and in the background to one side, a landscape (fig. 32.1). The compositions of the two horizontal works are more elaborate than the ones that show animals suspended from a nail against a wall, and perhaps they follow, in about 1730. It is worth noting that from the reopening of the Salon in 1737 until the Salon of 1753, Chardin did not exhibit a still life. Pictures focusing on game or other foodstuffs were a major aspect of his early production, but perhaps given their extreme sobriety, he withheld them, or for a time largely ceased painting them, for reasons that we cannot guess.



In this still life the artist's signature typically appears on the front of the shelf. The variation from the horizontal of the shelf introduces a critical imbalance. The tureen, a vessel for stews called a *pot à oille*, has been attributed to the Paris silversmith Claude II Ballin.² It has long been agreed that Chardin would not have owned this valuable object and so would presumably have borrowed it from a silversmith. The tureen tilts toward and rests against the back of the hare. An orange is precariously balanced on its cover. The partridge is sheltered by the hare, which together with the tureen is surrounded by the stems and leaves of a large cardoon, a celery-like vegetable (the plant has by now lost much of its gray-green color and is therefore difficult to read). The front quarters of the supple, crouching tortoiseshell cat at the lower left oppose the dead, stiffened game, which is liberally spotted with dark blood. To the right are chestnuts and fruit: an apple and two pears, disproportionately large in scale, reflected—in a variety of soft splotches of color—on the different surfaces of the tureen.



Fig. 32.1. Jean Siméon Chardin, *Dead Hare with Rifle, Game Bag, and Powder Horn*. Oil on canvas, 29½ x 37½ in. (75 x 95 cm). Musée de la Chasse et de la Nature, Paris

As the Goncourts tell it, one day, while painting a cat staring at a dead hare, Chardin received a visit from Jacques Philippe Le Bas. The engraver was much impressed by the hare and expressed a desire to buy the picture. Chardin is said to have replied that this could be arranged because Le Bas was wearing a jacket that pleased him; Le Bas left the jacket and took the canvas in exchange.³ Even though probably not strictly accurate, the story belongs to the artist's history and mythology because it testifies to the perceived simplicity of his life and of his nature. *The Silver Tureen* is the one painting known that fits the description of catalogue number 12 in the 1783 Le Bas sale: "a dead hare, a cat who lies in wait for it, and some fruits on a stone sill."⁴ The recorded width is close, at 38 pouces (40⁷/₁₆ in. [102.8 cm]), and although the height, 20 pouces (21¹/₄ in. [54.1 cm]), is not, this may simply be an error of transcription: 20 instead of 30 pouces (32 in. [81.2 cm]), as Pierre Rosenberg has suggested. The artist generally did not replicate his still lifes. Neither were they engraved. However, Le Bas, eight years younger than Chardin, would engrave four of Chardin's genre subjects at a later time. Various events or coincidences support the likelihood of a connection between the two artists.

Pierre Jean Mariette, connoisseur, critic, and Chardin's near contemporary, wrote in 1749 that the development of his characteristic style began with the gift of a dead hare.⁵ Chardin thought the animal beautiful and decided to paint it. So as not to be occupied with anything but the truthfulness of his rendering, he famously told himself that he must forget everything that he had seen, even the way in which such objects had been painted by other artists.⁶ He should place the animal at a distance so as not to become too preoccupied with the details. He should paint not the hairs of the coat but the wholeness of the form. The friends to whom he showed this very early work found it promising and urged him to continue, while Mariette himself saw in the picture skill, intelligence, and truth. With this understanding, when painting a hare Chardin was able to communicate absence of life: the hare is not simply a dead thing, but rather one from which life has been withdrawn, and it becomes an object of our compassion. The dense, chaotically impastoed treatment of the fur contributes in commanding our close attention.⁷

When he reviewed the 1860 exhibition in which this picture was first exhibited, the critic Thoré-Bürger drew attention to Chardin's originality. He praised especially the painting of "immobile objects" and singled out this still life, comparing its tone to that of Frans Snyders and its vigorous brushwork to that of Aelbert Cuyp. Snyders's pupil Jan Fyt (fig. 32.2), also mentioned by Thoré-Bürger, approached the painting of



Fig. 32.2. Jan Fyt (Flemish, 1611–1661), *A Partridge and Small Game Birds*, 1650s. Oil on canvas, 18³/₄ x 14¹/₄ in. (46.4 x 36.2 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Purchase, 1871 (71.45)

dead animals with a similar sobriety and serious intent.⁸ Unfortunately, what Chardin knew of or thought about the seventeenth-century Northern schools is not recorded.

NOTES

1. Musée du Louvre, Paris, 3198; Staatliche Kunsthalle, Karlsruhe, 499.
2. Rosenberg 1979b, p. 136, attributes this suggestion to Daniel Alcouffe and references *Les grands orfèvres de Louis XIII à Charles X* (Paris: Hachette, 1965), pp. 49, 82.
3. Goncourt 1906, vol. 1, p. 149. "Le Bas s'enflamme devant son lièvre et lui témoigne le désir de le lui acheter. 'On peut s'arranger,' lui dit Chardin; 'tu as une veste qui me plaît fort.' Le Bas ôta sa veste et emporta le tableau."
4. Le Bas also owned a surgeon's sign depicting many figures, one of Chardin's earliest works, number 11 of the same sale catalogue.
5. Mariette 1851–60, vol. 1, p. 356.
6. Cochin 1876, pp. 421–22, which was written shortly after the artist's death. "Pour n'être occupé que de le rendre vrai, il faut que j'oublie tout ce que j'ay vu, et même jusqu'à la manière dont ses objets ont été traités par d'autres."
7. On these matters, see Cohen 2004, pp. 41–44.
8. Bürger 1860, pp. 334–39, 234–35.

EX COLL.: Jacques Philippe Le Bas, Paris (until d. 1783; his estate sale, Paris, December 1ff., 1783, no. 12, as *Un Lièvre mort, un Chat qui le guette & des Fruits sur un rebord de pierre*, 20 x 38 pouces [about 21¼ x 40⅞ in. (54.1 x 102.8 cm)], for 9 livres 13 sols); Laurent Laperlier, Paris (by 1860–67; his sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, April 11–13, 1867, no. 19, as *La Soupière d'argent*, for Fr 2,350); J. W. G. Davis, London (1867–69; his sale [J.-W.-G. D***], Hôtel Drouot, Paris, February 25, 1869, no. 20, as *Une Soupière d'argent, du Gibier, et des Fruits*, for Fr 2,120); Maillot du Boullay, Rouen (1869; his sale [M. D*** B***], Hôtel Drouot, Paris, May 8, 1869, no. 1, as *La Soupière d'argent*, for Fr 1,920); Monsieur Edwards (until 1905; his sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, May 25, 1905, no. 5, as *La Soupière d'argent*, for Fr 27,500 to Lazard for Rothschild); Baron Henri de Rothschild, Paris (1905–31); his daughter Nadine, Mme Adrien Thierry, Paris (1931–d. 1958); her brother, Baron Philippe de Rothschild, Paris (1958–59; sold to Rosenberg & Stiebel); [Rosenberg & Stiebel, New York, 1959; sold to MMA].

SELECTED EXHIBITIONS: Paris, Galerie Martinet, *Tableaux et dessins de l'école française, principalement du XVIIIe siècle, tirés de collections d'amateurs (Deuxième supplément)*, 1860, no. 355 (lent anonymously) (exh. cat.: Burty 1860). Paris, Galerie Georges Petit, *Chardin et Fragonard*, June–July 1907, no. 60 (as *Le Lièvre*, lent by Henri de Rothschild). Paris, Galeries Nationales du Grand Palais, *Chardin, 1699–1779*, January 29–April 30, 1979, no. 20 (exh. cat.: Rosenberg 1979a); Cleveland Museum of Art, *Chardin, 1699–1779*, June 6–August 12, 1979, no. 20 (exh. cat.: Rosenberg 1979b); Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, *Chardin, 1699–1779*, September 11–November 19, 1979, no. 20. Karlsruhe, Staatliche Kunsthalle, *Jean Siméon Chardin, 1699–1779: Werk, Herkunft, Wirkung*, June 5–August 22, 1999, no. 3 (exh. cat.: Lüdke 1999). Paris, Galeries Nationales du Grand Palais, *Chardin*, September 7–November 22, 1999, no. 17 (exh. cat.: Rosenberg 1999); Düsseldorf, Kunsthalle, *Chardin*, December 5, 1999–February 20, 2000, no. 17 (exh. cat.: Seifert 1999); London, Royal Academy of Arts, *Chardin*, March 11–May 29, 2000, no. 17 (exh. cat.: Rosenberg 2000); New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Chardin*, June 27–September 3, 2000, no. 17.

SELECTED REFERENCES: Bürger 1860, pp. 234–35; Goncourt 1880–82, vol. 1, pp. 100, 127–28; Normand 1901, pp. 14–16; Dayot and Guiffrey 1907, pp. 37, 88, no. 201; Wildenstein 1933, p. 207, no. 688, fig. 75; Wildenstein 1959b, p. 99; Eisler 1960, ill.; Wildenstein 1963, p. 140, no. 33, fig. 14; Rosenberg 1979b, pp. 75, 77–78, 110, 135–36, no. 20, fig. 20, pl. 3 (color), and ill. p. 41 (detail); Démoris 1991, pp. 42, 53–54, fig. 6.

33 | Jean Siméon Chardin

Soap Bubbles, ca. 1733–35

Oil on canvas, 24 x 24⅞ in. (61 x 63.2 cm)

Signed (left, on stone): J-chardin

Wentworth Fund, 1949 (49.24)

Although he was a member of the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture from 1728 until the end of his life, Chardin had not studied at the school of the Académie Royale, and there is no evidence to suggest that he was either trained to draw from the model or inclined to do so. With a

few exceptions of very early date, he did not make preparatory studies for his canvases, upon which, according to contemporary reports, he worked slowly and with effort. While at first he from time to time included a dog or a cat in his still lifes, generally they show only inanimate objects: vegetables and fruit, dead game and other meats, fish and shellfish, hunting equipment, table- and kitchenware. It is therefore understandable that in the late 1720s and early 1730s he hesitated to paint the human figure and may have been teased into doing so by his friend Jacques Aved, the portraitist.¹ According to Mariette, writing about twenty years later, Chardin's first figural piece was a head of a young man blowing bubbles, studied from a model.² Even if not the first, the versions of *Soap Bubbles* are among the earliest. French taste, and his own personal taste, for Dutch art, in which soap bubbles as intimations of mortality abound, doubtless influenced Chardin's choice of subject, and he may have seen a Caspar Netscher that is said to have been owned by Aved, or some other example.³ It seems unlikely that Chardin had any moralizing intent. Instead, he was interested in the process of maturation as well as in closely observed phenomena and optics.⁴

Three autograph examples are known of Chardin's bubble blowers: the present canvas; a horizontal variant in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (fig. 33.1); and an upright in the National Gallery, Washington, D.C. (fig. 33.2). Each is signed on the stone ledge, but none is dated, and as Philip Conisbee observed, there are no pentimenti in any of the three.⁵ However, the same person seems to have modeled for the servant holding a candle in Chardin's large canvas *Woman Sealing a Letter*,⁶ and there is good reason to accept the date on that canvas as 1733, although a 1738 engraving by Etienne Fessard is titled with a caption dating it to 1732. The picture was first presented at the *Exposition de la Jeunesse* in Place Dauphine in 1734 and was shown again at the 1738 Salon.

A fourth painting of bubble blowers is presumed lost: also an upright, but differing in several details, it has been identified as the source of the engraving by Pierre Filloeuil advertised in the *Mercure de France* in December 1739 (fig. 33.3).⁷ In that case it would also have been exhibited in the 1739 Salon with the title *L'amusement frivole d'un jeune homme, faisant des bouteilles de savon*, because reproductive engravings were a source of income for both painter and printmaker and therefore usually replicated recent public exhibits. Is it then reasonable to suppose that Chardin painted four versions in the early 1730s, retaining the earliest one, which he showed in 1739? As the Salon had been reinstated two years previously, 1739 offered him only the third major opportunity to present work painted over more than a decade. This does not seem unlikely.



Several early genre scenes by Chardin have exhibition histories similar to that of *Woman Sealing a Letter*: that is, there are pictures that were shown more than once and as much as five years after they were painted. A date for the surviving canvases representing a boy blowing bubbles cannot be extrapolated from the date a fourth version was exhibited.⁸ What is generally agreed is that the thick brushwork of ours suggests that it is earliest of the surviving three. If we accept Mariette's account (which may concern only the larger-scale

figure paintings), and if we agree that the same model appears in the *Woman Sealing a Letter*, then a date of about 1733–35 may be suggested. What is lacking is information as to why Chardin often repeated his genre subjects so many times: whether this was to meet the demands of the trade, for example, or whether, because he was slow and found difficulty in achieving what he desired, he chose to use a successful composition more than once. It is also worth considering why modern prohibitions against replicas, usually thought to be of lesser



Fig. 33.1. Jean Siméon Chardin, *Soap Bubbles*, mid-1730s. Oil on canvas, 23 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 28 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (60 x 73 cm). Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Gift of the Ahmanson Foundation (M.79.251)



Fig. 33.2. Jean Siméon Chardin, *Soap Bubbles*, mid-1730s. Oil on canvas, 36 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 29 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (93 x 74.6 cm). National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Gift of Mrs. John W. Simpson (1942.5.1)

quality, do not seem to have applied in the eighteenth century or in the specific case of Chardin's variant genre paintings.

Despite apparent correspondences in size, we cannot be certain that the Metropolitan Museum's painting belonged to either Trouard or Dulac (it is unlikely to have been owned by both), or that it had a pendant. The provenance of a genre subject by or after Chardin existing in several variants is always difficult to disentangle, but in the case of *Soap Bubbles*, this is an impossible task because the autograph versions do not retain their original dimensions. A boy blowing bubbles was paired with a boy building a house of cards in the Trouard sale; the same or another version of the picture was a pendant to *The Young Schoolmistress* in the 1801 Dulac sale. The latter case, two figures of comparable ages and on a similar scale engaged in complementary endeavors, might seem more natural, particularly as in each the child is young enough to wear a padded cap that offers protection against falling; however, all combinations are possible judging from records of sales.⁹

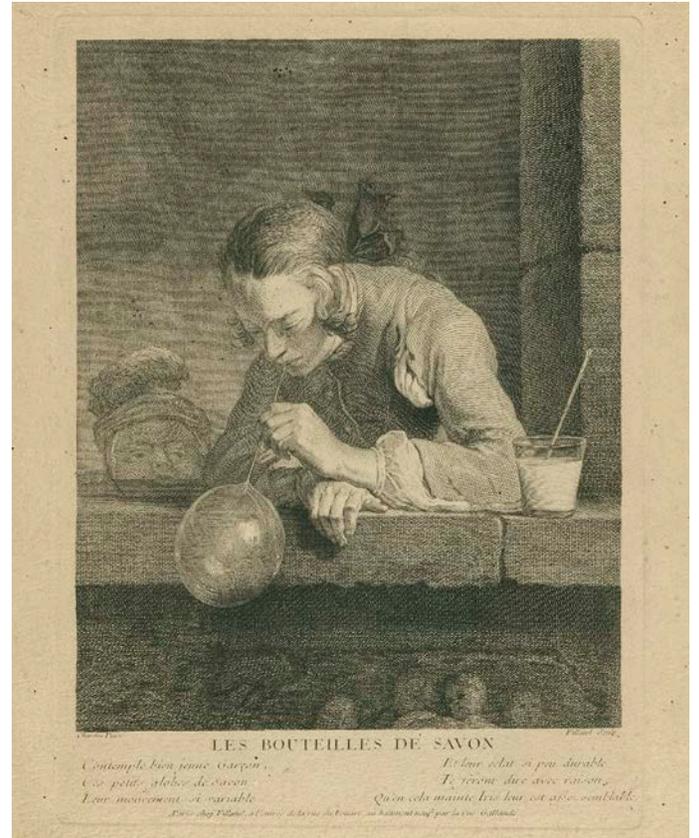


Fig. 33.3. Pierre Filloeuil (French, 1696–after 1754) after Jean Siméon Chardin, *Soap Bubbles*, 1739. Etching, 10 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (27.6 x 19 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of Georgiana W. Sargent, in memory of John Osborne Sargent, 1924 (24.63.1302)

NOTES

1. Mariette 1851–60, vol. 1, p. 357.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 358. “Il eut occasion de peindre une teste de jeune homme qui fait des bulles de savon, et qu’on a en estampe; il l’avoit fait avec soin d’après nature, et s’étoit attaché à lui donner un air naïf; il le fit voir; on lui en dit du bien.”
3. Among additional artists whose works may be cited in this connection are Adriaen Hanneman and Frans van Mieris, whose pictures show one of two children blowing bubbles. For Aved’s Dutch connections, see Radisich 2013, pp. 36–39.
4. Démoris 1991, p. 81. Frédéric Ogée (2000, pp. 431, 444) describes them as “pictures which resist any form of verbal presence,” observing that “the most troublesome prosencic barrier which [he] has removed is that of semantic relevance.” For a consideration of what might be related material, see Katie Scott’s comparison with *tableaux de mode* in Bailey 2003, p. 97.
5. Conisbee in Los Angeles 1990, p. 17.
6. Schloss Charlottenburg, Berlin, GK I 4507.
7. The 1739 engraving had as a pendant *Game of Knucklebones*, which reproduces a surviving canvas in the Baltimore Museum of Art (1938.193). Among Chardin’s early genre paintings in small format is *The Laundress* (Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, NM 780), which probably was exhibited with its companion in 1734 and 1738, and includes in the foreground a small boy seated and gazing at a soap bubble attached to his bubble pipe.
8. A work with the same subject is listed in Chardin’s estate at the time of his death. With respect to the engraving, the verses in this and other cases are thought to have been additions not associated with the artist.
9. For example, in the National Gallery in London there is a (presumed) pair of *The Young Schoolmistress* and *The House of Cards* (NG4077 and NG4078). They relate in size and subject matter to our picture but differ greatly in technique and are much lighter and more varied in coloration.

EX COLL.: ?Louis François Trouard, Paris (until 1779; his anonymous sale, Paris, February 22, 1779, no. 44, as one of “Deux tableaux pendans; ils représentent chacun un jeune garçon vu à mi-corps; l’un s’amuse à faire des boules de savon, & l’autre un château de cartes,” canvas, 23 x 24 pouces, for Fr 95 to Dulac); ?Antoine Charles Dulac, Paris (until 1801; his sale, Paillet and Delaroche, Paris, April 6, 1801, no. 19, as one of “Deux Tableaux . . . l’un représente un écolier qui fait des bules de savon; l’autre, une jeune fille qui fait lire enfant”); Jacques Doucet, Paris (by 1899–1912; his sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, June 6, 1912, no. 136, as *Les Bouteilles de savon*, for Fr 300,500 [with no. 135, *Le Faiseur de châteaux de cartes*, for Fr 190,000]); David David-Weill, Paris (1912–at least 1933; cat., 1926, pp. 25–26, ill. [see Henriot 1926]); Fritz Mannheimer, Amsterdam (until d. 1939); his widow, Jane Mannheimer, Amsterdam and later New York (1939–49; held in Paris for Mrs. Mannheimer at Chenue; seized by the Nazis and “bought” May 12, 1944, through Posse and Mühlmann for Fr 800,000 for the Führer Museum, Linz; held at Alt Aussee [1387] and at Munich collecting point [1588]; returned to France, January 30, 1946, by the Service Français de la Récupération and restituted following agreement with SNK [Netherlands Art Property Foundation] in or after 1948; sold to Wildenstein); [Wildenstein, New York, 1949; sold to MMA].

SELECTED EXHIBITIONS: Paris, Orangerie des Tuileries, *Chefs-d’œuvres des collections françaises retrouvés en Allemagne par la Commission de Récupération Artistique*, June–August 1946, no. 10 (exh. cat.: Paris 1946). Paris, Galeries Nationales du Grand Palais, *Chardin: 1699–1779*, January 29–April 30, 1979, no. 61 (exh. cat.: Rosenberg 1979a); Cleveland

Museum of Art, *Chardin: 1699–1779*, June 6–August 12, 1979, no. 61 (exh. cat.: Rosenberg 1979b); Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, *Chardin: 1699–1779*, September 11–November 19, 1979, no. 61. Los Angeles County Museum of Art, *Masterpiece in Focus: Soap Bubbles by Jean-Siméon Chardin*, October 18, 1990–January 20, 1991 (exh. cat.: Los Angeles 1990); New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Soap Bubbles by Jean-Siméon Chardin*, February 19–June 16, 1991; Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, *Soap Bubbles of Jean-Siméon Chardin*, June 30–September 2, 1991. Paris, Galeries Nationales du Grand Palais, *Chardin*, September 7–November 22, 1999, no. 42 (exh. cat.: Rosenberg 1999); Düsseldorf, Kunsthalle, *Chardin*, December 5, 1999–February 20, 2000, no. 42 (exh. cat.: Seifert 1999); London, Royal Academy of Arts, *Chardin*, March 11–May 29, 2000, no. 42 (exh. cat.: Rosenberg 2000); New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Chardin*, June 27–September 3, 2000, no. 42.

SELECTED REFERENCES: Dilke 1899a, pp. 181–82, ill. opp. p. 180 (engraving of our version by Henri Lefort); Dilke 1899b, pp. 114–15; Goncourt 1906, vol. 1, p. 157; Dayot and Guiffrey 1907, pp. 44, 46, 75, 90, no. 113, and no. 122, ill.; Dayot and Vaillat 1908, p. iv; Vitry and Nicolle 1912, p. 37, no. 136, ill.; Henriot 1926, pp. 25–27, ill.; Wildenstein 1933, pp. 167–68, no. 135, fig. 20; *Répertoire* 1947, p. 165, no. 3687; Wildenstein 1963, pp. 150, 182, no. 75, fig. 35; Wildenstein 1969, pp. 158, 190, no. 75, fig. 35; Rosenberg 1983, pp. 91–92, no. 97, ill. p. 91 and pl. 17 (color); Démoris 1991, pp. 70, 84–87, 99–101, 153, fig. 11; Roland Michel 1994, p. 35 n. 35, pp. 66, 193, 233 nn. 14–15; Rosenberg 1999, pp. 234–35, no. 98, ill.; Conisbee 2009, p. 65, 67–68 n. 8, fig. 1, under no. 12.

PIERRE HUBERT SUBLEYRAS

Saint-Gilles-du-Gard 1699–1749 Rome

Born in Saint-Gilles-du-Gard in the south of France, Subleyras studied with his father, Mathieu, and in 1717 entered the Toulouse workshop of Antoine Rivalz, for whom he acted as a principal assistant in 1722. He received his first independent commission in 1725, for canvases for the ceiling of the Chapelle des Pénitents Blancs in Toulouse (they are now in the Musée des Augustins), and at about the same time began working as a portraitist. He moved to Paris in 1726 and won the Prix de Rome the following year with *Moses and the Brazen Serpent* (Musée des Beaux-Arts, Nîmes). His stay at the Académie de France was extended from the autumn of 1728 until 1735, despite some opposition from the director, Nicolas Vleughels, and owing to the support and patronage of the French ambassador to Rome, the duc de Saint-Aignan, for whom he illustrated four scenes from the fables of Jean de La Fontaine (all Musée du Louvre, Paris) and painted, in 1737, *The Duc de Saint-Aignan Awards the Cordon Bleu of the Saint-Esprit to Prince Girolamo Vaini* (Musée de la Légion d’Honneur, Paris). Subleyras married the Roman miniaturist Maria Felice Tibaldi in 1739 and in 1740 was elected to membership in the prestigious Accademia di San Luca. Presumably because he found important patrons locally, he declined to

return to France and refused invitations to take up positions at court in either Dresden or Madrid. He had success with his portraits, the most important of which represent Frederick Christian of Saxony, son of the elector Augustus II, painted in 1739 (Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Gemäldegalerie, Dresden), and Pope Benedict XIV, painted in 1740–41 (a version is in the Musée Condé, Chantilly). Subleyras received major commissions from religious orders, notably from the Lateran Canons, in 1737, for the enormous and well-received *Banquet in the House of Simon the Pharisee* (Louvre) as well as for altarpieces for the churches of Rome, for the cathedrals of Toulouse and Grasse, in 1741, and for Saint Peter’s. A brilliant colorist and an accomplished draftsman and printmaker, Subleyras suffered ill health from the mid-1740s and died of tuberculosis at the age of forty-nine.

LITERATURE ON THE ARTIST: Pasqualoni 1786; Vita 1786; Michel and Rosenberg 1987.

34 | Pierre Hubert Subleyras

Pope Benedict XIV, 1746

Oil on canvas, 25¼ x 19¼ in. (64.1 x 48.9 cm)

Signed and dated (reverse): Pietro Subleiras 1746:

Purchase, Friends of European Paintings Gifts, Bequest of Joan Whitney Payson, by exchange, Gwynne Andrews Fund, Charles and Jessie Price Gift, and Valerie Delacorte Fund Gift, in memory of George T. Delacorte, 2009 (2009.145)

Prospero Lorenzo Lambertini was born into a noble but impoverished family in Bologna in 1675. He was tutored privately as a child and then from an early age educated in Rome at the Collegio Clementino, in 1694 taking a doctorate in civil and canon law and theology. Lambertini rose rapidly through the ranks at the Vatican and held a variety of official positions, including, from 1708 until 1727, promoter of the faith, with responsibility for beatifications and canonizations. He wrote treatises on this subject, on diocesan synods, and on aspects of the mass. He was named archbishop of Ancona in 1727 and cardinal in 1728. Three years later he was transferred to the archbishopric of Bologna, where he was admired for his humanity as a pastor and for his scholarship as a theologian. At the end of the six-month conclave of 1740, Lambertini was elected pope as a compromise candidate and took the name of Benedict XIV. An able, practical, and zealous administrator, he held a conciliatory attitude toward European politics and maintained good relationships with Protestants in various fields of endeavor. Throughout his papacy he remained interested in secular literature, the history of the church, and a wide variety of other subjects; he introduced courses in the sciences to the curriculum of La Sapienza University, and in

the arts, founded an academy for the study of antiquity and commissioned a catalogue of manuscripts in the Vatican Library. Toward the end of his life, Horace Walpole famously described him as

A Priest without insolence or interest;
A Prince without favourites;
A Pope without nepotism;
An Author without vanity.¹

Benedict XIV was as widely admired for his accessibility and generosity of spirit as for the breadth of his knowledge. His acquaintance with Pierre Subleyras significantly advanced the painter’s career.

Elected to the papacy on August 17, 1740, Benedict XIV soon chose Subleyras—who thereby triumphed over his Roman rival, Agostino Masucci—to paint an official portrait completed early the following year. The composition exists in various replicas and variants, perhaps as many as twenty. The primary version, presumed lost, may have been painted for the king of Spain. A picture referred to in mid-eighteenth-century French sources as the “original” was retained by Benedict XIV until 1757, when he sent it as a personal gift and a measure of his esteem to the Sorbonne. Seized during the Revolution, it is presumably the portrait later acquired by the duc d’Aumale and now in the Musée Condé in Chantilly (fig. 34.1).² Another important version was ordered by the Venetian ambassador, Marco Foscarini, just after the pope’s election and is still in Venice at the Seminario Patriarcale, while a third, given to the Académie Royale in 1766, is at Versailles.³ In all of these canvases, Subleyras showed the heavysset pope in three-quarter length and three-quarter view, seated in an elaborately carved and upholstered chair and facing to the right, his right hand raised in blessing. He wears a white cassock and a lace rochet under a red ermine-lined *mozzetta*, or shoulder-length cape, with a stole embroidered in gold. The costume, accompanied by a matching red ermine-lined hat, the *camauro*, was worn in winter for audiences and on other formal occasions. The pope’s hair is white but his eyebrows are dark; he has a long nose and a serious, intensely focused expression that is directed slightly to the side of the onlooker. Subleyras and his assistants would have been called upon to prepare replicas not only in 1741 but over the years, and one of these would have been held in the workshop as a model.

Three days after his elevation to the papacy, Benedict XIV appointed as his secretary of state the Mantuan cardinal Silvio Valenti Gonzaga, who held the position until his death in 1756. Valenti Gonzaga had served the church as papal nuncio in Brussels from 1731 to 1736 and in Madrid from 1736 to



1740. He was a brilliant scholar and diplomat, and a voracious collector, holding more than 800 European paintings from the fifteenth through the mid-eighteenth century and including works by Perugino and Raphael as well as by Vernet and Panini. The cardinal, fifteen years younger than the pope and similarly educated but more worldly, was his intellectual equal; they had wide-ranging interests in common. Both favored Subleyras, who, presumably not before 1740, painted Valenti Gonzaga standing in three-quarter length, in the brilliant red robes and ermine of his office and wearing an elaborately curled and powdered wig.⁴ At his death and according to his estate inventories, Valenti Gonzaga owned various paintings by Subleyras, including two portraits of Benedict XIV. It is clear from the measurements that the larger canvas is a version of the official portrait, while the other, “in busto,” measures roughly 26 x 19¹/₁₆ inches (66 x 50 cm). The only autograph painting matching this description was bought at Sotheby’s in New York on the advice of Keith Christiansen for the Metropolitan Museum in 2009.⁵

The portrait is unusual in several respects, not least that it is unlined and thus preserves the signature in full and the date 1746 on the reverse. It was treated in 2009 by conservator Michael Gallagher, who described its pristine condition. The canvas, of relatively open weave, was attached to its strainer with the original slightly rusted nails, “partially hammered in and then bent flush with the sides in the usual manner.” Cusping on all sides indicated that the fabric was stretched before the ground layer was applied. There was one small loss at the lower left and minor abrasions. The oxidized varnish was removed, the loss restored, and the distracting marks left by old fly spots were ameliorated. “There are several pentimenti where the artist has made significant adjustments to the contours: narrowing the head and hat, adjusting the ermine trim, and the white collar. The portrait is executed with an assured and fluid hand, yet such is the artist’s command of form and his astonishing but understated facility with the brush, that it is almost impossible to overlook what a bravura piece of painting this is.”

The pope confronts his interlocutor with a fixed, unsmiling expression. Robust, he occupies the picture space without compromise. His elaborate costume is not permitted to distract from our engagement with the forthright character of which he was possessed. As was usual, he wears the ermine-trimmed *mozzetta* and *camauro*. His stole, decorated with the red and gold Lambertini coat of arms and the papal keys and tiara, is fastened with a red ribbon finished with gold tassels. In view of the connections between the sitter, the cardinal, and the painter, and of the correspondence in size between the canvas and the entries in the inventories at the cardinal’s death, it is likely that in 1746, before he fell ill and departed



Fig. 34.1. Pierre Hubert Subleyras, *Pope Benedict XIV*, ca. 1745. Oil on canvas, 49¹/₁₆ x 38¹/₁₆ in. (125 x 98 cm). Musée Condé, Chantilly (PE 384)

for Naples, Subleyras painted Benedict XIV from life for Valenti Gonzaga.⁶

NOTES

1. Horace Walpole, “Letter to Sir Horace Mann . . . June 20, 1757,” in *The Letters of Horace Walpole, Earl of Orford*, ed. Peter Cunningham (London: Bohn, 1866), vol. 3, p. 85.
2. Garnier-Pelle 1995, pp. 130–31, ill., argues that the Chantilly portrait is among the earliest, about 1740–41; Joconde dates it about 1745.
3. Musée National des Châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon, MV 3852; Moschini 1842, p. 127.
4. Pinacoteca Capitolina, Rome, PC 402.
5. Since that time, two copies in oil on canvas, one of which was formerly in the Mansi collection in Lucca, have been on the American and European art markets.
6. Kultzen 1985, pp. 55–56, no. 17 (ill.).

EX COLL.: ?Cardinal Silvio Valenti Gonzaga (until d. 1756; his estate, 1756–77; printed inv., n.d. [1756?], no. 509, as “Quadro di palmi 3. per altezza, e palmi 2., once 3. per larghezza, rappresentante Ritratto di Papa Benedetto XIV, in busto, in tela, del Subleras” [a painting 26³/₁₆ in. (67 cm) high by 19¹/₁₆ in. (50 cm) wide, depicting Pope Benedict XIV, bust length, on canvas, by Subleyras]; ms. inv., 1756, no. 509, as “Altro quadro alto palmi tre, rappresentante ritratto di Nostro Signore Benedetto XIV, con sua cornice liscia dorata, dipinto da Mr. Sublera scudi 10” [another painting

26% in. (67 cm) high, depicting Our Father Benedict XIV, with its burnished gold frame, painted by Subleyras 10 scudi]); ?his nephew, Luigi Valenti Gonzaga (1777–d. 1808; inv., 1777, no. 509); Ammiraglio Simone Pacoret de Saint-Bon, ministro della marina, Rome (until d. 1892); Alexis Pacoret de Saint-Bon, comte de Saint-Bon, Villard-Léger, Savoie (1892–1911); G. Christin, Nyon, Switzerland (from 1911); private collection, Geneva (ca. 1949–ca. 1999; sold to next owner); private collection (ca. 1999–2009; sale, Sotheby’s, New York, January 29, 2009, no. 73, to Adam Williams for MMA).

SELECTED REFERENCES: “Inventario dei beni dell’eredità del cardinale Silvio Valenti Gonzaga,” September 2, 1756, c. 795v–796r, no. 688 (Archivio di Stato, Rome; published in Morselli and Vodret 2005, p. 348; Getty no. I-4144, with date as September 7); “Stato attivo e passivo dell’eredità di Roma del Card.le Silvio Valenti . . .,” 1777, no. 509 (Archivio di Stato, Mantua, Notaio Angelo Amadei, 1777; published in Morselli and Vodret 2005, p. 315; Getty no. I-4145); Arnaud 1930, p. 83, under no. 133; Michel and Rosenberg 1987, pp. 252–53; Petrucci 2010, vol. 1, fig. 255 (color), vol. 3, pl. 1268; Rosenberg 2016, p. 305.

35 | Pierre Hubert Subleyras

The Mass of Saint Basil, 1746

Oil on canvas, 54 x 31½ in. (137 x 79 cm)

Signed and dated (lower right, on step): P. Subleyras / 1746
Wrightsmen Fund, 2007 (2007.166)

In the early eighteenth century it was thought that two of the altarpieces in the Basilica of Saint Peter’s in Rome were ruined and required replacement: Domenico Passignano’s *Crucifixion of Saint Peter* and *The Mass of Saint Basil* by Girolamo Muziano, completed after Muziano’s death in 1592 by Cesare Nebbia. The project was on hold when Benedict XIV was elected to the papacy in 1740. After Subleyras completed the pope’s official portrait in 1741, Cardinal Silvio Valenti Gonzaga suggested that he be offered the commission for one of the new altarpieces, which would then be copied in mosaic.¹ Subleyras sketched both subjects and was invited to paint *The Mass of Saint Basil*. A study for the picture was presented in connection with the contract of December 13, 1743, and an initial payment was made on December 23 toward a total compensation of 1,200 Roman scudi. Two years later the artist stated that the work was nearly half finished. He received the final payment on December 29, 1747, and his canvas was displayed in the Basilica for three weeks beginning on January 16 and was greatly admired. Work on the mosaic began in 1748, and later the picture was removed to the Church of Santa Maria degli Angeli in Rome, where it remains. Throughout, the huge altarpiece was a matter of deep concern to Subleyras, who was ill while he had it in hand, who labored over it, and who died before the mosaic was completed in 1751.

The painting, which had a very long gestation, was preceded by drawings as well as studies in oil of individual figures and groups and compositional sketches. There are also many workshop and other derivations and copies. Our concern here is with the compositional sketches and how they relate to the finished altarpiece. It is generally agreed that the first stage of what would become the final design is represented by a canvas in the Musée du Louvre, which is neither signed nor dated.² The Louvre sketch differs in two important particulars from our sketch and from the finished altarpiece: a young deacon in white vestments, facing forward at center left, was omitted elsewhere; and the princely figure in armor, at right, does not wear the crown that is usually depicted. The Louvre painting has rarely been imitated, suggesting that it was not widely known.

The present sketch may well have been painted in the summer or autumn of 1746: Subleyras was in Naples toward the end of the year, and when he returned to Rome, perhaps the following summer, only a few months remained before the full-scale canvas was completed. It is fully signed and dated. The design would already have been fixed, and it is difficult to imagine the purpose for which our canvas was intended. Perhaps the artist always meant to keep it, as a *ricordo*. This is the likely scenario, as the sketch appears, in the frame in which it is still displayed, at the center of Subleyras’s painting *The Atelier*, which is a sort of living memorial of his career by an artist nearing death.³ A painting close in style, slightly less detailed and neither signed nor dated, belongs to the State Hermitage Museum in Saint Petersburg. The handling is stiff, and it is likely a workshop replica.⁴

The subject is rare, but its choice is easily explained.⁵ On June 11, 1580, the relics of Saint Gregory of Nazianzus had been immured in the Capella Gregoriana, the first chapel to be used for worship in the new Saint Peter’s. Gregory of Nazianzus and Basil were early Christian contemporaries and defenders of Trinitarian theology (which recognizes one god in three persons, as opposed to the Arian view that the Father is greater than the Son). Both had opposed the Arian beliefs of the Emperor Valens. A relic of Saint Basil, who died in 379 in Cappadocia (modern Turkey), was also immured in the chapel. Toward the end of the sixteenth century, Muziano directed the decoration of the Capella Gregoriana and painted the first altarpiece dedicated to Saint Basil, which was installed in the passage leading to the right transept. His work, destroyed by ill usage and damp, was replaced in 1754 by the mosaic after Subleyras. In 1758 Pope Benedict XIV would be buried opposite. The source for Muziano’s composition, as for that of Subleyras, was a passage from Basil’s funeral oration by Saint Gregory of Nazianzus (XLIII:52):





Fig. 35.1. Jacques Callot (French, 1592–1635) after Girolamo Muziano (Italian, 1528–1592), *Saint Basil Celebrating the Sacrifice of the Mass* [*The Celebration of the Holy Mysteries*]. Engraving, second state of two, $4\frac{7}{16} \times 2\frac{13}{16}$ in. (11.3 x 7.2 cm). Reproduced in *Les Eglises Jubilaires*, 1607–11, pl. 12. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1959 (59.569.13)

Upon his entrance [Emperor Valens] was struck by the thundering roll of the Psalms, by the sea of heads of the congregation, and by the angelic rather than human order which pervaded the sanctuary and its precincts: while Basil presided over his people, standing erect, as the Scripture says of Samuel, with body and eyes and mind undisturbed, as if nothing new had happened, but fixed upon God and the sanctuary, as if, so to say, he had been a statue, while his ministers stood around him in fear and reverence. At this sight, and it was indeed a sight unparalleled, overcome by human weakness, [the Emperor's] eyes were affected with dimness and giddiness, his mind with dread. . . . But when he had to offer the gifts at the Table of God, which he must

needs do himself, since no one would, as usual, assist him, because it was uncertain whether Basil would admit him, his feelings were revealed. For he was staggering, and had not someone in the sanctuary reached out a hand to steady his tottering steps, he would have sunk to the ground . . .⁶

The new design prepared by Subleyras was influenced by Muziano's composition, which is lost but recorded in a print by Jacques Callot (fig. 35.1). Following Muziano, Subleyras grouped the principal ecclesiastical figures at the left and raised them on a dais against a background of monumental columns; however, instead of showing Saint Basil praying before the altar, where the chalice had already been placed, he reversed the figure of the saint to show him receiving the chalice before the congregation. The chalice is at the exact center of the canvas, and the poles of the flabella focus attention on the main motif. In accordance with Gregory's description, Basil stands "as if . . . he had been a statue," erect, and "with body and eyes and mind undisturbed . . . fixed upon God." With a piercing ray that fixes the white draperies as if in amber, Subleyras captures the extraordinary solemnity of the moment. The emperor Valens is again placed in the foreground to the right, with his followers arranged in two groups, but the altar rail has been removed to allow the crowd to press forward in a dark, curving wave. Valens is identified by a crown as well as by the Roman leather corselet with fringed lappets and sandals that he wears. His red drape forms an S-curve as he swoons.

According to conservator Michael Gallagher, writing in 2009, cleaning confirmed the high quality of the *modello*. The handling of the paint is virtuoso in its facility and control, and the paint layer in general is in excellent state.⁷ The paint film had been transferred to a new canvas and attached to a keyed stretcher that appeared to date from the twentieth century. A broad craquelure pattern was visible across the entire surface. The texture of the scrim used in the transfer process had been pressed into the paint film. There were relatively few losses, and the majority were small and generally confined to the perimeter, but the retouching covering them was crude and excessive. The varnish was discolored and disrupted the tonal values, undermining the interplay of warm and silvery hues vital to the sense of space, depth, and drama in the painting. There was some slight abrasion in the dark passages, usually associated with the presence of pentimenti, where thin layers of dark paint have been brushed over lighter forms. The surface is somewhat gritty, suggesting the presence of lead soaps. The painting has a pale terracotta-colored first ground followed by a light gray layer. This does not appear throughout

(for example, it is absent from an area in the upper right where the pink ground shows through). It is possible to see in the x-radiograph some of the changes made by the artist. The heads of the man and the boy with the basket of loaves in the lower left were enlarged, the gesturing young cleric behind them was added at a comparatively late stage, and the ecclesiastical staff on the far left was lowered from a slightly more upright position. Other changes are evident on the actual paint surface, for example, the emperor's proper right leg was added on top of his red cloak, while the helmeted soldier's head at right was also a late addition.

NOTES

1. The commission to Subleyras and the subject of the altarpiece were first described in Dézallier d'Argenville 1762, vol. 4, pp. 451–54, and in Pasqualoni 1786, pp. 156, 171–72.
2. Louvre INV 8004.
3. Akademie der Bildenden Künste, Vienna, GG-844.
4. Hermitage 1169. This was first pointed out in Nemilova 1986, p. 322, no. 245, ill.
5. See Rice 1997, pp. 24–25 nn. 45, 48–49, p. 171, and DiFederico 1983, pp. 29–30, 62, 75.
6. <http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/310243.htm>.
7. Michael Gallagher further notes: During transfer the tacking edges at the sides were flattened out and the dimensions of the original support and composition were extended on all four sides by filling and overpainting the gap between the rather ragged edges of the original and the edges of the stretcher. The sides are extended approximately by 1 in. (2.5 cm), the top by $\frac{5}{8}$ in. (1.5 cm), and the bottom by $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. (5 cm). The filling and overpaint on all four edges extended rather broadly into the original in order to disguise this expansion. The original pale border of the arched top was also overpainted to enlarge the space depicted in the composition. It would thus have become necessary to enlarge and adapt the original frame accordingly.

EX COLL.: Pierre Subleyras, Rome (until d. 1749; his estate, Rome, 1749–before 1786); (sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, May 8, 1891, no. 77, as a reduction, signed and dated 1746, 137 x 79 cm [54 x 31 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.], of Subleyras's celebrated painting, for Fr 1,250); Comtesse W. R. (until 1929; her estate sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, January 25, 1929, no. 23, as attributed to Subleyras, 135 x 78 cm [53 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 30 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.]); private collection, Château de Guermantes, France (1929–2006; sale, Piasa, Paris, December 13, 2006, no. 14, as by Subleyras, for €220,000 to Kilgore); [Jack Kilgore & Co., New York, 2006–7; sold to MMA].

EXHIBITIONS: Paris, Musée du Luxembourg, *Subleyras, 1699–1749*, February 20–April 26, 1987, no. 117 (lent by a private collection, France) (exh. cat.: Michel and Rosenberg 1987); Rome, Académie de France, Villa Medici, *Subleyras, 1699–1749*, May 18–July 19, 1987, no. 117.

REFERENCES: Vita 1786, pp. 30–32, 34–35; Conisbee 1987, p. 415; Michel and Rosenberg 1987, pp. 107, 336, 341, 343, no. 117, ill. p. 340; Piasa 2006, pp. 26–27, no. 14, ill. (color); Rosenberg 2016, p. 305.

CHARLES JOSEPH NATOIRE

Nîmes 1700–1777 Rome

Natoire was born into a very large family in Nîmes in the south of France and studied there with his father, a sculptor. In 1717 he moved to Paris, entering first the studio of Louis Galloche, and then, a year or two later, that of the distinguished history painter François Lemoyne. Winning the coveted Prix de Rome at the age of twenty-one, Natoire departed for the Académie de France in 1723, and during his stay there was awarded a prize by the Accademia di San Luca, but for such a gifted artist his career got off to a rather slow start. After four years in Rome, he spent a fifth in Venice and the cities of northern Italy. He was accepted for membership in the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture shortly after his return to Paris in 1730 but was not received until 1734, when he presented *Venus Begging Arms from Vulcan* (Musée Fabre, Montpellier). Natoire and **BOUCHER**, who evidently met in the studio of Lemoyne, were received in the same year, and both attained the rank of professor in 1737. They were friends and rivals, extremely successful, and also occasional collaborators, both working, for example, at the Hôtel de Soubise in Paris. Then, in 1751, Natoire was appointed to the directorship of the Académie de France in Rome. While this was a prestigious position, teaching left him little time for his own work, and he was soon forgotten by the French court and the Paris public as well, while Boucher, in the capital city, left him far behind. The work of Natoire, a brilliant and prolific draftsman as well as a fine painter, is not sufficiently well known. Fortunately for his reputation, he is the subject of two recent monographs.

LITERATURE ON THE ARTIST: Caviglia-Brunel 2012; Benhamou 2015.

36 | Charles Joseph Natoire

The Rebuke of Adam and Eve, 1740

Oil on copper, 26 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 19 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (67.9 x 50.2 cm)

Signed and dated (lower left): C. Natoire / 1740

Purchase, Mr. and Mrs. Frank E. Richardson III, George T. Delacorte Jr., and Mr. and Mrs. Henry J. Heinz II Gifts; Victor Wilbour Memorial, Marquand, and The Alfred N. Punnett Endowment Funds; and The Edward Joseph Gallagher III Memorial Collection, Edward J. Gallagher III Memorial Bequest, 1987 (1987.279)

Three years after the death of François Lemoyne, who had been his teacher, Natoire sent to the Salon of 1740 “a small picture representing Adam and Eve after the fall.” The *Mercure de France*, commenting on Natoire's exhibits, found





Fig. 36.1. François Lemoyne (French, 1688–1737), *Adam Receiving the Forbidden Fruit from Eve*, ca. 1723–26. Oil on copper, 26½ x 20 in. (67.3 x 50.8 cm). Private collection

them ever more worthy of the teachings of his master, who had been first painter to the king, alluding to the close connection between the two artists. In fact, Natoire intended his painting on copper to be paired with a copper by Lemoyne depicting an earlier moment in the biblical narrative, the subject of which is Adam receiving the forbidden fruit from Eve in the Garden of Eden (fig. 36.1). We know this quite certainly, because our copper is described in the catalogue of the 1765 estate sale of the marquis de Villette as follows: “Adam & Eve, after the fall: God appears to them. This picture is one of the most beautiful by Monsieur Natoire (Charles); also he made it as the pendant to one by his master, François le Moine.” Lemoyne’s painting was engraved in reverse by Laurent Cars (fig. 36.2), and Natoire’s, also in reverse, by Cars’s pupil Jean Jacques Flipart (fig. 36.3), while both were

identified as in the Villette collection. Flipart’s engraving was exhibited at the Salon of 1755.¹ Until the two works reappeared, separately, on the international art market, they had been known only from the respective prints.

According to Lemoyne’s biographer, the comte de Caylus, the artist first painted Adam and Eve to the scale of life in about 1723–25 and later made an exact replica, the work referred to above.² Caylus observed that the larger version (which has disappeared) was exceptionally sensuous and highly finished, and the same may be said of the reduction on copper, colored with warm tones and showing nature at its most effulgent. The long-limbed bodies of Adam and Eve incline toward each other, and both are pliant and yielding, despite the fact that the model for Adam seems to have been an ignudo of Michelangelo’s Sistine ceiling. Eve’s gesture



Fig. 36.2. Laurent Cars (French, 1699–1771) after François Lemoyne, *Adam Receiving the Forbidden Fruit from Eve*, 1755. Engraving, 14¼ x 10½ in. (36.2 x 26.4 cm). Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (44536071)

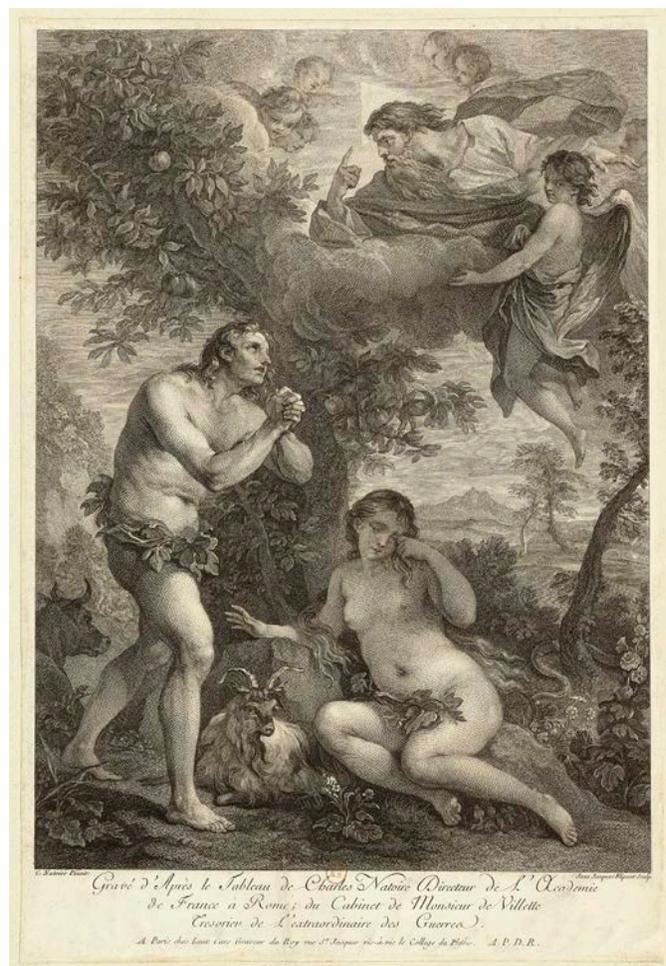


Fig. 36.3. Jean Jacques Flipart (French, 1719–1782) after Charles Joseph Natoire, *The Rebuke of Adam and Eve*, 1755. Engraving, 14½ x 10⅞ in. (36.8 x 26.9 cm). Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (44556971)

draws attention to the temptation by Satan, in the form of a delicate winged angel rising out of the thick coil of the snake's body that rings the trunk of the Tree of Knowledge. Lemoyne's design is thought to reflect a famous composition by Titian, or Rubens's copy thereof. Natoire for his part took direct inspiration from the Bolognese Baroque artist Domenichino's representations of *The Rebuke of Adam and Eve*.³ He must have studied Domenichino while he was in Rome, and he probably had seen the earlier and more important of two examples of the subject by Domenichino on copper and dating to the 1620s, a painting that had been in the French royal collections since the end of the seventeenth century.⁴

The gentle arc and slump of the rosy body of Natoire's Eve, a tear glistening on her cheek, expresses shame, loss, and disappointment. Beside her is a goat, symbol of lust, and behind her the snake, which slithers away into the underbrush. A muscular but timorous Adam supplicates while his angry God rebukes him with an emphatic gesture. Corrupted, the

figures are cloaked in fig leaves. The group of God the Father with two angels quotes by way of Domenichino from the Sistine ceiling, and the thick, carefully defined body of Adam looks back to the same source.⁵ Colin Bailey pointed out that this Natoire exemplifies the way in which an eighteenth-century painter successfully reduced heroic biblical narrative to a domestic scale.⁶ The same may be said of Lemoyne. The foundational myth was transformed by each of them into a drawing-room subject. Copper is a stable support, and the modeling strokes and luminous colors of *The Rebuke of Adam and Eve* survive in very good condition and must look much as they did originally. It is worth noting that in 1846 Honoré de Balzac bought the picture for his wife, named Eve.⁷

NOTES

1. Paris, Salon, August 25, 1755, no. 177 (as *Adam & Eve, d'après le Tableau de M. Natoire. Du Cabinet de M. de Villette, Trésorier de l'Extraordinaire des Guerres*).

2. Bordeaux 1984, p. 99, no. 51.

3. Spear 1982, vol. 1, pp. 239–40, no. 86, pp. 279–80, no. 104, vol. 2, pls. 265, 344.
4. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Grenoble, MG 937.
5. See Spear 1982, vol. 1, p. 239, for the iconography. A study for the full-length angel, loosely based on Marcantonio Franceschini according to Caviglia-Brunel (2012, p. 301, no. D.298, ill.), is the only drawing relating to the painting that she accepts. She does not mention a sketch of the head of Adam, which is listed on Joconde as autograph; sold at auction in 2002, it was given in 2003 to the Musée Greuze, Tournus (2003.2.2).
6. Colin B. Bailey in New York 1987, pp. 93–95.
7. See Santoleri 2014.

EX COLL.: Pierre Charles de Villette, marquis de Villette (by 1755–65; his estate sale, Paris, April 8, 1765, no. 32, for 332 livres); [Pierre Joseph Lafontaine, until 1798; his sale, Paillet, Paris, February 22, 1798, no. 132, for Fr 200 to Renard]; [Miville-Krug, Basel, until 1846; sold to Balzac]; Honoré de Balzac, Paris (1846–d. 1850; inv., 1848); his widow, Eve Hanska de Balzac, Paris (1850–d. 1882; anonymous sale, Hôtel des Ventres, Brussels, April 25, 1882, no. 13); [Eugène Fischhof, Paris, until 1913; sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, June 14, 1913, no. 33, for Fr 1,900]; Lizé, Rouen; (sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, November 20, 1985, no. 38, for Fr 820,000); [Stair Sainty Matthiesen, New York, until 1987; sold to MMA].

EXHIBITIONS: Paris, Salon, August 22–September 15, 1740, no. 12 (as “De M. Natoire, Professeur de l’Académie. Un petit Tableau représentant Adam & Eve après leur péché”). New York, Stair Sainty Matthiesen, *François Boucher: His Circle and Influence*, September 30–November 25, 1987, no. 57 (exh. cat.: New York 1987).

SELECTED REFERENCES: “Catalogue abrégé des ouvrages de Mrs les Peintres, Sculpteurs & Graveurs de l’Académie . . . exposés au Salon du Louvre . . .,” *Mercur de France* 39, October 1740, p. 2272 (McWilliam 1991, no. 0019); Remy 1765, no. 32; Boyer 1949, pp. 35, 74, no. 6; Bordeaux 1984, p. 99; Colin B. Bailey in New York 1987, pp. 93–95, no. 57, ill. (black-and-white and colorpl. 14); Danielle Oger in Tours 1999, pp. 205–6, no. 6, ill. (color); Caviglia-Brunel 2003, pp. 120, 125 n. 88; Caviglia-Brunel 2012, pp. 300–301, no. P.120, ill. pp. 57 (color), 300; Santoleri 2014, ill.

PIERRE CHARLES TRÉMOLIÈRES

Cholet 1703–1739 Paris

Trémolières, of Protestant descent, was most likely born in 1703. He came from Cholet, a small town in the Vendée to the southeast of Nantes. In 1719 he entered the Paris studio of Jean-Baptiste Vanloo, and shortly thereafter he came to the attention of the comte de Caylus, who admired not only his work but his character and disposition and became his unofficial sponsor. Trémolières contributed three engravings after drawings by ANTOINE WATTEAU to the 1726 volume of *Figures de différents caractères*, and three to the second volume, published in 1728. He placed second in the 1726 competition for the Prix de Rome of the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture but nonetheless was sent in 1728 to the Italian capital as a pensioner at the Académie de France. Orders

from local patrons for copies kept him in Rome until 1734. On his way back to Paris, he visited Lyon and was awarded a commission for three large paintings for the Church of the Discalced Carmelites (they are now in Sainte-Blandine), which were completed in 1736. Trémolières gained preliminary admission to the Académie Royale that year and in 1737 was received as a full member, upon presentation of *Ulysses Rescued by Minerva from Shipwreck* (Musée Fabre, Montpellier). He immediately became an associate professor. At the Salon, he exhibited three overdoors forming part of the decoration of the Hôtel de Soubise and an immense altarpiece of the *Assumption of the Virgin* (Saint-Bruno, Lyon), which was very well received. The following year he presented eight exhibits, including *Comedy* and a pair of overdoors representing *Music* and *Poetry* (all are now in the Musée d’Art et d’Histoire, Cholet). He was awarded a royal commission but had hardly begun work on it at the time of his death in 1739. The career of Trémolières, begun with great promise but repeatedly interrupted by illness, lasted little more than five years.

LITERATURE ON THE ARTIST: Méjanès and Vilain 1973.

37 | Pierre Charles Trémolières

Comedy, ca. 1736–38

Oil on canvas, 14¾ x 17¾ in. (37.5 x 45.1 cm)

The Lesley and Emma Sheaffer Collection, Bequest of Emma A. Sheaffer, 1973 (1974.356.27)

The work was offered for sale on the Munich art market in 1954–55 as an early FRANÇOIS BOUCHER, to whose first style it relates generically.¹ On a visit to the Museum in 1976, Jacques Foucart identified it as a work by Trémolières, a little-known artist who had been the subject of a 1973 exhibition in Cholet.² The painting is a study for a much larger canvas representing *Comedy* (fig. 37.1), a detail of which had been reproduced on the cover of the exhibition catalogue, the only modern source on the artist.³

Trémolières showed the large *Comedy* as number 100 in the 1738 Salon, the second of two exhibitions to which he contributed, in the year before his death. Given the proportions and especially the width of the undated canvas (just over 64 in. [162.6 cm]), it must have been intended as an overdoor. It is conspicuously signed “Tremolieres fecit” at lower left on the cloud. When in the collection of Voltaire, who died in 1778, the large *Comedy* was paired with *Tragedy* (fig. 37.2), a painting of the same size and in the same museum. They must always have been together, but the presumed pendant, signed and dated 1736, was not exhibited by the artist. *Tragedy* is rather ponderously Italianate. There are



Fig. 37.1. Pierre Charles Trémolières, *Comedy*, ca. 1736–38. Oil on canvas, 42⁵/₁₆ x 64³/₁₆ in. (109 x 163 cm). Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Cholet



Fig. 37.2. Pierre Charles Trémolières, *Tragedy*, 1736. Oil on canvas, 42⁵/₁₆ x 64³/₁₆ in. (109 x 163 cm). Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Cholet

various scenarios that might explain why Trémolières did not show the companion piece: he was engaged with his important commission for overdoors for the Hôtel de Soubise, for example, or he was experiencing ill health.

Our oil sketch is frivolous in mood by comparison with the finished piece and differs in various particulars: it does not include the rod with the four suspended marionettes, neither of the two volumes is inscribed with the name of the playwright Molière, and the palette is cooler. The idea for the puppets must have come to the artist at a later moment. A small drawing of the head in the finished painting is embellished with feathers, pearls, and flowers (fig. 37.3) and shows a section of the rod in the lower left corner. A measure of the perceived importance of Trémolières to his contemporaries is the fact that this drawing was acquired by the Swedish ambassador and collector Count Tessin. Either the painting or the sketch was the source for an engraving by Etienne Fessard. The figure, reversed, with the mask and two books, to which a banderole had been added, appeared on the title page of *Le Fat puni* by Antoine de Ferriol de Pont-de-Veyle, published in Paris in 1738, and on the title page of *La Somnambule* by the comte de Caylus, published the following year.

The sketch had been enlarged by roughly 5 inches (12.7 cm) in height and width.⁴ An x-radiograph made in 2004 showed cusping that confirmed the original smaller format (fig. 37.4). The size with the added strips corresponded closely with the dimensions recorded in the prince de Conti sale of 1777, suggesting that the additions dated to the third quarter of the eighteenth century. These were removed by conservator Dorothy Mahon in 2004, returning the picture to its original dimensions.

NOTES

1. Two photographs stamped Fischer-Böhler München came to the Museum with the work: each carries the opinion of Dr. Hermann Voss, with his attribution to the early Boucher. The English document is signed and dated London, February 10, 1954, and the German one is signed and dated Munich, August 8, 1955.
2. The opinion takes the form of a file memo from Anthony Clark dated January 6, 1975, noting Foucart's view and referencing the Cholet catalogue.
3. Méjanès and Vilain 1973 give a complete account of the related material, for which see pp. 66–68, nos. 11–14, pls. XXVII–XXX, pp. 72–75, nos. 21–25, pls. XLI, XLII, pp. 86, 104, no. 25, pl. XXX, p. 124, no. 14, pl. XXX. Trémolières made a specialty of overdoors.
4. Conservator Dorothy Mahon noted on February 13, 2004, that the additions, old and well integrated, had developed lifting, possibly owing to defects in the newer preparation layer or tensions created by the glue used to attach a new lining canvas. The lifting paint had been secured locally.



Fig. 37.3. Pierre Charles Trémolières, *Study of the Head of Comedy*. Black and red chalk, highlighted with white chalk, on blue paper, 5 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 5 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (13.6 x 13.6 cm). Nationalmuseum, Stockholm (2888/1863)



Fig. 37.4. X-radiograph of cat. 37

EX COLL.: ?Louis François I, prince de Conti (until d. 1776; his estate sale, Muzier and Remy, Paris, April 8–June 6, 1777, no. 706, *Une femme tenant un masque, & s'appuyant sur des livres*: “ce tableau . . . est peint sur une toile de 17 pouces de haut, sur 20 pouces 6 lignes de large [18 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 23 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (46 x 58.7 cm)],” for Fr 180 to Remy); [Fischer-Böhler, Munich, by 1954—at least 1955, as by François Boucher]; Emma A. Sheaffer, New York (by 1970–d. 1973, as *Muse*).

SELECTED REFERENCE: Méjanès and Vilain 1973, pp. 67–68, 86.

FRANÇOIS BOUCHER

Paris 1703–1770 Paris

Boucher grew up in modest circumstances, the son of a journeyman painter and member of the Académie de Saint-Luc. In 1721 he spent three months in the atelier of François Lemoyne, as he later reported, and then worked with the engraver and publisher Jean François Cars. Boucher never trained at the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture but won first prize in the 1723 competition for the Prix de Rome. However, he received the reverse of preferential treatment: no place was made available at the Académie de France in Rome, and he remained in Paris, where he supported himself working as a printmaker. During this period he was engaged by Jean de Jullienne to contribute more than

100 etchings after **WATTEAU** drawings to *Figures des différents caractères . . . par Antoine Watteau*. In 1725 he exhibited several small paintings at Place Dauphine. He finally arrived in Italy in May 1728, unofficially, returning to the French capital in time to contribute a further twelve etchings after Watteau paintings to *Diverses figures chinoises*, the publication of which was announced in 1731. Boucher was admitted to the Académie Royale in 1734 upon presentation of *Rinaldo and Armida* (Musée du Louvre, Paris). His brilliant official career was launched shortly thereafter with commissions for the Palace of Versailles: four grisailles to be set in the ceiling of the queen's chamber and one of the six hunting scenes (Musée de Picardie, Amiens) intended for an interior room of Louis XV's apartment. He was elected associate professor of the Académie Royale in 1735 and professor in 1737, exhibiting in that year



and regularly thereafter at the Salon. He was patronized by the royal mistress Madame de Pompadour from 1747 until her death in 1764. In 1755 he was appointed director of the Beauvais tapestry manufactory. Named first painter to the king and director of the Académie Royale in 1765, he flourished until shortly before his death in 1770.

LITERATURE ON THE ARTIST: Ananoff and Wildenstein 1976; Jean-Richard 1978; New York 1986; Joulie and Méjanès 2003; Laing 2003.

38 | François Boucher

Imaginary Landscape with the Palatine Hill from Campo Vaccino, ca. 1734

Oil on canvas, 25 x 31½ in. (63.5 x 81 cm)

Inscribed (lower left center): boucher-1734 [false signature and date]

The Jack and Belle Linsky Collection, 1982 (1982.60.44)

Boucher's landscape first appeared on the art market in 1952 without earlier provenance and generated significant interest and scholarly comment. When it was presented to the Metropolitan Museum in 1982, the varnish was severely

discolored; the picture was cleaned and found to be in generally very good state. Recently, Alastair Laing queried the authenticity of the signature and date, which upon close examination proved to be a later addition. It is nevertheless likely that the picture was painted in Paris in the early 1730s after the artist returned from a period of study in Rome.¹

The ruins of the ancient Roman Forum were largely buried in the first half of the eighteenth century, and as the area was used for pasturage, it was called the Campo Vaccino after the cows and other beasts that grazed there (fig. 38.1).

Boucher painted the northwest corner of the Palatine Hill from below, bringing into view at center right part of the immense substructure that supported the Palace of Caligula and Tiberius, built in the first century A.D. Just to the left, he shows two pavilions joined by the western wall of the Orti Farnesiani, an enclosed, terraced botanical garden, then also in ruinous state, which had been designed by Vignola in the mid-sixteenth century for Cardinal Alessandro Farnese.

The landscape in and around the Forum would have been familiar to travelers who visited Rome in the eighteenth century and to collectors of the topographical engravings of ancient sites that were then circulating widely in Europe.



Fig. 38.1. Giovanni Battista Piranesi (Italian, Venetian, 1720–1778), *The Forum Romanum, or Campo Vaccino, from the Capitol . . . (Veduta di Camp Vaccino)*, ca. 1775. Etching, 15½ x 21½ in. (38.5 x 54.6 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1937 (37.45.3(58))



Fig. 38.2. François Boucher after Abraham Bloemaert (Netherlandish, 1566–1651), *Two Seated Shepherds*, ca. 1728–30. Red chalk and black chalk on laid paper, 11¼ x 7 in. (28.7 x 17.8 cm). Musée des Beaux-Arts, Orléans (1146)



Fig. 38.3. Abraham Bloemaert, *Youth Carrying a Basket*, 1605–15. Black chalk and white bodycolor, 5⅞ x 6⅞ in. (13.8 x 15.6 cm). Fondation Custodia, Paris (I 7636 recto)

In the foreground of the painting are two peasant boys, three cows, a pool, a fence, a blasted tree, a conical hut, and a structure made of slats. Each of the boys is based on a copy by Boucher in red chalk after a figure study in the same material by the Dutch mannerist painter Abraham Bloemaert (fig. 38.2), who died in 1651 aged eighty-five in Utrecht, never having visited Italy. Bloemaert's sketch of the other boy is illustrated for comparison (fig. 38.3).² The question of dating these early drawings by Boucher has been resolved, at least in part, by bringing another young French painter, **PIERRE SUBLEYRAS**, into the argument.³ Subleyras arrived in Rome in the autumn of 1728 and never left Italy again. He, too, copied Bloemaert, and his copies must have been made when he was a pensioner of the Académie de France in Rome and while Boucher was living there as well. Their drawings after Bloemaert with identical or closely related subjects⁴ must have been made between autumn 1728 and 1730 and may even have been part of the pedagogical program, which focused on copying, though mainly after Italian masters. Boucher made

etchings of his sketches after Bloemaert's peasants, but in different groupings, which were published in the *Livre d'études d'après les desseins originaux de Blomart* in 1735. A study or studies by Bloemaert probably inspired Boucher's hut with a thatched roof and some of the other non-Italian details in the picture as well.⁵

One of many drawings associated with the painting is in black and white chalks on blue paper and has a similar composition (fig. 38.4).⁶ Elaborate and highly finished, this study is usually thought to belong to the artist's years in Rome but could date after 1730. It was not made before the landscape motif, as the stunted and blasted trees and the uneven, steeply sloping foreground with a tiny couple embracing in the underbrush have no more basis in fact than the Bloemaert shepherds in our picture. Painting and drawing omit the Church of Santa Maria Liberatrice (fig. 38.5) and share certain inaccuracies (the uptilting, vaguely Asian roof and the arrangement and sizes of the windows of the larger pavilion of the Orti Farnesiani, for example). The drawing, however, retains the wall stretching



Fig. 38.4. François Boucher, *View of the Palatine Hill*, perhaps ca. 1730. Black chalk, highlighted with white chalk, on two joined sheets of blue paper, 10 $\frac{1}{16}$ x 14 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (25.5 x 37.8 cm). Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (Ba 6 rés.)



Fig. 38.5. Giuseppe Vasi (Italian, Sicilian, 1710–1782), *Chiesa di S. Maria Liberatrice*. Etching, 8 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 12 $\frac{1}{16}$ in. (21.2 x 32.3 cm). Reproduced in *Raccolta delle più belle vedute*, 1786, pl. 54. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Rogers Fund, 1952 (52.519.72(1.57))

from the facade of the church to the nearer pavilion enclosing the gardens. **CHARLES JOSEPH NATOIRE** sketched the monuments from the same point of view and perhaps at the same time for a composition that he reprised in 1766 and again in 1773.⁷ In the later works he shows half of the wall and removes the other half, presumably so as not to distract from the lively staffage in the foreground. There seems to have been a community of interest in the motifs.

What is it, exactly, that is imaginary, and that differentiates Boucher's landscape from views of the scene by other artists as well as from what he himself observed? Peasants, of which Bloemaert's were not atypical, and grazing animals inhabited the space over many centuries (fig. 38.6). The gardens and Renaissance buildings and the ruins of antiquity are more or less accurately depicted. Absence of reality arises from the inaccuracies of scale between the disproportionately large, sturdy figures and animals and the ancient structures, which should in fact be more distant. The buildings are evocative, but they are disproportionately small, and their former splendor, looming physical presence, and ancient grandeur are thus greatly diminished.⁸

NOTES

1. The signature and date were examined by conservator Dorothy Mahon with the stereomicroscope on April 14, 2015. The brown paint is old and abraded but extends over mechanical cracks and was therefore added at a relatively early date.
2. The literature examines the drawings and etchings as well as the painting in great detail; as all of the works are reproduced elsewhere, fewer illustrations are included here.
3. See the articles by Regina Shoolman Slatkin and, especially, Jean-François Méjanès, "Un exercice hors règlement: Bloemaert, Boucher et Subleyras . . . mais pas Natoire," in *Mélanges Rosenberg* 2001, pp. 298–317. According to Méjanès, Bloemaert's drawings were brought to the Italian capital in or shortly after 1630 by the artist's son, Cornelis II, who died there in or about 1684. Boucher also made a drawing of one of the three cows (Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, NMH 2955/1863), perhaps while he was in Rome: it does not show the animal's hooves and, as has been observed, may be after another work of art.
4. For example, Subleyras and Boucher copied Bloemaert's study (which apparently does not survive) of two seated shepherds. Méjanès (in *Mélanges Rosenberg* 2001) illustrated Subleyras's sheet with Boucher's drawings and engraving as figs. 1–4.
5. Bolten 2007 catalogues roughly 1,700 sheets; see vol. 1, p. 425, no. 1438, and vol. 2, ill. no. 1438, for a drawing of a similar conical hut with a slat structure beside it.
6. The drawing came to the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, between 1853 and 1870; its earlier history is unknown.
7. Caviglia-Brunel 2012, pp. 443–45, nos. D.627 and D.629, ill.
8. For a topographically correct later eighteenth-century view with accurately scaled figures by the Roman artist Carlo Labruzzi (1748–1817) and a photograph of the site ca. 1855 by Ludovico Tuminello, see Clifford 2012, pp. 33–34, no. 9, ill.

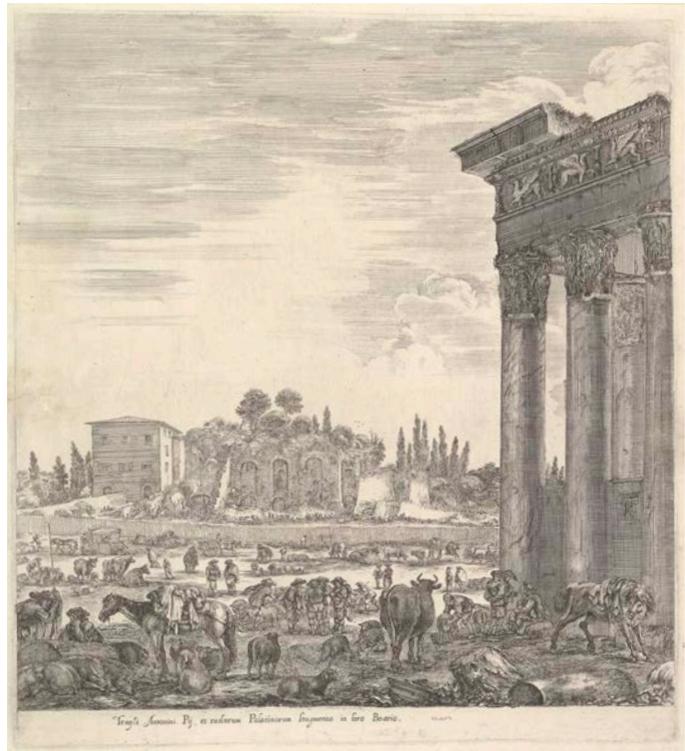


Fig. 38.6. Stefano della Bella (Italian, Florentine, 1610–1664), *Temple of Antoninus . . . in Campo Vaccino*, 1656. Etching, 12½ x 11¼ in. (31.7 x 28.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Bequest of Phyllis Massar, 2011 (2012.136.535.2)

EX COLL.: private collection, France (until 1952); ?[Julius Weitzner, London, in 1952]; Mr. and Mrs. Jack Linsky, New York (?1952–his d. 1980); The Jack and Belle Linsky Foundation, New York (1980–82).

SELECTED EXHIBITIONS: Rome, Palazzo delle Esposizioni, *Il Settecento a Roma*, March 19–May 31, 1959, no. 98 (as *Veduta del Palatino*, lent by the Weitzner collection, London) (exh. cat.: Rome 1959). New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, *François Boucher, 1703–1770*, February 17–May 4, 1986, no. 23 (exh. cat.: New York 1986).

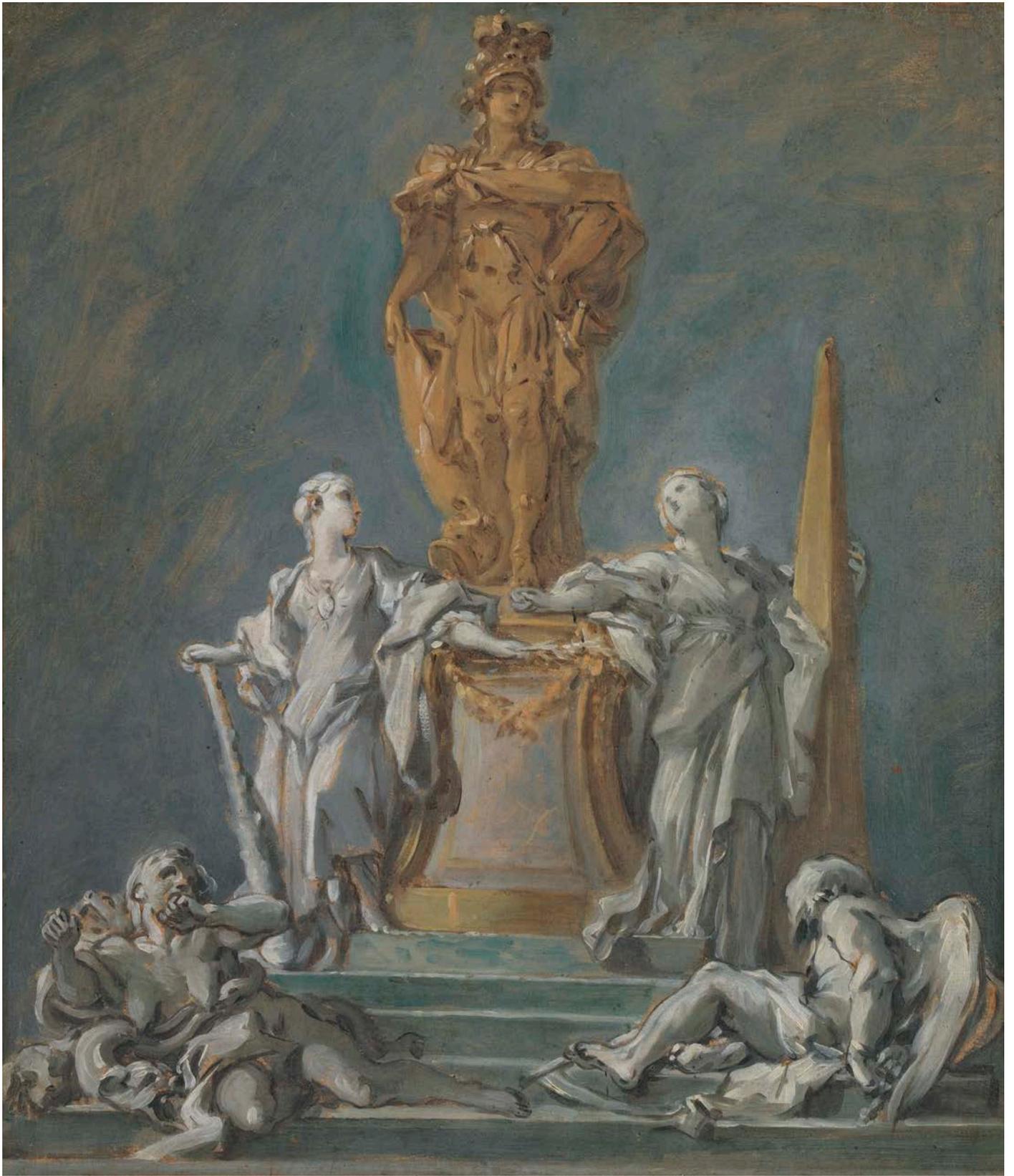
SELECTED REFERENCES: Voss 1953, pp. 80, 82, 85, ill.; Jean-Richard 1971, pp. 198–99; Slatkin 1971, pp. 399–401, 403 n. 9, fig. 3; Ananoff and Wildenstein 1976, vol. 1, pp. 228–29, no. 101, fig. 394; Slatkin 1976, pp. 248–49, 254; Laing 2016, pp. 101, 107 n. 29.

39 | François Boucher

Study for a Monument to a Princely Figure, 1740s

Oil on paper, laid down on board, 15 x 12⅝ in. (38.1 x 32.1 cm)
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1906 (07.225.291)

The oil sketch, in colored grisaille (*en camaïeu*), is unusual in that it incorporates brown and gold in addition to gray and has a bluish green background. The main figure, meant to be read as a heroic statue in gilt bronze,¹ stands on a pedestal of





Far left: Fig. 39.1. François Boucher, *Military Figure with a Cuirass and Helmet, possibly Mars*. Black chalk, with white highlights, on beige paper, 8½ x 4¾ in. (21.6 x 12.1 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris (INV 24757bis recto)

Left: Fig. 39.2. François Boucher, *Military Figure with a Cuirass and Helmet*. Black chalk, 10⅞ x 5⅞ in. (26.5 x 14.5 cm). Private collection

colored marbles festooned with a gilt bronze garland. In the eighteenth century his plumed helmet, breastplate, skirt, and cloak would have indicated a hero of antiquity. The woman with a club and a medallion of the sun on her breast may symbolize Virtue, while the large gilt-bronze obelisk held by her companion indicates the glory and power of princes. In the foreground are Envy, an ancient female with a serpent, and winged Time, a hand scythe at his feet, whom the hero has presumably overcome.

Though the design suggests a public sculpture, the sketch is apparently a work of the imagination. Alastair Laing has proposed a date in the 1740s.² Françoise Joulie drew attention to what she thought might be a related drawing, a figure seen from the side (fig. 39.1). She mentioned also a frontal study of the same figure in black chalk (fig. 39.2)³ and a drawing she identified as a study for an *Allegory of Time* in the State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg,⁴ which is possibly connected to one of the female allegories. The two studies are very close to the figure here.

The oil sketch is in good state and was treated by conservator Alice Panhard in 2006, for the first time since it entered the Museum's collection in 1906. A discolored natural resin varnish was removed. It was apparent that the corners at the top had been made up and repainted. The paper has a fiber-like texture; no evidence of preparation was found, and in certain passages the support and traces of drawn lines show through. Infrared reflectography carried out in 2017 revealed fluid underdrawing in a dry material, charcoal or graphite, associated with each figure. It is easiest to see, and extensive,

in the case of the heroic male, who as first conceived wore a Roman skirt of leather straps and whose cloak was tied with a large bow at his right shoulder.

NOTES

1. I owe this line of thinking to James David Draper, Curator Emeritus, European Sculpture and Decorative Arts.
2. He referenced the Psyche sketches from the early 1740s (Ananoff and Wildenstein 1976, vol. 1, pp. 309, 311–14, nos. 191, 193, 194, 196, figs. 601, 606, 611, 612). A Boucher oil sketch *en camaïeu* for an unrealized monument is in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (M.2000.179.11). See Alastair Laing in Marandel 2002, pp. 26–27, ill. (color). Other than the nature of the subject, the relationship is nominal; the Los Angeles sketch is later. Laing sees a greater affinity with a pair of sketches in oil on canvas (36 x 29 in. [91.5 x 73.7 cm]), each of which represents a river god on a rock in stone or marble under a gilt-bronze tree, with shields and a helmet held by cupids. He notes that these are first recorded in a Paris sale of June 1ff., 1787, as no. 81 (and in 2017 were with the Galerie Eric Coatelem, Paris).
3. Laing pointed out that the drawing had been associated with a marble sculpture of Hannibal by Sébastien Slodtz completed in 1704 (Louvre MR 2093, and see also Slodtz's drawing, Louvre 32853, recto). The statue was installed in the Tuileries gardens as late as 1722 and inventoried there in 1733. Souchal 1967, pp. 584–86, no. 3, ill., and pl. 3a.
4. According to an email received on February 8, 2018, from Elizaveta Abramova, who is the curator responsible for the French drawings at the State Hermitage, she was unable to identify such a drawing. I express my appreciation to Dr. Abramova.

EX COLL.: Georges Hoentschel, Paris (until 1906; sold to Morgan); J. Pierpont Morgan, New York (1906).

SELECTED REFERENCES: Sterling 1955, pp. 139–40, ill.; Ananoff and Wildenstein 1976, vol. 2, p. 226, no. 571, fig. 1548; Joulie and Méjanès 2003, p. 94, no. 41, ill.

40 | François Boucher

The Interrupted Sleep, 1750

Oil on canvas, 32¼ x 29½ in. (81.9 x 75.2 cm)

Signed and dated (left center): f. Boucher / 1750

The Jules Bache Collection, 1949 (49.7.46)

The Interrupted Sleep belonged to Madame de Pompadour, official mistress of Louis XV, when it was engraved by Nicolas Dauphin de Beauvais as *Le Sommeil interrompu* (fig. 40.1).¹

The picture had as a pendant a canvas now called *The Love Letter* (fig. 40.2), engraved in 1761 by Jean Ouvrier as *Les deux*





Fig. 40.1. Nicolas Dauphin de Beauvais (French, ?1687–1763) after François Boucher, *Le Sommeil interrompu* (*The Interrupted Sleep*). Engraving, 16⁵/₁₆ x 13³/₁₆ in. (43.1 x 35.3 cm). Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (44531227)

confidentes, or *The Two Confidantes*.² The prints were evidently published at the same time and are probably of the same date, later than the paintings, each of which is signed and dated 1750. Both were exhibited at the Salon of 1753 and described in the catalogue under number 181 as overdoors from Bellevue. The château had been built in haste for the royal mistress beginning in the summer of 1748 and was largely complete in November 1750.³ It is likely that the pictures were in the room next to Louis XV's bedchamber.⁴ As they were set into the woodwork, they would have been dismantled and provided with frames so that they could be exhibited. The king gave Bellevue to Madame de Pompadour, and later, in 1757, he bought it back from her, at which time the pictures and furnishings that she had commissioned and installed there were transferred in great part to the Hôtel d'Evreux (now the Elysée Palace) in Paris, which she bought in 1753. The inventory taken after her death in 1764 located these Bouchers in the first-floor vestibule and valued them at 900 livres. Bellevue no longer exists, and its contents were widely

scattered or lost. The two works passed to her brother, the marquis de Marigny et de Ménars.⁵

Boucher's overdoors were a late addition to the *livret* of the 1753 Salon, listed separately from other more important works that he showed that year: *The Setting of the Sun* and *The Rising of the Sun* (The Wallace Collection, London)⁶ and a cycle of the four seasons represented as children, for the ceiling of the royal council chamber at Fontainebleau. The magnificent paintings at The Wallace Collection had also been ordered by Madame de Pompadour and were the first cartoons by the artist to be woven at the Gobelins manufactory. The tapestries were intended for the king's room at Bellevue. All of Boucher's 1753 submissions were noticed in the critical literature. The cartoons received an uneven reception, but those who mentioned the pastoral subjects thought they were perfect examples of his art, and one critic admired the artist's "lively, laughing imagination . . . full of spirit and grace."⁷

The paintings show elegant figures in neat, colorful peasant costumes appropriate to the theater: the shepherdess wears a hat, bodice, skirt, and gauze shawl trimmed in the same peach-colored ribbon. The couples are accompanied by scrupulously clean dogs and sheep in sunny landscapes. A young man tickling a sleeping girl with a blade of straw was a genre subject that had been popular among seventeenth-century Dutch painters, in whose work Boucher had taken an interest from an early age, and Bernard de Fontenelle was often cited by the artist's contemporaries as having inspired the pastoral themes for which he was chiefly famous. As Alastair Laing noted, Boucher also found inspiration in the theater, with which he was closely associated.⁸ He was a contemporary and friend of the popular impresario Charles Simon Favart, and scene 4 of one of Favart's pantomimes, *Les Vendanges de Tempé*, performed in 1745, included a vignette in which the Little Shepherd, a nameless boy played by Favart's wife, tickles a sleeping shepherdess. It is worth stressing (as Laing observed) that pantomime consists of a series of vignettes. Tickling was not a new theme for Boucher, though, as he painted *L'Amour moissonneur* (fig. 40.3) and *L'Amour oiseleur* by 1734, when these subjects were engraved by Bernard Lépicié and the publication of one of them was announced in the *Mercure de France*.⁹

The couple from *The Interrupted Sleep*, with slight variations and in reverse, appear at the right edge of a Beauvais tapestry first woven in 1755, *The Fountain of Love*.¹⁰ Beside them, also reversed, are the shepherdesses from the Washington picture. The joined fragments for a full-scale cartoon for the other half of the tapestry¹¹ bear the (impossible) added date of 1748 with Boucher's purported signature. The artist, prolific and with a fertile imagination, must often



Fig. 40.2. François Boucher, *The Love Letter*, 1750. Oil on canvas, 31 $\frac{5}{16}$ x 29 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (81.2 x 75.2 cm). National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Timken Collection (1960.6.3)

have been under pressure of time, so that for the tapestry cartoons he adapted motifs from the paintings. In view of their finesse and exquisite, delicate finish, it is impossible to think of the two pictures as replicas, as Jean-Luc Bordeaux argued; nor, as Laing pointed out, would Madame de Pompadour have accepted recycled compositions.

When at Bellevue, the pair had complex, irregular, typically Rococo profiles. *The Love Letter* is now displayed as a rectangle¹² with the corners as they were painted in later, while *The Interrupted Sleep* is exhibited in a frame with an oval insert to cover them. Neither is correct. The x-radiograph of ours shows its original irregular shape, and there are small



Fig. 40.3. François Boucher, *The Cherub Harvesters*, ca. 1730–34. Oil on canvas, 48 x 37 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (121.9 x 96.2 cm). The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, Sarah Campbell Blaffer Foundation (BF.1988.5)



Fig. 40.4. X-radiograph of cat. 40

changes in the design (fig. 40.4). It is possible to have an idea of the framing elements by studying an architectural drawing for another Bellevue interior (fig. 40.5).¹³ An undated engraving by Gabriel Huquier (fig. 40.6) differs in details from the painting and from the other prints, as does a drawing in colored chalks at Quimper, whose status remains to be determined.¹⁴ Neither composition exists in variants, though the artist reprised the shepherdess in a sleeping figure of a small girl that may have been a design for tapestry seat furniture.¹⁵

NOTES

1. Pascal Torrès Guardiola in Salmon 2002, p. 244, no. 95, ill. (color), and see also p. 245, no. 96, ill. (color); Jean-Richard 1978, pp. 96–97, nos. 281–84, fig. 282. The canvas was cleaned by conservator Hubert von Sonnenburg in 1969.

2. Musée du Louvre, Paris, 18894 LR/recto. See the entry by Richard Rand in Conisbee 2009, pp. 12–18, no. 2, ill. (color), frontis. (color detail); Jean-Richard 1978, pp. 346–47, nos. 1435–37, fig. 1435.

3. For an overview of the history and contents of Bellevue, see Pierre-Xavier Hans in Salmon 2002, pp. 99–102, and for a more complete account, Biver 1933.

4. Dézallier d’Argenville 1755, p. 29 (“Sur les portes il y a deux pastorales, de M. Boucher.”). The paintings in the principal rooms are more specifically described and most have been identified. It is unlikely that these Salon exhibits would have come from a secondary space.

5. Gordon 2003, pp. 36–37, 299, no. 855 [791] n. 144, pp. 570, 599, 600, 630, 641, Appendix 1, no. 21, as among paintings lined, cleaned, and repaired by Hooghstaël in 1777.

6. The Wallace Collection P486 and P485.

7. Laugier 1753, p. 30: “la vive & riante imagination de l’Auteur, qui met par-tout de l’esprit & des graces.”

8. See Laing 1986. Melissa Hyde (2006) has worked extensively on the subject.

9. Jean-Richard 1978, pp. 330–31, nos. 1377–78, ill. For Boucher’s *L’Amour moissonneur*, see Temperini 1996, pp. 183–85, ill. (color), and Ananoff and Wildenstein 1976, vol. 1, pp. 399–400, no. 290, fig. 486, for *Nymphes chasseresses* of 1745, showing one woman tickling another.

10. Huntington Art Collections, San Marino, California, 9.1.

11. J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, 71.PA.37.

12. Ouvrier’s print suggests that a small amount of canvas may be missing at the top of the National Gallery painting; in all other respects the designs agree. The 1764 inventory indicates that both were framed and probably the corners had been filled out and painted.

13. The drawing, one of few preserved, does not represent the same room, although it more or less fits the description.

14. Jean-Richard 1978, pp. 281–82, no. 1150, fig. 1150. Additional prints are by Louis Marin Bonnet and, in color, by Gilles Demarteau. See Ananoff and Wildenstein 1976, vol. 2, pp. 65–66, ill. (Bonnet). The Marigny sale catalogue (Basan & Joullain 1782, no. 13) erroneously refers to a print by René Gaillard. For the drawing in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Quimper, see Joulie 2013, pp. 160–63, no. 54, ill. (color), as by Boucher, but a questionable attribution in view of the technique and handling.

15. Ananoff and Wildenstein 1976, vol. 2, p. 129, no. 450, fig. 1264.

EX COLL.: Jeanne Antoinette Poisson, marquise de Pompadour, Château de Bellevue and Hôtel d'Evreux, Paris (until d. 1764; inv., 1764, no. 1231, with pendant); her brother, Abel François Poisson, marquis de Marigny et de Ménars, Paris (1764–d. 1781; inv., 1781, no. 855, with pendant, 360 livres; his estate sale, Basan & Joullain, Paris, March 18–April 6, 1782, no. 13, for 396 livres to Loir); ?Monsieur S. D. . . (before 1793); ?(sale, Ridet and Simonet, Paris, April 2, 1849, no. 17); ?(sale, Féral, Paris, December 11–14, 1882, no. 1); Comte Frédéric Alexis Louis Pillet-Will, Paris; [Wildenstein, Paris and New York, until 1923; sold for \$60,000 to Bache]; Jules S. Bache, New York (1923–d. 1944; his estate, 1944–49; cats., 1929, unnumbered; 1937, no. 47; 1943, no. 46).

SELECTED EXHIBITION: Paris, Salon, August 15–September 25, 1753, no. 181 (as one of *Deux Pastorales dessus de Porte, du Château de Belle-Vüe, sous le même No.*).

SELECTED REFERENCES: Laugier 1753, pp. 29–30 (CD 1980, vol. 5, no. 59; McWilliam 1991, no. 0073); Le Blanc 1753, pp. 17–18 (CD 1980, vol. 5, no. 63; McWilliam 1991, no. 0080); *Inventory of Madame de Pompadour*, 1764, no. 1231 (published in Cordey 1939, p. 90); Basan & Joullain 1782, pp. 4–5, no. 13; Sterling 1955, pp. 134–36, ill.; Ananoff and Wildenstein 1976, vol. 2, pp. 19, 64–66, no. 363, fig. 1066; Bordeaux 1976, pp. 87, 100 nn. 17–18, fig. 14; Hyde 2006, p. 175 n. 68.

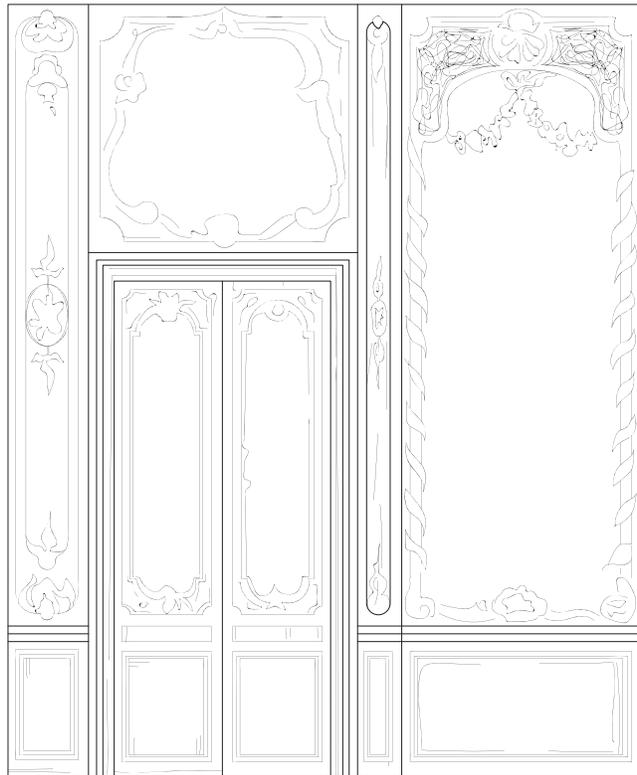


Fig. 40.5. Simplified rendering of Verberck & Rousseau, *Bellevue: Le Cabinet de Compagnie*, 1749. Architectural drawing. Archives Nationales, Paris (O¹ 1533, 194, 314)

41 | François Boucher

The Toilette of Venus, 1751

Oil on canvas, 42 $\frac{5}{8}$ x 33 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (108.3 x 85.1 cm)

Signed and dated (lower right): f-Boucher 1751

Bequest of William K. Vanderbilt, 1920 (20.155.9)

*“nothing [could be] more agreeable than this painting”*¹

Madame de Pompadour was a woman of wealth and taste who had been groomed for the role she played, but she was not a collector in the sense in which the word is understood in the twenty-first century. While she was Louis XV’s official mistress, she commissioned from favored artists and designers modern furnishings and pictures of the highest quality (and cost) in very large quantities. These formed an integral part of the decoration of the many luxurious and relatively small private interiors that she shared with the king. *The Toilette of Venus* comes from Bellevue, a property he gave her where a château was constructed and decorated between about 1748 and 1751.² Near Paris and on the road to Versailles, it provided a view



Fig. 40.6. Gabriel Huquier (French, 1695–1772) after François Boucher, *Shepherd Tickling a Sleeping Shepherdess with a Piece of Straw*. Etching and engraving, 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 8 $\frac{1}{16}$ in. (26 x 20.5 cm). Reproduced in *Troisième livre de sujets et pastorales*, pl. 3. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1949 (49.108.2(15))





Fig. 41.1. François Boucher, *The Bath of Venus*, 1751. Oil on canvas, 42½ x 33¾ in. (107 x 84.8 cm). National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Chester Dale Collection (1943.7.2)

from the heights over the Seine valley. As noted in *cat. 40*, Boucher supplied paintings for specific locations.

A pair of overdoors depicting, respectively, the bath and toilette of Venus were installed in the largest of three principal rooms forming the *appartement des bains*,³ or bathing apartment, which was located in a separate building flanking the courtyard. The pendant (fig. 41.1), belonging to the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C., is also signed and dated 1751, and the paintings are recorded under a single number in Madame de Pompadour's 1764 posthumous inventory, in the vestibule of her Paris house (she had left Bellevue in 1757).⁴ The two are also listed in the gallery of the Paris residence of her brother, the marquis de Marigny et de Ménars, and one after the other in the catalogue of his posthumous sale, at which time they were separated.⁵ The sizes are close to the modern dimensions: 3 pieds 4 pouces x 2 pieds 6 pouces.

The Bath of Venus was installed over the door to the bathing chamber proper, while the present work was above the door to the dressing room. It is a woodland scene, offering a contrast to the elaborate interior of the toilette. The goddess is seated beside a shallow pool in a sheltered corner, accompanied by two winged putti and by Cupid, identified by an elaborate



Fig. 41.2. François Boucher, *Venus Disarming Cupid*, 1751. Oil on canvas, oval, 44½ x 36¾ in. (113 x 93.4 cm). Lynda and Stewart Resnick, Los Angeles

quiver of arrows suspended from a blue ribbon. Doves, an attribute of Venus, shelter at her feet. She is strongly lit but delicately painted, and her slender nude body is cushioned, or cradled, by striped gauze and pastel-colored draperies. There are drawings associated with the National Gallery picture but not with ours. Perhaps the same nubile female modeled for both, as well as for the figure in *Venus Disarming Cupid* in the Resnick collection (fig. 41.2), painted in the same year.⁶

The Toilette of Venus is the more famous of the pair but less typical of the artist and perhaps also of the patron in its lavishly furnished, weighty Neo-Rococo taste.⁷ The eighteenth-century toilette, involving elaborate rituals, many garments, and rather little nudity, was a popular subject, but it was not customary to depict the Roman goddess of love reclining on a chaise longue in a modern interior. Venus, accompanied by the cupids and doves, is presented on a columned terrace overlooking a park, framed by quantities of silk, velvet, and embroidered damask finished with gold tassels. The elaborate divan supports a putto that looks as if it were made of gilt bronze rather than gilt wood.⁸ The ewer, of an old-fashioned design, and the shell-shaped basin, too large to be accoutrements of the dressing table, are also attributes of the goddess,

together with the pearls that refer to her emergence from the sea. In the lower right corner is another disproportionately large and sumptuous object, a gilt-bronze incense burner with cloven feet from which scent emerges to perfume the air. The setting is worthy of the boudoir of one of New York's legendary society figures, Alva, or Mrs. William K., Vanderbilt,⁹ whose ex-husband bequeathed the painting to the Museum.

It has been suggested that Madame de Pompadour chose Venus as the subject to evoke *Les surprises de l'Amour*, an opera-ballet by Rameau that she had commissioned and in which, for the first performance at Versailles in November 1748, she took the principal role.¹⁰ Although the staging was admired, the king grew bored and complained that he would have preferred a comedy. Rameau was not a favorite of the royal mistress. And Venus was for years Boucher's preferred subject: he painted the birth, the bath, and the sleep of Venus, Venus and Cupid, and Venus and Adonis countless times. He depicted her toilette in 1742, 1743, and 1749. Assuming a specific connection to a theatrical performance two years earlier may be unwarranted in this case.¹¹

NOTES

1. Basan & Joullain 1782, p. 6: "rien de plus agréable que ce Tableau."
2. For the history of Bellevue, which was remodeled and occupied by Louis XV and then sold by Louis XVI to the Mesdames de France, his aunts, see Biver 1933.
3. The apartment comprised three lavishly decorated rooms on the main floor. See *ibid.*, pp. 64–70.
4. The two are listed in the 1764 inventory as without frames ("sans bordure"). See also Richard Rand in Conisbee 2009, pp. 19–25.
5. Gordon 2003, pp. 36–37, 305, no. 904 [840] n. 192, pp. 610, 630, 641, Appendix 1, no. 14, and 648, the pair, as among paintings lined, cleaned, and restored by Hooghsael in 1777.
6. See Ananoff and Wildenstein 1976, vol. 2, p. 43, nos. 344/3 and 344/6, figs. 998 and 1001, for drawings associated with a tapestry first woven in 1749; also *ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 74–76, no. 375, fig. 1095; Bailey 1992, pp. 410–15, ill. (color); and J. Patrice Marandel in Los Angeles 2010, pp. 60–61, no. 7, ill. (color).
7. Lajer-Burcharth 2009, pp. 294–96, draws attention to the careful disposition of precious objects (commodities) that embellish and define the expressionless figure. Alastair Laing first touched on these matters in 1986, following Georges Brunel in referring to it as "Second Empire Boucher" (see New York 1986, no. 60). The picture was engraved in aquatint by Jean François Janinet in 1783 (Metropolitan Museum 35.100.28), for which see Jean-Richard 1978, pp. 299–301, no. 1225, ill., and Grasselli 2003, pp. 100–101, no. 47a–b, ill. (color).
8. In the Resnick Venus, a similar figure decorates the chariot.
9. Rollins Maxwell, in a letter of October 18, 1991, in the Metropolitan Museum's archives, provided passages from an unpublished autobiography by Mrs. Vanderbilt, later Mrs. Belmont, written in 1927. She mentions buying Rembrandt's *The Noble Slav* and continues: "This together with a Boucher and two Van Dycks, I purchased in London from Wertheimer, the great art critic." She also states, "In my boudoir was the celebrated Boucher, The Toilet of Venus." The typescript (pp. 112a, 105–8) is in the Matilda Young

papers, William Perkins Library, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina.
10. See Jullien 1874 and Sadler 2014, pp. 200, 206. The date of the performance may have been November 27.

11. Gaetgens 2000, pp. 154–55, is among those who continue to endorse the connection with this opera-ballet.

EX COLL.: Jeanne Antoinette Poisson, marquise de Pompadour, Château de Bellevue and later Hôtel d'Evreux, Paris (until d. 1764; inv., 1764, no. 1230–78, with pendant); her brother, Abel François Poisson, marquis de Marigny et de Ménars, Paris (1764–d. 1781; inv., 1781, no. 904, with pendant, 680 livres; his estate sale, Basan & Joullain, Paris, March 18–April 6, 1782, no. 19, for 587 livres to Chéreau); Jean Nicolas de Boullongne (until d. 1787; his estate sale, Georges & Bizet, Paris, November 19–24, 1787, no. 6, for 460 livres to Le Brun); [Jean-Baptiste Pierre Le Brun, Paris, from 1787]; Vicomte Charles Alexandre de Calonne, Paris (until 1788; his sale, Le Brun, Paris, April 21–30, 1788, no. 156, for 390 livres to Marin); Jean François (?) Marin (1788–d. 1790; his estate sale, Le Brun, jeune, & Saubert, Paris, March 22, 1790, no. 336 [reversed dimensions], for 316 livres to Le Brun, jeune); ?by descent in the family of the comtes de la Béraudière; Comte Jacques Victor de la Béraudière, Paris (by 1880–d. 1885; his estate sale, Mannheim, Féral, Haro et al., Paris, May 18–30, 1885, no. 4, ill., for Fr 133,000 to Lacroix); [C. J. Wertheimer, London; sold by 1895 to Mrs. Vanderbilt]; Mr. and Mrs. William K. Vanderbilt, New York (until 1895); William K. Vanderbilt, New York (1895–d. 1920).

SELECTED EXHIBITIONS: New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, *François Boucher, 1703–1770*, February 17–May 4, 1986, no. 60 (exh. cat.: New York 1986); Detroit Institute of Arts, *François Boucher, 1703–1770*, May 27–August 17, 1986, no. 60; Paris, Galeries Nationales du Grand Palais, *François Boucher, 1703–1770*, September 19, 1986–January 5, 1987, no. 60 (exh. cat.: Paris 1986). Musée National des Châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon, *Madame de Pompadour et les arts*, February 14–May 19, 2002, no. 47 (exh. cat.: Salmon 2002); Munich, Kunsthalle der Hypo-Kulturstiftung, *Madame de Pompadour: L'art et l'amour*, June 14–September 15, 2002, no. 47 (exh. cat.: Salmon and Hohenzollern 2002); London, National Gallery, *Madame de Pompadour: Images of a Mistress*, October 10, 2002–January 12, 2003, no. 47 (exh. cat.: Jones 2002).

SELECTED REFERENCES: Dézallier d'Argenville 1755, p. 29; *Inventory of Madame de Pompadour, 1764*, no. 1230–78 (published in Cordey 1939, p. 90); Goncourt 1880–82, vol. 1, p. 191; Sterling 1955, pp. 136–38, ill.; Ananoff and Wildenstein 1976, vol. 2, pp. 78–81, no. 376, fig. 1103; Jean-Richard 1978, p. 300, under no. 1225.

42 | François Boucher

Jupiter Transformed into Diana to Seduce Callisto, ca. 1763

Oil on canvas, oval, 25½ x 21⅝ in. (64.8 x 54.9 cm)

Signed (lower right): f. Bouch[er]

The Jack and Belle Linsky Collection, 1982 (1982.60.45)

In 1765 this painting and its pendant, *Angelica and Medoro* (cat. 43), were lent to the Paris Salon by Monsieur Bergeret de Grancourt. Both are signed, and one is dated two years earlier: it was suggested that Boucher, aging and unwell, did not have enough new work to present and borrowed them





Fig. 42.1. François Boucher, *Jupiter and Callisto*, 1744. Oil on canvas, 38 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 28 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (98 x 72 cm). Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow (Zh-733)



Fig. 42.2. François Boucher, *Jupiter and Callisto*, 1769. Oil on canvas, oval, 63 x 50 $\frac{3}{16}$ in. (160 x 129 cm). The Wallace Collection, London (P446)

back from their owner. Although the subjects are unrelated, the pictures appear to have been planned as a pair and are complementary in the opposing gestures of Diana and Medoro, in the repetition of the leopard skins, quivers of arrows, and putti with firebrands, and in the design of the sheltering trunks and branches of the trees in the background. Complex compositions of the kind came easily to the first painter and rector of the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture. The two were probably commissioned by the lender, who was either Jacques Onésyme Bergeret de Grancourt¹ or, as Alastair Laing suggested in 1986, his little-known uncle, Nicolas Joseph, because they were not in the nephew's posthumous inventory or sale.²

Boucher often drew on the writings of the Roman poet Ovid for his mythological subjects. According to Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Jupiter (symbolically present in the form of the eagle in the clouds) descended to Arcadia, where he assumed the guise of his daughter, Diana, goddess of the hunt, identified by the small crescent moon on her forehead,

so that he might seduce Diana's follower Callisto. Jupiter/Diana reaches out to grasp the beautiful nymph, whom he/she would get with child. When Callisto gave birth to the boy Arcas, Jupiter's angry wife the goddess Juno transformed her into a she-bear. Much later, Jupiter removed them both to the heavens as neighboring constellations.

As far as we know, Boucher painted the myth for the first time in 1744 (fig. 42.1) and again in 1759.³ Certain elements are typical—the crescent moon worn by Diana, the quivers of arrows, the pool and woodland background—but the earlier compositions are pyramidal, and the figures, nearly equal in importance, are also more or less equally feminine. Next the artist sent an oval painting signed and dated 1760 to the 1761 Salon.⁴ He introduced a new design, which differs in suggesting that Jupiter/Diana will overcome Callisto: the aggressor is identified by his/her kneeling/reclining pose. Oval variants of the 1760 picture are in The Wallace Collection, London, dated 1769 (fig. 42.2), and in the North Carolina Museum of Art in Raleigh.⁵ The format suits the disposition of the figures. The

composition was also deployed in a large upright cartoon for a series originally envisioned in 1755.⁶ Apparently the cartoon was not painted until 1767; it has disappeared, but an oil sketch on paper and a copy survive. Later variants such as The Wallace Collection canvas, which show studio intervention, also differ from the 1760 painting, and from ours, in showing Jupiter/Diana with thick legs and large clumsy bare feet that project aggressively. Undeniably, the effect is more masculine.⁷

There must have been a ready market for paintings, drawings, and tapestries by and after Boucher representing Diana and Callisto, a subject he painted and drew from time to time for twenty-five years. What accounts for the differences in ours? If “M. Bergeret” asked Boucher for yet another depiction of the same motif, perhaps he admired the 1760 picture when it was exhibited in 1761, and the artist, because he was working for a major client, knew himself obliged to provide something other than a replica. The importance of the client might explain the high quality of a pair of very late pictures by a failing and disinterested artist. Still, Boucher’s exhibits in 1765 were generously received by the critics insofar as they were noticed, with the usual exception of Denis Diderot, who could not declaim against them fiercely enough.⁸ Stating that after the age of fifty most painters no longer made studies from the model but worked from habit, Diderot opined that Boucher simply turned the same figures this way and that (“anciennes figures tournées et retournées”). There was some truth to this view. It is worth noting the awkwardly drawn right knee of Jupiter/Diana in the present elegantly arranged composition; Boucher—wisely—chose not to include the feet.⁹

NOTES

1. See Wildenstein 1961, esp. pp. 42–43, 49–50, 59, nn. 27–29. The younger Bergeret owned many Bouchers, especially landscapes, pastels, and drawings: Wildenstein counted 121, plus 640 reproductive prints. For the Bergeret family, see Darras 1933, pp. 76, 77, 79–81; Claeys 2011, vol. 1, pp. 206–11; and Andrews 1994, vol. 1, pp. 219–21, 234–35.
2. Laing in New York 1986, p. 34. According to Wildenstein 1961, pp. 49–50, 59, nn. 27, 28, Nicolas Joseph Bergeret de Grancourt (1694–1777) lived in his nephew’s Paris house, presumably late in life, and died there. He seems to have been unmarried.
3. Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, 32-29. Laing in New York 1986, pp. 283–85, no. 70, ill. (color), who reasonably presumes that Boucher’s choice of subject was inflected by his preference for female nudes.
4. The Salon of 1761 exhibit, while not named in the *livret*, is presumably identical with the painting dated 1760 and noted by a critic referenced in Ananoff and Wildenstein 1976, vol. 1, p. 95. It was drawn by Gabriel de Saint-Aubin as one of a pair, for which see *ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 203–5, nos. 533–34, figs. 1476, 1477, 1479, 1485. The 1760 painting is on loan to the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (it was not possible to secure a photograph); its pendant was sold at Sotheby’s, New York, January 31, 2013, no. 91.

5. Ananoff and Wildenstein 1976, vol. 2, pp. 293–94, no. 668, fig. 1747 (The Wallace Collection P446) and also the note under no. 639/6 (North Carolina Museum G55.8.2). For the former, see also Ingamells 1989, pp. 57–59, 384, no. P446, ill. Both are based on the 1760 painting, and it is probable that neither is entirely autograph. The composition was also woven as a tapestry (J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, 71.DD.466).
6. See Ananoff and Wildenstein 1976, vol. 2, p. 270, nos. 639, 639/1, figs. 1679, 1680, for the tapestry cartoon.
7. The sexuality of Jupiter/Diana has occasioned analysis and comment. See, for example, Hyde 2006, pp. 203–17, and Bedford 2011.
8. Denis Diderot, *Salon de 1765* (Paris, 1765), published in Diderot 1957–67, vol. 2 (1960), p. 77, no. 8 (McWilliam 1991, no. 0172).
9. For a grisaille oil sketch with a related composition, see Ananoff and Wildenstein 1976, vol. 2, p. 204, no. 535, fig. 1482, who, however, failed to associate it with the Linsky picture.

EX COLL.: Nicolas Joseph Bergeret de Grancourt (by 1765–d. 1777); ?Pierre Jacques Onésyme Bergeret de Grancourt (until d. 1785); “Calonne Angelot” (in 1789; anonymous sale, Joseph Alexandre Lebrun [apparently selling pictures under a fictitious name], Paris, May 11ff., 1789, no. 101, sold with its pendant: *Deux sujets agréables . . . L’un représentant Jupiter sous la figure de Danae pour tromper Calisto. L’autre les Amours de Bacchus et d’Ariane . . .*, for 405 livres); Jean François (?) Marin (in 1790; his estate sale, Lebrun, jeune, & Saubert, Paris, March 22, 1790, no. 335, as *Jupiter sous la figure de Diane . . .*, sold with its pendant for 414 livres to Geoffrey); Pierre Claude Proustau de Montlouis (until d. 1851; his estate sale, Bonnefons de Laviolle et al., Hôtel des Ventes, Paris, May 5–6, 1851, no. 11, as *Diane et Calisto; Vénus et Adonis . . .* “de forme ovale et dans leurs bordures du temps,” for Fr 3,250); probably Richard Seymour-Conway, fourth marquess of Hertford, Paris (until d. 1870); Sir Richard Wallace, Paris (probably by 1870–d. 1890); Amélie Julie Charlotte, Lady Wallace, Paris (1890–d. 1897); Sir John Arthur Murray Scott, Paris (1897–1912; inv., 1912/13, bequeathed to Lady Sackville); Victoria, Lady Sackville (1912/13–1913/14; sold to Seligmann); [Jacques Seligmann, Paris, 1913/14; sold to Knoedler]; [Knoedler, New York, 1914–17; sold to Plant]; Mr. and Mrs. Morton F. Plant, New York (1917–his d. 1918); Mrs. Morton F. Plant, later Mrs. William Hayward, still later Mrs. John E. Rovensky, New York (1918–d. 1956; her estate sale, Parke-Bernet, New York, January 16, 1957, no. 457, as *Jupiter and Calisto*); Mr. and Mrs. Jack Linsky, New York (1957–his d. 1980); Mrs. Jack Linsky, New York (1980–82).

SELECTED EXHIBITIONS: Paris, Salon, August 25–September 30, 1765, no. 8 (as *Jupiter transformé en Diane pour surprendre Calisto*. “Tableaux ovales d’environ 2 pieds de haut, sur 1 pied & demi de large. Du Cabinet de M. Bergeret de Grancourt.”). Paris, Galerie Georges Petit, *L’art au XVIIIe siècle*, December 15, 1883–January 1884, no. 6 (as *Diane et Vénus*, lent by Sir Richard Wallace) (exh. cat.: Paris 1883a).

SELECTED REFERENCES: Denis Diderot, *Salon de 1765*, Paris, 1765 (published in Diderot 1957–67, vol. 2 [1960], p. 77, no. 8) (McWilliam 1991, no. 0172); Diderot 1957–67, vol. 2 (1960), pp. 19–20, 77, 188, 252–53; Wallace Collection 1968, p. 37; Ananoff and Wildenstein 1976, vol. 1, pp. 108–9, 111, vol. 2, pp. 228–30, no. 576, fig. 1557; Diderot 1975–83, vol. 2 (1979), pp. 19–20, 77; Katharine Baetjer in Linsky 1984, pp. 120–24, no. 46, ill. (color); Hyde 2006, pp. 204–5, 207, 211, 216–17, fig. 51.



43 | François Boucher

Angelica and Medoro, 1763

Oil on canvas, 26¼ x 22⅛ in. (66.7 x 56.2 cm)

Signed and dated (lower left): f. Boucher / 1763

The Jack and Belle Linsky Collection, 1982 (1982.60.46)

The subject would not necessarily be recognizable¹ but for the fact that the painting is one of a pair of mythologies exhibited in the 1765 Paris Salon (see also [cat. 42](#)): the sizes are very close to the dimensions published in the *livret*,² the shapes are oval, and the stretchers are stamped (even if later) with the same maker's name. The magnificent Louis XVI frames are a pair, evidently made for the paintings in the 1780s. Despite gaps in time, the works seem to have a common provenance. The story of Angelica and Medoro is taken from the romantic epic *Orlando Furioso* by the sixteenth-century Italian poet Ludovico Ariosto.³ Angelica was the beautiful pagan daughter of the Great Khan of Cathay. She abandoned the Christian knight Orlando, the hero of the tale, and, when Cupid struck her with his dart, fell desperately in love with the wounded Saracen soldier Medoro. The couple lived together in a herdsman's hut, and she cared for him until his injury healed. Wherever they went meanwhile Angelica carved their names. There are traces of an inscription on the tree trunk below and to the left of Medoro's outstretched hand, presumably evidence of initials toward which he gazes fixedly. Typically, the sky is populated with putti.⁴

This is the only time Boucher painted the subject, a choice conceivably inspired by an opera, *Roland*, by Jean-Baptiste Lully with verses by Quinault, to which Diderot made reference. The critic admired the score and the libretto but condemned the picture, accusing the artist of taking up the brush only to show buttocks and breasts. Diderot frequently criticized the artist for the absence of content in his pictures, and in general he seems to have been uncomfortable with nudity, but it is difficult to fathom how he could describe Angelica as an ill-tempered tripe seller.

NOTES

1. The picture was also called *Bacchus and Ariadne* (in the sales of "Calonne Angelot," 1789, and Marin, 1790) and *Venus and Adonis* (in the sale of Prousteau de Montlouis, 1851). Rensselaer W. Lee (1977, pp. 57–58) expressed doubts about the identification of the subject, which he found unsuited to the frivolous emotions described by Boucher.
2. The measurements in the *livret*, "2 pieds de haut, sur 1 pied & demi de large," are equal to about 25½ x 19½ in. (65 x 48.7 cm).
3. Ariosto 1974, canto 19:13–36, pp. 218–20.
4. Motifs travel from one composition to another. For the full-length putto, see the drawing, the engraving, and the detail of an oil sketch in Paris 2015, p. 30, fig. 1, p. 34, detail (color) and fig. 2.

EX COLL.: Nicolas Joseph Bergeret de Grancourt (by 1765–d. 1777); ?Pierre Jacques Onésyme Bergeret de Grancourt (until d. 1785); "Calonne Angelot" (in 1789; anonymous sale, Joseph Alexandre Lebrun [apparently selling pictures under a fictitious name], Paris, May 11ff., 1789, no. 101, sold with its pendant: *Deux sujets agréables . . . L'un représentant Jupiter sous la figure de Danae pour tromper Calysto. L'autre les Amours de Bacchus et d'Ariane . . .*, for 405 livres); Monsieur Marin (in 1790; his estate sale, Lebrun, jeune, & Saubert, Paris, March 22, 1790, no. 335, as *Les Amours de Bacchus et d'Ariane*, sold with its pendant for 414 livres to Geoffrey); Pierre Claude Prousteau de Montlouis (until d. 1851; his estate sale, Bonnefons de Lavialle et al., Hôtel des Ventes, Paris, May 5–6, 1851, no. 11, as *Diane et Calisto; Vénus et Adonis . . .* "de forme ovale et dans leurs bordures du temps," for Fr 3,250); probably Richard Seymour-Conway, fourth marquess of Hertford, Paris (until d. 1870); Sir Richard Wallace, Paris (probably by 1870–d. 1890); Amélie Julie Charlotte, Lady Wallace, Paris (1890–d. 1897); Sir John Arthur Murray Scott, Paris (1897–1912; inv., 1912/13, bequeathed to Lady Sackville); Victoria, Lady Sackville (1912/13–1913/14; sold to Seligmann); [Jacques Seligmann, Paris, 1913/14; sold to Knoedler]; [Knoedler, New York, 1914–17; sold to Plant]; Mr. and Mrs. Morton F. Plant, New York (1917–his d. 1918); Mrs. Morton F. Plant, later Mrs. William Hayward, still later Mrs. John E. Rovensky, New York (1918–d. 1956; her estate sale, Parke-Bernet, New York, January 16, 1957, no. 458, as *Angélique and Medor*); Mr. and Mrs. Jack Linsky, New York (1957–his d. 1980); Mrs. Jack Linsky, New York (1980–82).

SELECTED EXHIBITIONS: Paris, Salon, August 25–September 30, 1765, no. 9 (as *Angélique & Médor*. "Tableaux ovales d'environ 2 pieds de haut, sur 1 pied & demi de large. Du Cabinet de M. Bergeret de Grancourt."). Paris, Galerie Georges Petit, *L'art au XVIIIe siècle*, December 15, 1883–January 1884, no. 5 (as *Vénus et Adonis*, lent by Sir Richard Wallace) (exh. cat.: Paris 1883a).

SELECTED REFERENCES: Denis Diderot, *Salon de 1765*, Paris, 1765 (published in Diderot 1957–67, vol. 2 [1960], pp. 77–78, no. 9) (McWilliam 1991, no. 0172); Diderot 1957–67, vol. 2 (1960), pp. 19–20, 77, 188, 252–53; Wallace Collection 1968, p. 37; Ananoff and Wildenstein 1976, vol. 1, pp. 108–9, 111, vol. 2, pp. 228–29, no. 575, fig. 1553; Lee 1977, pp. 57–58, 108 n. 124, fig. 38; Diderot 1975–83, vol. 2 (1979), pp. 19–20, 77–78, 187–88; Katharine Baetjer in Linsky 1984, pp. 121–25, no. 47, ill. (color); Démoris 2006, pp. 209–10, 223 n. 59, pl. 14 (color).

44 | François Boucher

The Dispatch of the Messenger, 1765

Oil on canvas, oval, 12⅝ x 10½ in. (32.1 x 26.7 cm)

Signed and dated (lower right): f. Boucher / 1765

Gift of Mrs. Joseph Heine in memory of her husband, I. D. Levy, 1944 (44.141)

At the Salon of 1765 this small painting was exhibited with three others under a single number: "Quatre pastorales, dont deux sont ovales." The opening scene in a series of four, it presents a shepherd seated under a tree and accompanied by





Fig. 44.1. Jacques Firmin Beauvarlet (French, 1731–1797) after François Boucher, *L'Arrivée du courier* (*The Arrival of the Messenger*), ca. 1770. Etching and engraving, 17½ x 13 in. (43.5 x 33 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Bequest of Susan Dwight Bliss, 1966 (67.630.110)

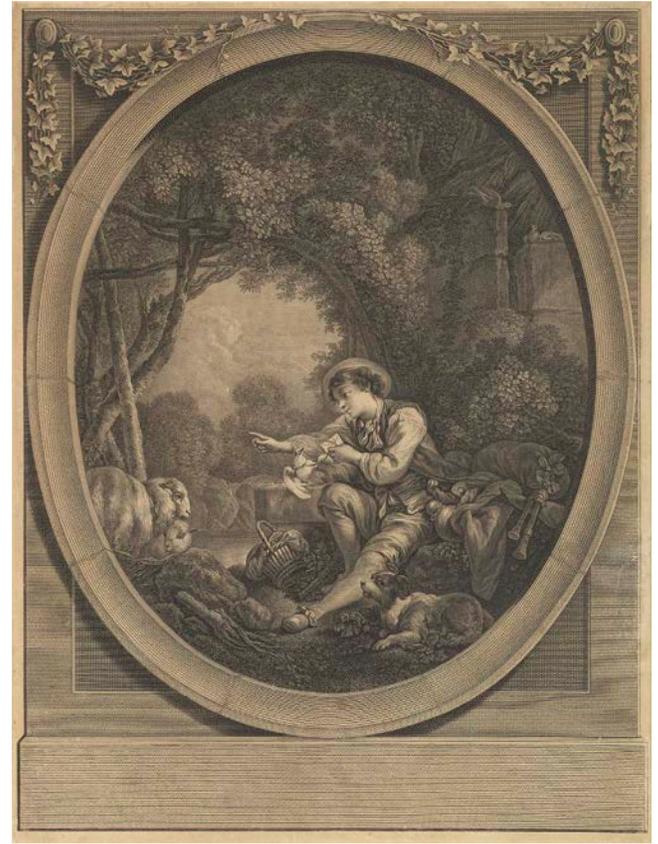


Fig. 44.2. Jacques Firmin Beauvarlet after François Boucher, *Le Départ du courier* (*The Departure of the Messenger*), ca. 1770. Etching and engraving, 17½ x 13 in. (43.5 x 33 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Bequest of Susan Dwight Bliss, 1966 (67.630.109)

a dog and two sheep. Young, little more than a boy, he fastens a love letter tied with a ribbon to the neck of a dove. The foliage above and behind him is arranged to echo his pose and emphasize the oval design. His gourd-shaped water bottle and musette and the doves in the background at the upper left are typically allusive. The second oval depicted the approach of the dove carrying the letter in its beak to the shepherdess, who leans forward with her arm extended along the trunk of a tree. Her dog participates eagerly in the arrival of the missive. Black chalk drawings after the two pictures were made by Jacques Firmin Beauvarlet, who exhibited them at the Salon of 1769, stating that they were in preparation for engravings (figs. 44.1–2).¹

The third and fourth canvases, rectangles, were engraved by the little-known Jacques Bonnefoy as *La Confidence* (fig. 44.3) and *Le Repos*.² The shepherdess reads the letter to her confidante, and the lovers meet. The two-figure compositions were more elaborate, and it is difficult to imagine the four as a set, but the writer and critic Denis Diderot described

them as such. Three disappeared almost immediately, and only our work survives.

Diderot did not admire Boucher and regularly condemned the falsity of his work in the pastoral genre.³ It is therefore unusual that he should have praised the present picture and its companions, even though drawing attention to their mindless narrative content.⁴ He wrote thus to his correspondent Friedrich Melchior Grimm:

These four pieces form a charming little poem. Write that for once in his life the painter had an intelligent moment. A shepherd attaches a letter to the neck of a dove: the dove departs; a shepherdess receives the letter; she reads it to one of her friends: a meeting is suggested; she is there and the shepherd as well.⁵

Grimm, who disagreed with Diderot's assessment, offered the useful observation that the series belonged to Madame Geoffrin, whose salon in rue Saint-Honoré not only he,



Fig. 44.3. Jacques Bonnet d'Arles (French, 1755–1828) after François Boucher, *La Confiance* (*The Secret*), late 18th century. Stipple engraving, first state, 14 $\frac{3}{16}$ x 10 $\frac{1}{16}$ in. (36.4 x 25.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of Mrs. Olga Sichel and Max Philippson, 1962 (62.557.82)

but Diderot, Boucher, and many other writers and artists regularly attended. Diderot was writing for a private audience, but still it would have been unwise to risk offending Madame Geoffrin, who commissioned Boucher's paintings and who belonged to the wider world of letters.

NOTES

1. Salon, 1769, no. 252: *Deux Pastorales*. "Desinés d'après les Tableaux de M. Boucher, premier Peintre du Roi, & destinés à être gravés." The artist is "M. Beauvarlet, Agréé," and the material, "Crayon noir." For the engravings, dedicated to the marquise de Montesquiou, see Jean-Richard 1978, p. 102, nos. 298, 300, ill., who notes that the drawings were in Beauvarlet's posthumous sale as no. 84. Alastair Laing (in a letter of October 24, 2017) locates the drawings, which are in the same direction as the paintings, in the Musée Jean de La Fontaine, Château-Thierry (44.1.10.18 and 44.1.10.2).
2. Jean-Richard 1978, pp. 105–6, nos. 312, 313, figs. 312, 313, and Ananoff and Wildenstein 1976, vol. 2, pp. 241–45, nos. 593–96, ill. See the latter for engravings of the rectangular compositions by other hands and with different titles.
3. Brunel 1984.

4. Alastair Laing explores these matters in depth in a splendid entry in New York 1986, no. 78.

5. Diderot 1957–67, vol. 2 [1960], p. 80: "Ces quatre morceaux forment un petit poème charmant. Écrivez que le peintre eut une fois dans sa vie un moment de raison. Un berger attache un letter au cou d'un pigeon: le pigeon part; une bergère reçoit la letter; elle la lit à une de ces amies: c'est un rendez-vous qu'on lui donne; elle s'y trouve, et le berger aussi."

EX COLL.: Mme Geoffrin, Paris (in 1765); (sale, Paris, February 29, 1856, no. 6); ?Sir Anthony de Rothschild, London (until d. 1876); his daughter, the Hon. Mrs. Eliot Yorke, London (?1876–d. 1926; her estate sale, Christie's, London, May 6, 1927, no. 26, ill., to Smith); [Wildenstein, New York, 1927–28]; Mr. and Mrs. Isaac D. Levy, New York (1928–his d. 1934); Mrs. Isaac D. (Rosetta Davis) Levy, later Mrs. Joseph Heine, New York (1934–44; sale, Parke Bernet, New York, November 25, 1944, no. 251, bought in; given to MMA).

SELECTED EXHIBITIONS: Paris, Salon, August 25–September 30, 1765, no. 11 (as one of "Quatre pastorales, dont deux sont ovales, sous le même numero. Ces Tableaux ont environ 15 pouces de haut, sur 13 de large."). Paris, Hôtel de la Monnaie, *Diderot & l'art de Boucher à David: Les Salons, 1759–1781*, October 5, 1984–January 6, 1985, no. 37 (exh. cat.: Sahut and Volle 1984). New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, *François Boucher, 1703–1770*, February 17–May 4, 1986, no. 78 (as *Departure of the Pigeon Post*) (exh. cat.: New York 1986); Detroit Institute of Arts, *François Boucher, 1703–1770*, May 27–August 17, 1986, no. 78; Paris, Galeries Nationales du Grand Palais, *François Boucher, 1703–1770*, September 19, 1986–January 5, 1987, no. 78 (exh. cat.: Paris 1986).

SELECTED REFERENCES: Denis Diderot, *Salon de 1765*, Paris, 1765 (published in Diderot 1957–67, vol. 2 [1960], p. 80) (McWilliam 1991, no. 0172); Friedrich Melchior Grimm in Denis Diderot, *Salon de 1765*, Paris, 1765 (published in Diderot 1957–67, vol. 2 [1960], pp. 81, 123); Mathon de La Cour 1765, pp. 10–11 (CD 1980, vol. 8, no. 108; McWilliam 1991, no. 0173); Sterling 1955, pp. 138–39, ill.; Diderot 1957–67, vol. 2 (1960), pp. 19–20, 80–81, 123, 236–37, fig. 18; Ananoff and Wildenstein 1976, vol. 2, pp. 242–43, no. 594, fig. 1597; Bukdahl 1980–82, vol. 1, pp. 55, 57, 259 n. 16, vol. 2, pp. 169, 264, 350 n. 428.

45 | François Boucher

Virgin and Child with the Young Saint John the Baptist and Angels, 1765

Oil on canvas, 16 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 13 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. (41 x 34.6 cm)

Signed and dated (lower right): f Boucher / 1765

Gift of Adelaide Milton de Groot, in memory of the de Groot and Hawley families, 1966 (66.167)

In 1765 the sixty-two-year-old Boucher was elected director of the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture and appointed first painter to Louis XV. He had, however, lost his principal patron, Madame de Pompadour, who had died the previous year. She commissioned most of the few important religious subjects he painted: *The Light of the World* for Bellevue in 1750, *Saint John the Baptist in the Wilderness* of



about 1756, *Rest on the Flight into Egypt* of 1757, and *The Sleep of the Infant Jesus* of 1758.¹ None adheres entirely to the traditional biblical narrative, and the first and last are remarkable for the effects of light emanating from the Child.

Despite the grapes, a symbol of the Eucharist, and the lamb, attribute of John the Baptist, a very young boy clutching

a sheepskin, this small devotional picture might almost be mistaken for a pastoral subject. However, the baby, who does not look new born, is readily identified as the Christ Child by his direct, solemn gaze and by the pale aureole of light around his blond head.² Above him is a flight of winged putti. In the foreground a stone step and pedestal provide a



Fig. 45.1. François Boucher, *Pastoral Repast*, 1769. Oil on canvas, 25 $\frac{5}{16}$ x 21 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (65 x 55 cm). The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore (37.838)

not incongruous architectural framework. This devotional picture is remarkable for its simplicity and gentle intimacy. It does not seem to have been engraved.³

Boucher favored three-figure compositions, and this one is quite close to two of his late pastoral subjects, *The Little Dog's Dance* of 1758⁴ and *Pastoral Repast* of 1769 (fig. 45.1).⁵ The inclined head of the Virgin is indistinguishable from many of the innumerable profiles of goddesses and shepherdesses that he painted throughout his career. Sheep appear often, in *The Interrupted Sleep* for example (cat. 40).

NOTES

1. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lyon, 1955-106; Minneapolis Institute of Art, 75.8; State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg, 1139; Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow, 730. Ananoff and Wildenstein 1976, vol. 2, p. 38, no. 340, ill., p. 151, no. 477, ill., p. 173, no. 498, ill. He also painted a small oval, *The Infant Jesus Blessing Saint John the Baptist*, for Madame de Pompadour in 1758 (Gallerie degli Uffizi, Florence, 976); see *ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 178, no. 503, ill.
2. Boucher showed the Christ Child as a source of light whether he was painting the Nativity or not. Many found his late religious pictures lacking in seriousness and sublimity. See Schieder 2006, esp. pp. 73–81.
3. The Salon catalogue of 1769 lists, under no. 251, *La Vierge avec L'Enfant Jesus, & le Petit Saint Jean*, evidently a drawing in black chalk after a painting by Boucher that Jacques Firmin Beauvarlet intended to engrave, as he had two of the four pastorals exhibited in 1765 (see cat. 44). A same-size studio copy of the painting bearing Boucher's signature at lower right

was sold for the benefit of the Royal Scottish Academy at Sotheby's Olympia, London, July 5, 2005, no. 611.

4. Musée du Petit Palais, Paris, PDUT 869. Ananoff and Wildenstein 1976, vol. 2, pp. 174–75, no. 500, fig. 1391.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 292–93, no. 667, fig. 1742.

EX COLL.: Monsieur Ch[arlot] (until 1788; his sale, A. J. Paillet, Paris, January 28, 1788, no. 56, as *L'Enfant-Jésus sur les genoux de la Vierge, & adoré par Saint Jean, esquisse terminée & très agréable*, 14 x 12 pouces [14 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 12 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (37.8 x 32.6 cm)], forme ovale); (sale, Christie's, London, March 3, 1848, no. 31, as *The Virgin and Child, and St. John*—oval, for 20 gns., bought in); Joseph R. Bowles, Portland, Ore. (probably 1920s–before 1953); his daughter, Mrs. William W. (Marion Bowles) Hollis, San Francisco (until 1959; sold to Wildenstein); [Wildenstein, New York, 1959–65; sold to de Groot]; Adelaide Milton de Groot, New York (1965–66).

SELECTED EXHIBITIONS: Atlanta, High Museum of Art, *The Rococo Age: French Masterpieces of the Eighteenth Century*, October 5–December 31, 1983, no. 10 (exh. cat.: Zafra 1983). Martigny, Fondation Pierre Gianadda, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York: Chefs-d'oeuvre de la peinture européenne*, June 23–November 12, 2006, no. 36 (exh. cat.: Martigny 2006).

SELECTED REFERENCE: Ananoff and Wildenstein 1976, p. 257, no. 617, fig. 1639.

46 and 47 | François Boucher

Shepherd's Idyll, 1768

Oil on canvas, 94 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 93 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (240 x 237.5 cm)

Signed and dated (lower right): fBoucher 1768

Gift of Julia A. Berwind, 1953 (53.225.1)

Washerwomen, 1768

Oil on canvas, 95 x 93 in. (241.3 x 236.2 cm)

Signed and dated (lower right): fBoucher.1768

Gift of Julia A. Berwind, 1953 (53.225.2)

Shepherd's Idyll and its pendant, *Washerwomen*, painted in 1768, are Boucher's largest late works and hark back to the pastoral style he developed in the 1730s upon his return from Italy. In 1769, the last full year of his life, he again demonstrated his vitality by painting (or supervising and contributing to the painting of) six slightly smaller mythologies that seem to have been commissioned for the Paris residence of Jean François Bergeret de Frouville,¹ younger brother of Jacques Onésyme Bergeret de Grancourt. Our pastoral subjects and the mythologies are fully signed and dated, indicating that whatever workshop assistance the artist may have had, he took ownership of all of these works when they left his studio.

The pastorals catalogued here came to light in the 1884 estate auction of Léopold Roslin d'Ivry, second baron d'Ivry. Alastair Laing, who has contributed greatly to our knowledge of several of Boucher's latest series, proposed that they had been commissioned by one of Roslin's forebears² for the



Fig. 46.1. François Boucher, *Pastorale: The Vegetable Vendor*, ca. 1735. Oil on canvas, 95 x 67 in. (241.3 x 170.2 cm). Chrysler Museum of Art, Norfolk, Virginia, Gift of Walter P. Chrysler Jr. (71.504)

Château d'Hénonville near Beauvais. Nothing now remains of the interiors of the house, which had been extensively remodeled between 1765 and 1771 by Léopold's great-grandfather, Jean-Baptiste Paulin Hector Edme Roslin, seigneur d'Ivry and son of the *fermier général* who had bought the property in 1750.³ Jean-Baptiste Edme's wife was the sister of the Abbé de SAINT-NON and the sister-in-law of Jacques Onésyme Bergeret, and the two families belonged to the same financial and social milieu. In the late 1760s Jean-Baptiste Edme spent in excess of 418,000 livres on building works, furnishings, and tapestries at Hénonville. Considering the extent of his decorating, his connection to Boucher's patronage circle, and the date of our pictures, it is likely that he commissioned them. He may also have owned some or all of the paintings by seventeenth-century Dutch artists and by JEAN-BAPTISTE OUDRY, ALEXANDRE FRANÇOIS DESPORTES, and JEAN HONORÉ FRAGONARD among others that were sold

in 1884, and he must have ordered from Louis Charles Carpentier, master in 1752, a magnificent set of seat furniture upholstered with Gobelins tapestries representing bouquets of large garden flowers against a light blue ground.⁴ For the most part, little is known of individual works of art that may have belonged to the seigneur d'Ivry.

The 1768 pastorals and the 1769 mythologies share certain retrospective qualities of style and subject. For the mythologies, Boucher looked back to one of his most important commissions for Madame de Pompadour, *The Rising of the Sun* and *The Setting of the Sun*, painted in 1753 as cartoons for tapestries.⁵ Whereas the 1769 set was carefully prepared and is nearly comparable in ambition, complexity, and scale, our pair is a relaxed reprise of Boucher's first important pastoral series, comprising four canvases now divided among the Alte Pinakothek in Munich, the Chrysler Museum in Norfolk, Virginia (fig. 46.1), and the Frick Pittsburgh.⁶ Though the



Cat. 46

circumstances of that commission are unknown, the set must date from the mid-1730s. The figures were studied extensively in drawings, and each detail, from the flowers among the blades of straw to the donkey's feedbag, is observed with a precision unusual for the painter.

By 1769 Boucher was so accomplished in the pastoral genre that he needed only his own work to color his memory. Most of the familiar components of his style in landscape are here: deciduous trees that have the shape of Roman pines,

pollarded willows, a bridge, a stream, a pool, a fountain, a thatched roof; cows, a donkey, sheep, dogs of indeterminate breed; peasants whose stockings and clothes are without tears or rents. The figures appear with only slight variations elsewhere. The colors appear to flow from his brush, and his skill and facility are remarkable. When Sir Joshua Reynolds visited Boucher in his studio in 1768, he was astonished: "I found him at work on a very large picture, without drawings or models of any kind. On my remarking this particular circumstance, he



Cat. 47

said, when he was young, studying his art, he found it necessary to use models; but he had left them off for many years.”⁷

NOTES

1. Alastair Laing in New York 1986, p. 318–24, nos. 84–85, ill. (color), p. 84, pl. 85, and figs. 200–203; and Ananoff and Wildenstein 1976, vol. 2, pp. 295–96, nos. 670–71, figs. 1751, 1752, pp. 298–304, nos. 674–77, figs. 1758–60, 1768.
2. See Laing in Paris 1986, p. 312, for confirmation of this theory and drawing attention to Eudel 1885.

3. For the Roslin d’Ivry family, see Claeys 2011, vol. 2, pp. 2137–38. Jean-Baptiste Paulin Hector Edme Roslin d’Ivry, who died in 1790, was predeceased by his son, Jean Marie (died 1785), and succeeded by Jean-Baptiste Marie (1775–1839), later a baron of the empire.
4. Vittet 2014, pp. 335–36, 344–45, fig. 247.
5. The Wallace Collection, London, P485 and P486.
6. Alte Pinakothek BGM 2; Frick Pittsburgh 1972.3. See Laing in New York 1986, pp. 163–68, no. 27, pl. 27, figs. 118–25, for a summary of the question, in which he attempts to straighten out the confusion introduced by Ananoff and Wildenstein 1976.



Cat. 48

7. Reynolds 1905, p. 345. The paintings, in generally good state but discolored and with some localized flaking, were cleaned by conservator Hubert von Sonnenburg in 1968.

EX COLL.: ?Jean-Baptiste Paulin Hector Edme Roslin, seigneur d'Ivry, Château d'Hénonville, near Beauvais (until d. 1790); his grandson, Baron Jean-Baptiste Marie Roslin d'Ivry, Château d'Hénonville (1790–d. 1839); his son, Baron Léopold Roslin d'Ivry, Paris (1839–d. 1883; his estate sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, May 7, 1884, nos. 3 and 4, for Fr 40,000 each to Fezensac); his son-in-law, Philippe de Montesquiou-Fezensac, duc de Fezensac, Paris (from 1884); [Gimpel & Wildenstein, Paris, Newport, and New York, until 1907/8; sold for \$45,000 to Berwind]; Edward J. Berwind, New York (1907/8–d. 1936); his sister, Julia A. Berwind, New York (1936–53).

SELECTED EXHIBITIONS: New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, *François Boucher, 1703–1770*, February 17–May 4, 1986, nos. 79, 80 (exh. cat.: New York 1986); Detroit Institute of Arts, *François Boucher, 1703–1770*, May 27–August 17, 1986, nos. 79, 80; Paris, Galeries Nationales du Grand Palais, *François Boucher, 1703–1770*, September 19, 1986–January 5, 1987, nos. 79, 80 (exh. cat.: Paris 1986).

SELECTED REFERENCES: Eudel 1885, pp. 332, 335; Gardner 1962, pp. 265–69, ill. (overall and detail); Ananoff and Wildenstein 1976, vol. 1, p. 214, vol. 2, pp. 279–81, nos. 654–55, fig. 1712; New York 1986, pp. 163, 305–9, nos. 79–80, ill. (color).

48 and 49 | François Boucher and Workshop

Allegory of Autumn, 1753

Oil on canvas, irregular, 44¾ x 63¾ in. (113.7 x 161.9 cm)

Signed and dated (lower right): f.Boucher / 1753

Purchase, Mr. and Mrs. Charles Wrightsman Gift, 1969 (69.155.1)

Allegory of Lyric Poetry, 1753

Oil on canvas, irregular, 45¼ x 62¾ in. (114.9 x 159.4 cm)

Signed and dated (lower left): Boucher / 1753

Purchase, Mr. and Mrs. Charles Wrightsman Gift, 1969 (69.155.2)



Cat. 49

In 1963 the Museum acquired paneling of carved, painted, and gilded oak that had once been installed in the Hôtel de Varengeville, a private townhouse at 217, boulevard Saint-Germain in Paris.¹ The woodwork included two pairs of double doors, over which these paintings, bought separately in 1969, were installed in carved and gilded surrounds supplied by the Paris maker Alavoine in the same year. Each canvas is signed by Boucher and dated 1753, and he thus put his name to them even though there was almost certainly studio intervention. The shapes are the same, and each is fitted to an oval stretcher, with some canvas folded over both the top and the bottom, and with additions measuring several inches at both sides.² If the subjects are correctly identified as allegories of autumn and lyric poetry, then they do not belong together, as Francis Watson first noted.³

In *Allegory of Autumn*, a blond winged cupid has emptied a wicker basket of grapes and apples on two other cupids among the clouds below. At the lower left are a tambourine

and a flute. Over the course of his career, Boucher painted innumerable cupids, accompanying larger figures or in groups of three or more as the seasons, the elements, or the liberal arts. These were reproduced by various printmakers, especially Claude II Duflos and Pierre Aveline. Alastair Laing finds similarities with a painting of five cupids symbolizing Autumn, signed and dated 1753, set in the ceiling of the council chamber of the Château de Fontainebleau, and also with an over-door of three cupids symbolizing Autumn, signed and dated 1754, in the James A. Rothschild Collection at Waddesdon Manor, Aylesbury, Buckinghamshire.⁴ But the closest correspondences are with an undated etching, *L'Automne*, or *Autumn* (fig. 48.1), from a series of the four seasons by Louis Félix de La Rue.⁵ The figure at the lower left is more or less the same in both. According to Pierrette Jean-Richard, La Rue was a student at the Ecole Royale des Elèves Protégés in 1752 and a pensioner of the Académie de France in Rome in 1754 and 1755. Almost all of his engravings after Boucher are either



Fig. 48.1. Louis Félix de La Rue (French, 1731–1765) after François Boucher, *L'Automne* (*Autumn*). Etching, engraving, and drypoint, 7⁵/₁₆ x 10¹/₈ in. (20.1 x 25.7 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1953 (53.600.1079(15))

académies or cupids, and all were published by Gabriel Huquier. It is probable that they date to the late 1750s or early 1760s and were based on drawings, but none has been identified.

In the second of our paintings, the central cupid holds a flaming torch and a lyre, an ancient instrument symbolic of lyric poetry. Another writes on a scroll with a quill pen. The quiver of arrows, most often an attribute of Cupid, with doves and a wreath of roses are appropriate to a poetic theme. A loosely related composition is the undated etching *La Poésie*, or *Poetry* (fig. 49.1), from a series of six prints after Boucher, *Livre des Arts*, also by La Rue,⁶ a variant in reverse of which was engraved by Gilles Demarteau.⁷ Alastair Laing points out that both of these derive from two cupids in a three-figure painting that was in the Rothschild collection at Mentmore and was later sold by the earl of Rosebery.⁸

NOTES

1. Kisluk-Grosheide and Munger 2010, pp. 28–29, no. 2.
2. Conservator Hubert von Sonnenburg, in a letter of June 19, 1969, to Mr. and Mrs. Wrightsman. He noted that the participation of the workshop was likely and reported that the paintings had been lined, probably in the nineteenth century, and that the additions matched.
3. Francis Watson is quoted in a letter of July 16, 1969, from Everett Fahy, sent in connection with the preparation of the Wrightsman catalogue.
4. Waddesdon Manor 2864.1. Ananoff and Wildenstein 1976, vol. 2, p. 105, no. 420, and p. 107, fig. 1185; Waterhouse 1967, pp. 218–19, no. 95, ill.
5. Jean-Richard 1978, pp. 308, 312, no. 1271, ill., from a series of the seasons.
6. Jean-Richard 1978, pp. 314–15, no. 1304, fig. 1304, mentions a painting, a drawing, and a counterproof relating to the print.
7. Demarteau no. 100; Jean-Richard 1978, pp. 188–89, no. 674, fig. 674.
8. Sale, Sotheby's, Mentmore, May 25, 1977, no. 2443. See Ananoff 1980, p. 129, no. 545A, ill. only. Laing (in a letter of October 24, 2017) draws attention to a tondo with the same cupids from the Jacques Doucet



Fig. 49.1. Louis Félix de La Rue after François Boucher, *La Poésie* (*Poetry*). Etching, 7⁷/₈ x 10¹/₈ in. (20 x 27.8 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1953 (53.600.1079(4))

collection (sale, Sotheby's, New York, June 5, 2014, no. 52, apparently bought in; sale, Sotheby's, New York, January 29, 2015, no. 36).

EX COLL.: Baron Edmond de Rothschild, Château de Pregny, near Geneva (until 1969; sold to MMA).

REFERENCE: James Parker in Watson 1966–70, vol. 3, pp. 14–15, under no. 292.

MAURICE QUENTIN DE LA TOUR

Saint-Quentin 1704–1788 Saint-Quentin

A native of Saint-Quentin in northern France, this gifted pastel artist (for Maurice Quentin de La Tour was exclusively that) arrived in Paris in 1719 to apprentice with a now little-known painter, Claude Dupouch, of the Académie de Saint-Luc. The young artist was thus fortunate to see the work of the famous Venetian pastelist Rosalba Carriera, who made a much-heralded visit to the French capital from 1720 to 1721. La Tour returned to his native Saint-Quentin the following year and only settled permanently in Paris in 1727. Meanwhile, he visited London. Ten years later he became a candidate member of the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture and began to show at the Salon. He was received as a full member in 1746 and in 1748 sent to the Salon pastel portraits of the king, Louis XV, Queen Marie Leszczyńska, and the dauphin Louis (Musée du Louvre, Paris), becoming for the forty-year balance of his long career one of the most highly placed, successful, and prolific portraitists in France. La Tour is famous not only for his impeccably finished and blended pastels, in which the strokes of the colored crayons



are not visible, but also for his many lively and engaging head studies, called *préparations*, which present a first, spontaneous record of the expression of a sitter taken from life. In 1782 he established a drawing school in his native Saint-Quentin, where he died six years later in 1788.

LITERATURE ON THE ARTIST: Fleury and Brière 1920; Besnard and Wildenstein 1928; Debie and Salmon 2000; Salmon 2004; Salmon 2018.

50 | Maurice Quentin de La Tour

Jean Charles Garnier d'Isle (1697–1755), ca. 1750–55

Pastel and gouache on paper, laid down on canvas,
25 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 21 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (64.5 x 54 cm)

Purchase, Walter and Leonore Annenberg and The
Annenberg Foundation Gift, 2002 (2002.439)



Fig. 50.1. Maurice Quentin de La Tour, *Jean Charles Garnier, Seigneur d'Isle*, ca. 1751. Pastel on paper, mounted on canvas, 25 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 21 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (64.4 x 53.9 cm). Harvard Art Museums/Fogg Museum, Cambridge, Mass., Bequest of Grenville L. Winthrop (1943.863)

Born in 1697, Jean Charles Garnier was seigneur d'Isle, a property at Vignely-les-Isle near Meaux. He was admitted to membership of the Académie Royale d'Architecture in 1728. Well placed from an early age, he must have owed his advancement in part to his wife, the daughter of architect and landscape designer Claude Desgotz, who was in turn related to, and worked under, the most celebrated of all French building and garden designers, André Le Nôtre. Little is known of Garnier d'Isle's early life beyond the fact that the couple, married in 1723, had five children, and that Garnier became Louis XV's architect in succession to his father-in-law.

Garnier d'Isle's sudden rise to power coincided with the ascendancy of Madame de Pompadour as the king's mistress, and she must have promoted his interests, because his name

is associated with the design of several of the formal gardens and properties remodeled or constructed for her use. These include Crécy, which was bought for her by the king in 1746; Bellevue, acquired in 1748, where over several years a château was built and elaborately decorated and landscaped; and the Hermitage at Fontainebleau. None of these survives, which is probably why our sitter, despite the fact that he held various important posts, is relatively little known. In 1747 he was appointed director of the royal Gobelins tapestry manufactory. The following year he was named *contrôleur des bâtiments pour les Tuileries et le Luxembourg* and also became an associate member of the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture. He was named *contrôleur général des bâtiments du roi, jardins et manufactures* in 1755. There was little time to enjoy the

many emoluments that came to him in his fifties. Presumably he commissioned two portraits from Maurice Quentin de La Tour, one of which was exhibited at the Salon of 1751, four years before his death at the Tuileries in December 1755.

The sitter is not named in the catalogue of the 1751 Salon, which refers in general terms to several La Tour exhibits under one number (a common designation that offered portraitists practical convenience). However, the comte de Caylus, writing in the October *Mercure de France*, singled out the extraordinary naturalism of a pastel, which was then on view but which he did not describe, representing “M. Dille.” To the best of our knowledge, there are three undated pastels representing Jean Charles Garnier d’Isle. Another of the same size as the present work shows a more ebullient and heavysset individual at half-length, seated in a damask-upholstered chair and wearing a magnificent gray moiré silk coat (fig. 50.1); there is also a smaller head-and-shoulders study of the sitter in the same coat belonging to the group of *préparations* from the artist’s own collection that is housed at Saint-Quentin.¹ The sketch is freely and emphatically drawn, with shading in small vertical and diagonal strokes of distinct colors, some red, for the flush of the cheek.

Our sitter’s face is thinner, and his double chin is not prominent, while his less ample girth is hidden because he places his right arm inside his coat. A rather similar gesture may be found in La Tour’s pastel of Grimod de la Reynière of about the same date.² Our sitter may be older than in the Fogg pastel and the sketch, and his demeanor is notably quieter, if indeed he is the same person. If not, then one sitter or the other may be a son of Antoine Pierre Mirleau de Neuville (1675–1757). The family tree is complex and incomplete. The Met pastel shows the artist’s impeccable blended technique throughout,³ but even the beautiful work in gouache for the passementerie pales by comparison with the fleeting and perhaps rather self-satisfied smile on the sitter’s face. The surface, thickly worked and without evidence of underdrawing, is in an immaculate state of preservation, and the pastel retains an antique glass and an elaborately carved and gilded Louis XV frame of very high quality.

NOTES

1. Musée Antoine-Lécuyer, Saint-Quentin, LT 19. See Debrie 1991, p. 119, ill. (color), for a reproduction of the sketch, which is quite unusual in showing so much of the sitter’s costume, and brought to a fairly high degree of finish.

2. Musée Antoine-Lécuyer LT 6.

3. Shelley 2005, p. 113, fig. 9 (color), pointed out that the spots of darker blue pastel on the coat near the sitter’s left shoulder mark the presence of fixative to which the upper layer of dry color adhered erratically.

EX COLL.: by descent in the Mirleau de Neuville family; Jean-Joseph-Albert Mirleau de Neuville de Marçilly, comte de Belle-Isle, Vernon (by

1872—at least 1877, as *Antoine Pierre Mirleau de Neuville*); his daughter, Jeanne, comtesse de Joybert, Château de Lilly, Fleury, near Lyons-la-Forêt (by 1880–d. 1938); her daughter, Mme Pierre (Marie-Antoinette) Duffour (1938–d. 1990); her daughter or daughter-in-law (1990–2001; sold to Colnaghi); [Colnaghi, London, 2001–2; sold to MMA].

SELECTED EXHIBITIONS: ?Paris, Salon, August 25–?September 25, 1751, no. 48 (as one of “Plusieurs Têtes au Pastel sous le même No.”). New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Pastel Portraits: Images of 18th-Century Europe*, May 17–August 14, 2011, no. 17 (exh. cat.: Baetjer and Shelley 2011).

SELECTED REFERENCES: Comte de Caylus, “Exposition des ouvrages de l’Académie Royale de Peinture faite dans une des sales du Louvre le 25 août 1751,” *Mercure de France*, October 1751, pp. 166–67 (CD 1980, vol. 4, no. 50, pp. 9–10; McWilliam 1991, no. 0069); Jal 1872, pp. 1318–19; Fleury and Brière 1920, p. 37; Besnard and Wildenstein 1928, p. 143, no. 158; Debrie and Salmon 2000, pp. 161–63, 169 n. 51, pls. 83, 84 (overall and detail in color); Shelley 2005, figs. 1, 3, 6, 9 (overall, details, and infrared reflectogram), pl. 8 (color); Baetjer and Shelley 2011, pp. 16, 25, 29, 33, 39, 51, no. 17, ill. (color).

CARLE (CHARLES ANDRÉ) VANLOO

Nice 1705–1765 Paris

A precocious and highly successful painter, Carle Vanloo, born in Nice, belonged to a family of artists of Dutch descent. After his father’s early death, he was brought up by his oldest brother, Jean-Baptiste, with his nephews Louis Michel and François. By 1716 the family was in Rome, where Carle reportedly studied with Benedetto Luti, while by 1720 they had settled in Paris. Within three years he was working on the restoration of the Galerie François I at the Château de Fontainebleau and had received his first independent commission. He won the Prix de Rome in 1724, but funds were unavailable; financed by his brother, he set off in 1728 and only after his arrival there was awarded a place at the Académie de France, where his work received high praise. After a short period working at the Savoie court in Turin, he returned to Paris in 1734 and was immediately accorded preliminary admission by the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture. Each year witnessed a further achievement: in 1735, his reception into the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture with *The Flying of Marsyas* (Ecole Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, Paris); in 1736, his first commission from the Bâtiments du Roi; in 1737, his election to the post of professor of the Académie Royale. Carle Vanloo exhibited at practically every Salon from 1737 through 1765. He requested and was appointed to the position of first governor of the new Ecole Royale des Elèves Protégées in 1747, occupying this important post until his death. Toward the end

of his life he was named first painter to the king and finally, in 1763, director of the Académie Royale. Despite this extraordinary record of professional achievement and Marie-Catherine Sahut's 1977 exhibition catalogue, his work is insufficiently known and published.

LITERATURE ON THE ARTIST: Sahut 1977.

51 | Carle Vanloo

Halt of the Hunt, 1737

Oil on canvas, 23¼ x 19½ in. (59.1 x 49.5 cm)

Wrightsman Fund, 1995 (1995.317)

Carle Vanloo often prepared significant commissions with preliminary oil sketches that are among the most beautiful and sought after works in his oeuvre. The present example has the additional interest of having been lost from public view more or less since it was painted. The artist's first major commissions were from Louis XV and reflected the king's enduring passion for the chase. In March 1736 Vanloo signed and dated *The Bear Hunt*, and in 1738 he painted *The Ostrich Hunt*,¹ two of a set of nine compositions with exotic subjects by six different painters that were designed to be installed in

the woodwork of a gallery in the king's private apartments at the Château de Versailles. Marie-Catherine Sahut pointed out that none of the painters who contributed were specialists in genre subjects.

In 1737 Vanloo received a more important order, for *Halt of the Hunt* (fig. 51.1), signed and dated 1737, which was to be installed in the large dining room of the king's newly remodeled private suite, the *petits appartements du roi*, at Fontainebleau. Our canvas is the preliminary study. *Halt of the Hunt* was paired with *A Halt, of Which the Grenadiers on Horseback Are the Principal Subject* (now titled *Halt of the Mounted Grenadiers of the King's Household*), by the battle painter Charles Parrocel (fig. 51.2), who was senior in age and experience and had worked at the court for some time.² The second, narrower pair, called *Hunt Luncheon* and *The Death of a Stag*, was assigned to an artist of the previous generation, **JEAN FRANÇOIS DE TROY** (both he and Parrocel, in addition to Vanloo, had contributed to the Versailles commission).³ Troy's *Hunt Luncheon* (fig. 51.3) is also signed and dated 1737, and his oil sketches for both pictures, the other of which is presumed lost, are in The Wallace Collection, London.⁴ **CHARLES JOSEPH NATOIRE**, Vanloo's contemporary, provided two overdoors depicting hunters shooting and at



Fig. 51.1. Carle Vanloo, *Halte de chasse (Halt of the Hunt)*, 1737. Oil on canvas, 86⅞ x 98⅞ in. (220 x 250 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris (INV 6279)



rest, and hunters on horseback meeting shepherdesses.⁵ The room was decorated in gold and white with mirrors in addition to the pictures.

The four large canvases for the Fontainebleau dining room were shown at the 1737 Salon,⁶ which was Carle Vanloo's first, and all six were paid for on December 2 of the same year. Parrocel and Vanloo received 3,000 livres each, and the following day Vanloo was paid an additional 1,000 livres for a trip to Fontainebleau to make modifications to his picture. Only in the case of Vanloo's canvas are the enormous size ("neuf pieds sur huit de large") and the irregular shape ("ceintré haut & bas") recorded in the hand list.⁷ The sketch preserves an indication of the approximate irregular outline of a finished picture that was to be set into paneling. Vanloo's and Parrocel's paintings hung opposite the windows (fig. 51.4).⁸

The choice of subjects is somewhat incoherent, as there are luncheons by both Vanloo and Troy in the same room. In fact, there are three, as Parrocel's *Halt* shows a military figure of high rank, the marquis de Creil, glass in hand, at an al fresco meal in a field beyond the trenches at the siege of Philippsburg on the Rhine, which had been taken by French forces in 1734. It is unusual to find a military subject with a portrait among imaginary views, which suggests that Creil

was known personally to the king. Troy's killing of a stag, to judge from the oil study, seems to have been an exceptionally violent and realistic depiction considering its function.

Vanloo's sketch indicates that his final painting was planned to be higher than wide, and, from the measurements printed in the *livret*, originally it was. The size recorded is approximately 9 x 8 pieds, whereas the size of the work for which payment was made on December 4 and 5, 1737, is about 7 pieds square, also the approximate dimensions of Parrocel's canvas. This would suggest that in the autumn of 1737, Vanloo was summoned to Fontainebleau to adjust his composition, reducing it by (approximately) two feet in height and one in width.⁹

Eric Zafran drew attention to the fact that while there is a general correspondence between the figures in the study and those in the finished painting, none is identical. This is true not only for the present picture, but for other studies as well. It would have been easy enough to cut the painting down at the top, if not at the sides. The coach that brought the ladies into the field and the mounted huntsman with his horn are among motifs in the preliminary study that were omitted from the finished work. The very tall African in the sketch pours wine; he is more formal and less conspicuous in the final painting, where he carries a crate covered with a napkin.



Fig. 51.2. Charles Parrocel (French, 1688–1752), *Halt of the Mounted Grenadiers of the King's Household*, 1737. Oil on canvas, 86 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 98 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (219 x 249 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris (INV 7123)



Fig. 51.3. Jean François de Troy (French, 1679–1752), *Déjeuner de chasse (Hunt Luncheon)*, 1737. Oil on canvas, 94 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 66 $\frac{15}{16}$ in. (241 x 170 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris (RF 1990-18)

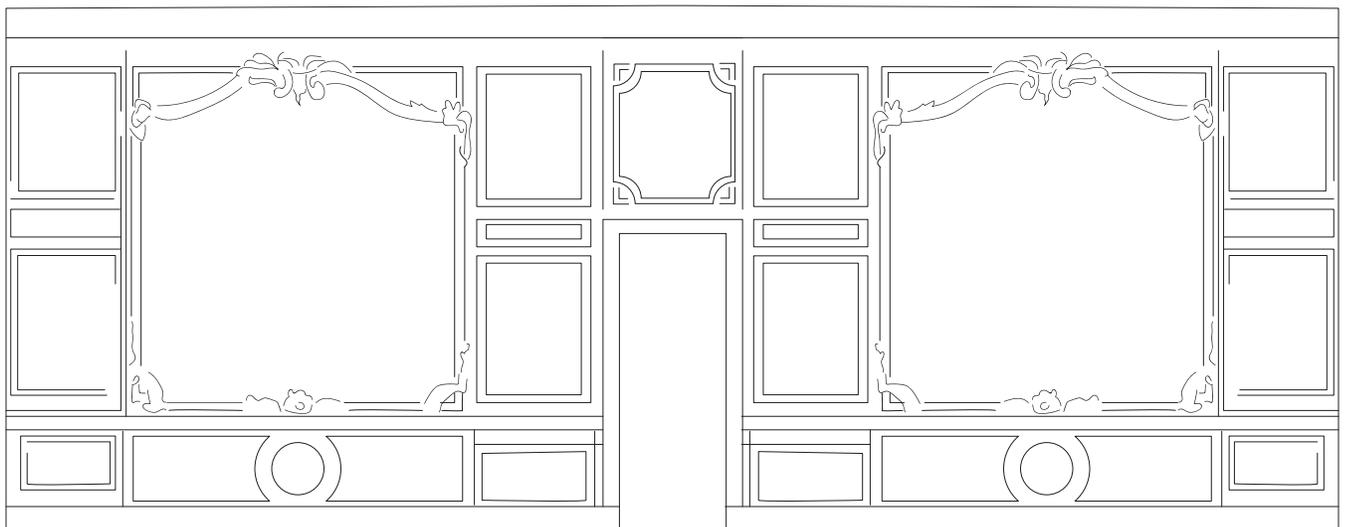


Fig. 51.4. Rendering of *Fontainebleau: Wall Facing the Windows in the Grand Dining Room of Louis XV's Petits Appartements*. Architectural elevation. Chinese ink on paper, 14 $\frac{9}{16}$ x 18 $\frac{3}{16}$ in. (37 x 47.5 cm). Archives Nationales, Paris (O¹ 1420-86)

(In the eighteenth century, there were very few African or West African servants and slaves in France; valued for their exoticism, they are often depicted wearing plumed turbans and earrings.) A beautifully caparisoned packhorse with an attendant and a procession of figures in the distance were added to the painting, and these would have sat well with details of the Parrocel that was its companion piece.

NOTES

1. Musée de Picardie, Amiens, 1875-38 and 1875-39.
2. Engerand 1901, pp. xvii, 41, 474-75, for Vanloo's *Halte de chasse*; and pp. xvii, 41, 380-81, for the Parrocel, described in the 1737 inventory as "une alte de grenadiers de la maison du Roy, M. de Creil leur commandant y parroist le verre en main . . . dans le fond on découvre la tranchée devant Philisbourg." For the arrangement of the new private apartments, see Bottineau 1962, pp. 31-39, pl. 10.
3. See Engerand 1901, pp. xvii, 41, 463-64, for Troy's commission and payment for paintings measuring "7 pieds 7 pouces de haut sur 5 pieds de large" and "cintré par en haut," or shaped at the top.
4. For Troy's *Hunt Luncheon*, see Cuzin 1991 and Joconde. The Wallace Collection sketches are catalogued in Ingamells 1989, pp. 335-37, nos. P463, P470, ill.
5. Engerand 1901, pp. xvii, 41, 312, notes that they were irregular at the bottom ("à oreilles par en bas"); Marandel 1991-92, figs. 1, 2; Caviglia-Brunel 2012, pp. 271-72, nos. P.81, P.82, ill.
6. Paris, Salon, August 18, 1737, as *Un Déjeûné de Chasse . . . La Mort d'un Cerf par M. de Troy, Professeur*, p. 12; *Une Alte de la maison du Roy, dont les Grenadiers à Cheval sont le sujet principal, par M. Parocel, Conseiller de l'Académie*, p. 14; and *Au-dessous, Un Déjeûné de Chasse, ceintré haut & bas, de neuf pieds sur huit de large, par M. Carlo Van-Loo, Professeur*, p. 22.
7. This was revealed when, between the public sale and the purchase by the Museum, the sketch was cleaned by conservator Alain Goldrath. The shape does not reflect that of the finished picture.
8. Cuzin 1991, pp. 44-46 nn. 9, 10. We would like to express our appreciation to Pierre Jugie of the Archives Nationales for taking a photograph of the wall elevation.
9. The dimensions of Vanloo's picture recorded in the *livret* of the 1737 Salon convert to about 115 x 102 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (292 x 260 cm); it now measures 86 $\frac{5}{8}$ x 98 $\frac{7}{16}$ in. (220 x 250 cm), to all intents and purposes the same size as the *Halt of the Mounted Grenadiers* at 86 $\frac{3}{16}$ x 98 $\frac{7}{16}$ in. (219 x 249 cm).

EX COLL.: ?(sale, Basan, Maison des Ecuries de Mme la princesse de Lamballe, Paris, May 8, 1783, no. 74, as "Une Halte de Chasseurs, composé de plus de vingt figures, tant debout qu'assises, dans un fond de paysage, sujet en hauteur, sur toile, par C. Vanloo"); [Wildenstein, Paris, in 1909]; David David-Weill, Paris (by 1926-41; sold to Wildenstein); [Wildenstein, New York, 1941-43; sold to Brewster]; Robert Dows Brewster, New York (1943-d. 1995; posthumous sale, Sotheby's, New York, May 19, 1995, no. 113, for \$244,500 to Colnaghi); [Colnaghi, New York, 1995; sold to MMA].

EXHIBITION: Atlanta, High Museum of Art, *The Rococo Age: French Masterpieces of the Eighteenth Century*, October 5-December 31, 1983, no. 46 (exh. cat.: Zafran 1983).

SELECTED REFERENCES: Henriot 1926, pp. 371-73, ill.; Sahut 1977, p. 42, no. 50, ill.; Fahy 2005, pp. 172-75, no. 49, ill.

GUILLAUME VOIRIOT

Paris 1712-1799 Paris

Guillaume's father, Jean Voiriot, was a moderately successful sculptor in the employ of the royal household and a member of the Paris guild, the Académie de Saint-Luc. His eldest son, born November 20, 1713, made a slow start on a career as a portraitist. Guillaume is first mentioned in the records of the guild in 1736. Ten years later he arrived in Rome for further study, visited Naples, and returned by way of Florence, Bologna, and Turin in 1748-49, reaching Paris in December 1749. At the request of the arts ministry, in 1752 he copied two royal portraits representing the dauphin Louis, by MAURICE QUENTIN DE LA TOUR, and Madame Première, Louis XV's oldest daughter, by JEAN MARC NATTIER. In 1752 and 1753 he exhibited at the Académie de Saint-Luc: on the first occasion a pastel representing Saint Jacques, and on the second, six portraits in pastel and in oils listed under one number (a common practice among eighteenth-century portrait painters, making it difficult to identify individual works). Voiriot secured preliminary admission to the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture in 1757 and was elected to full membership two years later, presenting portraits of the painters Nattier (Musée du Louvre, Paris) and JEAN-BAPTISTE MARIE PIERRE (Musée National des Châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon). Between 1759 and 1791, he exhibited a total of seven times at the Salon; in the early years, several critics, not including Denis Diderot, offered favorable reviews. From 1773 through 1787 he did not contribute. Voiriot was a proud and active member of the Académie Royale and in 1785 achieved the rank of *conseiller*. He also gained entrance to the academies of Bologna, Florence, and Rouen. He left a small body of work, and his childless widow was the recipient of a modest estate.

LITERATURE ON THE ARTIST: Jal 1872, pp. 1280-81; Foulon de Vaulx 1902; Voiriot 2004.

52 | Guillaume Voiriot

Monsieur Aublet in Fancy Dress Playing the Guitar, ca. 1760s

Oil on canvas, 50 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 38 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (128.9 x 97.2 cm)

Signed (on the pegbox of the guitar): V. P.

Gift of The Bradford & Dorothea Endicott Foundation, 2007 (2007.442)

Writing about the Salon de la Correspondance in the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres et des Arts* for 1782, Pahin de la Blancherie described Voiriot's portrait of Monsieur Aublet as among the painter's best, suave and harmonious in color and



very correctly drawn. Pahin stated that the work had been greatly admired—“fort applaudi”—when exhibited previously at the Salon.¹ While there is no other record that the Aublet portrait had been displayed before, this is possible, as Voiriot sent works described as “Plusieurs Portraits [or ‘Autres Portraits’] sous le même Numéro” to the official Salon of the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture in 1759, 1761, 1763, 1767, and 1771. He was not overly productive and did not send further work until 1789 and 1791. From what little is known, he was largely inactive during the decade of the 1780s.

The portrait of Monsieur Aublet exhibited in 1782 was in good company: at the same time, the young Madame Guiard showed a pastel self-portrait and two pastels representing academicians who were painters to the crown: her teacher and close companion François André Vincent and Voiriot himself.² According to the list of exhibits, the portrait of Voiriot was painted for Vincent. This supports biographical data indicating a connection among the three artists, though **LABILLE-GUIARD** would also have been promoting her admission to the Salon by showing portraits of its members.

While a black satin suit usually suggested some professional rank or official function, Aublet’s coat has unusually wide sleeves, and his ruff is an element of fancy dress most often associated with the theater. The hat with a blue band and feather provides a further exotic element, though the sitter looks straight-faced and straightlaced, anything but fanciful. The Museum owns a guitar similar to the one he plays: it is attributed to Jean-Baptiste Voboam based on an engraved inscription on the face of the instrument reading “Voboam A Paris 1697.”³ Elaborate interiors of the kind are typical of Voiriot’s larger portraits. Aublet is seated on an upholstered chair in the Louis XV style beside a music stand resting on a table covered with a flowered carpet. The signature, if it is one, is atypical: Voiriot signed infrequently, but when he did so, he generally used his last name and a date.

In 2004 Catherine Voiriot published a catalogue without which we would pretty much be at a loss. In it, she lists our painting twice, once as an attributed work.⁴ This may have been to err on the side of caution because she had never seen it and knew practically nothing about it. However, who would have thought to ascribe the portrait to a painter so little known by whom few works were identified, and then associate it, without benefit of computer indexing, with a portrait shown at the Salon de la Correspondance?⁵ Instead, Pahin was probably correct and Aublet was likely painted and his portrait first exhibited in the 1760s. It appears close in composition and style to Voiriot’s portrait of a woman said to be Madame Nattier, which is signed and dated 1765.⁶

NOTES

1. Pahin de la Blancherie, *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres et des Arts*, June 19, 1782, p. 180: “Cet Ouvrage, l’un des meilleurs de cet Artiste, fut fort applaudi dans le temps au Sallon. On y a retrouvé cette couleur suave & harmonieuse, jointe à un dessin très-correct, qui caractérise les Ouvrages de cet estimable Peintre.”
2. *Passez* 1973, pp. 90–97, nos. 28, ill. (Labille-Guiard), 29, ill. (Vincent), and 30, ill. (Voiriot).
3. See Metropolitan Museum 1989.147.
4. See Voiriot 2004, pp. 130, 134, and 155, no. 99, as “Portrait de Monsieur Aublet jouant de la guitare, vu jusqu’aux genoux”; and p. 152, no. 65, fig. 71, under uncertain attributions, as “Portrait d’homme en costume de fantaisie jouant de la guitar, dit portrait de M. Aublet.”
5. Particularly in view of the rarity of Pahin’s publication, only recently available online.
6. Collection Eugène Kraemer (sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, April 28–29, 1913); see Voiriot 2004, p. 145, no. 25, fig. 39.

EX COLL.: [Wildenstein, in 1907]; (sale, Christie’s, New York, January 11, 1989, no. 139, as *Portrait of Monsieur Aublet . . .*, for \$52,800); [Heim, London, in 1989]; [Wildenstein, New York, by 1990–2007; sale, Christie’s, London, July 6, 1990, no. 95, bought in; sale, Christie’s, New York, April 19, 2007, no. 268, for \$90,000 to Endicott]; The Bradford & Dorothea Endicott Foundation (2007).

EXHIBITIONS: Paris, Salon de la Correspondance, June 7, 1782, no. 5 (as *Le Portrait de M. Aublet, jouant de la guitare, vu jusqu’aux genoux, peint à l’huile*). Paris, Salon de la Correspondance, June 13, 1782, no. 3. London, Heim Gallery, May 24–July 25, 1989, *Towards a New Taste*, no. 15 (exh. cat.: London 1989b).

REFERENCES: Pahin de La Blancherie, *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres et des Arts*, no. 22, June 12, 1782, p. 171, and no. 23, June 19, 1782, p. 180; Bellier de la Chavignerie 1865, p. 178; Voiriot 2004, pp. 130, 134, 152, no. 65, p. 155, no. 99, fig. 71.

JEAN-BAPTISTE MARIE PIERRE

Paris 1714–1789 Paris

In 1734 Pierre, an aspiring twenty-year-old student, won the competition for the Prix de Rome. The next summer he arrived at the Académie de France, where during a stay of five years he attracted the notice of two directors, Nicolas Vleughels and **JEAN FRANÇOIS DE TROY**, by whom Pierre was deeply influenced. Returning to Paris, the young painter rose through the ranks of the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture: he was admitted to consideration for membership in April 1741, was received in 1742, appointed associate professor in 1744, and named professor in 1748. His reception piece, *Diomedes Killed by Hercules and Devoured by His Own Horses* (Musée Fabre, Montpellier), a picture of surpassing violence dating to 1741–42, was installed above the mantel in

the academicians' assembly room at the Palais du Louvre. Pierre exhibited at every Salon from 1741 through 1751 and from time to time thereafter, sending many works of exceptionally large dimensions. In 1770 he was named first painter to the king and director of the Académie Royale, and in 1782 he became director of the Gobelins manufactory as well. Wealthy from an early age, with all of the necessary training and natural ability as a painter, draftsman, and engraver of history and also genre subjects, he was socially and politically adept and enjoyed a close relationship with comte d'Angiviller, director of the Bâtiments du Roi. Pierre's work had been described as uneven and lacking in originality and was little admired in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, but much of it is lost, and the recent monograph by Nicolas Lesur and Olivier Aaron demonstrates that he was not just facile and prolific, but an occasional innovator and a precursor of Neoclassicism. The present work (cat. 53) is symptomatic of this agenda.

LITERATURE ON THE ARTIST: Lesur and Aaron 2009.

53 | Jean-Baptiste Marie Pierre *The Death of Harmonia*, ca. 1740–42

Oil on canvas, 77½ x 58¼ in. (196.9 x 148 cm)

Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Harry N. Abrams, by exchange, 1969 (69.129)

The subject, rarely depicted, may have been unfamiliar to Pierre's contemporaries, as it certainly is in our time. Presumably, the painter provided the lengthy description printed in the *livret* of the 1751 Salon, according to which Harmonia was the last survivor of Gelon II, king of Syracuse. Her nurse, seeing that she was pursued by the rebels who had killed all of the other members of her family, sought to save her by exchanging her clothes with those of a slave girl of the same age, and the slave was murdered in Harmonia's place without disclosing her true identity. Inspired by this display of courage and loyalty, Harmonia then revealed herself and was knifed to death. The *livret* records Pierre's source, Valerius Maximus, a Roman historian and moralist of the first century A.D. whose writings were popular with late eighteenth-century Salon painters.¹ Pierre appeared just in time to lead and sometimes to ride a new wave of interest in antiquity and its narrative possibilities.

Syracuse, a city-state on the southeast coast of Sicily established as a Greek colony in 730 B.C., became a powerful force in the Mediterranean basin. Gelon II ruled or coruled there briefly until his death in 216 B.C., and his daughter was murdered in the city in 214 B.C., possibly but not certainly under the circumstances Valerius Maximus described. Heroic



Fig. 53.1. Charles Nicolas I Cochin (French, 1688–1754) after Jean-Baptiste Marie Pierre, *The Death of Harmonia*, ca. 1751. Engraving, first state, 14¾ x 12 in. (37.8 x 30.5 cm). Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (44541655)

death was always a suitable subject for a Salon exhibit, even when, as in this case, the reference seems not to have cast light on a specific contemporary event.

Charles Nicolas I Cochin engraved the canvas no later than January 1751, when he presented the print and the plate to the Académie Royale and both painting and engraving were shown at the Salon (fig. 53.1).² The comte de Caylus, writing anonymously, observed in a review in the *Mercure de France* that Pierre's picture had been painted years earlier, “depuis plusieurs années.” As a connoisseur and advisory member of the Académie Royale, Caylus was an advocate of history painting, and he particularly admired the contrast the artist set up between the murderer's fury and the victim's courage in the face of death. This impressive canvas was appropriate to Pierre's not inconsiderable ambitions.

Most artists did not send work painted ten years earlier to a Salon, and Pierre may have been inspired by Cochin's print to do so, securing additional public attention to them both. Pierre had returned to Paris between April 1740 and April 1741, most likely in early 1741, because, opportunist that

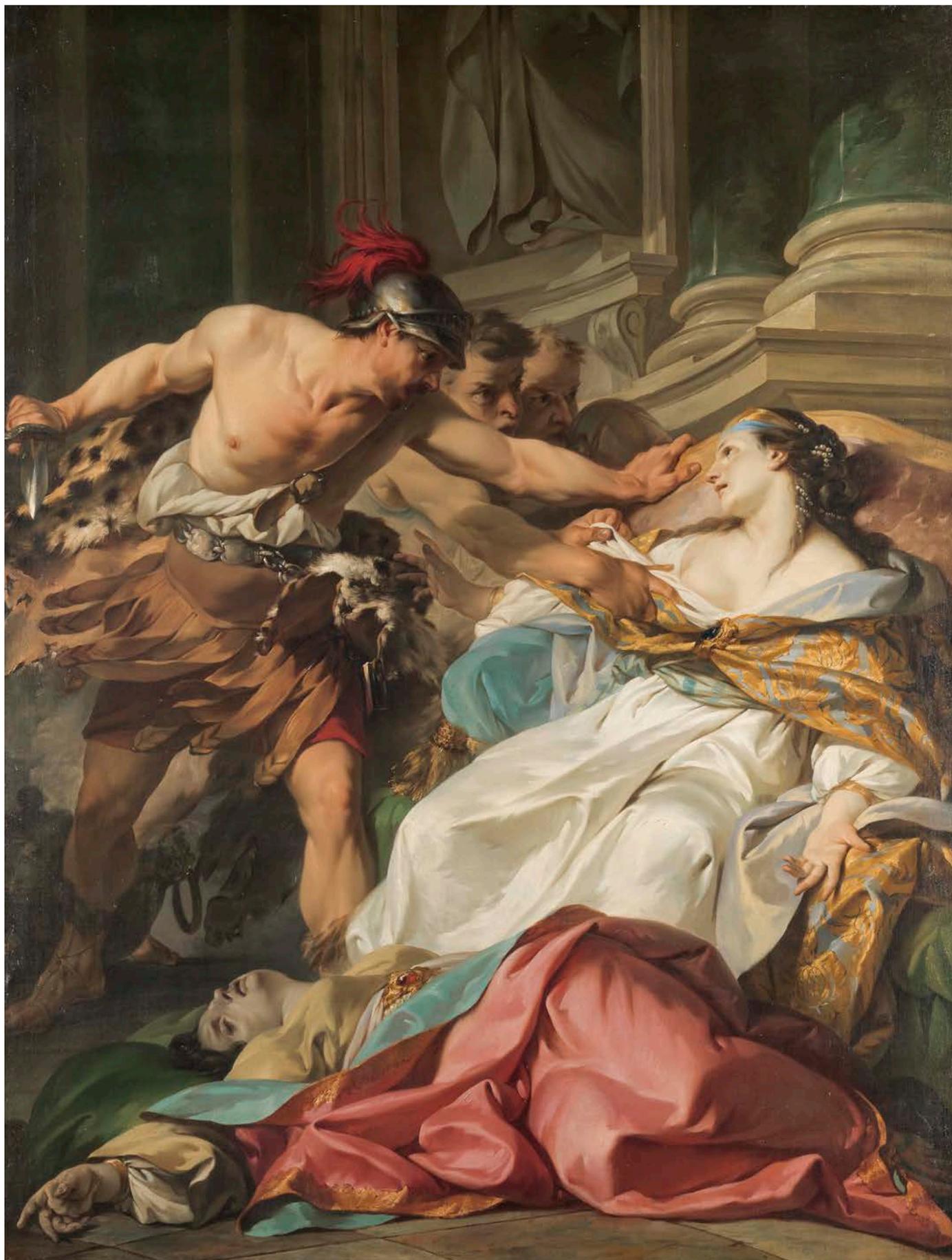




Fig. 53.2. Louis Joseph Le Lorrain (French, 1715–1759) after Jean François de Troy (French, 1679–1752), *The Death of Cleopatra*, 1742?. Etching, 11 $\frac{1}{16}$ x 8 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (29.1 x 22.6 cm). Royal Academy of Arts, London (04/3044)

he was, he probably rushed to the Académie Royale to make himself known as soon as possible. The date traditionally assigned to *Harmonia*, as to much of the artist’s juvenilia, is 1740–41. The canvas is influenced in a general way by the last of the enormous tapestry cartoons of scenes from the story of Lucretia that Pierre had seen in **JEAN FRANÇOIS DE TROY**’s studio in Rome. More important still is one of six canvases with biblical subjects and lifesize figures commissioned from Troy by Cardinal de Tencin for Lyon: two survive, one of which is dated 1742, but all are recorded in drawings or engravings, and two of the latter are also dated 1742. Pierre may have seen Troy’s *Death of Cleopatra*—the composition is preserved, reversed, in Louis Joseph Le Lorrain’s engraving (fig. 53.2)—because the two paintings have much in common.³ In each work the fainting figure, in the light, adheres to the diagonal, while the dead one forms an arc in the foreground. The scale of the interiors, details of the armor, and elaborations of costume and jewelry are similar. Both (in fact, in Troy’s case, all but one of the six) are packed tightly with figures.

Harmonia, pallid and with fair hair, wears the white draperies that were thought to be an appropriate costume for a

young female martyr in antiquity. The lifesize figure of the princess is very large in proportion to the canvas. She slumps in an upholstered Louis XV armchair with a gilded frame. The corpse of the slave, eyes closed, face discolored in death, lies at her feet. The soldier wears an approximation of Roman military equipment, including a crested helmet and boots.⁴ The body armor, which in antiquity would have covered his trunk, is reduced to the lower part of the corselet and the pendant lappets. He plunges forward and gestures violently, grasping the dagger that momentarily will be the cause of the heroine’s death.⁵

NOTES

1. Valerius Maximus, *Factorum ac dictorum memorabilium liber II*, and see Bardon 1963, pp. 220, 232.
2. Roux 1940, pp. 594–95, 657–58, no. 317.
3. Leribault 2002, pp. 374–78, nos. P283–88, and esp. P287. Two of the four engravings by Louis Joseph Le Lorrain are dated, but not that for *The Death of Cleopatra*. The connection with the cardinal’s commission was noticed by curatorial intern Nora Street in 1969 (documents in the archives of the Department of European Paintings), but her observations were never published.
4. Joan R. Mertens, curator in the Department of Greek and Roman Art, has advised me about the Roman armor and also suggested that the background may have been inspired by the Pantheon.
5. A replica (37 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 26 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. [95 x 67 cm]), in an indifferent state of preservation, was on the Paris art market in 2015, having appeared at auction (sale, Antoine Aguttes, Angers, March 28, 2015, no. 54, ill.). Nicolas Lesur believes it to be autograph. Grateful thanks to my colleague Perrin Stein, curator in the Department of Drawings and Prints, for bringing the work to my attention.

EX COLL.: Abbé Rivière (until 1813; his estate sale, Maison des Augustins de la Place des Victoires, Paris, April 26, 1813, no. 95, for Fr 41.95); private collection, France (until 1959; sold to Wildenstein); [Wildenstein, Paris and New York, 1959–69; sold to MMA].

EXHIBITION: Paris, Salon, August 25–?September 25, 1751, no. 35 (as “Autre de six pieds sur 4 & demi, représentant la mort d’Harmonia, seul reste du sang de Gelon, Roi de Syracuse. La nourrice de cette Princesse, voyant qu’elle étoit poursuivie par les mêmes Conjurés qui avoient détruit sa famille, leur présenta, pour la sauver, une Esclave de son âge, revêtuë de ses habits. Cette fille eut assez de courage pour souffrir la mort sans se faire connoître; mais Harmonia, touchée de sa fidélité, & ne voulant pas lui céder en générosité, déclara qu’elle étoit la véritable fille de Gelon, & fut poignardée. Valere Maxime.”).

SELECTED REFERENCES: Comte de Caylus, “Exposition des ouvrages de l’Académie Royale de Peinture, faites dans une des salles du Louvre, le 25 août 1751,” *Mercure de France*, October 1751, p. 165 (CD 1980, vol. 4, no. 50, p. 8; McWilliam 1991, no. 0069); Coypel 1751, pp. 17–18 (CD 1980, vol. 4, no. 51; McWilliam 1991, no. 0068); Lesur and Aaron 2009, pp. 5, 9, 13, 33–34, 56, 60, 72–73, 80, 179, 212, 221, 227, 232, 263, 289, 292, no. 24, ill. pp. 81 (color) and 221.



JOSEPH VERNET

Avignon 1714–1789 Paris

Vernet, the son of a coach painter in Avignon, was working in Aix in 1731–32. He settled in Rome in 1734, painting the nearby coastline and the hills and waterfalls around Tivoli, the coastline of Naples, which he visited for the first time in 1737, and many lyrical imaginary views. Visitors on the Grand Tour admired his work, and he had important patrons and developed a following among artists and imitators. He was admitted to the Accademia di San Luca in 1743 and, preliminarily, in 1746, to the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture. He became a full member upon his return to Paris in 1753 to take up an important royal commission for a series devoted to the ports of France, which he worked on, visiting the various sites, until 1762. He then settled in the capital for the balance of his long and successful career.

LITERATURE ON THE ARTIST: Ingersoll-Smouse 1926; Conisbee 1976.

54 | Style of Joseph Vernet

Harbor Scene with a Grotto and Fishermen Hauling in Nets, mid- or late 18th century

Oil on canvas, 22¾ x 42⅞ in. (57.8 x 107 cm)

Bequest of Catherine D. Wentworth, 1948 (48.187.739)

There are various motifs in the painting that are commonly associated with the work of Joseph Vernet: at the edge of

the composition, the prow of a ship in still water and calm air; a bay in filtered light with the silhouettes of a tower and other buildings in the middle distance; fishermen hauling in nets; an elaborate rock formation with an arch opening on a more distant view. The composition seems to be imaginary and Italianate. The painting lacks clarity and definition, and the figures, awkward and disjointed, are unworthy of this much imitated artist. Another picture by a follower, with a looser composition and a more upright format but containing the same motifs, is one of a pair sold in London in 1991.¹ A composition of the sort to which our artist aspired is represented in an engraving by Robert Daudet after a 1742 painting by Vernet titled *Vue de Pausilype*.² A similar rock formation may be found in an etching by Anne Philiberte Coulet after Vernet titled *Les Pecheurs florentins* (fig. 54.1).³

NOTES

1. Sale, Christie's, London, November 21, 1991, no. 14, as "Follower of Claude Joseph Vernet, Evening: a Calm with Fishermen hauling in Nets by a Rocky Arch, a Port and Shipping beyond, one of a pair." A single difference is the ship in the hazy middle distance.
2. Metropolitan Museum 53.600.1661: Ingersoll-Smouse 1926, vol. 2, p. 43, no. 74, fig. 15.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 75, no. 529, fig. 118.

EX COLL.: ?Willard, Boston; (sale, Parke-Bernet, New York, December 6, 1946, no. 267, as by Jean-Baptiste Pillement, *Fishermen Near the Coast*, signed with initials J. P., for \$700); Mrs. Edward Spencer (Catherine D.) Wentworth, Pasadena, Calif. (?1946–d. 1948).

JEAN-BAPTISTE PERRONNEAU

Paris ca. 1716–1783 Amsterdam

Born in Paris to bourgeois parents, Perronneau gained access in 1734 to the school of the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture and was the recipient of a modest prize in drawing. Toward the end of the 1730s he made a few engravings reproducing works by artists of the previous generation and was associated with the workshops of the printmakers Gabriel Huquier and Laurent Cars. Nothing more is heard of Perronneau until 1743–44, when signed works testify to the maturity and assurance of his portraiture in pastel. In 1746 he became a candidate member of the Académie Royale and made his first appearance at the Salon with three works in pastel and two in oils. Thereafter he exhibited regularly and in 1753 was finally admitted to full membership upon presentation of portraits of the painter **JEAN-BAPTISTE OUDRY** and the sculptor Lambert Sigisbert Adam (both Musée du Louvre, Paris). While these and other works were in general

admired, from time to time his pastels were compared to those by the supremely gifted **MAURICE QUENTIN DE LA TOUR**, who was older and had captured the interest of an important clientele in Paris and at Versailles. Judging from his travels, Perronneau may have been most comfortable with upper-middle-class sitters living outside the capital city. In 1754 he went abroad for the first time, to Brussels and The Hague. Thereafter he became an itinerant: he was in Orléans, Bordeaux, Toulouse, and Lyon; visited Rome and London; stayed often in Holland, and died in Amsterdam. He was gifted, but reviewers and visitors to the Salons to which he sent his work took less interest than they might have in his later portraits of sitters, most of whom were unknown to them, which is perhaps why his career never gained traction in Paris. He died aged sixty-eight. A comprehensive monograph by Dominique d'Arnoult appeared in 2014.

LITERATURE ON THE ARTIST: Vaillat and Ratouis de Limay 1909/1923; Arnoult 2014; Arnoult 2017.

55 | Jean-Baptiste Perronneau

Olivier Journu, 1756

Pastel on blue-gray paper laid down on canvas, 22 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 18 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (58.1 x 47 cm)

Signed and dated (in graphite, upper right): Perronneau / 1756
Wrightsmen Fund, 2003 (2003.26)

Olivier Journu's portrait is typical of Perronneau in the sense that it is frontal (although he also employed the three-quarter view), and rather less than half-length, thereby excluding the hands. This was a practical, time-saving formula for an artist who frequently worked away from home and without access to a studio. For this pastel Perronneau made use of more of the colors that were available to him than is apparent at first glance. Characterization may not have come easily, though, as passages around the mouth typically show evidence of Perronneau's adjustments. He excelled at painting forthright men, and our portrait is unusual in presenting a male sitter who is slightly off balance, elegantly and deliberately languorous, even seductive.

Born in 1724, Olivier (or Bernard Olivier) Journu¹ died unmarried at forty, leaving relatively little trace.² His family meanwhile had achieved a position of wealth and prominence in the city of Bordeaux. Olivier's father, Claude, began as a merchant-druggist and later made a considerable fortune in refining sugar cane. Claude Journu married in 1711 Jeanne Ollivier and died in 1742; she survived him by nearly thirty years, having given him twenty-two children. In the next generation, Journu frères—including Jean Journu-Maisonneuve, Louis Journu-Montagny, Olivier, and perhaps others, with



Fig. 54.1. Anne Philiberte Coulet (French, active 18th century) after Joseph Vernet, *Les Pecheurs florentins* (Florentine Fishermen), ca. 1770. Etching, sheet 18 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 13 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (48 x 33.6 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1953 (53.600.1490)



Jean-Baptiste le Hollandais—owned six ships in the sugar and slave trades sailing from Bordeaux. The firm was led by Bonaventure, born in 1717, and later by his son Bernard Journu-Auber (who took the name of his wife, daughter of a landowner in Santo Domingo). Both held various important offices and were interested in natural history and the fine arts. Journu-Auber, comte de Tustal and peer of France, born in 1745, had a significant political career and was a major donor to the local museums. He would have inherited this portrait and many others from his father, as they descended through his family line. Ours eventually belonged to one of the great pastel collectors of the late nineteenth century, Camille Groult.

Perronneau painted members of the Journu family of Bordeaux on at least three separate occasions. Our pastel is dated 1756, and a portrait believed to represent Jean Journu-Maisonneuve (private collection) is signed and dated 1757. The artist was with the family again in 1767, when he took sittings from Bonaventure (fig. 55.1), and in 1769, when he painted their redoubtable mother, the widow Journu (fig. 55.2), aged seventy-four. Her portrait was exhibited at the Salon of 1769.³ He also portrayed, on the second or third occasion, one of the much younger brothers, Jacques, Abbé

Journu du Moncey (the family were staunch Roman Catholics). Another pastel represents Jean-Baptiste le Hollandais, who lived in Amsterdam, and there are also two portraits of sisters who married into the Molles and Boyer-Fonfrède families of Bordeaux. Of particular interest are the three-quarter-length oil of Bonaventure Journu and this pastel of Olivier, with his astonishing turquoise eyes, corsage of tea roses, and fichu of Alençon lace. The Journu commissions by virtue of their number must have been among the most important of Perronneau's career.

NOTES

1. The children of the Journu family shared certain names—Jean and/or Jean-Baptiste, Bernard, Marie—and in some sources the names are not recorded in full, causing confusion.

2. See Arnoult 2014 and also Neil Jeffares, “Perronneau, Jean-Baptiste” (2017), in *Dictionary of Pastellists before 1800*, at <http://www.pastellists.com/Articles/Perronneau.pdf>. Concerning the development of the family's commercial interests, see Butel 1991, pp. 145–57; for family history, see www.genea-bdf.org/BasesDonnes/genealogies/journu-htm and <http://gw.geneanet.org/psavignac?lang=fr;p=bonaventure;n=journu>.

3. *Livrets* 1869–72, vol. 25, *Salon de 1769*, p. 17, no. 50, “Le Portrait de Madame Journu la mere. Tableau à l'huile de 2 pieds 3 pouces, sur 1 pied 10 pouces.”



Fig. 55.1. Jean-Baptiste Perronneau, *Bonaventure Journu*, 1767. Oil on canvas, 39 $\frac{1}{16}$ x 31 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (100.1 x 80.9 cm). Harvard Art Museums/Fogg Museum, Cambridge, Mass., Bequest of Grenville L. Winthrop (1943.270)



Fig. 55.2. Jean-Baptiste Perronneau, *Madame Claude Journu*, 1769. Oil on canvas, 28 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 23 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (72.7 x 60.4 cm). Harvard Art Museums/Fogg Museum, Cambridge, Mass., Bequest of Grenville L. Winthrop (1943.271)

EX COLL.: Bonaventure Journu, Bordeaux (until d. 1781); his son, Bernard Journu-Auber, later comte de Tustal, Château de Tustal, Sadirac (1781–d. 1816); his only daughter, Madame Jean-Baptiste Jacques Le Grix de La Salle (from 1816); by descent to Louis and Louise Le Grix de La Salle, comte and comtesse de Tustal, Château du Petit Verdus, Sadirac (sold to Groult); Camille Groult, Paris (by 1896–d. 1908; inv., 1908, no. 318); Madame Camille Groult, Paris (from 1908); by descent to Pierre Bordeaux-Groult (by 1952–2002; inv., 1952, no. 472; inv., 1971, no. 432; sale, Sotheby's, Paris, June 27, 2002, no. 39, for €258,750 to Artemis); [Artemis, Munich and New York, 2002–3; sold to MMA].

SELECTED EXHIBITIONS: Paris, Galerie Georges Petit, *Cent pastels du XVIIIe siècle*, May 18–June 10, 1908, no. 100 (as *Portrait d'homme à la rose*, lent by Mme X...) (exh. cat.: Paris 1908). New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Pastel Portraits: Images of 18th-Century Europe*, May 17–August 14, 2011, no. 21 (exh. cat.: Baetjer and Shelley 2011).

SELECTED REFERENCES: Tourneux 1896, p. 135; Vaillat and Ratouis de Limay 1923, pp. 67, 89–90, 217–18, 222; Meaudre de Lapouyade 1928, pp. 53–54; Maurice Meaudre de Lapouyade, “Perronneau à Bordeaux,” 1947 (Bibliothèque Municipale de Bordeaux; published in Bordeaux 1989, pp. 77–80, no. 11, ill.); Shelley 2005, figs. 2, 4, 5, 10, 11 (overall, details, and infrared reflectogram), pls. 9, 10 (overall and detail, color); Perrin V. Stein in Fahy 2005, pp. 179–81, no. 51, ill. (color); Arnoult 2014, p. 14, fig. 2, pp. 16–18, ill. p. 17 (color), pp. 82, 92, 94, 111 (color detail), 114 (color detail), 140 n. 668, 146, 148, 195, 200 n. 1049, 257, no. 158 Pa, pp. 258, 261, 290, 304, 319.

CHARLES DOMINIQUE JOSEPH EISEN

Valenciennes 1720–1778 Brussels

Eisen was a draftsman principally engaged in the preparation of innumerable designs and some etchings for illustrations in roughly 400 books published between 1745 and 1775. His father, François, probably born in 1695, was an artist who was living in Brussels and in the north of France at Valenciennes when Charles was young, and he is recorded as Charles's first teacher. By the early 1740s Charles had moved to Paris and in order to learn engraving had entered the busy studio of Jacques Philippe Le Bas, who forwarded his career. In 1748, while he was still in Le Bas's atelier, the contents of Eisen's studio were seized because he was practicing his trade without seeking entry into the guild, the Académie de Saint-Luc, and without paying the guild fee. There was another seizure in 1750, after which, presenting himself as a history painter, Eisen was admitted, and for the balance of his working life he was associated with the Académie de Saint-Luc, holding the positions of counselor, associate professor, professor, and *adjoint à recteur*. He showed works of every sort, including a study for a ceiling, an altarpiece, and several portraits, and he exhibited paintings, drawings, and prints in all of the years the

guild published catalogues, that is, 1751 through 1753, 1756, 1762, 1764, and 1774. Among his submissions in 1752 were studies for engravings of *Spring* and *Autumn* for Madame de Pompadour, the royal mistress, to whom he briefly taught drawing. Probably through her he received several royal sinecures, including professor of drawing to the pages and the Garde du Corps. Among the most famous books for which Eisen provided illustrations was an edition of the *Contes de La Fontaine* published in 1762. With the suppression of the Académie de Saint-Luc in 1776, Eisen probably retired to Brussels, where he died in poverty.

LITERATURE ON THE ARTIST: Goncourt 1906, vol. 3, pp. 3–62; Salomons 1914; Lemoine-Isabeau 1961.

56 and 57 | Charles Dominique Joseph Eisen

Putti with a Plaque Representing Autumn, third quarter of the 18th century

Oil on wood, oval, 25 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 21 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (64.5 x 54 cm)
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1906 (07.225.438a)

Putti with a Plaque Representing Spring, third quarter of the 18th century

Oil on wood, oval, 25 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 21 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (64.8 x 54 cm)
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1906 (07.225.438b)

These oval panels are a pair with matching ribbon frames of the period, each of which has a raised plaque at the base inscribed *Eisen*. They entered the collection in 1906 as part of an enormous collection of French woodwork and decorative paintings formed by Georges Hoentschel. Exhibited with that collection in the Morgan Wing in the early part of the twentieth century, and then retired to storage, they emerged to be cleaned of superficial grime by conservator Dorothy Mahon in 2000 and were then installed for several years in the Wrightsman Rooms. At that time, we undertook to see what was known of Eisen as a painter and whether the attribution had merit, and we concluded that it did, but on the basis of very slight evidence. If by him, presumably the panels must date to the third quarter of the eighteenth century.

Some sixty pictures by Eisen are described in documents connected with the 1748 and 1750 seizures of his property and in the *livrets* of the exhibitions to which he contributed. He painted a range of subjects, favoring scenes of gallantry played out in domestic interiors, but few of these have been identified, and none has been adequately photographed. Several altarpieces have apparently survived, and there are many inadequate descriptions of so-called decorative pieces. As an illustrator Eisen would have been comfortable with a



round or oval format and with the illusion of a plaque in a gilded, beribboned oval frame held by putti suspended within another gilded oval. The putti are characterized by large, slightly lopsided heads with bulging foreheads and cheeks, features of his drawings of similar subjects (fig. 56/57.1). And who would have thought to paint on the frames the name of an artist as obscure as Eisen must have been (and indeed still is)? This would not have represented an inducement. If the figure with the cornucopia is a personification of Autumn, then the other, with a staff and a hat, might be Spring, particularly if the odd phallic object held by the putto beside her is a gardening dibble.

EX COLL.: Georges Hoentschel, Paris (until 1906; sold to Morgan); J. Pierpont Morgan, New York (1906).

EXHIBITION: New York, Bard Graduate Center: Decorative Arts, Design History, Material Culture, *Salvaging the Past: Georges Hoentschel and French Decorative Arts from The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, April 4–August 11, 2013, no. 32 (07.225.438a) (exh. cat.: Kisluk-Grosheide et al. 2013).



Fig. 56/57.1. Charles Joseph Dominique Eisen, *Putti at Play*. Red chalk, black chalk, and white charcoal on gray-brown paper, 5³/₁₆ x 8¹/₂ in. (14.8 x 20.6 cm). Kunstbibliothek Berlin (3124)

JOSEPH SIFFRED DUPLESSIS

Carpentras 1725–1802 Versailles

Born in the south of France at Carpentras, Joseph Siffred Duplessis studied with his father and a local artist, Imbert, before traveling in 1745 to Rome, where he lived for four years and was a pupil of **PIERRE SUBLEYRAS**. While there, the young artist worked in a variety of genres, painting not only portraits but apparently also landscapes and religious subjects, examples of which survive or are documented in his native town. He then returned to Carpentras, where he stayed until the end of 1751, and he may have stopped for a time in Lyon on his way to Paris. Nothing is known of his early years in the capital. In 1764, already almost forty, he submitted five portraits to the exhibition of the Académie de Saint-Luc, and in 1769 he was accepted as a candidate member of the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture and showed ten portraits, three of which he had exhibited previously, at the Salon. His submissions were admired. He was admitted a full member of the Académie Royale in 1774 and the following year was provided with lodgings in the Louvre. Both the young Marie Antoinette and Louis XVI sat for him, and he became the king's official painter. A devoted academician and regular exhibitor, he rose to the rank of counselor of the Académie Royale in 1780. Duplessis worked slowly: his oeuvre apparently numbers fewer than 200 portraits (of which a significant majority represent men). In his later years he was handicapped by poor sight and hearing. He became curator of the museum at Versailles, where he died, forgotten, on January 4, 1802. For such a gifted painter, Duplessis has

attracted relatively little notice; the Museum is fortunate to own two of his best works.

LITERATURE ON THE ARTIST: Belleudy 1913; Chabaud 2003.

58 | Joseph Siffred Duplessis

Madame de Saint-Morys, 1776

Oil on canvas, 39½ x 31¾ in. (100.3 x 81 cm)

Signed and dated (right center): Duplessis / pinx. 1776

Bequest of James A. Aborn, 1968 (69.161)

It was the practice of Duplessis's contemporary Gabriel de Saint-Aubin to insert small drawings of Salon exhibits in the margins of his copies of the *livrets*, or checklists. In 1777 he made a recognizable sketch of the present portrait (fig. 58.1) and provided the name of the otherwise unidentified sitter. Saint-Aubin wrote "M^{me} de S^t Maurice" under the printed title ("123. Plusieurs portraits, sous le même numéro," or "Several portraits, under the same number"), and added, though less clearly, "femme d'un conseiller au parlement."¹ This lady at her toilette was singled out by several writers for the truth of the skin tones, the beautiful painting of the hands, and the delicate treatment of the fabrics. One visitor described it as "almost like a mirror in which one could see the person reflected."² Bearing in mind that Duplessis was slow, perhaps he did not have enough new work on hand to show at the Salon of 1779 and therefore sent this painting in again two years later, as one of the reviewers referred favorably to a portrait of a woman in a dressing gown ("en peignoir").

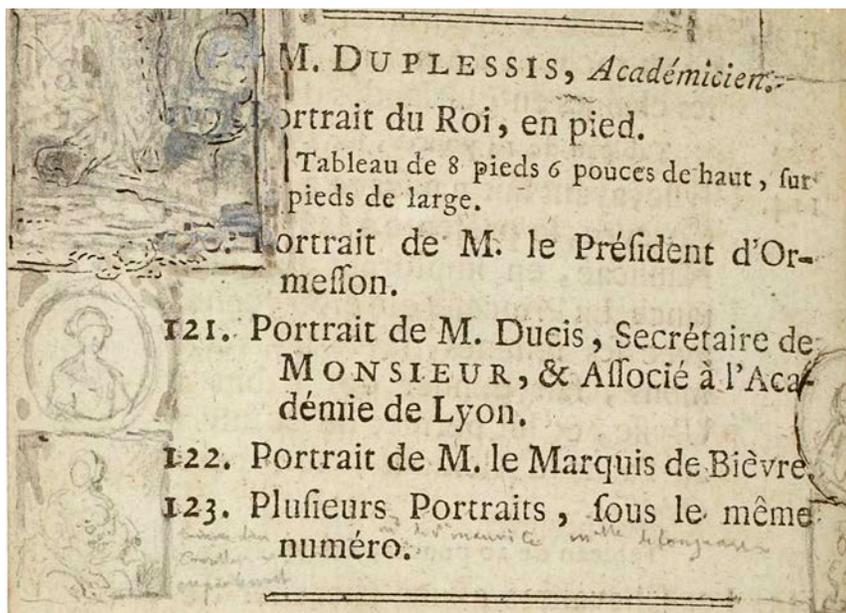


Fig. 58.1. Gabriel de Saint-Aubin (French, 1724–1780) after Joseph Siffred Duplessis, "M^{me} de S^t Maurice." Marginal drawing left of no. 123 in *Explication des peintures, sculptures, et gravures de MM de l'Académie Royale* (Paris, 1777). Graphite, brown ink, and gouache. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (cb43602541c)



It is customary for artists to delicately improve the appearance of their sitters, women especially, but also men, thus it is unusual for a lady in society to be depicted with a double chin, a thick neck, and hardly any waist. Critical writing and the evidence of Duplessis's surviving work suggest that he painted what he saw, and Madame de Saint-Maurice would have afforded him license to do so. Taking care in the way he treated her abundant steel-gray wig, the artist does not hide but instead advertises the fact that it is artificial. The wig is thick with powder and appears to have been padded out to achieve the effect of height that was the style of the moment. The components of the composition are up to date, as dressing-table pictures were popular with well-placed clients in the middle decades of the eighteenth century, and a pink and white palette was also favored (see *cats.* 17 and 71). The lady is seated at a muslin-covered dressing table, with the usual sort of large mirror behind her and a silver cosmetic container at her elbow. She wears the stylish undress that was suitable for receiving guests at home in the middle of the day: a pleated muslin bodice with small fabric-covered buttons, an embroidered muslin skirt lined with pink, and a transparent lace dressing gown with deep cuffs and pink ribbons. The lace is figured with several different patterns of small flowers and leafy branches. Every detail, including the soft, well-cared-for hands, convincingly afford the effect of life.

NOTES

1. The sitter was identified by Neil Jeffares in 2019. She was Eléonore Elisabeth Angélique de Beauterne (1742–1824) and she married, in 1776, the comte de Saint-Morys, who was a major collector of drawings.
2. Lesuire 1777, p. 20: “C'est presque un miroir, dans lequel on regarde la personne qui se mire.”

EX COLL.: Charles Paul Jean-Baptiste de Bourgevin de Vialart de Saint-Morys (until d. 1795); the sitter (1795–d. 1824); Charlotte Marie Josephine de Saint-Morys, Paris (1824–possibly until d. 1857); Carleton Gates (until 1876; his estate sale, Leavitt, New York, December 21–22, 1876, no. 479, as *Portrait of Mme. Neckar*, signed and dated 1776, for \$105); James A. Aborn, New York (by 1948–d. 1968).

SELECTED EXHIBITIONS: Paris, Salon, August 25–September 25, 1777, no. 123 (one of “Plusieurs portraits, sous le même numéro”). Paris, Salon, August 25–October 3, 1779, ?no. 130 (as *Le Portrait de Madame ****).

SELECTED REFERENCES: “Exposition au Salon du Louvre des peintures, sculptures et autres ouvrages de messieurs de l'Académie Royale en 1777,” *Mercur de France* 1, October 1777 (CD 1980, vol. 10, no. 191, p. 1103; McWilliam 1991, no. 0270); Lesuire 1777, p. 20 (CD 1980, vol. 10, no. 178; McWilliam 1991, no. 0266); Salon 1777, p. 41 (CD 1980, vol. 10, no. 190; McWilliam 1991, no. 0267); Radet 1779, p. 20 (CD 1980, vol. 11, no. 208; McWilliam 1991, no. 0286); Dacier 1910, pp. 42, 49; Belleudy 1913, pp. 82–83, 326, under no. 89, p. 333, no. 129, p. 336, no. 144; Chabaud 2003, pp. 39–40, 133, ill. pl. XXI (color).

59 | Joseph Siffred Duplessis

Benjamin Franklin, 1778

Oil on canvas, oval, 28½ x 23 in. (72.4 x 58.4 cm)

Signed, dated, and inscribed (right center): J.S. Duplessis / pinx.parisis / 1778

The Friedsam Collection, Bequest of Michael Friedsam, 1931 (32.100.132)

Once accepted as an academician, Duplessis's fortunes rose quickly and he reached the first rank in 1777, when he sent to the Salon a full-length portrait of Louis XVI in the costume of the *sacre*, or coronation robes.¹ Two years later he exhibited this oval portrait of Benjamin Franklin in a red coat with a fur collar. It is dated 1778 and, according to the 1779 *livret*, had been lent by Jacques Donatien Le Ray de Chaumont,² a wealthy entrepreneur and a supporter of the American revolutionary cause, who must have commissioned it. Duplessis's iconic image of the great American patriot was the subject of favorable comment and would become his most famous work. The elaborate original frame with the inscription *VIR* draws attention to the sitter's heroic status, while his identity was known to critics and visitors to the Salon alike.

Franklin, born in Boston in 1706, was a self-educated publisher, writer, scientist, and inventor, and a founding father of the United States of America. He began his career as a typesetter, moved to Philadelphia, and in 1728 became copublisher of *The Pennsylvania Gazette*. He entered politics in 1748 when he was elected to the Philadelphia city council. A member of the committee that drafted the Declaration of Independence, Franklin arrived in Paris on December 21, 1776, and became the leading figure in the embassy of three delegated by the Continental Congress to seek aid and arms from Louis XVI for the Revolutionary War effort. He was notably successful and remained in France until after the Treaty of Paris had been signed in 1783. During most of his stay, from February or March 1777 until the summer of 1785, Franklin lived just outside Paris at the Hôtel de Valentinois in Passy, a property that Le Ray de Chaumont had recently acquired. Franklin was aware of the value to his cause of the popularity that he enjoyed. While doubtless his appearance here was natural to him, his self-presentation—plain dress, heavy figure, and thin, deeply receding, unpowdered hair—may also have involved a degree of calculation. He knew the power of images, and simplicity was an aspect of his celebrity.

This portrait came to light in 1919, when *The New York Times* reported that Michael Friedsam had purchased it in Paris.³ The article states that at the end of his stay, Franklin had presented it to the Périer brothers, engineers and owners of the Chaillot waterworks, and that it had always remained



VIR



Fig. 59.1. Joseph Siffred Duplessis, *Louis de France, comte de Provence*, ca. 1778. Oil on canvas, 31½ x 25¾ in. (80 x 64 cm). Musée Condé, Chantilly (PE 387)

with the Périer family.⁴ However, Franklin is unlikely to have given the Périers a picture that belonged in 1779 to Le Ray, who, however, may have been obliged to sell it no later than 1791, when he was bankrupt. Previous to 1919, a replica that is now at Monticello had been identified as the first version, but thereafter the Friedsam picture has been universally accepted as primary, not only because it is signed and dated, but also because its original frame with the inscription *VIR* was mentioned by Pierre Samuel Du Pont, writing in 1779. An engraving in reverse to the painting with the *VIR* inscription, the date, and the name of the first owner was made in 1778 by Juste Chevillet and would have been available for purchase during the run of the Salon. A good workshop copy, one of many, is published below (cat. 60).

Elkanah Watson, a young American who had recently arrived in Paris with dispatches for Franklin, joined what he evocatively described as “a prodigious current of human animals” for visits to the Salon on September 14 and 15, 1779, to see “the master piece of painting representing our illustrious Patron.”⁵ He was impressed to find Franklin’s portrait “deposited (as a mark of particular respect) upon the left of his present Majesty.” Evidently the picture was well presented,

though the sitter for Duplessis’s slightly larger oval half-length was not the king but his brother, the comte de Provence, a commanding presence in white satin and lace (fig. 59.1).⁶ The contrast between the two would have been striking. Du Pont, writing to the margravine of Baden, was overwhelmed by Franklin the man, attributing to him the vigor of Hercules, while in general the critics were positive, and more than one drew attention to the exactness of the resemblance.

In 1909, four years before Jules Belleudy published his Duplessis monograph and ten years before the appearance of the *VIR* painting, John Bigelow, former minister to France and Franklin biographer, presented to the New York Public Library a fine pastel by Duplessis showing Franklin seated and facing to right in a gray-blue coat and waistcoat (fig. 59.2).⁷ The pastel is neither signed nor dated, but according to Bigelow it was painted for Franklin and given by him in 1785 to Louis Guillaume Le Veillard, mayor of Passy, his neighbor and closest friend in France and his adversary at chess. An inscription in French from a plaque on the frame provides essentially the same information and also states that the pastel dates to 1783. Most of this information is unimpeachable: Bigelow bought a manuscript copy of Franklin’s autobiography



Fig. 59.2. Joseph Siffred Duplessis, *Benjamin Franklin* (Gray Coat Portrait), ca. 1777–78. Pastel on parchment, 28¾ x 23½ in. (73 x 59.7 cm). The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations



Fig. 59.3. X-radiograph of cat. 59

as well as the portrait from a collateral descendant of Le Veillard in 1867.⁸ However, the date assigned to the pastel is incorrect.

Charles Coleman Sellers, in his 1962 book on the general subject of Franklin portraits, was the first to argue for the primacy of the pastel belonging to the New York Public Library.⁹ He noted that two miniature copies of this “gray coat” portrait had been made in 1779. Once having disallowed the 1783 date, logic would dictate that a sitter constantly besieged for portraits of himself and a notoriously slow and laborious artist might fix upon a pastel, which could be done quickly and neatly, in any location, and which could then serve as a model for a painting, or paintings, in oils. Duplessis probably took sittings at Passy. An x-radiograph of our “fur collar” portrait offers definitive evidence in support of the argument that the pastel came first, because it shows that when Duplessis began the painting, he intended to show Franklin wearing the coat with the narrow collar of the pastel (fig. 59.3). The contours of the seated figure in the two works are a very close match, illustrating that one had its source in the other.

Duplessis began, then, with the pastel, upon which he based the *VIR* portrait, painted, as the inscription indicates,

in his rooms at the Louvre in Paris and doubtless over a much longer period of time. He rarely signed his work, and therefore the elaborate signature and date suggest that he regarded the finished work with pride and harbored a particular desire to claim ownership. Prominent people, especially those who were painted many times, found lengthy sittings tedious. Between 1777 and 1779, Franklin was portrayed by many different artists, including the sculptors Jean Jacques Caffieri and Jean Antoine Houdon, and the painters **JEAN-BAPTISTE GREUZE** and Anne Rosalie Filleul.¹⁰ The sitter cultivated his image. However, it comes as no surprise that he complained about sitting, or that on at least one occasion he suggested that an acquaintance commission a copy of Le Ray’s portrait, which he thought well of, thus saving him the trouble of posing again.¹¹ Duplessis would have kept a replica in his studio so that he and one or another of his pupils could make many others, a ready source of both fame and income. In 1801 the elderly artist sent a portrait of Franklin to the Salon.

NOTES

1. Destroyed; replica at the Musée National des Châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon, MV 7083.

2. See Schaeper 1995, esp. pp. 92–133, 332. Le Ray, born in 1725, traded in Europe, Africa, and the West Indies and was a major grain importer. Glass and ceramics were manufactured on his estate at Chaumont, in the Loire Valley, to which he brought the Italian modeler Jean-Baptiste Nini, who specialized in terracotta portrait plaques. There are several models representing Franklin. Le Ray accumulated, and in the 1780s lost, an immense fortune, partly on his investments in America.
3. “Col. Friedsam Buys Portrait of Franklin,” *The New York Times*, September 16, 1919, p. 31.
4. According to a letter received by the Museum in 1932 from a representative of Mr. Friedsam’s estate, he had made a connection, through Friedsam’s Paris office manager, William Scherer, to the manager of the office building, Monsieur de Merce, who spoke for an unnamed agent. The agent claimed that the seller was a descendant of the Périer family.
5. His journal entry for September 1779 is quoted in Sellers 1962, p. 125; see also <http://www.nysl/nysed.gov/msscfa/sc13294.htm>. Watson (1758–1842) had previously acted as a courier for George Washington.
6. Belleudy 1913, pp. 84, 331, no. 115.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 304–5, 322, no. 66.
8. See www.nndb.com/people/154/000115806, <http://archives.nypl.org/mss/301>, and <http://www.arionpress.com/catalog/more/075ms.html>. Bigelow’s brief ministry to France dated to 1865–66, while sources date the purchase of the Franklin material to 1867.
9. Sellers 1962, pp. 129, 135, 246, 264–67.
10. These matters are helpfully, and briefly, summarized in Hinton 2006, with many small color photographs and a list, p. 13, giving fuller details, artists’ life dates, etc.
11. For a translation of Franklin’s letter, see Oswald 1926, p. 10.

EX COLL.: Jacques Donatien Le Ray de Chaumont, Passy (possibly until 1791); ?Jacques Constantin (d. 1818) and Auguste Charles Périer; ?by descent in the Périer family; Michael Friedsam, New York (1919–d. 1931).

SELECTED EXHIBITIONS: Paris, Salon, August 25–October 3, 1779, no. 128 (as *Le Portrait de M. Franklin*. Tiré du Cabinet de M. de Chaumont.). Philadelphia Museum of Art, *In Pursuit of Genius: Jean-Antoine Houdon and the Sculpted Portraits of Benjamin Franklin*, May 13–July 31, 2006, unnumbered cat., fig. 13 (exh. cat.: Hinton 2006).

SELECTED REFERENCES: Pierre Samuel Du Pont (de Nemours), letter to Caroline Louise of Hesse-Darmstadt, margravine of Baden, 1779 (published in Du Pont de Nemours 1908, pp. 105–7) (McWilliam 1991, no. 0309); Friedrich Melchior Grimm, letter of October 1779 (published in Tourneux 1880, p. 327); Grosier 1779, p. 35 (CD 1980, vol. 11, no. 211; McWilliam 1991, no. 0295); Labbes 1779, p. 42 (CD 1980, vol. 11, no. 219; McWilliam 1991, no. 0303); Lefébure 1779, p. 28 (CD 1980, vol. 11, no. 212; McWilliam 1991, no. 0294); Lesuire 1779, pp. 18–19 (CD 1980, vol. 11, no. 209; McWilliam 1991, no. 0304); “Lettre d’un italien sur l’exposition de 1779,” *Mercure de France*, September 18, 1779, p. 133 (CD 1980, vol. 11, no. 230, pp. 769–70; McWilliam 1991, no. 0302); Barthélémy Mouffle d’Angerville, “Lettre II. Paris le 25 Septembre 1779” (published in Faré 1995, p. 89); Radet 1779, p. 20 (CD 1980, vol. 11, no. 208; McWilliam 1991, no. 0286); Benjamin Franklin, in a letter to Pierre Simon Fournier written in French in 1780 (published in Oswald 1926, p. 318); Belleudy 1913, pp. 1, 49, 85–87, 144, 304–5, 321, no. 57; Oswald 1926, pp. 10, 12, ill. opp. title page; Burroughs and Wehle 1932, no. 87, ill.; Sterling 1955, pp. 171–73, ill.; Sellers 1962, pp. 124–37, 179, 246–64, 282, 317–18, 370, pl. 24; Warner 1986,

p. 126; Arbor 1994, fig. 1; Chabaud 2003, pp. 41, 112, 123–24, ill. pl. XVI (color); Kimberly Chrisman-Campbell in Bennett and Sargentson 2008, pp. 382–83, fig. 146; Baetjer et al. 2017, pp. 56–57, 59–63, fig. 1 (color).

60 | Workshop of Joseph Siffred Duplessis *Benjamin Franklin*

Oil on canvas, oval, 27 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 22 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (70.2 x 56.5 cm)

Inscribed (reverse, now covered by relining canvas): peint par Duplessis pour / obliger monsieur le vicomte / De Buissy
Gift of George A. Lucas, 1895 (95.21)

Duplessis would have been privileged to receive a commission to paint the much admired American envoy to the French court, Benjamin Franklin. The portrait, exhibited at the 1779 Salon and referred to as the “fur collar” portrait, is catalogued above (cat. 59). It was enthusiastically received, and many versions and copies by the artist, from his workshop, and by other painters were commissioned by Franklin’s contemporaries in France and have been prized there and in America by succeeding generations. According to the inscription on the reverse of this canvas, which is among the best of the replicas, it was painted by Duplessis “to oblige monsieur le vicomte De Buissy” (fig. 60.1). Conceivably, our replica was commissioned by Pierre de Buissy, born June 30, 1737, seigneur of Long and Longpré, a guards officer who later entered the service of the comte d’Artois as master of the hunt. He is the likely sitter in the Duplessis portrait of about the same date that is inscribed “Peint par Duplessis” and “M. de Buissy” in the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.¹

NOTES

1. National Gallery of Canada 42528. Pierre de Buissy was a chevalier de Saint-Louis, and the sitter in the Ottawa portrait wears this order. When sold at public auction in 2008, the work was said to have passed by family descent. I offer warmest thanks to Paul Lang and Christopher Etheridge for information from the curatorial records of the National Gallery of Canada.

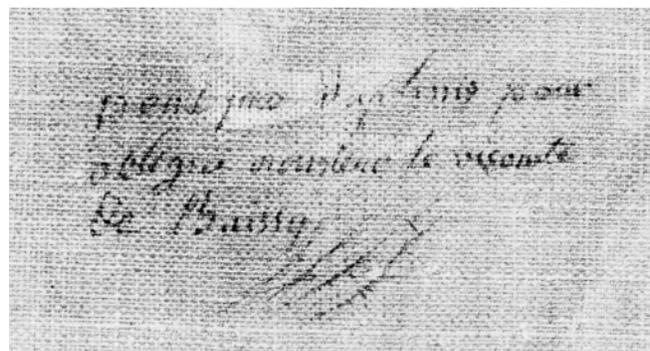


Fig. 60.1. Inscription on the reverse of cat. 60: “peint par Duplessis pour / obliger monsieur le vicomte / De Buissy” (painted by Duplessis to oblige monsieur le vicomte De Buissy)



EX COLL.: ?Pierre de Buissy (until d. 1787); George A. Lucas, Paris (until 1895).

SELECTED EXHIBITION: New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Retrospective Exhibition of American Paintings: Loan Collections and Recent Gifts to the Museum* [Handbook No. 6], 1895, no. 173 (as by Duplessis).

SELECTED REFERENCES: George A. Lucas, journal entry of November 8, 1895 (published in Randall 1979, vol. 2, p. 816); Burroughs and Wehle 1932, p. 50; Sterling 1955, p. 173; Sellers 1962, p. 259, no. 16; Baetjer et al. 2017, pp. 63–65, 71 n. 24, fig. 9 (color).

JEAN-BAPTISTE GREUZE

Tournus 1725–1805 Paris

Greuze was the son of a roofer. As a young man he trained in Lyon with the portraitist Charles Grandon, and then he moved to Paris, where he studied drawing under **CHARLES JOSEPH NATOIRE**. With the encouragement of Louis de Silvestre, director of the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture, Greuze was accepted in 1755 as a candidate member in the category of genre painter. He presented a head study, a portrait, and three accomplished genre scenes to the Salon of the same year and in the autumn set off as the traveling companion of Abbé Louis Gougenot on a more or less obligatory visit to Italy. May 1756 saw Gougenot leaving Rome while Greuze stayed behind; Natoire, by then director of the Académie de France in Rome, had offered the gifted, impoverished painter housing and the use of a studio. Greuze left for Paris no later than April 20, 1757, intending to show his new work at the Salon. He exhibited with regularity—in 1759, 1761, 1763, and 1765—as many as twenty and no fewer than a dozen works in the categories listed above, and occasionally also drawings or pastels. While his genre scenes may show evidence of the misery resulting from the unsuccessful marriage for which he contracted in 1759, at the same time he enjoyed tremendous success with this work and was singled out for praise by the critic Denis Diderot. However, he was barred from the Salon of 1767 for failing to present his reception piece, and when, in 1769, he offered a historical subject, *Septimius Severus and Caracalla* (Musée du Louvre, Paris), he was nevertheless admitted as a genre painter, the most bitter disappointment of his professional life. Until 1800 he exhibited on his own, but concurrently with the Salons, in his studio. Greuze had important clients for portraits and for his so-called study heads, which were greatly admired until the early twentieth century. The late Edgar Munhall wrote compellingly about his work.

LITERATURE ON THE ARTIST: Brookner 1972; Munhall 1976 and 2002.

61 | Jean-Baptiste Greuze

Broken Eggs, 1756

Oil on canvas, 28¾ x 37 in. (73 x 94 cm)

Signed, dated, and inscribed (lower right): Greuze f. Roma / 1756

Bequest of William K. Vanderbilt, 1920 (20.155.8)

A late starter professionally, and of humble origins, Greuze was ambitious, intractable, and calculating. He burst upon the Paris scene at the Salon of 1755, and in view of his background, it is perhaps not surprising that at the time he was

inspired by the more bourgeois aspects of Northern painting. His work was still rough. While in Rome, he was not immune to the influence of antiquity, nor to that of the Renaissance, but he was uninterested in subjects from ancient history or mythology, continuing to select modern themes with moral overtones of the sort he had chosen for the genre scenes he first exhibited. After some months of travel in Italy, his painting became smoother and his narratives more varied and inflected with local color. The artist and his sponsor, Abbé Gougenot, settled in the Italian capital at the end of January 1756. On May 12, Abbé Barthélemy, who was also in Rome, wrote a precise and highly enthusiastic description of *Broken Eggs*, which Greuze meanwhile had painted for Gougenot. It was the first major work of the artist's Roman period. By late February 1757 Greuze had completed *The Neapolitan Gesture*¹ for the same patron. The two pictures were exhibited under consecutive numbers in the 1757 Salon, as part of a group with two smaller upright Italian subjects.² Pierre Etienne Moitte engraved *The Neapolitan Gesture* in 1763 (fig. 61.1), the second pair in 1765, and *Les Oeufs cassés* in 1769 (fig. 61.2).

In November 1756 the marquis de Marigny, director of the Bâtiments du Roi, had already written **CHARLES JOSEPH NATOIRE** to declare his admiration for the Roman works by Greuze that he had seen in Paris. *Broken Eggs* was most likely one of them. Marigny, who was the brother of Louis XV's official mistress, Madame de Pompadour, ordered two ovals from Greuze for her apartments at Versailles. He left the choice of subject to Greuze, and later he agreed that the artist need not fulfill the commission until after he returned to France. These were exceptional marks of favor for a painter who spent much of his career operating outside official channels of advancement.³

Greuze's long, descriptive title for our picture was printed in the 1757 *livret*: *Une Mere grondant un jeune Homme pour avoir renversé un Panier d'Oeufs que sa Servante apportoit du Marché. Un Enfant tente de raccommoder un Oeuf cassé* (A mother scolding a young man for having overturned a basket of eggs that her servant brought from the market. A child attempts to repair a broken egg). It is evident from the pout of the girl—as well as from the scowling child who possesses a little bow and arrow, holds an eggshell and a dripping yoke, and thus offers the subtext—that something more than eggs has been broken, but in the eighteenth century it was not stated, though inferred, that it was the girl's virtue the youth had violated.⁴ Barthélemy thought her pose noble enough for a history painting, which was high praise indeed, and *Broken Eggs* is an astonishingly skillful performance, especially in view of the fact that not so long before, when the artist arrived from Burgundy, he had been little more than competent.



Fig. 61.1. Pierre Etienne Moitte (French, 1722–1780) after Jean-Baptiste Greuze, *Le Geste napolitain* (*The Neapolitan Gesture*), 1763. Engraving and etching, 16½ x 19½ in. (41 x 48.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1953 (53.600.190)



Fig. 61.2. Pierre Etienne Moitte after Jean-Baptiste Greuze, *Les Oeufs cassés* (*The Broken Eggs*), 1769. Etching and engraving, 16½ x 19½ in. (41.6 x 48.5 cm). Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (RP-P-2004-411)

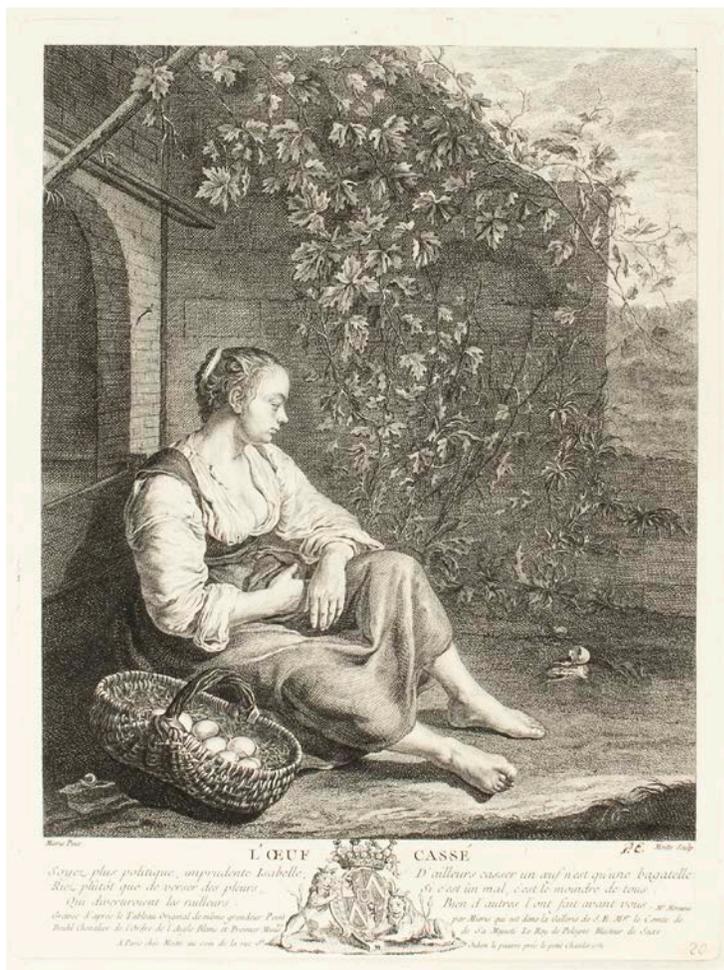


Fig. 61.3. Pierre Etienne Moitte after Frans van Mieris the Elder (Dutch, 1635–1681), *L'Œuf cassé* (*The Broken Egg*), 1751. Etching and engraving, 11 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 8 $\frac{3}{16}$ in. (29.5 x 22 cm). Philadelphia Museum of Art, The Muriel and Philip Berman Gift, 1985 (1985-52-26538)

While it is unlikely that Greuze was traveling with a portfolio of prints in his baggage, he had in mind an engraving by Moitte titled *The Broken Egg* (fig. 61.3) when he painted *Broken Eggs*. The print reproduces in reverse a cabinet picture by the Leiden *fijnschilder* Frans van Mieris the Elder of a haggard, dispirited, violated woman seated in a yard with a basket of eggs beside her and a single broken egg spilling its contents in the dirt.⁵ It was Anita Brookner who made the connection with the Moitte print, and who expressed the view, common at the time, that Greuze had no use for Italian old master painting. However, this was not the case. In Rome the artist copied the Vatican frescoes of Raphael and Michelangelo, and he also looked at sculpture, as Willibald Sauerländer demonstrated, pointing out the similarities in pose between the young man in our painting and the *Farnese Hercules* (belonging now to the Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples). The impenitent heroine in *Broken Eggs* may have been inspired not only by Moitte's engraving, but also by Caravaggio's *Repentant Magdalen* in the Palazzo Doria Pamphilj in Rome,⁶ as suggested by Heather McPherson.

Greuze was a magnificent draftsman who worked in different materials for a variety of purposes. Edgar Munhall

believed that there may have been as many as a half dozen studies associated with the pendant to our picture, *The Neapolitan Gesture*. For the present canvas, two sale listings have been noted: the first is described only as a study by Greuze for the painting engraved by Moitte under the title *Les Oeufs cassés*; while the second is a three-color drawing heightened with pastel, with the same title, signed "Greuze, année 1756," measuring 15 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 20 $\frac{7}{8}$ inches (40 x 53 cm).⁷ The first is unidentifiable, and the second has not come to light, but one related drawing has been published, a highly finished black, red, and white chalk drawing of the boy with the shattered, dripping egg (and the overturned half barrel, bowl and bottle, and bow and arrow) (fig. 61.4). Though neither Munhall nor James Thompson, who attributed the sheet, was willing to state firmly whether it preceded or followed the picture, it is likely to be a *ricordo* of the oil painting (which was almost certainly taken to Paris by Gougenot). Thompson pointed out that the boy is the bearer of a message, and that far from being befuddled, he has a darkly knowing look.

Broken Eggs contrasts sharply with *The Neapolitan Gesture*, its pendant, as *Indolence* contrasts with *The Fowler* in the smaller pair. *Broken Eggs* is a serene, balanced arrangement in

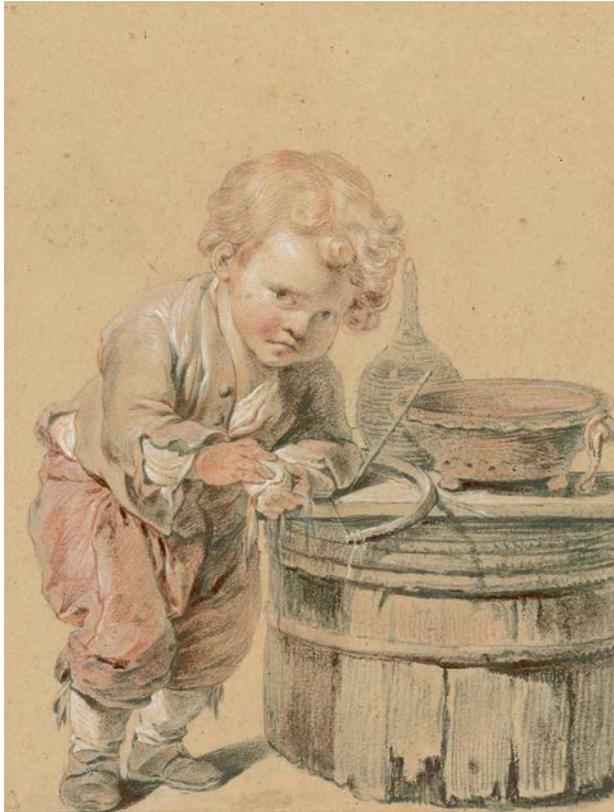


Fig. 61.4. Jean-Baptiste Greuze, *Boy with a Broken Egg*, ca. 1756. Black, red, and white chalk, 13 $\frac{5}{16}$ x 10 $\frac{3}{16}$ in. (33.8 x 27.4 cm). Albertina, Vienna (12165)

which a bisecting diagonal is reinforced by the horizontals provided by the furniture and the verticals of the architecture. The pyramid of figures is reinforced by light, which plays on the still life of basket, straw, linen, and eggs. The responses to the old woman's angry gesture are guarded or hidden, while the features, gesture, and posture of the girl are Raphaellesque in their composure. Her costume is pretty, her linen clean and white. This is Italian theater in the French style rather than daily life. On the other hand, the companion piece presents a complex, fragmented, confusing narrative, which would not have been understood without the title Greuze supplied. In the case of the smaller pendants, *Indolence* is soporific while *The Fowler* is aggressively athletic. The artist had stretched his wings in a most emphatic fashion.

NOTES

1. Worcester Art Museum, Worcester, Mass., 1964.113.
2. They are the same size, belonged to the same owners until 1875, and may be treated as a narrative pair. The others in the Italian group are *Indolence* (Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, 1934.11) and *The Fowler* (*L'Oiseleur*) (Muzeum Narodowe, Warsaw, M.Ob.914), numbers 114 and 115 in the Salon list. Greuze specified that the second pair belonged to Monsieur

Boyer de Fonscolombe of Aix-en-Provence, who was a friend of Barthélemy and secretary to the French ambassador in Rome.

3. For the letters exchanged by Marigny and Natoire, see Goncourt 1880–82, vol. 1, pp. 332–33. The ovals ordered for Madame de Pompadour are *Young Shepherd Holding a Flower* (Petit Palais, Paris, PDUT 1192) and *Simplicity* (Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth, AP 1985.03).

4. The first to allude to this was Smith 1837, p. 430, no. 113.

5. See Naumann 1981, vol. 2, pp. 19–20, pl. 17, fig. C17. The print image is accompanied by suggestive verse.

6. Palazzo Doria Pamphilj FC 357.

7. Sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, March 19, 1890, no. 43; and sale, Hôtel des Commissaires-Priseurs, Paris, March 16–17, 1898, no. 143, for Fr 600. See also Martin 1908, no. 181, p. 14. The dates have repeatedly been conflated and/or cited in error.

EX COLL.: Abbé Louis Gougenot, later Abbé de Chezal-Benoît, Rome and Paris (until d. 1767; inv., 1767, no. 86, with pendant, as “Deux Tableaux pendants”); his brother, Georges Gougenot de Croissy (1767–possibly until d. 1792); (sale, Paillet, Paris, April 18–25, 1803, no. 90, with pendant; sold for Fr 3,000 to Delaroche or more probably to Tessier); Count Nikolai Nikitich Demidov, Palazzo San Donato, near Florence (until d. 1828); Prince Anatole Nikolaievich Demidov, Palazzo San Donato (1828–70; his sale, Pillet, Paris, February 26, 1870, no. 107, with pendant; sold for Fr 126,000 to Hertford); Richard Seymour, fourth marquess of Hertford, Paris (d. 1870); his natural son, Sir Richard Wallace, Paris and London (1870–75; sold for £5,292 to Dudley); William Ward, first earl of Dudley, London (1875–d. 1885); William Humble Ward, second earl of Dudley, London (from 1885); Mr. and Mrs. William K. Vanderbilt, New York (until 1895); William K. Vanderbilt, New York (1895–d. 1920).

SELECTED EXHIBITIONS: Paris, Salon, August 25–?September 25, 1757, no. 112 (as one of “Quatre Tableaux dans le Costume Italien . . . 2 pieds 3 pouces sur 2 pieds 11 pouces . . . Une Mere grondant un jeune Homme pour avoir renversé un Panier d'Oeufs que sa Servante apportoit du Marché. Un Enfant tente de raccommoder un Oeuf cassé.”). Hartford, Wadsworth Atheneum, *Jean-Baptiste Greuze, 1725–1805*, December 1, 1976–January 23, 1977, no. 9 (exh. cat.: Munhall 1976); San Francisco, California Palace of the Legion of Honor, *Jean-Baptiste Greuze, 1725–1805*, March 5–May 1, 1977, no. 9; Dijon, Musée des Beaux-Arts, *Jean-Baptiste Greuze, 1725–1805*, June 4–July 31, 1977, no. 9. Ottawa, National Gallery of Canada, *The Age of Watteau, Chardin, and Fragonard: Masterpieces of French Genre Painting*, June 6–September 7, 2003, no. 64 (exh. cat.: Bailey 2003); Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, *The Age of Watteau, Chardin, and Fragonard: Masterpieces of French Genre Painting*, October 12, 2003–January 11, 2004, no. 64; Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, *The Age of Watteau, Chardin, and Fragonard: Masterpieces of French Genre Painting*, February 8–May 9, 2004, no. 64.

SELECTED REFERENCES: J. J. Barthélemy, letter to the comte de Caylus, May 12, 1756 (published in Barthélemy 1801, p. 138); “Article IV, beaux-arts: Arts agréables, peinture,” *Mercure de France*, October 1757, p. 167; [E.-C. Fréron], “Lettre XV, Exposition des ouvrages de peinture, de sculpture & de gravure,” *Année Littéraire* 7, 1757, pp. 347–48 (CD 1980, vol. 7, no. 88; McWilliam 1991, no. 0103); Charles Joseph Natoire, letter to the marquis de Marigny, February 22, 1757 (published in Goncourt 1880–82, vol. 1, p. 332); Smith 1837, p. 430, no. 113; Renouvier 1863,

pp. 504–5; Goncourt 1880–82, pp. 332, 339, 350; Normand 1892, pp. 20, 61–62, ill. p. 66 (Veyrassat etching); Martin and Masson 1905, p. 14, no. 181, ill. p. 3 (Moitte engraving); Sterling 1955, pp. 174–75, ill.; Brookner 1956, p. 158, fig. 34; Sauerländer 1965, pp. 148–49, pl. 30, fig. 5; Brookner 1972, pp. 58–59, 80, 97–98, 144, fig. 16; Munhall 1976, pp. 20, 40–41, no. 9, ill.; Rosenblum 1977, p. 146; Fried 1980, pp. 35, 191 n. 66, 200 n. 120, ill. p. 36; Thompson 1982, ill.; McPherson 1985, pp. 94–96, 99–106, fig. 4; Pieńkos 1987, pp. 1, 3–4, 6, 11–13, fig. 3; Thompson 1989–90, pp. 14, 21, figs. 11–13 (color, overall and details, with details on front and back cover); Guicharnaud 1999, pp. 46, 52–53, fig. 41; Ledbury 2000, pp. 125 n. 3, 135–37, 176, pl. 14; Bailey 2003, pp. 248–50, 366, no. 64, ill. (color); Fort 2007, pp. 131–33, 147 nn. 13, 20, 23, fig. 2; Ledbury 2007, p. 187, ill. p. 178 and fig. 14 (color, overall and detail).

62 | Jean-Baptiste Greuze

Head of a Young Boy, 1763

Oil on canvas, 18 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 15 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (47.9 x 39.1 cm)

The Friedsam Collection, Bequest of Michael Friedsam, 1931 (32.100.137)

Rough, open brushwork in which the individual strokes are neither blended nor disguised is used for this small canvas, not only in the richly colored brown background, but for the coat, and even for the boy's face. The handling is typical of studies that were made by Greuze from the model, as opposed to commissioned portraits, where the texture is usually somewhat smoother. All three layers of the boy's clothing are unbuttoned to expose as much as possible of the soft, pale skin of the neck and chest. The pose is perhaps rather atypical for a child, or would be in anyone's hands other than those of Greuze. The expression is melancholy and removed. Assuming this to be the boy's head exhibited at the 1763 Salon, for which more below, Diderot admired the costume, characterization, and coloring, but found fault with the boy's matte yellow hair ("cheveux mats et jaunes").

The second half of the eighteenth century witnessed a growing interest in the development of children, and there was much curiosity about their educability, as well as their psychology and susceptibility to various emotional states. In expressive heads such as this, the artist explored a vein of sentiment that appealed very much to his contemporaries and to the immediately succeeding generations, but has been largely disregarded since. In addition to the interest they clearly held for him, the study heads will have been a ready source of revenue.

The history of the picture presents certain problems. Among numerous exhibits at the Paris Salon of 1763, Greuze showed a head of a boy and two heads of girls, all of the same relatively small dimensions, 15 pouces x 1 pied, about the size of the present canvas (excluding a frame). According to the

livret of the Salon, the head of a boy belonged to the connoisseur and collector Pierre Jean Mariette,¹ while the owners of the heads of girls were listed respectively as Monsieur de Presle and Monsieur Damery, both of whom were significant collectors.² The details of ownership indicate that no two of the three heads exhibited in 1763 formed a pair. However, at the 1775 Mariette estate sale, the head of a boy and a study of a seated girl were sold together under number 24, as if they belonged together, and slight drawings of both were made by Gabriel de Saint-Aubin in the margins of his copy of the sale catalogue (fig. 62.1). From Saint-Aubin's drawing, the boy must be our picture, and no other comparable compositions are known; the drawing of the accompanying image of a girl is generic and more difficult to make out.

Also at issue are a pair of rare engravings by Antoine François Deniel—*Le Doux regard de Colette* (fig. 62.2) and *Le Doux regard de Colin* (fig. 62.3)—the publication of which was announced in the *Journal de Paris* for June 14, 1778.³ It cannot be demonstrated that the paintings upon which the engravings

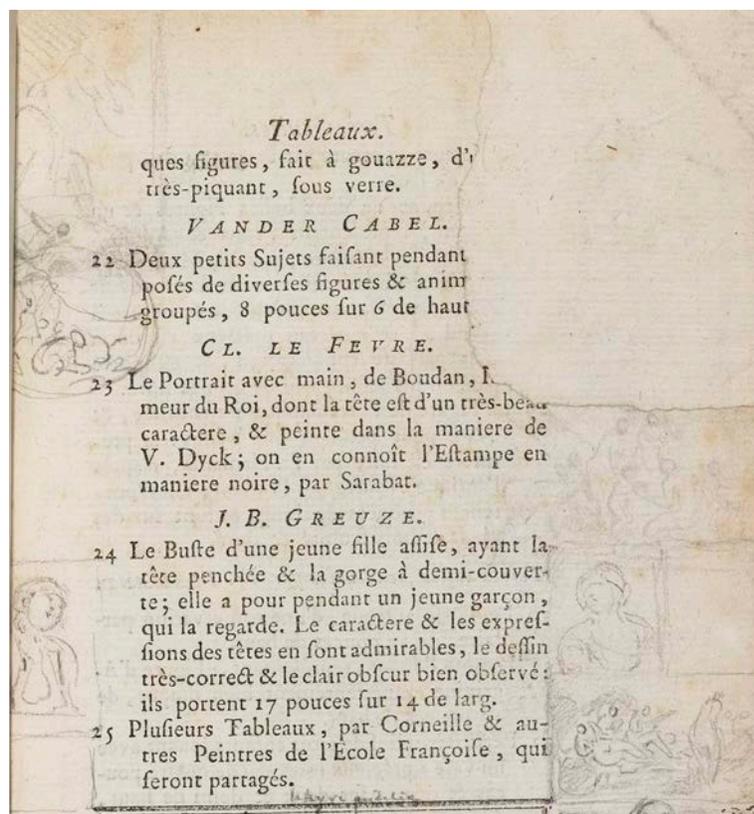


Fig. 62.1. Gabriel de Saint-Aubin (French, 1724–1780) after Jean-Baptiste Greuze. Marginal drawings to the left and right of no. 24 in *Catalogue raisonné des différens objets de curiosités dans les sciences et arts, qui composaient le Cabinet de feu Mr Mariette*, 1775. Black chalk, some red chalk, pen and ink, and watercolor. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, William A. Sargent Collection—Bequest of William A. Sargent (37.1713.20)



were based formed a pair, but the former unquestionably illustrates our canvas. The source for the latter had been misidentified as a work at the Musée Condé, Chantilly, which differs in significant details. It seems possible that the so-called Colette engraving and in turn Saint-Aubin's sketch were based on a little-known canvas in the collection of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II (fig. 62.4). (The head study, presented to Queen Victoria in 1840, may be autograph, a replica, or a very good copy. It is close to the size of our painting.) Dannel's

engraving differs from it in showing more of the torso and arms of the figure and a ribbon on one sleeve of her dress.⁴ Of many other collectors proposed as former owners of one or both of a presumed pair, most, if not all, can be ruled out.⁵

NOTES

1. A possible oval variant, on wood and of smaller size, was in the sale of M. le Comte A. de G[anay], Hôtel Drouot, Paris, June 4, 1903, no. 21, ill.
2. Rather little is known of François Michel Harenc de Presle (1710–1802), who collected and sold major works of art in the late eighteenth century, or



Fig. 62.2. Antoine François Dennel (French, active 1760–1815) after Jean-Baptiste Greuze, *Le Doux regard de Colette* (*The Gentle Gaze of Colette*), 1778. Engraving, first state, 9½ x 7¾ in. (24.1 x 18.3 cm). Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (44547947)

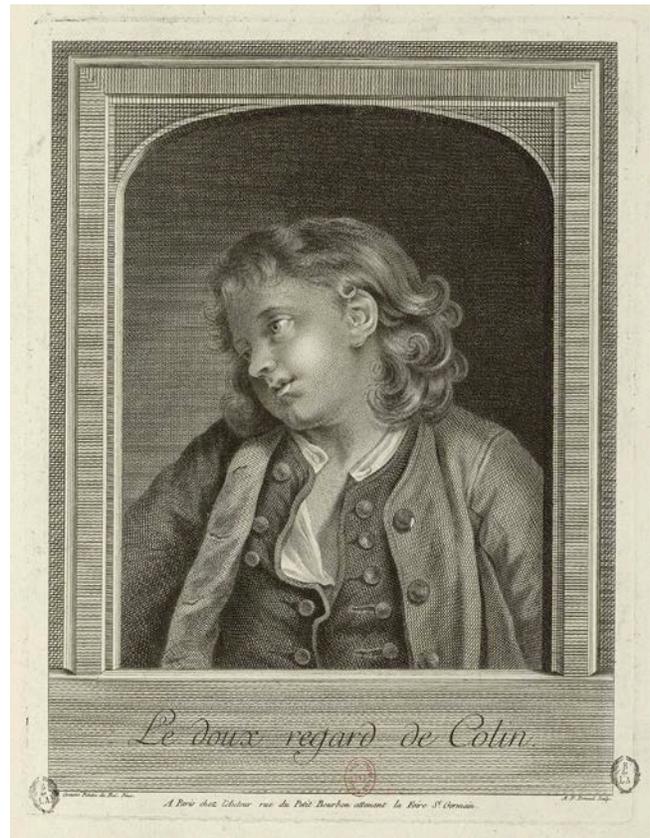


Fig. 62.3. Antoine François Dennel after Jean-Baptiste Greuze, *Le Doux regard de Colin* (*The Gentle Gaze of Colin*), 1778. Engraving, first state, 9½ x 7¾ in. (24.2 x 18.2 cm). Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (44547946)



Fig. 62.4. By or after Jean-Baptiste Greuze, *A Young Girl*, ca. 1760s–1800. Oil on canvas, 18½ x 15½ in. (47.4 x 40.5 cm). Royal Collection Trust: H.M. Queen Elizabeth II (RCIN 405053)

of the chevalier de Damery (presumed to be Jean Antoine Le Vaillant de Damery, 1723–ca. 1803). For Damery, see Munhall 1976, pp. 96–97, no. 40, ill.; also Lugt 2312, 3060, 6710.

3. Roux 1949, pp. 506–7, nos. 4–5, as “deux estampes faisant pendant.”

4. Garnier-Pelle 1995, p. 56, no. 22, ill. (color), drew attention to the connection between the Chantilly painting and the one in the Royal Collection, and referenced Burolet 1980, pp. 106–7, no. 40, ill., who catalogued a copy. A color reproduction of the Chantilly version (*Jeune fille*, Musée Condé PE 391) can be found on Joconde. Many other copies have been identified. However, a picture in the Pushkin State Museum, Moscow (*Head of a Girl in a Cap*, oil on canvas, no. 821), is not one of them, given the different arrangement of the girl’s fichu.

5. Issues of former ownership had also been addressed by Edgar Munhall and Mary Ann Wurth Harris. The following could be relevant: M*** [Le Roy de Senneville] (sale, Chariot, Paris, April 5ff., 1780, sup., no. 213, “Deux Bustes . . . faisant pendans . . . une jeune fille ayant la tête penchée, & la gorge à demi découverte . . . un jeune garçon . . . sont connus sous le titre du petit Frère & de la petite Soeur,” 17 x 14 pouces). The Henry collection (sale, George, Paris, May 23ff., 1836, no. 110, “*La petite mendiante* . . . porte un petit béguin chiffonné, un fichu croisé sur son cou et un tablier à bavette,” and no. 111, “*Le sans-souci* . . . cheveux blonds tombe en boucles sur ces épaules . . . vêtements déboutonnés . . .,” 15 x 12 pouces) can be ruled out owing to the discrepancy in size. All of the following differ sufficiently in specific details and can be disqualified: La Live de July (sale,

Remy, Paris, March 5ff., postponed to May 2ff., 1770, nos. 109, “Un enfant boudeur . . . un habillement blanc, & un tablier dont la bavette est à moitié détachée,” and 110, “une petite fille . . . bras posés sur une table”); Marquis de Véri (sale, Paillet, Paris, December 12ff., 1785, nos. 28, “une jeune Fille coëffée d’un bonnet rond . . . fichu . . . tablier avec bavette rayée bleu,” and 29, “un jeune garçon . . . un petit habit de Matelot . . . laisse voir une de ses épaules”); Gamba (sale, Geoffroy, Paris, December 17ff., 1811, no. 64, “un jeune garçon . . . la tête . . . coiffée de cheveux courts . . . Collection de Livois. B[ois].”). The Randon de Boisset catalogue entry lacks a description (sale, Remy, Paris, February 27ff., 1777, no. 211, “Le buste d’un jeune garçon & celui d’une jeune fille”).

EX COLL.: Pierre Jean Mariette, Paris (by 1763–d. 1774; his estate sale, Basan, Paris, February 1, 1775, no. 24, as “un jeune garçon” with “une jeune fille assise, ayant la tête penchée & la gorge à demi-couverte,” each 17 x 14 pouces, for 1,701 livres to De[s]marets); ?M. L.*** [Lapeyrière] (sale, Perignon, Paris, April 14ff., 1817, no. 79, “Un jeune Paysan vu en buste, la tête tournée de trois quarts, et coiffé de longs cheveux blonds qui tombent sur ses épaules,” 17 x 14 pouces); marquis du Blaisel, Paris (until d. 1870; his estate sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, March 16–17, 1870, no. 54, for Fr 6,100); Jules Porgès, Paris (until 1919; sale, Galerie du Vicomte Jacques de la L . . . et autres provenances, Fiévez, Brussels, July 3, 1919, no. 34); [Kleinberger, New York, 1919; sold to Friedsam]; Michael Friedsam, New York (1919–d. 1931).

SELECTED EXHIBITION: Paris, Salon, ?August 25–?September 25, 1763, no. 135 (as *Une Tête de petit Garçon*, 15 pouces x 1 pied, in the collection of M. Mariette).

SELECTED REFERENCES: Denis Diderot, *Salon de 1763*, Paris, 1763 (published in Diderot 1957–67, vol. 1 [1957], p. 237); Smith 1837, p. 426, no. 97; Goncourt 1880–82, vol. 1, p. 355; Martin and Masson 1905, p. 31, no. 444 (*Le doux regard de Colin*), p. 60, no. 961 (*Jeune garçon*), p. 61, no. 967 (*Jeune villageois*); Roux 1949, p. 506; Sterling 1955, p. 176, ill. p. 177; Diderot 1957–67, vol. 1 (1957), pp. 182–83; Garnier-Pelle 1995, p. 58.

63 | Jean-Baptiste Greuze

Charles Claude de Flahaut de La Billarderie, Comte d’Angiviller, 1763

Oil on canvas, 25¼ x 21¼ in. (64.1 x 54 cm)
Gift of Edith C. Blum (et al.) Executors, in memory of
Mr. and Mrs. Albert Blum, 1966 (66.28.1)

The comte d’Angiviller, born in 1730 at Saint-Rémy-en-l’Eau in the region of Beauvais, belonged to a centuries-old family of the minor nobility.¹ His service to Louis XV and the dauphin Louis began in 1745 when he was a page at the Battle of Fontenoy. The following year he was named captain of cavalry, and he fought bravely until the 1748 peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. In recognition of his brilliant career, he was awarded the red ribbon and cross of the military Order of Saint Louis in 1756. Four years later, at the insistent bidding of the dauphin, he resigned from the military to take charge of the household and supervise the education of the dauphin’s three

young sons, and in the course of the early 1760s he developed a close relationship with the eldest, the future Louis XVI, born in 1754. Recognizing the importance Angiviller had played in his formation, the young king, at his accession in 1774, appointed him director general of the Bâtiments, Arts et Manufactures du Roi, thus naming him to a position roughly equivalent to that of minister of culture, in which, owing to the onset of the Revolution, he was the last to serve.

By the late 1760s Angiviller had attached himself to the lively and informed Madame de Marchais, whom he later married, and frequented her circle. In the Paris salons of the time he met among others the historian and writer Jean François Marmontel, who became a particular friend, the playwright Pierre de Marivaux, and the critic Denis Diderot. He was also a scientist and a collector of minerals, and in 1772 was admitted to the Académie des Sciences. A cultured courtier and an educated and engaged private citizen, he was exposed to and enthusiastic about the new thinking.

Energetic, loyal, and a fine administrator, Angiviller took charge in 1774 of the royal palaces and parks, the tapestry manufactories of Gobelins and Savonnerie, the porcelain manufactory of Sèvres, and, with the painter **JEAN-BAPTISTE MARIE PIERRE**, the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture and the biannual Salons.² He was deeply committed to his post. During his tenure, narrative paintings illustrating important events in the history of France and sculptures representing the country’s heroes were commissioned in an effort to restore the arts to a greater nobility of style and to their appropriate role in support of the state. Angiviller also took first steps toward the formation of the Musée du Louvre when he recommended gathering major works from the royal collection in the Grand Galerie there. Unfortunately, the royal treasury was not up to the strains that the various aspects of the new program would have imposed.

Angiviller was a constant admirer of Greuze—perhaps the minister’s philosophe connections had made him susceptible—and in 1782 acquired for the royal collection one of the artist’s most important genre paintings, *The Marriage Contract* of 1761.³ Presumably he commissioned the present portrait, which may have occasioned their first meeting, assuming that it is the work exhibited at the Salon of 1763. At the time, Angiviller was serving at Versailles in his capacity of supervisor to the royal children, which may account for the elaboration of his dress. He has a long nose and a sensual mouth, and the hairline of his curled and powdered hair is already deeply receding. His frogged coat and waistcoat are lined with fur, and the brocaded waistcoat is also trimmed with gold braid. He wears the ribbon and badge of the Order of Saint Louis on his left breast.⁴ Colorful and carefully detailed, the likeness displays a degree of intimacy and liveliness. It can be difficult to





Fig. 63.1. By or after Jean-Baptiste Greuze, *Charles Claude de Flahaut de La Billarderie, comte d'Angiviller*, ca. 1763. Oil on canvas, 26 x 19¹¹/₁₆ in. (66 x 50 cm). Musée de La Cour d'Or, Metz (I1461)



Fig. 63.2. Etienne Aubry (French, 1745–1781), *Charles Claude de Flahaut de La Billarderie, comte d'Angiviller*, ca. early 1770s. Oil on canvas, oval, 32¹/₁₆ x 25⁵/₁₆ in. (81.5 x 65 cm). Musée Carnavalet, Paris (P.2237)

understand contemporary commentary: Mathon de La Cour observed that he found the picture cold. In any event this is not a state portrait (that commission was given by the sitter, in his official capacity, to **JOSEPH SIFFRED DUPLESSIS**, whose three-quarter-length portrait was exhibited at the Salon of 1779), but, quite the contrary, a small-scale and rather personal one.

Our Greuze portrait came to the art market only in 1922, but the identification of the sitter is supported by the existence of an old variant or copy of good quality (fig. 63.1) with Angiviller's name on the reverse, which on various occasions was published as the original, having belonged since 1846 to the museum in Metz.⁵ The two canvases are about the same size, and the color scheme, including details of the costume, are the same, although the description of the folds of the coat sleeves, for example, appears to be inferior in the Metz picture. Further confirmation of the sitter's identity exists in the form of later portraits of Angiviller by Etienne Aubry (fig. 63.2)⁶ and Jean-Baptiste Weyler (fig. 63.3).⁷ Duplessis's elegant 1779

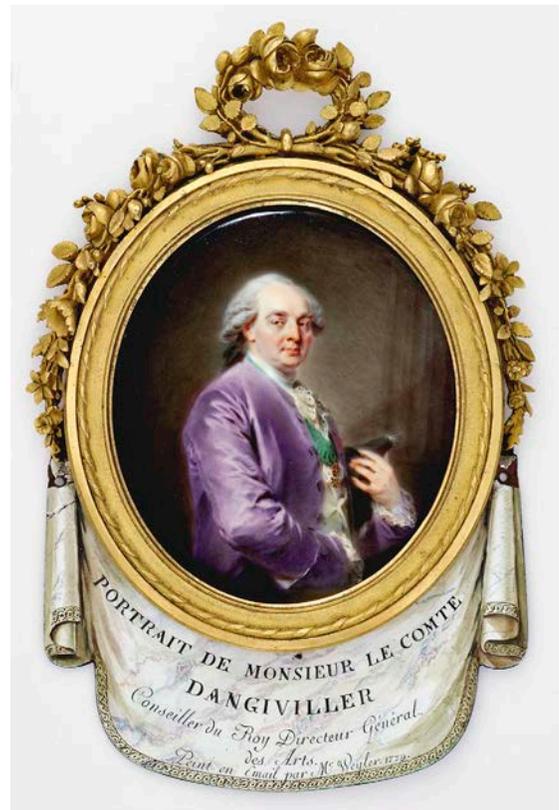


Fig. 63.3. Jean-Baptiste Weyler (French, 1747–1791), *Charles Claude de Flahaut de La Billarderie, comte d'Angiviller*, 1779. Enamel, oval, 4⁷/₁₆ x 3³/₁₆ in. (11.2 x 9.8 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris (INV 35728 recto)

Salon exhibit is significantly different: a greater element of flattery seems to have been at play, as the sitter looks neither old enough nor heavy enough, and various personal traits seem to have been softened.⁸

NOTES

1. Bobé 1933; Silvestre de Sacy 1953. There are various formulations of the name.
2. For an overview of the complex cultural and socioeconomic circumstances of the moment, see Crow 1985, pp. 186–91.
3. Musée du Louvre, Paris, 5037.
4. In 1976 Edgar Munhall conceived the notion that our sitter is also represented in a well-known portrait drawing belonging to the Louvre (27005, recto; see Munhall 2002, pp. 88–90, no. 22, ill. [color]). However, the drawing represents a decades-older man, heavyset, and wearing similarly elaborate clothing but no orders or decorations.
5. Munhall's documentation, in which he identified it as a good copy, was provided to the Department of European Paintings many years ago. The Metz painting was bought by the city as part of a large collection of uneven quality that had belonged to a minor local painter, Monsieur Naud (not Maud). Angiviller's name is recorded as having been inscribed on the reverse. The picture is catalogued on the museum's website as autograph; for further documentation, see Martin-Méry 1958, p. 34, no. 79. There is for the moment limited evidence that Greuze made replicas of his commissioned portraits.
6. Silvestre de Sacy 1953, p. 164 n. 1. Etienne Aubry, *agrégé*, showed portraits of Angiviller at the Salons of 1771, no. 225 (with no. 224, representing his oldest brother), and 1773, no. 190 (3 pieds x 2 pieds 6 pouces; that is, 38 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 32 in. [97.4 x 81.2 cm]). The Carnavalet portrait is smaller, but the difference might be accounted for by the frame. The sitter, in a dressing gown, is not wearing powder and has very light brown hair. He had gradually gained weight.
7. Weyler's reception piece, a miniature of Angiviller in three-quarter length wearing a lavender coat, was exhibited at the 1779 Salon. See Joconde for the reception piece and a replica. Others are in the Gilbert collection, deposited at the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, and previously on the art market (a box with a miniature on the lid, which was with S. J. Phillips, London, in the summer of 2012).
8. See sale, Christie's, London, July 4, 1997, no. 64, ill. (color), and Musée National des Châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon, MV 3926.

EX COLL.: ?comte de Bernis-Calvière, Vézénobres, Gard; Vicomte Paul Le Compasseur Créqui Montfort de Courtivron, Paris (from 1922); [Wildenstein, Paris and New York, until ca. 1925/26; sold to Blum]; Mr. and Mrs. Albert Blum, New York (ca. 1925/26–her d. 1965; her estate, 1965–66).

SELECTED EXHIBITION: Paris, Salon, ?August 25–?September 25, 1763, no. 129 (as *Le Portrait de M. le Comte d'Angéville*, 2 pieds x 1 pied 6 pouces).

SELECTED REFERENCES: Mathon de La Cour 1763, p. 62 (CD 1980, vol. 8, no. 101; McWilliam 1991, no. 0153); London 1933, p. 48, no. 177, ill.; Munhall 1976, pp. 21, 27, 92, fig. 14; Levey 1977, p. 281; Baillio 1993, pp. 143, 145, ill.

64 | Jean-Baptiste Greuze

Portrait of a Man, Said to Be the Sculptor Jean Jacques Caffieri, ca. 1765

Oil on canvas, oval, 25 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 20 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (64.1 x 52.7 cm)

Bequest of Ethel Tod Humphrys, 1956 (56.55.3)

This fine if undemonstrative image offers no indication that it represents an artist, but has been identified on the basis of a label on the reverse as Jean Jacques Caffieri, a French sculptor of Italian descent who, born in 1725, was the same age as Greuze and specialized in portrait busts of his contemporaries and of historical personages.¹ In 1748 Caffieri won the coveted first prize for sculpture in the Prix de Rome competition of the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture, and from 1749 to 1753 he trained at the Académie de France in the Italian capital. Returning to Paris, he was received in 1757, admitted a full member of the Académie Royale in 1759, and appointed associate professor in 1765 and professor in 1773. He was an academician who rose steadily and at a measured pace through the ranks. Here the presumed sitter's mild expression belies what was evidently a strong character. The smooth, blended surface, narrow color range, and delicate back lighting contribute to a modest effect.

Greuze submitted sixteen works to the 1765 Salon, an exceptionally large number that included six expressive heads and single figures, three sketches for genre subjects, and seven portraits, one of which was a likeness of Caffieri. A very old, inked label with the names of artist and sitter is glued to a stretcher bar supporting our canvas. It reads: “N° 1180 [*sic*]/ portrait de Caffieri / par / Greuze.” Owing to the presence of the label, when the work appeared at auction in 1912, it was identified with the Caffieri portrait shown in 1765 despite a significant discrepancy in size between the canvas and the measurements in the accompanying list. The Salon exhibit measured 2 pieds 6 pouces x 2 pieds, which is 31 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 25 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches (81.1. x 65 cm). Our oval measures 25 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 20 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches, a difference of more than six inches in height and nearly five in width, which is not proportional and barely conceivable if the original frame was embellished at top or bottom.

As to the date, the portrait differs considerably in style from Greuze's likeness of the German-born engraver Jean Georges Wille (fig. 64.1), which is signed and dated 1763 and was shown at the Salon of 1765 as number 117. *Le Portrait de M. Wille, Graveur du Roi* was immediately followed in the *livret* by number 118, *M. Caffieri, Sculpteur du Roi*.² The engraver mentioned as “admirable” a study for his portrait prepared by his friend Greuze on November 18, 1763. Further sittings were on November 21, November 29, and





Fig. 64.1. Jean-Baptiste Greuze, *The Engraver Jean Georges Wille*, 1763. Oil on canvas, 23¼ x 19¼ in. (59 x 49 cm). Musée Jacquemart-André, Paris (P 1208)

December 1; the painting was finished on December 4. Wille thought it one of the finest portraits by the artist up to that time. Greuze omitted identifying attributes, and the gray velvet coat, elaborate waistcoat, lace, and powdered hair are similar to those of the presumed Caffieri. The size is significantly smaller and rectangular, converting to 23¼ x 19¼ inches (59 x 49 cm), and the handling is deliberately rough. Mathon de La Cour observed that in his likenesses of Wille and Caffieri, Greuze captured “the fire with which artists should always be painted.”³ What our canvas lacks in animation is more than made up for by the emphatic persona of

Wille, as pointed out particularly by Diderot, who admired the sitter’s brusque air and high color and thought the portrayal worthy of a Rubens, Rembrandt, or Van Dyck.

Insofar as other portraits of Caffieri are concerned, the most important of these is by the Swedish-born Adolph Wertmüller (fig. 64.2), who submitted it to the Académie Royale as a reception piece in 1784 and exhibited it at the Salon of 1785. The difference in style between the present portrait and that by Wertmüller is no greater than the difference in Caffieri’s self-presentation, which by 1785 might be called bombastic. A fine print by Augustin de Saint-Aubin has



Fig. 64.2. Adolph Ulric Wertmüller (Swedish, 1751–1811), *Jean Jacques Caffieri*, 1784. Oil on canvas, 50 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 37 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (128.9 x 95.9 cm). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Ernest Wadsworth Longfellow Fund (63.1082)

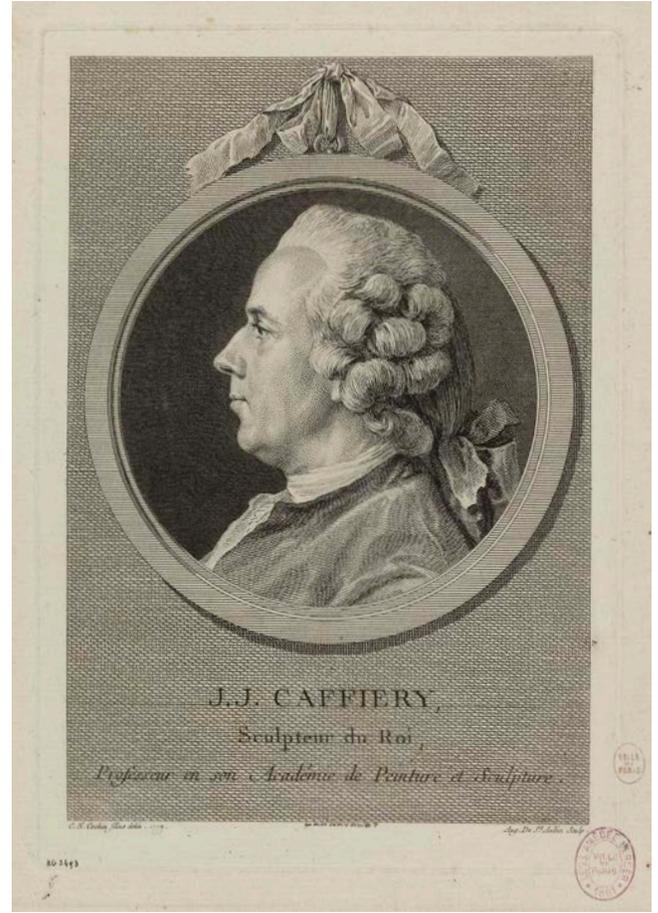


Fig. 64.3. Augustin de Saint-Aubin (French, 1736–1807) after Charles Nicolas II Cochin (French, 1715–1790), *Jean Jacques Caffieri*, 1779. Etching and engraving, 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (27.3 x 19.7 cm). Musée Carnavalet, Paris (CARG003493)

been dated to 1779 and shows the same heavysset individual, but his expression is more sympathetic (fig. 64.3).⁴ It is in my view unlikely that our portrait represents Caffieri.

NOTES

1. The Museum owns a marble bust by Caffieri of Louis Nicolas Victor de Félix, comte du Muy (28.193), which is signed and dated 1776.
2. Diderot 1975–83, vol. 2 (1979), pp. 35, 36, 153, fig. 39. For the portrait of Wille, see Gétreau 2011, pp. 156–61, 360, no. 35, ill. (color).
3. Mathon de La Cour 1765, pp. 9–10: “Les Portraits de M. Wille & de M. Caffieri sont traités avec le feu, avec lequel on devoit toujours peindre les Artistes.”
4. Joseph Siffred Duplessis showed a portrait of Caffieri as associate professor at the Salon of 1771, under number 210, for which see Diderot 1957–67, vol. 4 (1967), pp. 150–51, fig. 77. However, this oval painting of a formally dressed gentleman from the Lerroix collection (no. 77) is listed as an unidentified sitter in Chabaud 2003, pp. 37–38, 118, 138, ill. There is also an unfinished oval portrait of an informally dressed man identified as a presumed portrait of Caffieri and attributed to Greuze (collection of Edouard Detaille; his estate sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, March 10, 1913, no. 30, ill.).

EX COLL.: Jacques Doucet, Paris (until 1912; sale, Georges Petit, Paris, June 6, 1912, no. 156, as *Portrait présumé de Caffieri*, for Fr 37,000 to Wildenstein); [Wildenstein, Paris and New York, from 1912; sold to Mrs. Humphrys]; Ethel Tod Humphrys, New York (by 1935–56).

SELECTED EXHIBITIONS: ?Paris, Salon, August 25–September 30, 1765, no. 118 (as *Le Portrait de M. Caffieri, Sculpteur du Roi*, 2 pieds 6 pouces x 2 pieds). Martigny, Fondation Pierre Gianadda, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York: Chefs-d’oeuvre de la peinture européenne*, June 23–November 12, 2006, no. 37 (exh. cat.: Martigny 2006); Barcelona, Museu Nacional d’Art de Catalunya, *Grandes maestros de la pintura europea de The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Nueva York: De El Greco a Cézanne*, December 1, 2006–March 4, 2007, no. 29 (exh. cat.: Barcelona 2006).

SELECTED REFERENCES: Mathon de La Cour 1765, pp. 9–10 (CD 1980, vol. 8, no. 110; McWilliam 1991, no. 0173); Guiffrey 1877, p. 423; Vitry and Nicolle 1912, p. 54, no. 156; Diderot 1957–67, vol. 2 (1960), pp. 35–36, fig. 51; Katharine Baetjer in Martigny 2006, pp. 200–202, no. 37, ill. (color); Katharine Baetjer in Barcelona 2006, pp. 108–11, no. 29, ill. (color, overall and detail).

65 | Jean-Baptiste Greuze

Aegina Visited by Jupiter, ca. 1767–69

Oil on canvas, 57 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 77 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (147 x 195.9 cm)

Gift of Harry N. Abrams and Purchase, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, Pfeiffer, Fletcher, and Rogers Funds, 1970 (1970.295)

From the moment of his return to Paris in 1757, Greuze enjoyed tremendous critical and popular success, notably with his modern genre subjects. He failed to turn his attention to the reception piece for the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture that he had been directed to prepare in 1755 on the occasion of his preliminary admission. Twelve years later, in 1767, Charles Nicolas II Cochin, secretary of the Académie Royale, informed him that for this reason he would be barred from exhibiting at the forthcoming Salon. It is thus likely that Greuze devoted much effort to working up subjects from antiquity in the interval between the 1767 and 1769 Salons. He may have sketched *Cimon and Pero* and *Lot and His*

Daughters,¹ both of which are Rubensian in feeling, and he must have started but then abandoned this large canvas, perhaps at first intending it as his reception piece, as Edgar Munhall suggested. In 1769 he instead offered and exhibited *Septimius Severus and Caracalla*,² which had been inspired by Poussin and carefully prepared with many studies of antique heads. The work, somewhat smaller than this canvas, is an archaizing painting of an obscure subject that lacks narrative force and proved to be the signal failure of his career. Greuze was admitted an academician not as a painter of history, but, on the basis of his earlier successes, as a genre painter, a shattering experience that shaped his future practice.³

In view of the fact that it is unfinished, the present painting was probably in the artist's studio at the time of his death and in that case would have passed into the ownership of his daughter.⁴ It was not publicly exhibited until the Lapeyrière sale of 1825.

The subject has been at issue. It had generally been thought that Greuze depicted Aegina, daughter of the river



god Asopus, when she was visited by Jupiter in the guise of fire. Aegina conceived a son, Aeacus, the first king of the island that lies in the gulf to the south of Athens, and Jupiter took the form of an eagle to carry her there. A second possibility, suggested more recently, is that the heroine is Semele.⁵ The old woman would then be the jealous Juno disguised as the servant Beroë, who urged Semele to invite Jupiter to come to her in the fatally potent form of a thunderbolt, and the mirror and pearls would refer to Semele's vanity. If, however, the emanation in the picture should be read as a shower of gold, then Greuze chose as his subject the much more famous story of the conception of Perseus, son of Jupiter and Danaë. In that case, he may have been influenced by the famous Rembrandt that was in Paris in the Crozat collection and now belongs to the State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg.⁶ This was a popular subject with various Northern painters and with Titian.

Reading the picture is complicated by the fact that it is incomplete: fire, coins, lightning, or a thunderbolt may be imagined . . . but not clearly seen. Whatever the story, and it is unlikely that we shall know definitively, the heroine was impregnated by Jupiter. The ancient context is suggested by the forms of the tripod table and the bed. The narrative content is indicated by the young woman's gesture and expression, by the eagle from whose claws the drapery is suspended and her nude body revealed, and by the predatory old woman who offers her up to the god.

The artist gave careful consideration to the composition. In a small oil sketch, presumably a preliminary idea for the painting, the female attendant leans over the foot of the bed, the eagle is omitted, and the nude extends both arms in a gesture of reception.⁷ A red chalk drawing of a head facing to right in which the hair is bound has also been associated with our picture.⁸ There are three studies for the nude that are variations on the final pose. The first drawing (fig. 65.1) is heavily worked, with hatching and crosshatching to shape the body and the emphatic contours. The model is at rest, her head turned away, her left hand on her belly and her right hand at her side. The linen is lightly sketched, but dense shadow sets off the legs. In the second sheet (fig. 65.2) the head is aligned with the body and cast back to show the chin, and both the incomplete left arm and the bent right arm are raised. The artist focused on the contours and essential features, including the tension of the figure, while applying the chalk more sparingly. Each of the two is vigorous in handling and naturalistic. In the final study (fig. 65.3) the position of the model is that of the painting, though the setting is different. The application of chalk is delicate, and the artist stresses the classicizing composure of the whole. Over the three sheets, the pose becomes increasingly supine and the body



Fig. 65.1. Jean-Baptiste Greuze, *Reclining Female Nude Leaning on a Cushion*. Red chalk, 11¼ x 16½ in. (28.6 x 41.9 cm). Musée Bonnat-Helleu, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Bayonne (1647)



Fig. 65.2. Jean-Baptiste Greuze, *Reclining Female Nude Leaning on a Cushion, Arms Raised*. Red chalk, 13⅞ x 18⅞ in. (34.4 x 46.1 cm). Musée Bonnat-Helleu, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Bayonne (RF51001 recto)

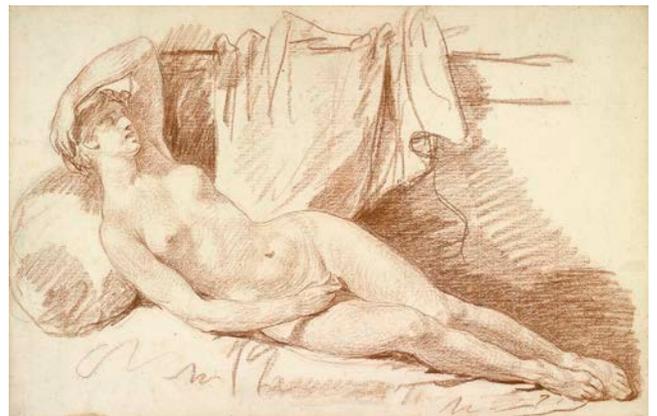


Fig. 65.3. Jean-Baptiste Greuze, *Reclining Female Nude Leaning on a Cushion, One Arm Raised*, ca. 1767. Red chalk on laid paper, 12⅞ x 19½ in. (32.1 x 49.5 cm). Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, Museum purchase funded by the Alvin S. Romansky Prints and Drawings Accessions Endowment Fund (2008.937)

less mature, bordering on the adolescent, as Mark Ledbury has noted.

Denis Diderot wrote in 1767 that Greuze said he wished to paint an entirely nude woman without offending modesty.⁹ The critic encouraged him to do so. Perhaps, had he finished it, the academicians would have received this magnificent nude with the enthusiasm they did not accord *Septimius Severus and Caracalla*. It would have exerted a powerful presence in the Salon.

NOTES

1. J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, 99.PA.24, and private collection.
2. Musée du Louvre, Paris, INV 5031.
3. See Montaiglon 1888, pp. 18–19, where a note in the register draws attention to the reception of Greuze as a genre painter. According to Diderot, the director informed Greuze that the academicians had accepted him owing to the regard in which his earlier work was held, and had closed their eyes to his submission, which was described as unworthy.
4. Thoré-Bürger (1807–1869) claimed to have seen the picture in the possession of Caroline Greuze (1762–1842). However, in 1825, when it was quite certainly sold by Lapeyrière, the well-known critic would have been only eighteen.
5. See Rosenblum 1977; Levey 1977.
6. Gary Schwartz, in a letter to Walter Liedtke, February 9, 1984, in the archives of the Department of European Paintings. The Rembrandt, which is usually titled *Danaë* (Hermitage 723) but which Schwartz believed might represent Aegina, had belonged to the connoisseur and collector Pierre Crozat until his death in 1740, and then to his nephew, Louis Antoine, who sold it to Catherine the Great of Russia.
7. In the entry on Joconde, the sketch, titled *Egine ou Danae* (Louvre MI 1068), is described as relating to another sketch belonging to the museum in Metz (in fact, from the Naud collection), which Brookner 1956, p. 158, calls “rather more brilliant,” an opinion that, to judge from a photograph, is unfathomable.
8. Louvre 27007, recto. The drawing measures 14 $\frac{5}{16}$ x 12 $\frac{3}{16}$ in. (36.4 x 31 cm) and, other than the binding of the hair, is a typical Greuze study head.
9. Diderot 1975–83, vol. 3 (1983), p. 109.

EX COLL.: ?the artist (until d. 1805); ?his daughter, Caroline Greuze, Paris (from 1805); [Augustin] Lapeyrière, Paris (until 1825; his sale, Lacoste, Henry, Paris, April 19ff., 1825, no. 185, as *Jupiter et Danaë*, 54 p[ouces] x 71 p[ouces], for Fr 801 to Dubois); ?Everard Rhoné [or Rosné] (in 1846); Monsieur Bonnet (by 1860–85; his estate sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, June 2, 1885, no. 1, for Fr 30,000 or 40,000 to Brame); Monsieur Levesque, Paris (in 1900); [Trotti, Paris, in 1923]; Baron Maurice de Rothschild, Paris (by 1926—at least 1929); [Wildenstein, Paris]; William Randolph Hearst, New York (by 1939–41; his sale, Hammer Galleries, New York, March 25, 1941, no. 301–4, to ?Wildenstein); [Wildenstein, New York, ?from 1941; sold to Abrams]; Harry N. Abrams, New York (by 1969–70) and [Wildenstein, New York, 1970; sold to MMA].

SELECTED EXHIBITIONS: Paris, 26, boulevard des Italiens [Francis Petit], *Tableaux et dessins de l'école française, principalement du XVIIIe siècle, tirés de collections d'amateurs*, 1860, no. 386 (not in 1860 catalogue or supplement, but see Bürger 1860). Paris, Exposition Internationale Universelle, *Exposition centennale de l'art français (1800–1889)*, May–

November 1900, no. 334 (as *Égine et Jupiter*, lent by M. Levesque). Hartford, Wadsworth Atheneum, *Jean-Baptiste Greuze, 1725–1805*, December 1, 1976–January 23, 1977, no. 65 (exh. cat.: Munhall 1976); Dijon, Musée des Beaux-Arts, *Jean-Baptiste Greuze, 1725–1805*, June 4–July 31, 1977, no. 65.

SELECTED REFERENCES: Bürger 1860, pp. 236–37, ill. (etching by L. Flameng); “Faits divers,” *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 8, November 1, 1860, p. 192; Lejeune 1864, vol. 1, p. 278; Goncourt 1880–82, vol. 1, p. 347; Martin and Masson 1905, pp. 5, 107, no. 37, ill.; Brière 1924, p. 120, under no. 377; Louis Gillet in Louvre 1929, pp. 67–68; Munhall 1976, pp. 12, 138–40, no. 65, ill.; Rosenblum 1977, pp. 146, 149, fig. 107; Ledbury 2000, pp. 170–71, pl. 23.

66 | Jean-Baptiste Greuze

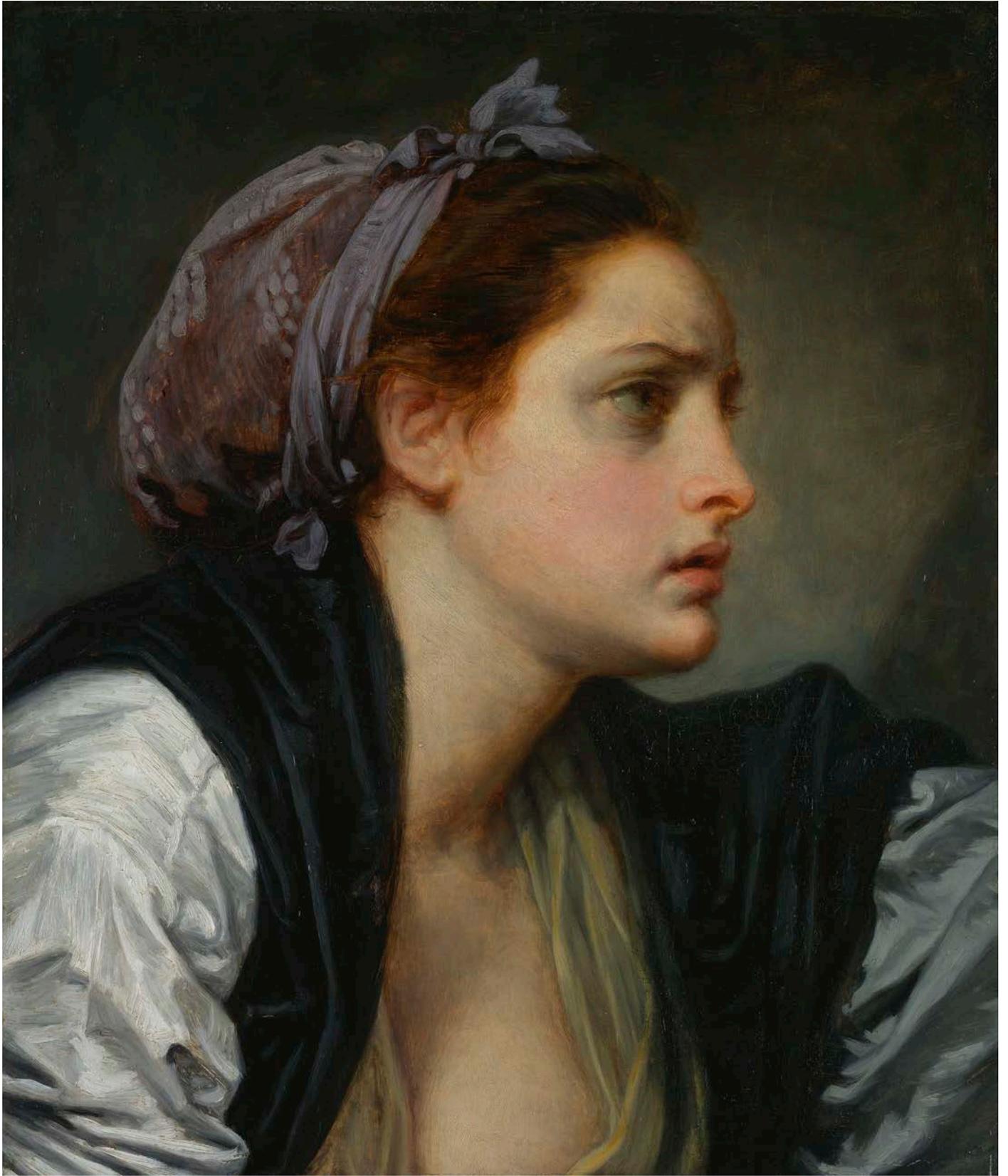
Study Head of a Woman, perhaps late 1770s

Oil on wood, 18½ x 16 in. (47 x 40.6 cm)

Purchase, 1871 (71.91)

Through the greater part of his career, Greuze made what are called study heads or expressive heads, referred to in French as *têtes d'expression*. The artist showed paintings of the kind at every biannual Salon in which he participated, that is, every other year from 1755 through 1765 and 1769, and they are an essential part of his stylistic idiom. In addition to the present picture, the Museum owns two studies of heads in oil on canvas (cats. 62, 68) and three red chalk drawings that belong to the general category.¹ A number of expressive heads were for specific genre paintings, while others were preparatory to engravings, but many more were independent works of art intended for the market. Such head studies have been titled or described generically; most examples were first recorded in the late nineteenth or early twentieth century, when expressions of highly wrought emotion were popular with collectors. It is almost impossible to identify any of them individually in exhibitions or sales during Greuze's lifetime. The present example was bought in Paris in 1870 and was among the works in The Met's founding purchase (fig. 66.1).² Henry James studied it in the galleries when the Museum opened in 1872, and in his review for *The Atlantic Monthly* described it as a “minois,” or pretty face, “in tears and dishevelment.”³ He connected it with *The Father's Curse: The Ungrateful Son*.⁴

Study Head of a Woman has been associated with individual females in three compositions and by general agreement is closest to the anguished sister wringing her hands at the center in *The Father's Curse: The Ungrateful Son*, which was exhibited in Greuze's Paris studio in 1777.⁵ The woman's intense, focused expression is typical of the artist at his harrowing best. The position of her extended left arm could suggest a compositional study, but her black vest and exposed breast might on the other hand indicate an independent work.



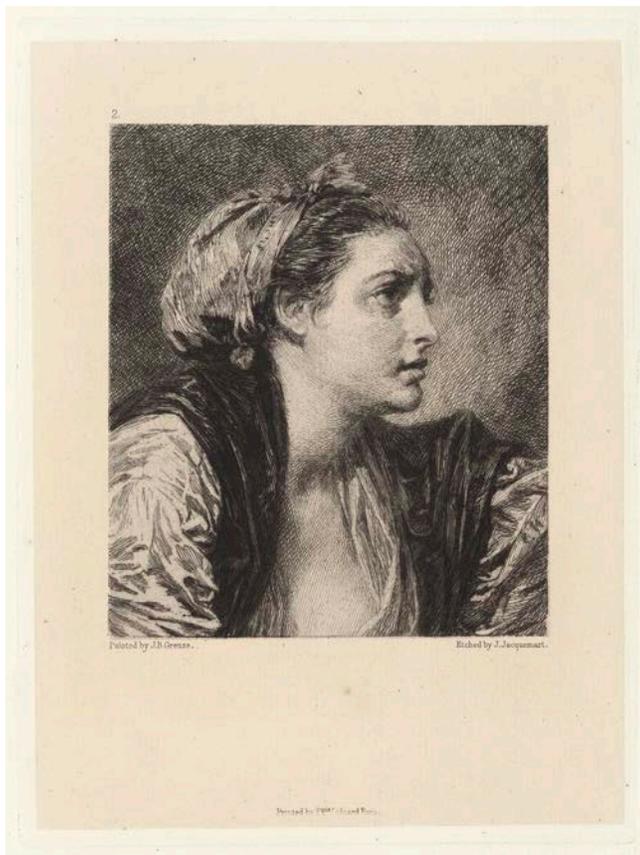


Fig. 66.1. Jules-Ferdinand Jacquemart (French, 1837–1880) after Jean-Baptiste Greuze, “Study Head of a Woman.” Reproduced in Jacquemart 1871, pl. 2. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Thomas J. Watson Library (201.6J16 J161 F)

Generally speaking, it is the position of an individual head rather than the head type that has suggested correlations with finished paintings. The model who sat for our sketch may have inspired two similar heads, differently positioned, including one for an older woman in *The Father’s Curse: The Punished Son* of 1778.⁶ The correspondences warrant suggesting a date for our work in the late 1770s. In 1989 it was thought that the picture, discolored and with several old damages, would probably be worthy of exhibition. It was restored⁷ and has been on view since.

NOTES

1. Metropolitan Museum 49.131.1–.3. For an overview of Caylus’s *concours* and Charles Le Brun’s expressions, copying from antiquity and working after nature, see Percival 1999, pp. 117–23.
2. The painting was reproduced as one of ten etched plates commissioned to commemorate the opening of the Museum. See Jacquemart 1871, ill.
3. He continued, “It is at once solid and charming; with a charm owing partly to the skillful clearness of those whitish-gray tones which mark the dawn of the sober coloring of modern French art.” James 1872, p. 760.

4. Musée du Louvre, Paris, 5038.

5. The two other works are *The Drunken Cobbler* (Portland Art Museum 59.1), which Edgar Munhall (2002, p. 162) dated to 1782, and *La belle-mère*, lost but known through a rare undated engraving by Jean Charles Levasseur, an example of which is in the Musée Boucher-de-Perthes, Abbeville (1954.2.5), and reproduced on Joconde. Presumably the connection to *La belle-mère* was suggested by the pose, with arm extended, as otherwise the middle-aged woman with an angry, evil expression differs significantly from our sketch.

6. Louvre 5039. The two heads are illustrated in Munhall 2002, p. 25, figs. 16, 17 (color).

7. The panel was treated by conservator Elizabeth Ardry in 1989. The original support had been marouflaged to a mahogany panel and cradled. There was an old split through the face and another running 1½ inch (2.9 cm) up from the bottom left edge. The ground was white and retained much of its brilliance. Extremely thin glazes had been employed for the transitional tones, and in some passages, such as the scarf, the darks were composed of glazes only. The flesh was characterized as a low impasto. There were drying cracks, some of wide aperture and overpainted. The natural resin varnish was uneven and discolored. This was reduced, except where it was trapped in the interstices of the brushstrokes, and the overpaints were removed. The losses were toned with watercolor and glazed. Conservator George Bisacca removed the cradle and replaced it with crossbars at the top and bottom, each containing a number of vertical shims.

EX COLL.: [Léon Gauchez and Alexis Febvre, Paris, until 1870; sold to Blodgett]; William T. Blodgett, Paris and New York (1870–71; sold half share to Johnston); William T. Blodgett and John Taylor Johnston, New York (1871; sold to MMA).

SELECTED REFERENCES: James 1872, p. 760 (reprinted in Sweeney 1956, p. 58); Henry Marcel in Mauclair 1905, p. xx, ill. p. 156; Sterling 1955, p. 176, ill.

67 | Jean-Baptiste Greuze

Princess Gagarin, ca. 1783

Oil on canvas, oval, 31½ x 25 in. (80 x 63.5 cm)

Signed (lower center, on pedestal): J-B-Greuze

Gift of Mrs. William M. Haupt, from the collection of

Mrs. James B. Haggin, 1965 (65.242.3)

Rather little is known of Varvara Nikolaevna Golitsyna, who was born on July 7, 1762. She was a daughter of Prince Nikolai Mikhailovich Golitsyn and of Ekaterina Aleksandrovna Golovina, who died in 1769 while Varvara was still a child.¹ She married Prince Sergey Sergeevich Gagarin, sixteen years her senior, and the couple had three sons and a daughter. The eldest was Nikolai Sergeevich, born on May 12, 1784, in London.² In September 1784 all three sat to Sir Joshua Reynolds for a family portrait: the prince had three appointments, the first of which was on September 4; the princess also had three sittings; and the baby two, separately from his mother, the last of which was on September 22.³



A payment of 150 guineas is recorded in Reynolds's ledger in July 1785, with a note: "Princess Gagarin Prince and child sent to Russia." This will have been after Caroline Watson made an engraving of the painting (fig. 67.1), published on August 2, 1785. Apparently the Reynolds canvas has not survived. Varvara Nikolaevna died at thirty-nine on April 1, 1802.

As Greuze did not travel abroad, the young princess must have visited Paris either before or immediately after her wedding—the date of which, unfortunately, has not been discovered. A possible scenario is the following: the couple married when she was perhaps twenty, and departed for Paris, where both sat for Greuze; they moved to London, and there she gave birth to their son, Nikolai; they returned to Russia late in 1784 or 1785. The Greuze portrait of the prince is known only from an inadequate photograph and an engraving.⁴ The Met's canvas is conspicuously signed on the pedestal in the foreground. It is not dated, but the sitter's costume is modern and must have been inspired by the white lawn dresses introduced

by Marie Antoinette and worn by the French queen in her private role and for the portrait that caused a scandal at the Salon of 1783.⁵ Greuze had favored white draperies and chemises for his expressive single figures and heads of female models, but it is unlikely he painted formal portraits of women in the new style before about 1782. An undated oval said to represent Madame Mercier is similar in style as well as in the sitter's costume (fig. 67.2). The components, including the column, the dog, and the wreath, were deployed more than once over the years.⁶

In its cool, detached approach, the present work differs as much from the overwrought mood of the next head study (cat. 68) as it does from the cheerful and matter-of-fact presentation of a modern sitter of the upper middle class (cat. 69). The artist's marvelous gift for portraiture is insufficiently appreciated. The complete lack of resemblance between this sitter and the woman in Caroline Watson's engraving cannot be accounted for.

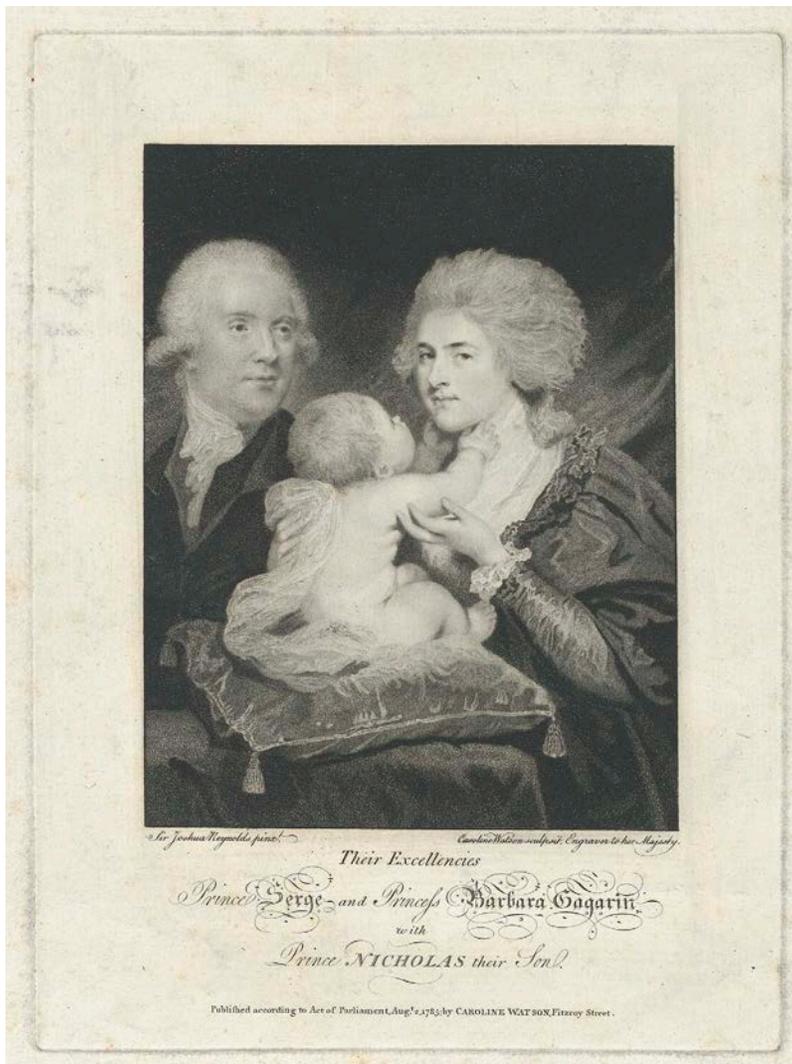


Fig. 67.1. Caroline Watson (British, 1760/61–1814) after Sir Joshua Reynolds (British, 1723–1792), *Prince Serge and Princess Barbara Gagarin with Their Son*, 1785. Aquatint and stipple engraving, 6³/₁₆ x 4¹³/₁₆ in. (15.7 x 12.2 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1953 (53.600.418)



Fig. 67.2. Jean-Baptiste Greuze, *Madame Mercier*, early 1780s. Oil on canvas, 24³/₁₆ x 20¹/₂ in. (63 x 52 cm). The Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, Purchase, Gift of the National Museums of Canada (1973.10)

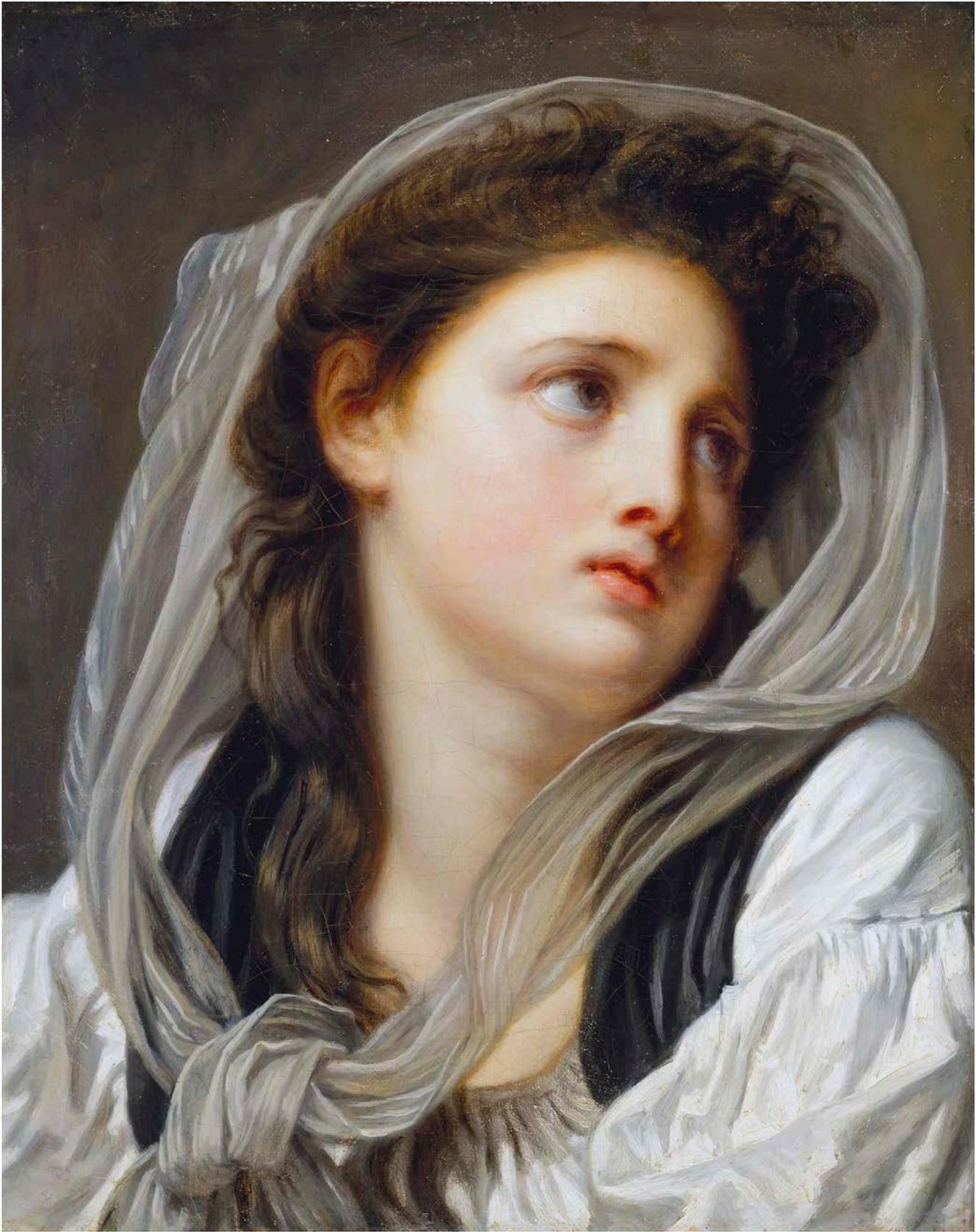
NOTES

1. The sitter's parents, Nikolai Mikhailovich Golitsyn (1727–1787) and Ekaterina Aleksandrovna Golovina (1728–1769), and her husband, Sergey Sergeevich Gagarin (1745–1798), seem to have been little-known members of their large and prominent aristocratic families. For the scant biographical data available, see Nikolai Mikhailovich 1906, nos. 32, 33, ill.
2. The three surviving children of Varvara and Sergey were Nikolai Sergeevich Gagarin (1784–1842), Varvara Sergeevna Dolgorukova, née Gagarina (1793–1833), and Sergey Sergeevich Gagarin (1795–1852). Apparently a son, Aleksandr, died in infancy. Prince Gagarin's death was misreported in *The Gentleman's Magazine* 56, no. 4, part 1 (April 1786), p. 353, as having taken place in 1786.
3. Mannings 2000, vol. 1, p. 207, no. 691 (untraced), vol. 2, fig. 1424 (engraving by Caroline Watson), where the princess is called Barbara.
4. See Nikolai Mikhailovich 1906, nos. 32, 33. It is difficult to imagine that Nikolai Mikhailovich is not accurate or to account for the fact that neither of the two resembles the figures in Watson's engraving.

5. See Xavier Salmon in Baillio et al. 2016, pp. 86–87, no. 16, ill. (color). The effect of the present work was spoiled by a yellow varnish, and the painting, in good condition, was cleaned by conservator Rita Regojo in 1990.
6. See, for example, sale, Sotheby's, New York, January 28, 2000, no. 101, ill. (color), which is said to date from the later 1780s.

EX COLL.: by descent to the sitter's son, Prince Nikolai Sergeevich Gagarin (d. 1842); Prince Nikolai Nikolaievich Gagarin (1842–d. 1902); Prince Victor Nikolaievich Gagarin, Moscow (1902–d. 1912); Gagarin family (1912–23; sold to Wildenstein); [Wildenstein, New York, 1923–27; sold to Haggin]; Mrs. James B. Haggin, New York (1927–d. 1965); her sister, Mrs. William M. Haupt, New York (1965).

SELECTED REFERENCES: Nikolai Mikhailovich 1906, no. 32, ill.; Réau 1920, pp. 285–86, ill.; Brookner 1956, p. 196; Munhall 1976, p. 152.



68 | Jean-Baptiste Greuze

Head of a Young Woman, perhaps 1780s

Oil on canvas, 16 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 12 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (41 x 32.4 cm)

Bequest of Miss Adelaide Milton de Groot (1876–1967), 1967 (67.187.72)

A professional model may have posed for the picture.

Rather than contemporary dress, she wears an elegant peasant costume devised by Greuze: a loose chemise or blouse, a black vest, and a striped gauze veil.¹ The sinuous curves that animate the composition could suggest a date later than the mid-1770s, as had been proposed by Edgar Munhall. The small, finished, highly charged image was presumably painted as a money-making venture. If Greuze's sensibility is alien to contemporary taste, it should still be possible to admire the subtle play of the few colors, the use of red, the modeling of the thick white pigment of the blouse, and the transparency of the veil.²

From September 1755 until April 1757 Greuze had visited Italy, spending the greater part of his time in Rome. While there, he made closely observed costume studies³ in addition to drawings from the model. There is a vivid red chalk drawing from the 1760s of a veiled female head that Greuze based on the head of the saint from Bernini's *Ecstasy of Saint Teresa* in the Church of Santa Maria della Vittoria in Rome.⁴ Sources of inspiration for his finely tuned, emotional, not to say erotic women with their heads thrown back and lips parted are probably also to be found among the female saints of Carlo Dolci and Guido Reni. However, in the hands of Greuze, physical eroticism subsumes spiritual ecstasy, and the element of passion is weakened or lost.

NOTES

1. The painting was titled *Contemplation* when it was sold in 1927. However, it cannot be identified with the *Contemplation* catalogued in Martin and Masson 1905, p. 45, no. 669, which belonged to the gallery of the Accademia di San Luca in Rome and was photographed by Alinari about 1890 (no. ADA-F-000844-0000). Another work with the same title was acquired as early as 1882 by the National Museum of Wales (NMW A 3947).

2. The painting had a history of cleaving, as witnessed by the prick holes through which adhesive must have been introduced previously. It was treated by conservator Charlotte Hale in 1989, and the surface grime was removed.

3. See, for example, Metropolitan Museum 1982.93.2.

4. State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg, 14517. See Munhall 2002, pp. 58–59, no. 9, ill (color). The drawing, which belonged to the Imperial Academy in Saint Petersburg in 1769, must have been presented by the collector Ivan Ivanovich Betskoy, who was living in Paris when Greuze returned to the French capital from Rome in 1757.

EX COLL.: ?Sir Anthony Rothschild, first baronet (until d. 1876); his daughter, Hon. Mrs. Eliot Constantine Yorke, London and Southampton (until d. 1926; her estate sale, Christie's, London, May 6, 1927, no. 29, as *Contemplation*, for £60.0.0 to Smith [Wildenstein]); [Wildenstein, London and New York, 1927–61; sold to de Groot]; Adelaide Milton de Groot, New York (1961–d. 1967).

69 | Jean-Baptiste Greuze

Madame Jean-Baptiste Nicolet, ca. 1790

Oil on wood, 25 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 21 in. (64.1 x 53.3 cm)

Gift of Colonel and Mrs. Jacques Balsan, 1955 (55.205.2)

This fine, beautifully preserved, little-noticed portrait is painted in oils over a white gesso ground on a thick and now slightly convex panel. It was first recorded on the Paris art market in 1924, when sold to Wildenstein. The picture has no history to speak of and, as it is on wood, no exhibition record. The identification of the sitter is based on information taken from a very old and brittle label removed from the reverse, which states that she is Anne Antoinette Desmoulins, born October 6, 1743, wife of Jean-Baptiste Nicolet, died January 8, 1817. Madame Nicolet's dates are reported independently, as the company the couple managed for more than fifty years was a famously successful theatrical enterprise. No evidence to suggest that the sitter is incorrectly named has presented itself.

Anne Antoinette Desmoulins was born to a life of poverty in 1743 in the Paris parish of Saint-Gervais, where her father was a day laborer.¹ At twenty-two, on January 10, 1766, she married her companion of three years, Jean-Baptiste Nicolet, of whose troupe she is said to have been a member since its formation. Madame Nicolet was thought to be extremely gifted and performed amorous parts and later character roles in both pantomimes and spoken plays. Nicolet himself was born in Paris in 1728, in the rue de Coeur Volant, near the foire Saint-Germain. The son of a puppeteer and dance master, he began his career as a tightrope walker, by 1756 was directing a marionette theater, and then became an actor and manager (fig. 69.1). He specialized in the role of Harlequin. Having worked at the Saint-Germain and Saint-Laurent fairs, he rented a hall in the boulevard du Temple in 1759.² Despite ongoing conflicts with the theatrical establishment, he opened the Théâtre de Nicolet and in 1772, with increasing success, was invited to perform for Louis XV at Choisy and authorized to change the name of his theater, and that of the company, to the Théâtre des Grand-Danseurs du Roi. After the fall of the monarchy and the foundation of the First Republic, it was called instead the Théâtre de la Gaîté.





Fig. 69.1. *Jean-Baptiste Nicolet*. Ink and watercolor. Bibliothèque National de France, Paris, Département des Arts du Spectacle

The couple had four children, born in 1763, 1764, 1767, and 1774, and as the mistress of her household, Madame Nicolet was famously practical, orderly, and economical. They grew wealthy. She retired from the stage in 1780 to manage the troupe that in the 1760s is said to have numbered thirty actors, twenty musicians, and sixty dancers. Nicolet turned his theater over to another manager in 1795 and died in 1796, but his widow eventually regained control. Her son-in-law Frédéric Bourguignon, husband of her youngest daughter, took over in 1807, and a new theater was soon built. After Madame Nicolet's death in 1817, the widowed Madame Bourguignon maintained control until her own death on December 11, 1825.

Greuze depicts an established modern woman in a black satin dress and white linen, a starched gauze cap on her gray-ing hair. She gazes at her interlocutor. Her plump hands rest on an open book (the artist has not bothered to indicate any type), and beside her are volumes appropriate to the time and place, one by the great seventeenth-century comic playwright Molière and another by the contemporary Swiss philosophe Jean Jacques Rousseau. The table and chair—which could be the property of the artist rather than of the sitter, as they appear in other paintings—are in good style and up to date. The solidity of the seated figure is amplified by the airy space around her. Based on her hair, sober costume, and presumed age, she was probably painted by Greuze in about 1790. The face is very softly modeled. The rather emphatically drawn silhouette, starched linen, and lustrous satin stand out against a delicately hatched background.

NOTES

1. Accounts of the lives of Jean-Baptiste Nicolet (1728–1796) and Anne Antoinette Desmoulins are based largely on Manne and Ménétrier 1869, pp. 1–13, 63–66. See also McCormick 1993, esp. pp. 14–18, 95.
2. See [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Théâtre_de_la_Gaîté_\(boulevard_du_Temple\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Théâtre_de_la_Gaîté_(boulevard_du_Temple)) for additional bibliography and chronology.

EX COLL.: [Guerand (or Guerard) et Fils, Paris, until 1924; sold to Wildenstein]; [Wildenstein, Paris, 1924; sold to Balsan]; Colonel and Mrs. Jacques Balsan, Paris and New York (1924–55).

FRANÇOIS HUBERT DROUAI

Paris 1727–1775 Paris

François Hubert Drouais represented the third of four generations of painters. His father, Hubert, born in 1699, moved to Paris about 1717/18 and was received as a full member of the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture in 1730. Hubert showed principally miniature and pastel portraits at the Salons of 1737, 1741, and 1746. In 1749 he received commissions for miniatures of members of the royal family. He exhibited again in 1753 and 1755 and died in 1767. Reasonably wealthy and a collector, Hubert Drouais had a wide acquaintance among his fellow artists. There are no reliable specifics about the training of François Hubert, whose independent career dates from 1755, the year of his preliminary admission to the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture and of his first appearance at the Salon. Perhaps he had been engaged in assisting his father. François Hubert's first submissions, notably the head of a mischievous little boy, *Le Petit polisson*, were well received. He painted the dauphin's two- and three-year-old sons (Museu de Arte de São Paulo) in 1757 and quickly received orders for full-scale copies, while showing eight works at the Salon, including double portraits of children and



young couples out of doors or in fancy dress. He was elected to full membership of the Académie Royale the following year, and his Salon exhibits of 1759, 1761, and 1763 were all popular. In the latter year he accepted orders for portraits of various members of the royal family. The painting of Madame de Pompadour that he completed after her death in 1764 (National Gallery, London) was among his most popular works, but his portraits of her successor, Madame Dubarry, did not find favor, especially the canvas exhibited in 1771 (Chambre de Commerce et d'Industrie des Yvelines et du Val-d'Oise, Versailles). There is no modern literature on this talented, diligent painter, whose oeuvre is burdened with replicas and copies.

LITERATURE ON THE ARTIST: Gabillot 1905–6.

70 | François Hubert Drouais

Portrait of a Woman, Said to Be Madame Charles Simon Favart, 1757

Oil on canvas, 31½ x 25½ in. (80 x 64.8 cm)

Signed and dated (on harpsichord): Drouais le fils. 1757

Mr. and Mrs. Isaac D. Fletcher Collection, Bequest of Isaac D. Fletcher, 1917 (17.120.210)

In 1745 a certain Madame Duronceray wrote from Nancy to recommend her daughter to Charles Simon Favart, the popular writer, librettist, and director of the Opéra-Comique.¹ The name of the young actress and musician was Marie Justine Benoîte Cabaret Duronceray. She joined Favart's company and, performing under the name Mademoiselle Chantilly, first dancer to the king of Poland, was an immediate success. She and Favart were married on December 12, 1745. Performances were suspended the same year, however, and Favart departed with his wife for Brussels, to manage a company there and later to direct the maréchal de Saxe's traveling players, who provided entertainment for his troops fighting in Flanders in the War of the Austrian Succession. Madame Favart soon came to the notice of the powerful field commander of the French forces and could not escape his attentions: in 1749 she gave birth to a son who was probably his. It was the couple's good fortune that the maréchal died in 1750, as she and her husband then resumed both their married life and what would prove to be their long-term professional collaboration. Madame Favart performed in Paris from 1751 until the late 1760s.

Marie Justine Favart's acting has been described as versatile, fresh, and natural, and she was devoted to her profession. She danced, sang, and played the harpsichord and the harp. A contemporary described her as small and ill proportioned, with brown hair, bright eyes, white skin, and an awkwardly



Fig. 70.1. Carle Vanloo (French, 1705–1765), *Marie Justine Benoîte Cabaret Duronceray, Madame Favart*, ca. 1754. Graphite and colored chalks on vellum, 18¾ x 12¾ in. (47.3 x 32.4 cm). Private collection

shaped nose, but “gracieuse et séduisante à l’excès” (excessively gracious and seductive).² She is the subject of a variety of theatrical engravings, but most are too generalized to be useful, and some illustrate the role as much or more than they depict the individual. In 1753, as the peasant heroine in *Bastien and Bastienne*, Madame Favart's costume included an apron, a cross at her neck, and wooden sabots. A sketch by **CARLE VANLOO** (fig. 70.1) offers a suggestive image of her in this role: Bastienne appears slight and stooped, with a pointed chin, tight mouth, and quirky, mischievous look.³ In 1757 Jean Etienne Liotard visited Paris and took sittings for pastels of the couple.⁴ Madame Favart's complex portrait (fig. 70.2) is animated by the elaborately shaped shadow of her face on the wall. She is singing. The pastel is atypical for Liotard in its informality. The sitter has a large nose and prominent chin, and her hairline is set back and squared off. A terracotta bust by Jean-Baptiste Defernex (fig. 70.3) was modeled the same year and exhibits a similar hairline and heavy, distinctive features.⁵ The portrait of Madame Favart



Fig. 70.2. Jean Etienne Liotard (Swiss, 1702–1789), *Madame Favart*, 1757. Pastel on vellum, 27 $\frac{1}{16}$ x 21 $\frac{1}{16}$ in. (70 x 55.5 cm). Kunst Museum Winterthur, Stiftung Oskar Reinhart (276)



Fig. 70.3. Jean-Baptiste Defernex (French, 1728–1783), *Madame Favart*, 1757. Terracotta, 19 $\frac{3}{16}$ x 9 $\frac{13}{16}$ in. (50.5 x 25 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris (RF 1518)

that is most often reproduced is by Jean Jacques Flipart after Charles Nicolas II Cochin, published in 1762 (fig. 70.4), showing a plain but lively looking woman with a long nose and high hairline, her hair dressed formally.⁶ All four images are attested, dated, and seem to present the same person.

Our portrait is a fine, well-preserved example of Drouais's style in 1757, the moment of his greatest success, but the identification of the sitter must be regarded as uncertain. She has brown eyes and dark eyebrows, but there the resemblance to the documented portraits ends. The location of the picture had not been recorded prior to 1912, when, according to the dealer Wildenstein, a certain Madame de Boulemaine or her agent sold it to the Paris firm, presumably as *Madame Favart Playing the Piano*. However, our attention was recently directed to an 1886 Paris sale in which the work appeared and was illustrated.⁷ There the sitter was identified as a lady of the Louis XV era, with a note that she might be Madame Favart or another celebrated actress. The sale was evidently from a house or estate, but the name of the owner was not recorded. The agent, or *commissaire-priseur*, was a certain

Maître Bouland, whose name may have been transcribed or later misread as Boulemaine. The upright posture and the formal blue costume (the so-called *robe à la française*) with multiple lace cuffs, a ruffle, and a lace cap and feathers are those of an elegant woman in society. Playing a musical instrument was a desirable and typical accomplishment for such a woman; unfortunately, the score is illegible. In 1955 Charles Sterling offered a sympathetic description of the sitter as “full of simplicity, liveliness, and intimacy.” Almost certainly, though, she has been misidentified.

NOTES

1. For an overview, see the introduction to Mele 2010, esp. pp. 26–35. Mark Ledbury (2003, p. 139) describes Madame Favart as “an extraordinary, talented figure, whose unfortunate, complex history with the maréchal de Saxe should not cloud our judgment of her as author, collaborator, reformer, parodist, and highly talented actress and singer.”
2. See http://siefar.org/dictionnaire/fr/Marie-Justine-Benoite_Cabaret_du_Ronceray/Henri_Lyonnet.
3. The preparatory drawing was published in Sahut 1977, p. 106, no. 297, ill., and Oberhuber and Jacoby 1980, pp. 115–16, no. 38, ill.



Fig. 70.4. Jean Jacques Flupart (French, 1719–1782) after Charles Nicolas II Cochin (French, 1715–1790), *Madame Favart*, 1762. Engraving, 6 $\frac{1}{16}$ x 4 $\frac{1}{16}$ in. (16 x 11 cm). Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (cb39605108w)

4. Roethlisberger and Loche 2008, vol. 1, pp. 495–98, nos. 344–45, vol. 2, figs. 489, 490 (color).

5. For Defernex, who submitted the bust to the Salon of the Académie de Saint-Luc in 1762, see Réau 1931.

6. The print was published as the frontispiece to volume 5 of *Théâtre de M. Favart* (Paris, 1763), and the example illustrated belonged to the sitter. There is also a pastel: Debrie 1991, pp. 112–16, ill. p. 115 (color).

7. The details of the 1886 sale were kindly communicated by Ólafur Þorvaldsson in an email of May 17, 2018, who made the connection, and the illustration in the Lugt copy of the sale catalogue proves him to be correct. The accompanying text reads: “Le nom du personnage est encore un énigme; est-ce M^{me} Favart ou une autre actrice célèbre de l’époque?”

EX COLL.: (sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, February 6, 1886, no. 1, as *Portrait de dame époque Louis XVI*); Madame ?de Boulemaine, Paris (until 1912; sold to Wildenstein); [Wildenstein, Paris and New York, 1912–16, as *Madame Favart Playing the Piano*]; Mr. and Mrs. Isaac D. Fletcher, New York (1916–his d. 1917).

SELECTED REFERENCE: Sterling 1955, pp. 145–47, ill.

71 | François Hubert Drouais

Marie Rinteau, Called Mademoiselle de Verrières, 1761

Oil on canvas, 45 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 34 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (115.6 x 87.9 cm)

Signed, dated, and inscribed: (left center) Drouais le fils / 1761; (on the score) Gala[thée]

The Jules Bache Collection, 1949 (49.7.47)

At the 1761 Salon, Drouais exhibited *Le Portrait d’une Dame jouant de la Harpe* and *Le Portrait d’une Demoiselle quittant sa Toilette*. The published titles are parallel, the Salon numbers are consecutive, and there is one size for the two works, indicating a pair. The identity of the two women would have been known to well-informed members of the Salon audience. Gabriel de Saint-Aubin made drawings of the paintings in their matching frames and wrote “les demoiselles de Veriere” (fig. 71.1), that is, the sisters Geneviève and Marie Rinteau.¹ It will be immediately apparent from Saint-Aubin’s sketches that the sitters’ hair in these paintings was then dressed close to the head in the fashion of the moment, and later modified to show the towering style of the 1770s (fig. 71.2). The pendant (fig. 71.3), whose location is unknown,² is the earlier of the two: the 1866 and 1874 sale catalogues of Sénateur Boittelle, in which both appear, record that the portrait of the harpist is signed at left on the harp and dated 1760. Neither lady married, and as they lived together throughout their lives, they probably sat consecutively.

The subject of our portrait was born Marie Rinteau in Paris in 1730 and died there aged forty-five in 1775.³ Her only

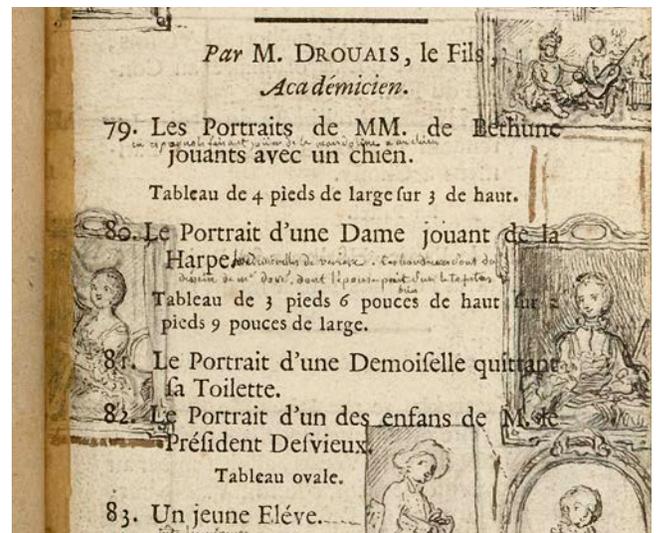


Fig. 71.1. Gabriel de Saint-Aubin (French, 1724–1780) after François Hubert Drouais, *Les Demoiselles de Verrières*. Marginal drawings to left and right of nos. 80–81 in *Explication des peintures, sculptures, et gravures de messieurs de l’Academie Royale*, 1761. Graphite and pen. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (cb40374043p)





Fig. 71.2. X-radiograph of the head in cat. 71



Fig. 71.3. François Hubert Drouais, *Geneviève Rinteau, called Mademoiselle de Verrières, at the Harp*, 1760. Oil on canvas, 44 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 35 $\frac{5}{16}$ in. (114 x 89 cm). Private collection



Fig. 71.4. Marie Rinteau, *Mademoiselle de Verrières*, ca. 1761–65. Gouache on vellum, 1 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 1 $\frac{3}{16}$ in. (3.5 x 3 cm). Musée Carnavalet on deposit at Musée de la Vie Romantique, Paris (D89.54)

sister Geneviève was four years younger and long survived her: she died in 1791 in a Paris convent. Their father was a lemonade seller. According to various reports, their uncle, a merchant, introduced them to the theatrical world, and they joined the traveling company managed by Charles Simon Favart and patronized by the soldier, courtier, and libertine, the maréchal de Saxe. At the end of his campaign in Flanders, the maréchal took Marie to Paris as an official mistress, and in 1748 she gave birth to her first child, Marie Aurore, beginning her career as a wealthy and cultured courtesan. Marie Aurore was recognized by her father, and mother and daughter are remembered as the great-grandmother and grandmother of the writer George Sand, born in 1804. In Paris and in the country at Auteuil, Marie and Geneviève Rinteau lived and entertained in great luxury, received important guests, and built private theaters. From the 1750s onward they were referred to as “les demoiselles de Verrières.” In the present portrait, Marie, a singer as well as an actress, holds a well-worn copy of a score titled either *Galathée* or *Galathea*. Jean-Baptiste Lully’s pastoral opera *Acis et Galathée*, a perennial favorite, had first been performed at Versailles in 1686; the opera was probably given new life after it was parodied in 1752 with great success by Favart, under the title *Tyrçis et Doristée*.

Charles Sterling first connected the Salon entries and Saint-Aubin’s drawings with our portrait and its pendant and pointed out the repainting of their hair.⁴ As he observed, an oval miniature after the portrait of Marie before it was updated (fig. 71.4) descended to Madame Sand and confirms his conclusions.

NOTES

1. Dacier 1911, p. 62, ill. p. 21.
2. Paris, Salon, 1761, no. 80 (as *Le Portrait d'une Dame jouant de la Harpe*).
Ex coll.: Sénateur Boittelle (by 1866–74; his sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, April 24–25, 1866, no. 48, as *Portrait d'une jeune Femme jouant de la Harpe*; his sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, April 2, 1874, no. 12, as *Portrait de Mme Favart, née J. Duronceray*); (sale, Sotheby's, Monaco, June 22, 1991, no. 147, as *Portrait de Madame de Verrières à la Harpe*).
3. See Maugras 1890. More precise information may be found in Charageat 1954, esp. pp. 8–10, figs. 5–7, nn. 24–36.
4. Owing to the discoloration of the varnish, the painting was treated in 1951, shortly after it was acquired from Jules Bache. There is significant damage in the background and along the bottom edge, but the repainted hair is well integrated and well preserved. The 2014 x-radiograph (fig. 71.2) documents the change in the hairstyle.

EX COLL.: Sénateur Boittelle (by 1866–74; his sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, April 24–25, 1866, no. 47, as *Portrait d'une cantatrice*; his sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, April 2, 1874, no. 13, as *Portrait d'une cantatrice?*); G. de Salvette, Paris (until 1887; his estate sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, May 5–6, 1887, no. 7, as *Portrait de jeune dame, to Glanday*); Monsieur A. G. . . . (until 1921; sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, June 11, 1921, as *Portrait de femme, for Fr 100,000 to Demonde*); [Wildenstein, New York, until 1927, as *Marquise de Villemonble*; sold for \$150,000 to Bache]; Jules S. Bache, New York (1927–d. 1944; his estate, 1944–49; cats., 1929, unnumbered; 1937, no. 48; 1943, no. 47).

SELECTED EXHIBITION: Paris, Salon, August 25–?September 25, 1761, no. 81 (as *Le Portrait d'une Demoiselle quittant sa Toilette*).

SELECTED REFERENCES: Gabillot 1905–6, p. 396; Dacier 1911, p. 62; Sterling 1955, pp. 145, 147–48, ill.

72 | François Hubert Drouais
Madame Sophie de France, 1762

Oil on canvas, 25 $\frac{5}{8}$ x 20 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (65.1 x 53 cm)
Signed and dated (right): Drouais le fils / 1762
Gift of Barbara Lowe Fallass, 1964 (64.159.1)

Born at Versailles on July 27, 1734, Sophie Philippine Elisabeth Justine was the sixth of eight daughters of Louis XV and his Polish queen, Marie Leszczyńska. As a daughter of the king, she was known as Madame Sophie. The queen had ten children in ten years, and the enormous royal family was a burden to the court. In 1738, therefore, in order to reduce the influence, size, and cost of maintenance represented by households for so many girls, the four youngest were sent to live at the abbey of Fontevraud. Sophie and Louise, born in 1737, remained there until 1750. When she returned to court, Madame Sophie was timid and self-effacing, avoiding social contact and rarely speaking except in her own intimate family circle.¹ Unmarried, and much under the influence of her sisters, particularly Madame Adélaïde, she lived quietly at



Fig. 72.1. François Hubert Drouais, *Madame Sophie de France*, 1763. Oil on canvas, 28 $\frac{13}{16}$ x 22 $\frac{15}{16}$ in. (73.2 x 58.3 cm). Musée National des Châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon (MV 3810)

Bellevue and Versailles, where she died at forty-seven on March 3, 1782.

In 1763–64 Drouais painted, from life, eight portraits commissioned by the four surviving sisters, Mesdames Adélaïde, Victoire, Sophie, and Louise: there were three group portraits, two individual portraits of Sophie, and one each of the other princesses.² For a single figure Drouais offered a price of 800 livres, though he hoped for 1,000, as he had to spend a significant amount of time at Versailles, incurring expenses. In the case of all of the individual portraits, he specified that he had included the sitter's hands; he noted that all five were the same size, that is, “2 pieds 3 pouces” by “un pied 10 pouces,” or 28 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 23 $\frac{7}{16}$ inches (73 x 59.6 cm). One of the portraits of Madame Sophie is a half-length at Versailles, 28 $\frac{13}{16}$ x 22 $\frac{15}{16}$ inches (73.2 x 58.3 cm), signed and dated 1763, which shows her seated in an armchair, to right, with a musical score (fig. 72.1). She wears a magnificent, elaborately reembroidered striped and flowered damask dress with double lace cuffs and a hair ornament of flowers and straps of the same material. The portrait of Madame Louise is





Fig. 72.2. François Hubert Drouais, *Madame Louise de France*, 1763. Oil on canvas, 29 x 23³/₁₆ in. (73.7 x 59.8 cm). National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, Everard Studley Miller Bequest, 1964 (1359-5)

evidently that belonging to the National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne (fig. 72.2), which is also signed and dated 1763 and measures 29 x 23³/₁₆ inches (73.7 x 59.8 cm). The details of the costumes and hair ornaments are very similar.

By contrast with the painting at Versailles, which is dated a year later, the present portrait shows Madame Sophie with her hands hidden in a fur muff (thus this would have been a less expensive picture). Our canvas is smaller, with a shape more nearly square. The sitter's beautiful dress is comparable in style, but the striped and flowered fabric is darker, perhaps more suitable for winter, with a slightly different pattern. The soft mass of powdered hair and the smooth, porcelainlike modeling of the expressionless face are typical of the artist and suited to the temperament of the princess. As a rule, sitters called upon to pose repeatedly did not enjoy doing so, and both paintings could have been made from the same study, or one may have been based on the other. In any event, the present canvas preceded, and is not covered by, the contractual arrangements described above.

NOTES

1. Campan 1823, vol. 1, pp. 11–19, and esp. pp. 17–18. Campan, reader to the Mesdames, called Sophie “remarkably ugly” and “so diffident, that a person might be with her daily, for years together, without hearing her utter a single word.” See also Stryiński 1911, esp. pp. 1–3, 9–10, 18–19, 171–72, 180–81, 189, 201, 204–5. A more recent book is Cortequoise 1990.
2. Engerand 1901, pp. 167–69. The dimensions of a “toile de 20” were “2 pieds 3 pouces sur un pied 10 pouces.”

EX COLL.: ?Baronin Hannah Mathilde von Rothschild, Schloss Grüneberg, Frankfurt-am-Main (until d. 1924); [John Levy Galleries, New York]; [Piero Tozzi, New York, until 1954; sold to French & Co.]; [French & Co., New York, 1954; sold to the Oakes Foundation]; Oakes Foundation (1954–55; lent to the De Young Museum; exchanged with French & Co.); [French & Co., New York, 1955–57, as *Marquise de Beauffremont*; sold for \$11,000 to Fallass]; Barbara Lowe Fallass, Cross River, N.Y. (1957–64).

73 | François Hubert Drouais

Portrait of a Young Woman as a Vestal Virgin, 1767

Oil on canvas, 31½ x 25⅛ in. (80 x 63.8 cm)

Signed and dated (lower left, on brazier): Drouais, 1767.

Gift of Mrs. William M. Haupt, from the collection of Mrs. James B. Haggin, 1965 (65.242.2)

Vesta, the ancient Roman goddess of house and hearth, was served in her temple by young virgins. The goddess was represented there by her attendants, dressed in white, who assured that her hearth fire burned perpetually. The vestal virgins of eighteenth-century France are usually shown in unrevealing garments symbolic of purity. Several artists, notably Jean Raoux, depicted portrait sitters in this guise. In 1733 he cast the young wife of the king's secretary, Marie Françoise Perdrigeon, Dame Boucher, as a modest vestal dressed and veiled in severe white satin (fig. 73.1).¹ **JEAN MARC NATTIER** chose the attributes of a vestal virgin when painting Madame Henriette de France, one of the unmarried daughters of Louis XV, as the element Fire.² He exhibited this picture and its companions at the Salon of 1751. A young woman's husband might have chosen such a costume for a portrait painted when they married. According to Diderot, writing in 1765, vestals pleasingly suggested the virtues of youth, modesty, and dignity, after the antique model.³ As our picture and a later one of Madame Dubarry (fig. 73.2) indicate, the element of purity diminished over time. The heavy gold-trimmed white robe the young woman wears is a form of fancy dress,⁴ and the way she lifts the veil is vaguely inviting. Here what might have been a small table is instead interpreted, in accordance with the iconography of antiquity, as a brazier on a stand.





Fig. 73.1. Jean Raoux (French, 1677–1734), *Marie Françoise Perdrigeon, Madame Boucher as a Vestal Virgin*, 1733. Oil on canvas, 102¾ x 77½ in. (261 x 197 cm). Musée National des Châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon (MV 3772) on deposit at the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Dijon (4695)

The painting is first recorded in 1923, when it was sold as one of a pair (possibly a false pair) with a portrait representing Monsieur de la Hache, recorded as measuring 32¼ x 25½ inches (81.9 x 63.8 cm), and signed and dated “Drouais 1769” (fig. 73.3). The presumed pendant shows a gentleman with a good-tempered expression at half-length, his arms crossed, wearing a powdered wig and a colorful and beautifully painted watered silk coat and waistcoat. A curtain and bookcase form the background. A portrait could be provided with a pendant two years later, and a sitter in allegorical guise could be paired with a spouse in contemporary dress, but neither was common practice. What the works have in common is only size and modern provenance, but in fact the dimensions of the

vestal have been changed and then readjusted.⁵ The name for the present painting has therefore been abandoned.

NOTES

1. On Raoux’s vestals, see Katharine Baetjer in New York 1992, pp. 130–33, nos. 24–25, colorpls. 24, 25. A single vestal with a format similar to this one is in the State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg (1212; see Nemilova 1986, pp. 261–62, ill.).
2. Museu de Arte de São Paulo 0048. See Salmon 1999, pp. 223–30, no. 62, pl. 62 (color).
3. Diderot 1957–67, vol. 2 (1960), p. 72.
4. Drouais’s *Madame Dubarry as a Muse* (fig. 73.2) wears a more transparent version of this costume. The picture was ill received; see Bailey 2011, pp. 56–57.

5. When the canvas was treated in 1987–88 by conservator Ruth Cox, it was discovered that the left and top tacking edges had been cut off and the right and bottom tacking edges had been flattened out, filled, and overpainted. An addition of 1½ inches (3.8 cm) had been made at the top, centering the figure. The picture was differentially cleaned. The entire background was darkened with brown overpaint and the skirt heavily glazed to disguise abraded areas. Discolored varnish obscured the tonality; the shift in key altered the artist’s intent. Most of the varnish was removed, as was the overpaint where possible. A significant loss below the elbow of the figure was corrected. The paint surface was returned to its published dimensions, strip-lined, and provided with a new stretcher. Glazing was added to the skirt and in the skin tones. The painting nevertheless reads well.

EX COLL.: Mademoiselle de Caters, Paris (until 1923, as *Portrait of Madame de la Hache as a Vestale*, 83.8 x 64.8 cm [33 x 25½ in.]; sold, with presumed pendant, 81.9 x 63.5 cm [32¼ x 25 in.], to Wildenstein); [Wildenstein, Paris and New York, 1923–25; sold to Haggin]; Mrs. James B. Haggin, New York (1925–d. 1965); her sister, Mrs. William M. Haupt, New York (1965).

SELECTED EXHIBITION: Hamburger Kunsthalle, *Europa 1789: Aufklärung, Verklärung, Verfall*, September 15–November 19, 1989, no. 216 (exh. cat.: Hofmann 1989).

REFERENCE: Peter Thurmman in Hofmann 1989, pp. 202–3, no. 216, ill.



Fig. 73.2. François Hubert Drouais, *Madame Dubarry as a Muse*, 1772. Oil on canvas, 81½ x 55½ in. (207 x 142 cm). CCI Paris Ile-de-France

74 | François Hubert Drouais

Boy with a Black Spaniel, ca. 1767–68

Oil on canvas, 25¾ x 21 in. (64.5 x 53.3 cm)

The Jules Bache Collection, 1949 (49.7.48)

The critic Denis Diderot did not have a high opinion of François Hubert Drouais but preferred the artist’s paintings of children to his portraits of adults. When writing about the 1767 Salon, he mentioned that one of Drouais’s children was accompanied by “un chien d’ébèn avec des yeux de jais,” that is, a dog of ebony color with eyes of jet.¹ The artist’s exhibits that year were number 61, a portrait of the comtesse de Brionne, which was listed separately and would have been the most important work he showed, and, under number 62, an undesignated number of portraits (“Plusieurs Portraits”). While the painting of the comtesse de Brionne is lost or unidentified, a dog of the sort in our *Boy with a Black Spaniel* would satisfy Diderot’s description; however, the primary version must be a painting signed “Drouais le fils” and dated 1766 that is presumed to be in private ownership.

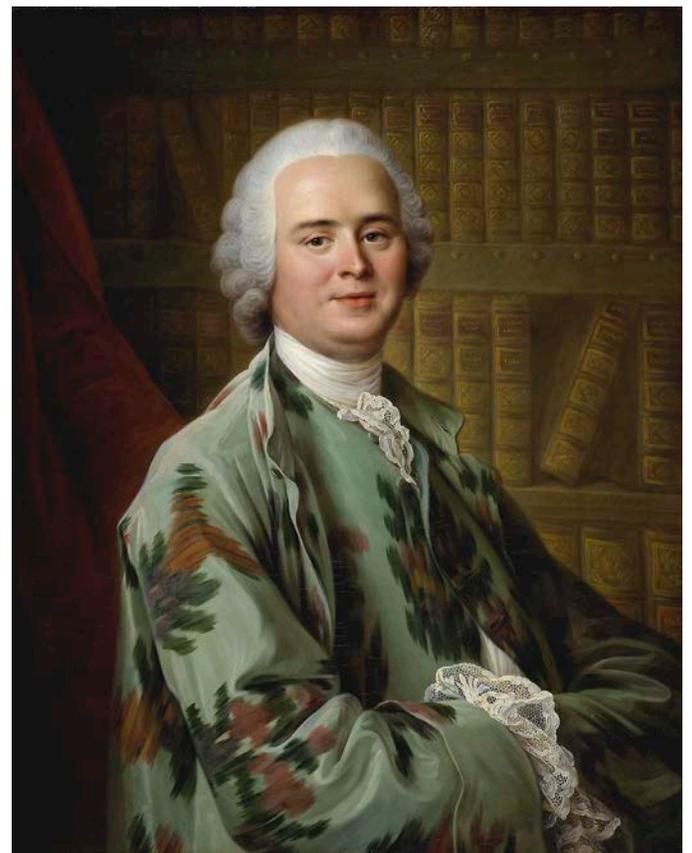


Fig. 73.3. François Hubert Drouais, *Monsieur de la Hache*, 1769. Oil on canvas, 32¼ x 25½ in. (81.9 x 63.8 cm). Private collection





Fig. 74.1. François Hubert Drouais, *Boy with a Black Spaniel*, 1766. Oil on canvas, 22³/₁₆ x 20¹/₂ in. (58 x 52 cm). Reproduced in *Notice sur un tableau par F. H. Drouais*, sale cat., Hôtel Drouot, Paris, February 26, 1913

The signed and dated *Boy with a Black Spaniel* has not been seen in over a hundred years and is known only from a black-and-white photograph (fig. 74.1). At 22³/₁₆ x 20¹/₂ in. (58 x 52 cm), it is a little smaller than ours. Wildenstein bought it at the Hôtel Drouot, Paris, on February 26, 1913, and sold it later the same year to a member of the Rothschild family.² The boy is described as blond, with black eyes, and wearing a rose-colored coat with large buttons of the same fabric over a blue waistcoat with gold buttons. This brighter color scheme would have been suitable for the Salon, while our boy wears a modest neutral brown. While the face and lace are painted with care, Drouais was uninterested in the dog's anatomy. Luckily most of the animal's body is in shadow. The available information suggests that there is some fundamental confusion in the cataloguing of the two paintings.³

NOTES

1. Diderot 1975–83, vol. 3 (1983), pp. 27, 175.

2. The information was confirmed and a photograph supplied by Wildenstein in 2000. The painting may have belonged to Robert Henry, twelfth earl of Pembroke, Paris (d. 1862; his sale, Paris, June 30, 1862, no. 13, as *Petit Garçon tenant dans ses bras un épagneul noir*. Il porte un habit marron et un col de dentelle. Signed and dated 1766); [Meffre; sale, Paris, March 9–10, 1863, no. 27, as *Petit garçon tenant un épagneul noir*. Il est de

grandeur naturelle, a mi-corps, la tête de face. Habit rosâtre, collerette de dentelle. Ovale. Vente de lord Pembroke, Paris, 1862. 59 x 52 cm [23³/₄ x 20¹/₂ in.]). The Pembroke sale catalogue contains an error, as it mentions a brown suit, as well as a signature and date. See also Frantz 1913, pp. 199–200, 202, ill.

3. In a manuscript list of the Bache collection written in or after 1943, Louis S. Levy states that Bache bought our painting from Wildenstein on May 17, 1926. Wildenstein cannot confirm the sale or find any trace of the work.

EX COLL.: ?[Wildenstein, New York, 1926, sold to Bache]; Jules S. Bache, New York (1926–d. 1944; his estate, 1944–49; cats., 1929, unnumbered; 1937, no. 49; 1943, no. 48).

SELECTED REFERENCES: Sterling 1955, pp. 145, 148–50, ill.; Bukdahl 1980–82, vol. 1, pp. 145, 274 n. 189, fig. 58.

JEAN-BAPTISTE CLAUDE RICHARD, ABBÉ DE SAINT-NON

Paris 1727–1791 Paris

Richard, born in Paris, a younger son but not without financial resources, was intended for a life in the church. His father had been *receveur générale des finances* for Tours and owned property in Paris and to the west of the city at Saint-Nom (as it is now called) and La Bretèche. In 1748 he graduated in theology from the Sorbonne and took religious orders; later he bought a benefice, becoming *abbé commendataire* of the Burgundian abbey of Pothières, from which he received a generous stipend. Saint-Non was a grandson of the painter Louis II de Boullogne, from whom he inherited drawings. On a visit to England and the Netherlands in 1750 he was impressed by, and bought, some Rembrandt etchings. Between 1759 and 1761 he lived in Rome and traveled in Italy, often in the company of students of the Académie de France. There he met **HUBERT ROBERT** and **JEAN HONORÉ FRAGONARD**, and he commissioned many red chalk drawings after sixteenth- to eighteenth-century Italian paintings from the latter. The two traveled back to France together, and in Paris Saint-Non made prints after Fragonard's sketches. In 1769 Saint-Non was the model for one of the famous paintings in the series by Fragonard called the *figures de fantaisie*. Saint-Non's great work was *Voyages pittoresques, ou Description des royaumes de Naples et de Sicile*, which he published in Paris in the early 1780s. He spent his life in comfort, a congenial figure and an artist and writer interested in the fine arts. In 1789, two years before his death, he renounced half of his income to the cause of the Revolution.

LITERATURE ON THE ARTIST: Wildenstein 1959a; Rosenberg and Brejon de Lavergnée 1986.



75 | Saint-Non

The Two Sisters, 1770

Pastel on paper, two sheets joined, laid down on canvas,
31½ x 25 in. (80.3 x 63.5 cm)

Signed and dated (at left): SaintNon / 1770

Gift of Daniel Wildenstein, 1977 (1977.383)

Saint-Non met **FRAGONARD** no later than 1760 in Italy and in the following year returned with him to France: they left Rome in mid-April 1761 and reached Paris on September 26. The abbé owned paintings and many drawings by Fragonard and was the model for one of his 1769 fantasy portraits.¹

Saint-Non considered himself to be, and was, an amateur.

Although he is recorded as a painter, draftsman, and pastelist, hardly any work by him in these media survives. As a print-maker he was a skilled copyist, and Fragonard's drawings were a primary object of his interest.

The Two Sisters, a painting by Fragonard belonging to the Metropolitan Museum (*cat.* 81), is recorded in its original state in two works, the present pastel and an undated etching by Géraud (or Gérard) Vidal titled *Les Jeunes Soeurs* (see fig. 81.1). We read the date on the pastel as 1770, which is now generally agreed. This is also a possible date for the painting, which is first recorded in the 1785 Paris estate sale of the marquis de Véri as “deux jeunes filles.” The children are prettier and more conventional in the pastel and print than in Fragonard's painting. The print suggests that the pastel may not show the full extent of the painting at the top. The arrangement of the folds of the older girl's skirt differ a little in the pastel, and Saint-Non eschews the strong yellow that Fragonard chose for the dress of the younger one. A close look at the drawing of the arms and hands reveals the limits of the abbé's ability as a draftsman.

NOTES

1. Musée du Louvre, Paris, MI 1061; see *cat.* 80.

EX COLL.: [Paul or Edouard Jonas, Paris, mid-1930s; sold to Wildenstein]; [Wildenstein, Paris and New York, mid-1930s–1977].

EXHIBITION: New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Pastel Portraits: Images of 18th-Century Europe*, May 17–August 14, 2011, no. 14 (exh. cat.: Baetjer and Shelley 2011).

REFERENCES: Wildenstein 1959a, p. 228, fig. 5; Wildenstein 1960, p. 305; Wurth Harris 1979, fig. 61; Cuzin 1988, p. 297; Rosenberg 1988, pp. 332, 334, ill.

JEAN PILLEMENT

Lyon 1728–1808 Lyon

Pillement represented the fourth of five generations of artists in the family. It was intended that he would take up the same profession as his father, a designer associated with the Grande Fabrique, the royal silk manufactories of Lyon, which dominated the silk trade in eighteenth-century Europe. As a very young man, Jean studied first with the history painter Daniel Sarrabat in Lyon and then was sent for further training to the Gobelins tapestry manufactory in Paris, which was under the direction of **JEAN-BAPTISTE OUDRY**. At seventeen he left the French capital for Spain, seeking, as he said, a career more ambitious than that of an ornamentalist. No earlier than 1750, he moved to Lisbon, probably because he was offered work as a designer for the Portuguese silk manufactory. He was in London by 1754 and for much of the balance of the decade, and developed an understanding of the English taste for landscape painting. He also showed four landscapes at the Society of Arts. In 1761 he was in Paris and then Italy; in 1763 he moved on to Vienna. He visited Warsaw in 1765 and described himself as painter to the king of Poland, Stanislaus August Poniatowski; by 1778 he had returned to Paris to work for Marie Antoinette at the Petit Trianon and was later named her official painter. In the course of the third quarter of the century he became extremely well known for his designs of flowers and bouquets, and especially motifs in the Chinese style, so-called *chinoiseries*, hundreds of which were engraved by others and published in England and France. Pillement resided in Lisbon from about 1780 through 1786. He was the most important eighteenth-century pastelist to specialize in landscape and marine subjects, which interested him particularly from 1782 and which he painted in oils as well. By the summer of 1789 he had settled in the south of France at Pézenas, and about ten years later he retired to Lyon, dying there in poverty in 1808.

LITERATURE ON THE ARTIST: Audin and Vial 1918–19, vol. 2, pp. 121–25; Araújo 1997; Gordon-Smith 2006; Baetjer 2016a.



76 | Jean Pillement

A Shipwreck in a Storm, 1782

Pastel on gessoed canvas, 24¾ x 36 in. (62.9 x 91.4 cm)

Signed and dated (lower left): J. Pille[ment] / 17[8]2

Gift of Martin Birnbaum, 1956 (56.7)

The prolific Pillement must have made hundreds of small sketches of bucolic subjects, with and without staffage, and sometimes labeled but neither signed nor dated them. He used these drawings in the preparation of his imaginary views, whether in oils, gouache, or pastel, perhaps his favorite medium. While living in London in the 1750s he seems to have discovered both his own preference and the typically English taste for landscape. His highly finished view paintings are animated by closely observed and carefully painted small figures. Late in his career he favored extensive open panoramas with cottages and trees, pools, streams, and bridges, and little figures fishing, washing, or traveling in groups with their goats, sheep, and pack animals. He also painted seascapes from time to time.¹

In the early 1780s, having settled in Lisbon on the banks of the Tagus River, Pillement developed a new fascination with, and a new clientele for, maritime subjects. These were sometimes conceived as pairs, a port scene in calm and a rocky coast with a shipwreck.² The pairings must have

been inspired by the marine views of **JOSEPH VERNET**.

Pillement's foundering ships in violent weather are a graphic form of reportage that would have provoked a frisson in the eighteenth-century observer. Overwrought spectators bear witness to the danger and presumed loss of life of many on board the sinking vessels he depicted. A frantic figure with his or her arms outstretched standing on a rocky shore is a signature motif (fig. 76.1). Pillement would have received firsthand reports and probably had seen the aftermath of the wreck of the Spanish ship of war *San Pedro de Alcántara*, which broke up on the rocks just off the coast near Peniche, 90 miles to the north of Lisbon, on February 2, 1786. Salvage operations began immediately and continued over a long period, during which extremely valuable cargo was recovered. Pillement's later explorations of the subject were evidently given further impetus by that event.

Our pastel is quite large in scale for the artist, who has skillfully rendered the moisture-laden atmosphere of the storm. Gray sky occupies much of the total surface, and Pillement made only limited use of the greens and especially the blues that are typical of his palette, achieving a stark, monochromatic effect. The date inscribed in white chalk should be read as 1782. The pastel, bequeathed to the Museum more than fifty years ago by the New York art dealer and agent Martin Birnbaum, was treated by



Fig. 76.1. Jean Pillement, *Shipwreck in a Storm*, 1796–97. Pastel on gessoed canvas, 18 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 25 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (48 x 64 cm). Private collection

conservator Marjorie Shelley and exhibited for the first time in 2013. It is scuffed and has suffered significant damage along the edges.

NOTES

1. In 1763–64 Pillement decorated a blue pastel room in the Blauer Hof (Neues Schloss) in Laxenburg Park, near Vienna, for Empress Maria Theresa of Austria. Two of eighteen large pastels on a blue ground are imaginary marine subjects, one showing a quiet sea with fishermen and the other a storm, suggested by the passengers with their arms outstretched fearfully who are rowed to shore in a small boat. See Gordon-Smith 2006, pp. 105, 108–13, figs. 92–94. These seem to have been his first marine subjects.

2. For illustrations of a contrasting pair, one of which is signed and dated 1782, see *ibid.*, pp. 218–19, figs. 218, 219.

EX COLL.: Martin Birnbaum, New York (by 1955–56).

REFERENCE: Baetjer 2016a, pp. 103–4, 108, fig. 5 (color).

LAURENT PÉCHEUX

Lyon 1729–1821 Turin

Little is known of Pécheux's training beyond the fact that in 1745 he visited Paris, where he was a pupil of **CHARLES JOSEPH NATAIRE**. In December 1753 he left his native Lyon for Rome, where he intended to stay for three years. In fact, he was to spend the balance of his life in Italy. The young painter was admitted for a brief period to the studio of Anton

Raphael Mengs and soon became a friend of Pompeo Batoni. Pécheux's first commissions came mostly from France and include the earliest in a series of twelve scenes from the life of Christ for the collegiate church of Notre-Dame in Dole, which occupied him intermittently for many years (they are still in situ). He was admitted to the Accademia di San Luca and to the academy of Parma in 1762, and while traveling in northern Italy two years later he gained entry to the Accademia Clementina in Bologna as well. For the bailli de Breteuil, ambassador to Rome from Malta, he and Batoni painted a pair of mythologies in 1762, respectively *Hercules Entrusting Deianeira to Nessus* (Galleria Sabauda, Turin) and *Polyphemus, Acis, and Galatea* (Nationalmuseum, Stockholm). Pécheux was called to Parma in 1765 to paint the sitter who is the subject of the following entry and other members of the ducal family, the beginning of his success as a portraitist, although he continued to think of himself and to work as a history painter. In 1777 he was invited by Vittorio Amadeo III to Turin, where he was court painter, professor, and director of the academy in that city. Pécheux was an advocate of Neoclassicism, which he introduced to Turin with frescoes of mythological subjects on the ceiling of the royal palace library and archives. Our knowledge of the artist is based in great part on his own report of his career and commissions from 1753 to 1804.

LITERATURE ON THE ARTIST: Bollea 1942; Laveissière 2012.



77 | Laurent Pécheux

Maria Luisa of Bourbon-Parma, 1765

Oil on canvas, 90 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 64 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (230.8 x 164.5 cm)

Bequest of Annie C. Kane, 1926 (26.260.9)

This portrait of Maria Luisa of Bourbon-Parma came into the Museum in 1926 as the work of Anton Raphael Mengs and only in 1960 was reattributed to Pécheux on the advice of Anthony Morris Clark, who associated it with a commission detailed in the artist's autobiography.¹ The sitter was correctly identified, however, and the painting was said to have been given by her to her governess, Marie Catherine de Bassecourt y Thieulaine, marquesa del Borghetto, who accompanied her to Spain and died there in 1770. Marie Catherine's son was a decorated soldier and diplomat who had been named conde del Asalto in 1763. As he was childless, his titles and property passed to the husband of his younger sister Gertrudis, in whose family the painting descended until at least 1897. Once the artist was correctly identified, it was only necessary to discover Pécheux's account of the circumstances.

The sitter, born on December 9, 1751, granddaughter of Philip V of Spain and of Louis XV of France, was to marry her first cousin, the prince of Asturias, who was three years older than she and would succeed to the throne of Spain as Carlos IV. In 1764, as the time for the marriage approached, it became necessary for her father, Don Filippo di Borbone, duke of Parma, to send a portrait of the future bride to the Spanish court in advance of her arrival. When a suitable local artist could not be found, Mengs wrote from Spain to suggest that a portraitist be summoned from Rome. Filippo's minister, Guillaume du Tillot, had met Pécheux and suggested him to Mengs, who approved the choice. However, Pécheux, when approached by the bailli de Breteuil, expressed reservations, as his background was in history painting. Breteuil proposed a solution: Pécheux would make a sketch of himself and his friend, the mathematician Father Jacquier, to be sent to Parma, so that Tillot, who knew them both, could assess the result for himself. Both the duke and the minister admired the double portrait, and Pécheux soon set off from Rome.

In Parma, Maria Luisa received the painter cheerfully. On January 16, 1765, three days after his arrival, she gave him the first sitting for her portrait, which by his own account he completed in forty days. It was delivered to the Spanish court late in April. Filippo di Borbone promptly ordered a portrait of himself (fig. 77.1), which was unfinished when he died suddenly on July 18, 1765, after accompanying his daughter on the first stage of her journey abroad. It was probably Tillot who then commissioned a portrait of Maria Luisa's brother Ferdinando di Borbone, Filippo's successor, from Pécheux.



Fig. 77.1. Laurent Pécheux, *Don Filippo di Borbone (Philip of Spain, Duke of Parma)*, 1765. Oil on canvas, 90 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 63 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (230 x 162 cm). Galleria Nazionale, Palazzo della Pilotta, Parma (1028)

The full-lengths of father and son are of the same large size and signed and dated 1765. Meanwhile, Pécheux had evidently started a second, smaller study of Maria Luisa before she departed (fig. 77.2). This canvas would have served as the source for another full-length now in the Palazzo Pitti (fig. 77.3): in both, she faces to the right. The painting in Florence is inscribed "L. Pécheux. Parma. 1765." The artist was much occupied with portraiture throughout his stay of eighteen months in Parma and did not return to Rome until June 2, 1766.

Maria Luisa wears the equivalent of French court costume, and it is perhaps slightly old-fashioned, differing little from that worn by her late mother, Louise Elisabeth de France, who had died in 1759 at thirty-two. The dress, with gold stripes and tiny flowers between, has a stiffened pointed bodice and wide panniers, and is trimmed with lace at the neckline and on the bodice and sleeves. Pinned to the sitter's left breast is the Habsburg Order of the Star Cross, which was awarded to the devout and charitable among high-born women and which



Fig. 77.2. Laurent Pécheux, *Maria Luisa of Bourbon-Parma*, 1765. Oil on canvas; 39 $\frac{3}{16}$ x 29 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (100 x 75 cm). Galleria Nazionale, Palazzo della Pilotta, Parma (1054)

she wore throughout her life. It is composed of an enameled cross over a two-headed eagle in an oval medallion and suspended not from the traditional black ribbon, but from a diamond bow. There are diamond stars in the sitter's tightly curled and powdered hair. In her right hand Maria Luisa holds a gold box with the lid open to reveal a miniature portrait of her future husband in half-length. Either the box is enameled, with colorful scenes on the outside as well, or it is *à cage*, with the pictures set behind glass. The box, probably French, has not been found.

The sitter's mother had been a frequent visitor to her father's court at Versailles during her marriage, and while there she had spent extravagantly on furnishings, which were sent to Parma. James Parker pointed out that the armchair in this painting is French, from a set an example of which is in the Metropolitan Museum.² He noted that another chair is in the State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg, and recorded a third on the Paris art market in 1903. The latter, sold again in 1987, preserves the original red velvet and gold



Fig. 77.3. Laurent Pécheux, *Maria Luisa of Bourbon-Parma*, 1765. Oil on canvas; 89 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 59 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (228 x 151 cm). Palazzo Pitti, Galleria Palatina, Florence (1391)

gallooning on the seat, and the upholstery appears to match that of the chair back in this picture.³ The elephant clock shown here and the rhinoceros clock in the portrait in Florence are similar in design; such an elephant clock still may be found at the Palazzo Pitti.⁴ The seat furniture and the clocks may date to about 1750, and doubtless the clocks came from Paris as well.⁵ The carpet is an eighteenth-century Turkish Ushak. Perhaps it was the duke of Parma who insisted on this degree of accuracy: the duke actually required Pécheux to measure his daughter's figure as sketched preliminarily on the canvas in order to be sure that her height was correct.

Maria Luisa of Bourbon-Parma arrived in Spain little more than a month before her marriage on September 5, 1765. Her portrait and that of her husband the future Carlos IV (sometimes referred to as engagement portraits) by Anton Raphael Mengs are believed to date from that moment.⁶ Carlos is shown at three-quarter length in hunting dress with a shotgun and a dog, against a landscape (fig. 77.4), while Maria Luisa, also at three-quarter length in a landscape, wears



Fig. 77.4. Anton Rafael Mengs (German, 1728–1779), *Carlos IV, Prince of Asturias*, ca. 1765. Oil on canvas, 60 $\frac{1}{16}$ x 43 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (152.5 x 111 cm). Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid (PO2188)



Fig. 77.5. Anton Rafael Mengs, *Maria Luisa of Bourbon-Parma, Princess of Asturias*, ca. 1765. Oil on canvas, 59 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 43 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (152.1 x 110.5 cm). Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid (PO2189)

a magnificent silver lace dress, pearls, and diamonds (fig. 77.5).⁷ It is assumed that the head and the general outlines of our Pêcheux portrait served Mengs as a model, allowing him to begin his own portrait of Maria Luisa perhaps early in the summer of 1765.⁸ This would explain why it is rather stiff by comparison with his contemporary portrait of her Spanish sister-in-law of the same name.⁹ No record survives of the circumstances of the commissions given to Mengs for these important undated works, which, often replicated, served as official images of the young royal couple.

NOTES

1. The partial contents of his letter of September 7, 1960, to the director, James Rorimer, are recorded in a file memo, though the letter has not been located. See also “L’autobiografia di Lorenzo Pecheux sino al 1804,” in Bollea 1942.
2. Parker attributed the chair (07.225.57) to Nicolas Quinibert Foliot and suggested a date of 1749.
3. Sale, Sotheby’s, Monaco, June 21–22, 1987, no. 1100, ill.
4. Worsdale 1978, p. 41, fig. 4, for an elephant clock signed “Béeckaert à Paris” (this master was working from 1746 to 1783). See also Clarke 1986, p. 132.

5. A sofa and fire screen from the same set of elaborately upholstered seat furniture appear in the duke’s portrait.

6. Roettgen 1999–2003, vol. 1, pp. 198–200, no. 131, fig. 131, pp. 250–52, vol. 2, pp. 253–54, colorpl. 34.

7. She appears to be wearing the same hair ornaments in both portraits.

8. This argument is complicated by the existence of two Mengs oil sketches of Maria Luisa’s head (Museo del Prado, Madrid, 2568, and private collection) in which she looks significantly younger than in either finished work. See Roettgen 1999–2003, vol. 1, pp. 253–54, nos. 181–82, figs. 181, 182.

9. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 248–49, no. 178, fig. 178, colorpl. 43.

EX COLL.: Marie Catherine de Bassecourt y Thieulaine, marquessa del Borghetto (until d. 1770); by descent in the family of the condes del Asalto, Madrid (1770—at least 1897, as by Anton Raphael Mengs); Annie C. (Mrs. John Innes) Kane, New York (until d. 1926).

REFERENCES: Morenes 1897, pp. 137–38, ill. opp. p. 137; Bollea 1942, pp. 41–43, 372–75, 394, no. 24; Parker 1966, pp. 182–86, 192, ill. p. 184 and fig. 2; Sandra Pinto in Florence 1979, pp. 121–22, under no. 40; Ros de Barbero 2005, pp. 407–11, 416, fig. 1.

JEAN HONORÉ FRAGONARD

Grasse 1732–1806 Paris

Fragonard, born in the south of France, moved with his parents to Paris when he was young. He was briefly the pupil of **JEAN SIMÉON CHARDIN**, and of **FRANÇOIS BOUCHER**, through whose influence he gained admission in 1752 to the Prix de Rome competition of the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture. He placed first with *Jereboam Sacrificing to the Idols* (Ecole Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, Paris), and after further instruction under **CARLE VANLOO** at the Ecole des Elèves Protégés, traveled to Rome, where in December 1756 he became a pensioner of the Académie de France. He was there most of five years, often in the company of **HUBERT ROBERT**. Toward the end of his stay he visited Naples, and returned to Paris traveling through northern Italy with the amateur artist and connoisseur, the Abbé de **SAINT-NON**. In 1765 Fragonard presented *Coresus and Callirhoë* (Musée du Louvre, Paris) and was admitted to candidate membership in the Académie Royale. He exhibited the huge canvas at the Salon to favorable reviews, together with two smaller paintings and two drawings. In 1767 he sent further paintings and drawings. He did not exhibit again and did not aspire to a career as an academic history painter or portraitist. Instead, he favored genre and landscape, and during this period studied Rubens and Ruisdael. The year of his marriage to Marie Anne Gérard, 1769, he dated a canvas in the famous series referred to as the *figures de fantaisie*. In 1771 he was working on the decorations for

the pavilion at Louveciennes belonging to Louis XV's mistress, Madame Dubarry. These were eventually rejected. Accompanying his patron, Jacques Onésyme Bergeret de Grancourt, to Rome, Fragonard was abroad from October 1773 until September 1774. His popularity waned in the 1780s, and in 1790 he retired to Grasse. He returned to Paris to end his career in the service of the new national museum that became the Musée du Louvre. Fragonard's gifts as a painter and draftsman were equally exceptional.

LITERATURE ON THE ARTIST: Wildenstein 1960; Cuzin 1987/1988; Rosenberg 1987/1988.

78 | Jean Honoré Fragonard

Roman Interior, an Imaginary View, ca. 1760

Oil on canvas, 19¼ x 23⅜ in. (48.9 x 59.4 cm)

Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1946 (46.30)

Fragonard, like **HUBERT ROBERT**, was fascinated by the way in which antiquity was woven into the life of eighteenth-century Rome. Within the unrestored ruins of the city, vacant spaces were boarded off for use as temporary places of habitation, stables, granaries, and laundries. Both artists recorded the contrast between these evocatively tenebrous interiors and the light entering from the out of doors. With the rise in demand for cotton clothes and household goods in Europe, laundresses became an increasingly numerous and visible social underclass, and paintings and drawings of them proliferated (fig. 78.1). Evaporating moisture rises in clouds from



Fig. 78.1. Hubert Robert (French, 1733–1808), *Interior in a Ruined Palace*, 1764. Pen and brown and black ink, brush and brown and gray washes, and watercolor, 7¼ x 8¾ in. (18.4 x 22.2 cm). Baltimore Museum of Art, Purchased as the Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Albert Lion (1960.105)



cauldrons of boiling laundry in enclosed interior spaces, while women and girls spread out linen or hang it up to dry. In Fragonard's work particularly, washerwomen are often accompanied by many small children. Robert's cavernlike buildings (fig. 78.2) may more accurately depict the ancient monuments than Fragonard's intimate but less coherent interiors, or, more likely, the observed truth was somewhere between. The manner in which they showed the living and working conditions of their subjects, while sympathetic, is essentially lighthearted and free of social comment.

This painting is first recorded in an 1884 sale catalogue as the interior of an Italian house; since 1925 it has been titled *The Happy Family*. Neither is accurate, as the building is not a house, and the women and children are too numerous to constitute a family group. The huge stone columns and platform



Right: Fig. 78.2. Hubert Robert, *The Grange*, 1760. Oil on canvas, 27 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 23 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (69 x 59.5 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris (RF 1961-74)

and the antique altar at right indicate an ancient structure adapted to day to day use. Among the figures are two infants, one in a cradle; two little girls; several adolescents perhaps; and a kneeling man. A young woman leans on a table folding a sheet. A mother in a white blouse and yellow skirt holds a baby swaddled in white linen. Fragonard's wide, viscous strokes convey warmth, corporeality, and physical intimacy. People indistinguishable as to sex crowd together in the brilliant light beyond the doorway. A dog rests his chin on the back of a cat among the domestic furniture: a copper pot, a ceramic jug, and a basket of fruit.

The subject is more difficult to read than in two other related works by Fragonard, each of which is titled *The Laundresses*.¹ They show different aspects of a single task, washing (fig. 78.3), drying,² and folding household linen, and all three must have been painted within a brief interval of time. The platform appears throughout as well as a column at right in the same position. There is a single male and a large dog in each. A fourth picture completes the group: nearly identical to ours, it shows the central figure holding two babies instead of one.³ A date of about 1760 is widely accepted based on the presumption that Fragonard had greater freedom from the strictures of the Académie de France near the end of his multiyear stay in Rome. It cannot, however, be assumed that every work employing a dark palette and a subject of this type was painted in Italy, as some are evidently retrospective.

Charles Sterling was the first to place the picture in context. He drew attention to the possible influence of Rembrandt, one of whose paintings Fragonard copied when he was young. Sterling wondered if the genre scenes might have been influenced by works that Fragonard saw in Naples or in the towns through which he passed, especially Venice, on his return to France in 1761. However, the artist's first style was fully formed before he left Paris, and his response seems to have been to study Rome itself and the surrounding area. His adaptations of style and subject matter were evidently influenced more by what he saw around him than by earlier paintings.

NOTES

1. For a drawing relating to this series, see Williams 1978, pp. 80–81, no. 26, ill. Conservator Gisela Helmkampf, having examined the painting under the microscope in 1987, concluded that the original support was very likely paper, not canvas.

2. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Rouen, 880.1.

3. Private collection; for the best illustration, see Rosenberg 1988, p. 93, no. 23.

EX COLL.: (sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, May 12, 1884, no. 21, as *Intérieur de maison italienne*, for Fr 850); Georges Moreau-Chaslou, Paris (in 1889); Charles Edward Haviland, Paris; [Jacques Seligmann, Paris, until 1917; sold to Knoedler]; [Knoedler, Paris and New York, 1917–at least 1925, as *The Happy Family*]; ?Alfred Löwenstein, Brussels (d. 1928); ?[Partridge Fine Art, London, by 1939–at least 1940]; [Howard Back, New York, until 1946; sold to MMA].



Fig. 78.3. Jean Honoré Fragonard, *The Laundresses*, ca. 1756–61. Oil on canvas, 28¾ x 24¾ in. (73 x 61.4 cm). Saint Louis Art Museum, Museum Purchase (76:1937)



SELECTED EXHIBITIONS: Yokohama Museum of Art, *Treasures from The Metropolitan Museum of Art: French Art from the Middle Ages to the Twentieth Century*, March 25–June 4, 1989, no. 46 (exh. cat.: Yokohama 1989). Rome, Villa Medici, *J. H. Fragonard e H. Robert a Roma*, December 6, 1990–February 24, 1991, no. 38 (exh. cat.: Cuzin and Rosenberg 1990).

SELECTED REFERENCES: Sterling 1955, pp. 152–53, ill.; Wildenstein 1960, pp. 24, 279, no. 365, pl. 73; Cuzin 1987, p. 273, no. 74, ill. p. 273 and fig. 60; Rosenberg 1988, p. 92, under no. 23, fig. 2; Cuzin and Rosenberg 1990, pp. 29, 91–92, no. 38, ill.

79 | Jean Honoré Fragonard

The Stolen Kiss, ca. 1760

Oil on canvas, 19 x 25 in. (48.3 x 63.5 cm)

Gift of Jessie Woolworth Donahue, 1956 (56.100.1)

FRANÇOIS BOUCHER had warned Fragonard that in Rome he might be overwhelmed by the examples of Raphael and Michelangelo; however, once established at the Académie de France late in 1756, Fragonard showed little

inclination to dedicate himself to further study by following the traditional method of copying either Renaissance or seventeenth-century old masters. The sketches required of him by the director, CHARLES JOSEPH NATAIRE, were not forthcoming for nearly two years. In the meantime, he was interested in the city, the surrounding landscape, the working people, and their daily lives. Because he was a pensioner of the Académie de France, Fragonard was theoretically barred from accepting commissions from private clients, but Natoire was relatively open-minded. This canvas and the other genre subjects to which it relates are thought to date to about 1760, when, toward the end of his tenure, the rules against private work would have been less strictly enforced. In general, the genre scenes are all of about the same relatively small size and give the impression of being experimental. They differ from the work the artist painted in Paris and may be rough in canvas texture as well as in handling, dark in coloration with much brown underpainting from which modeling emerges, and complex in mood. The subjects are ill defined.

This luminous picture was probably commissioned by the ambassador of the Order of Malta to the Holy See, the bailli de Breteuil, and it is the only highly finished canvas we know of that was painted by Fragonard at the time. The elegant adolescents are reminiscent of Boucher, but the sharper color harmonies, the contrasts of shadow and bright, focused light, and the rush of fluid brushwork reflect the artist's evolving response to a new environment. The figures wear immaculate beribboned silk clothes, peasant fancy dress of the sort traditionally favored for French theatrical performances. The pastoral narrative premise is reinforced by the boy's straw hat, the shepherds' staffs, and what seems to be a gourd water bottle resting on the top of a barrel in the background to right. The setting, however, reflects a simpler and more Northern sensibility.¹ Fragonard placed the figures outside, signified by the tree at left and some wattle fencing beside a shed, and he gathered them around a table covered by a fringed cloth and strewn with playing cards, a number of which fall or have fallen to the ground. The eighteenth century loved games. The subject is obvious: the loser at cards must accept the penalty of the boy's kiss, as indicated by the titles in common use since the nineteenth century, *Le Baiser gagné* (*The Stolen Kiss*) or *L'Enjeu perdu* (*The Stolen Forfeit*).² Although the encounter is clumsy, a slight erotic charge is introduced by the avid response of the fascinated spectator. The pink and white fingers of the two girls are knit tensely together at the center of the picture. An x-radiograph reveals no significant changes made in the composition as work progressed.³

In 1786 the Paris dealer Jean-Baptiste Pierre Le Brun conducted the posthumous sale of the collector Jacques Laure Le Tonnelier, bailli de Breteuil, the presumed first owner. Le Brun, who could not identify the subject,⁴ described it instead—"un jeune homme voulant embrasser une jeune fille à qui un autre tient les mains; . . . une table . . . où se voyent des cartes" ("a young man wanting to kiss a young girl, whose hands are held by another; . . . a table . . . where cards are seen"). The dealer stated in his entry that the work had been painted in Italy. The bailli, a sophisticated traveler and art collector, lived in Rome from 1758 until 1777. He had the painting in his possession in 1766, when a copy in the form of a drawing was made at his request by François Louis Lonsing.⁵ If actually ordered by or for the bailli, either the Abbé de SAINT-NON⁶ or the painter HUBERT ROBERT could have served as intermediary, and in fact Saint-Non did act as the bailli's agent in 1761. A date of about 1760 seems likely.

A canvas by Fragonard of the subject but much less finished (fig. 79.1) preceded ours. Since 1764,⁷ when it was sold with the collection of Sébastien II Leclerc, a painter and engraver who died the previous year in Paris, it has been

treated as one of a pair with a kitchen interior (fig. 79.2).

Rather little is known about Leclerc, born in 1676, who had been admitted to the Académie Royale in 1704 and exhibited at the Paris Salons from 1737 to 1751.⁸ As Pierre Rosenberg has noted, Leclerc's is the earliest public sale in which a work by Fragonard is recorded. A man in his eighties in the early 1760s, Leclerc would not have been traveling in Italy at that time and so must have bought the pictures in Paris. Might Fragonard himself (or for that matter Saint-Non) have brought them back in 1761?

The pair—in the State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg, and the Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow—belonged until 1925 to the Yusupov family and could have been in their collection since the late eighteenth century, although there is no record before 1839.⁹ The relationship between them is not one of subject matter, but of size and support, similarity in coloring, and degree of finish. It is generally agreed that they precede the bailli's *Stolen Kiss*, but that the Hermitage work was not conceived as a preliminary study. An x-radiograph has revealed a largely finished nude male model under the upper layers of pigment, demonstrating that the Hermitage canvas was reused and suggesting a connection to Fragonard's activity as a student pensioner.¹⁰ The Pushkin picture shows a kitchen with a seated woman, a figure large in relative scale, hovering over a cooking pot on a stove and surrounded by grimacing children. The woman is at right and in profile to left, as are the girls in both autograph versions of *The Stolen Kiss*. The kitchen interior presents a painfully harsh and simple view of contemporary life.

NOTES

1. By 1760 Fragonard was familiar with seventeenth-century Flemish and Dutch paintings, having studied them in Paris and Rome, and would not have required access to the Baroque art of Naples or northern Italy to achieve chiaroscuro light effects.

2. Colin B. Bailey, "Surveying Genre in Eighteenth-Century French Painting," in Bailey 2003, pp. 31–32, identifies the game as "le pied-de-boeuf."

3. The canvas was cleaned by conservator Lyn Reiter in 1979 to remove a thick, apparently synthetic, varnish. The heat and pressure of an earlier lining had caused abrasion, especially in the figure to the left. There are wide traction cracks above the head. Shadowed areas had become more transparent, exposing the underpainting, but in general the picture is in very good state.

4. At least one slightly larger version (location unknown) has been confused with ours. Measuring 22½ x 26¾ in. (56.3 x 67.1 cm), it was exhibited as *Le Baiser Volé* in Frankfurt-am-Main in 1925, when in the Max von Goldschmidt-Rothschild collection. I am inclined to identify it with a work recorded earlier: [Sedelmeyer, Paris, in 1900, no. 76, 54.6 x 64.8 cm [21½ x 25½ in.], as *Le Baiser gagné*]; Reginald Vaile, London (by 1902–3; sale, Christie's, London, May 23, 1903, 53.5 x 63.5 cm [21 x 25 in.], for £320 to Sedelmeyer); [Sedelmeyer, Paris, from 1903]; Eugène Fischhof, New York (in 1907; sale, Waldorf-Astoria, New York, February 23, 1907, no. 102, as



Fig. 79.1. Jean Honoré Fragonard, *The Stolen Kiss*, 1760–62. Oil on canvas, 18½ x 23¾ in. (47 x 60 cm). The State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg (GE-5646)



Fig. 79.2. Jean Honoré Fragonard, *Preparation of the Meal*, 1760–62. Oil on canvas, 18½ x 24 in. (47 x 61 cm). Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow (Zh-1129)

The Wagered Kiss, 22¼ x 26¼ in. [56.2 x 66.7 cm], for \$13,500 to Spencer); Frederick R. Spencer, New York (from 1907). Reproduced in Rosenberg 1988, p. 82, fig. 1. The old black-and-white photographs are not conclusive; Fragonard did not paint exact replicas. A poor copy of our painting was sold at auction in Paris on April 29, 1929 (no. 111, 45 x 55 cm [17¼ x 21¾ in.]) and is reproduced in Rosenberg 1988, p. 82, fig. 2. A work with the title *L'Enjeu* and a brief but accurate description, lacking provenance and dimensions, was sold at the Hôtel Drouot, Paris, March 25, 1874, no. 22.

5. See Breteuil 1986, intro., pp. 1–3, and cat., p. 24, no. 107. Lonsing was a minor artist residing in Rome in 1766. This is his only drawing for the project; it is squared. According to Ernst 1924, p. 122, our painting was also engraved in 1766 by Robert Brichet in Rome with a dedication to the Marchesa Gentili Boccapaduli. For Brichet, who worked in Saint Petersburg in the 1780s, see Roux 1934, pp. 369–70. If so (no example has been found), the dedicatee would have been Margherita Sparapani Gentili, married in Rome in 1754 to Giuseppe Boccapaduli, from whom she separated. She had a salon and was interested in the arts and the natural sciences. LAURENT PÉCHEUX names the marchesa and the bailli de Breteuil among his sitters in Rome (Bollea 1942, pp. 59, 61–64). In 1762 Pécheux completed his *Hercules Entrusting Deianira to Nessus* (Galleria Sabauda, Turin, 1077) for the bailli, as the companion piece to a Pompeo Batoni of Polyphemus dating to 1761 (Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, NM 6662). Pécheux also copied the *Nessus* for his patron (Breteuil 1986, cat., p. 18, no. 82). See Laveissière 2012, pp. 79–83, nos. 12–14, ill., and pp. 2, ill., and 22, for the portrait of the marchesa.

6. This suggestion was made by Rand 1997, p. 139, no. 22.

7. Posthumous sale, Joullain, Paris, December 17ff., 1764. See no. 298: “Une femme assise, ayant un enfant entre ses bras; elle découvre un vase qui est sur un fourneau . . .” and “son pendant, . . . représentant un jeune homme embrassant une jeune fille, pendant que sa camarade lui tient les mains.” The size is 17½ x 22½ pouces, or roughly 18¾ x 24 in. (47.3 x 61 cm), very close to our work.

8. See Meaume 1877, pp. 309–13. Leclerc made very infrequent appearances at the Académie Royale during the years he exhibited, and for the previous quarter of a century cannot be accounted for at all.

9. Yusupov 1839, pp. 76–77, nos. 365, 369.

10. Nemilova 1986, p. 91, no. 46.

EX COLL.: Jacques Laure Le Tonnelier de Breteuil, bailli de l'Ordre de Malte, Rome and Paris (until d. 1785; his estate sale, Le Brun, Paris, January 16, 1786, no. 49, as “L'intérieur d'une Chambre, dans laquelle on voit un jeune homme voulant embrasser une jeune fille à qui un autre tient les mains,” and “peint en Italie,” 17 pouces 6 lignes x 23 pouces, for 500 livres to Guérin); (sale, MM*** [Chamgrand, Saint-Maurice & autres], Paris, March 20–24, 1787, no. 224, 18 x 23 pouces, for 722 livres to Jauffrey); Dr. Jules Aussant, Rennes (until 1863; sale, Laine, Paris, December 28–30, 1863, no. 31, as *L'Enjeu perdu*, for Fr 4,500 to Laneuville for Duchâtel); Comte Charles Marie Tanneguy Duchâtel, Paris (1863–d. 1867); Comte Charles Jacques Marie Tanneguy Duchâtel (1867–after 1906); Mrs. William Hayward, New York (by 1933–44; sold to Knoedler); [Knoedler, New York, 1944; sold to Donahue]; Mrs. James P. (Jessie Woolworth) Donahue, New York (1944–56).

SELECTED EXHIBITIONS: Paris, Galeries Nationales du Grand Palais, *Fragonard*, September 24, 1987–January 4, 1988, no. 18 (exh. cat.: Rosenberg 1987); New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Fragonard*, February 2–May 8, 1988, no. 18 (exh. cat.: Rosenberg 1988). Rome, Villa

Medici, *J. H. Fragonard e H. Robert a Roma*, December 6, 1990–February 24, 1991, no. 34 (exh. cat.: Cuzin and Rosenberg 1990).

SELECTED REFERENCES: Goncourt 1865, p. 41; Wildenstein 1960, pp. 224–25, no. 119, pl. 31; Breteuil 1986, pp. ii, 24–25, nos. 107–8; Cuzin 1987, pp. 49–50, 251 nn. 24–25, 274, no. 76, ill. (one color); Rosenberg 1988, pp. 63, 79, 82–83, no. 18, ill. (color); Cuzin and Rosenberg 1990, pp. 79–81, 89, no. 34, ill.

80 | Jean Honoré Fragonard

A Woman with a Dog, ca. 1769

Oil on canvas, 32 x 25¾ in. (81.3 x 65.4 cm)

Fletcher Fund, 1937 (37.118)

For this picture Fragonard chose a costume—with striped and slashed sleeves and a high standing collar—that would have been recognized throughout the eighteenth century as theatrical or fancy dress and described as *à l'espagnole*, or in the Spanish style. Old-fashioned at a time when Parisian dress changed with startling rapidity, this costume, including the ermine-lined mantle, would also have brought to mind the court style of Marie de Médicis, queen of Henri IV of France, as Sir Peter Paul Rubens famously depicted her in the cycle of paintings from the early 1620s belonging to the French royal collection. Fragonard was one of many painters who visited the Palais du Luxembourg to study and copy the Rubens series: permission was granted to him on November 7, 1767.¹ Rubens's queen is large, imposing, and plain, as indeed she evidently was in life. And there is an inferential connection to the present picture, suggesting that we should regard as humorous the contrast between the amply proportioned, double-chinned lady in an ermine-lined cloak and the small white lapdog. The curl of his silky tail echoes her gray ringlets. Her brooch and pearls are too large to be real.

The painting belongs to a group of a dozen or more works of similar dimensions showing fancy-dress figures in half-length with a stone ledge or shelf in the foreground. They are referred to, though not by the artist, as *figures de fantaisie*, or fantasy figures, and have been a subject of interest since 1869, when four examples, showing three men and a woman, entered the Musée du Louvre with the La Caze bequest.² All of the *figures de fantaisie* display exceptional virtuosity and panache on the part of the artist. When our canvas came to light early in the twentieth century, it was thought to represent a member of Fragonard's family. However, he did not have a sister, and his daughter Rosalie was not born until 1769. He later recorded the appearance of his wife, Marie Anne Gérard, and this is not she. The model or sitter (broadly speaking) had until recently remained unidentified.





Fig. 80.1. Jean Honoré Fragonard, *Fantasy Figure (The Abbé de Saint-Non)*, ca. 1769. Oil on canvas, 31½ x 25½ in. (80 x 65 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris (MI 1061)

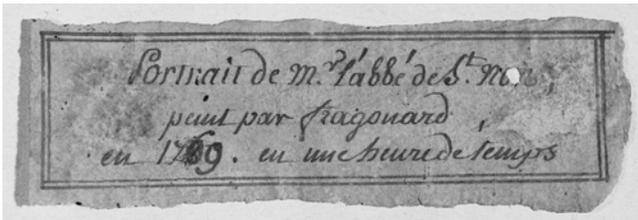


Fig. 80.2. Old label on the verso of fig. 80.1: “Portrait de M. L’abbé de St. Non, peint par Fragonard, en 1769. en une heure de temps” (Portrait of the abbé de St. Non, painted by Fragonard in 1769 in one hour)

Although Fragonard did not give his attention to details of any individual’s likeness—he is believed to have had finesse, rather than resemblance, in mind—two of the four La Caze pictures bear old labels fixed to the lining canvases that identify them as the Abbé de SAINT-NON (fig. 80.1), the artist’s longtime patron and former traveling companion, and the abbé’s older brother, Monsieur de La Bretèche.³ In addition to their names, each label is inscribed “peint par Fragonard, en 1769. en une heure de temps”⁴ (fig. 80.2). Quite exceptionally, the image of Louis Richard de La Bretèche is also both signed and dated, “Frago 1769.”⁵ Though applied later, the

labels contain important information, and the paintings can be associated by descent. The phrase “in an hour’s time,” is doubtless not strictly accurate, but may have been intended to convey something of the speed with which, and the spirit in which, the artist painted them. No contemporary written record survives.

On June 1, 2012, an unattributed drawing (fig. 80.3) in a sale held at the Hôtel Drouot in Paris was recognized by several experts as casting light on the *figures de fantaisie*.⁶ The sheet contains eighteen individually framed sketches—fourteen half-lengths and four full-lengths—and they appear to be *ricordi* by Fragonard himself of most of the fantasy figures. All but one are annotated in the same hand, and the sketches matching the paintings described above are marked “labreteche” and “S non.” The identifications on the two labels are thus validated. While no other portraits of La Bretèche have been discovered, there are at least two of Saint-Non, neither of which looks much like the sitter of the Louvre picture. With the help of the drawing, it may be possible to ascertain the original arrangement and location of the entire series, assuming the pictures were ever installed together, a suggestion that remains unproven.⁷

Among the fourteen half-length figures in two rows, seven are women: one is known only by its drawing, another is an oval in a private collection that had not previously been associated with the group, and the unlabeled study represents a painting in the National Gallery, Washington, D.C.⁸ The sketch corresponding to our picture is number 2. Reading the name under the drawing as “Courson,” Carole Blumenfeld persuasively associated the painting with Marie Emilie Coignet de Courson. Of Burgundian descent, Marie Emilie was born in 1716, lost her parents in childhood, survived her three brothers, and died unmarried in 1806 at ninety, leaving no descendants. Circumstance left her well provided for, and she lived alone in Paris in style and comfort, in an apartment at the convent of Saint-Joseph, rue Saint-Dominique. This was a fashionable address: Madame du Deffand, for example, resided there from 1747, receiving at her weekly salons the aristocrats and the many literary figures of her circle, and she and Mademoiselle de Courson became friends.⁹

In her will of June 14, 1806, Marie Emilie Coignet de Courson named her friend Marie Anne Eléonore, comtesse de Grave, and her friend’s son, Pierre Marie (who had served briefly as Louis XVI’s minister of war), as her executors. The countess seemingly appears in the series as well, in a work in the Louvre, which had long been incorrectly identified as the dancer Mademoiselle Guimard. The comtesse de Grave is presented as a very slender woman with a contemplative expression wearing a modest Spanish costume with a ruff.¹⁰



Fig. 80.3. Jean Honoré Fragonard, *Portrait Sketches (Fantasy Figures)*. Brown ink and black chalk, 9¼ x 13¾ in. (23.5 x 35 cm). Private collection

Her attributes have resisted identification. Neither Fragonard appears in the inventory after the death of either lady.¹¹ However, Blumenfeld has shown that Mademoiselle de Courson's picture passed through the family of the comtesse de Gravelle, descending directly to Marguerite de Cambis-Alais, marquise des Isnards. The dealer who handled the sale to Monsieur and Madame Burat at the end of the nineteenth century mentioned both family names in indicating his source. Our painting is thus one of three fantasy figures that can be traced to the person represented. The intimacy of the sitters might have suggested a pairing of the two, but they do not make comfortable pendants, and the handling, coloring, and scale are different.

Despite the identification proposed by Blumenfeld and widely accepted, it is questionable whether this painting should be regarded as a portrait. In eighteenth-century terms, "portrait" was still understood to mean an image of a face that looked enough like the sitter to be immediately recognizable to those who knew him or her, and, secondarily perhaps, that might suggest the sitter's temperament. We know almost

nothing about Mademoiselle de Courson beyond the fact that she was a rather distinguished person, not an actress, who presumably would not herself have chosen to dress in the guise of Marie de Médicis. In 1769 she would have been fifty-three. Yuriko Jackall has drawn attention to a related sketch by Fragonard of a much younger woman, waist-length, and with dark hair, who holds a lapdog and wears a head scarf and a ruff collar.¹² She faces to right. Perhaps the dog is the same; the person is not. The existence of the drawing seems to me to speak against the conception of our picture as a portrait.

A better test is the Abbé de Saint-Non, who seems not to have had a dramatic personality nor to have looked very much like Fragonard's picture, though the artist knew him well. Apparently Fragonard wished to escape the restraints imposed by the conventions of portraiture. Perhaps, along with the theorist Roger de Piles, he believed that every painting was a portrait of the artist.¹³ The x-radiograph of *A Woman with a Dog* (fig. 80.4) betrays nothing more than the artist's ease and complete assurance, supporting the view that the picture was painted quickly.¹⁴ The wonderful exhibition held at the



Fig. 80.4. X-radiograph of cat. 80

National Gallery, Washington, D.C., in 2017, highlighted the differences as much as the similarities among the works.¹⁵

NOTES

1. Rosenberg 1988, p. 227. The Rubens series is now in the Musée du Louvre, Paris.
2. Until the discovery of the drawing discussed below, the most important contributions to the literature on the *figures de fantaisie* were Williams 1938; Sterling 1955; Wildenstein 1960; Sterling 1964; Cuzin 1987; Rosenberg 1987; Sheriff 1987; and Percival 2012.
3. Sheriff 1987, p. 82, mentioned the lining canvas of the La Bretèche portrait (Louvre MI 1058), confirming that the label is significantly later in date than the painting. Blumenfeld 2013a, pp. 30, 73 n. 70, notes that Louis Richard de La Bretèche was sole heir to the estate of his younger brother Jean Claude Richard, Abbé de Saint-Non. The two paintings passed to their great-nephew Jean-Baptiste Marie Roslin d'Ivry, one of the elder brother's two principal heirs.
4. For photographs of the labels, see Rosenberg 1988, p. 274, fig. 2, p. 276, fig. 1. In each case, the "6" in 1769 appears to have been written over another digit.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 274, fig. 1, illustrates the signature and date (lower right).
6. The importance of the drawing was recognized by experts Hubert Duchemin and Lilas Sharifzadeh, and by Carole Blumenfeld (2013a and 2013b) and Marie-Anne Dupuy-Vachey (see the latter's review of Percival 2012 in *La Tribune de l'Art*, July 19, 2012, pp. 1–5, figs. 3, 4).
7. Fragonard's grandson Théophile reported that at the height of his career the artist "received many distinguished foreigners, who had not seen everything if they had not seen the gallery . . . [he] had made for himself . . . [comprising] paintings entirely by his own hand." Quoted in Rosenberg 1988, p. 255, who suggests that the fantasy figures may have constituted this gallery.
8. National Gallery 1961.16.1. See Blumenfeld 2013a, pp. 4–5, ill., nos. 1–4, 6, 9, and 10, and pp. 56–57, ill.
9. According to Asse 1877, pp. 23–24, before the widespread secularization of religious establishments in consequence of the Revolution, the rental of the exterior court apartments of the convent yielded significant sums for the upkeep of the nuns. Various titled people lived there, the bishop of Troyes and the chevalier de Grave, as well as Mademoiselle de Courson.
10. Louvre RF 1974-1. Blumenfeld 2013a, pp. 22–23, ill.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 71 n 37.
12. Jackall 2017, p. 62, fig. 2 (color), a drawing belonging to the Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam (F I 180 recto).

13. These observations rely on Sheriff 1987, and see p. 78 concerning Roger de Piles.

14. The picture, in generally excellent state, was cleaned by conservator Lyn Reiter in 1979. The exuberant brushwork had been retained despite the effects of a rather harsh glue lining. There had been blistering and flaking to the left of the figure's chin, and the impasto on the throat and pearls was somewhat disfigured by grime or varnish trapped in the interstices of the canvas. Major losses were confined to a tear in the chest and bodice and an L-shaped tear in the dress, below the elbow. Retouching along the larger tear was readjusted in 2005.

15. Jackall 2017, p. 15, draws attention to the differing tones of the light upper ground layers, for which see Appendix 1, p. 139, fig. 8. More information on this could prove useful, especially if the similarities in the light ground tones parallel stylistic similarities. One might in any event reasonably imagine that Fragonard worked on more than one of the canvases simultaneously.

EX COLL.: Marie Anne Eléonore de Grave (d. 1807); her daughter, Augustine de Grave, marquise de Cambis; Amable Elisabeth Françoise Henriette de Cambis and her husband, Joseph Gabriel Paulin de Cambis-Alais, vicomte de Cambis-Alais (until his d. 1866); Charles-Pierre-Marie de Cambis-Alais, comte de Cambis-Alais (d. 1866); Marguerite de Cambis-Alais and her husband, Charles Siffrien des Isnards, marquis des Isnards (from 1866; sold to Féral); [Monsieur Féral, Paris; sold to Burat]; Mme Louis Burat, Paris (by 1907–d. 1937; her nephew, Albert Besnier; her estate sale, Galerie Jean Charpentier, Paris, June 17, 1937, no. 3, for Fr 1,450,000 to Seligmann, Rey & Co. for MMA).

SELECTED EXHIBITIONS: Paris, Galerie Georges Petit, *Chardin et Fragonard*, June–July 1907, no. 91 (as *Portrait de la soeur de Fragonard*, lent by Mme Burat) (exh. cat.: Paris 1907). London, Royal Academy of Arts, *French Art: 1200–1900*, January 4–March 12, 1932, no. 264 (as *Portrait of Rosalie Fragonard, the Artist's Sister*, lent by J. Besnier) (exh. cat.: London 1932; commemorative cat., London 1933, no. 164). Paris, Galeries Nationales du Grand Palais, *Fragonard*, September 24, 1987–January 4, 1988, no. 139 (exh. cat.: Rosenberg 1987); New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Fragonard*, February 2–May 8, 1988, no. 139 (exh. cat.: Rosenberg 1988). Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, *Fragonard: The Fantasy Figures*, October 8–December 3, 2017, unnumbered cat. (colorpl. 14) (exh. cat.: Jackall 2017).

SELECTED REFERENCES: Dayot and Vaillat 1908, p. xi, ill. no. 77; Williams 1938, ill. cover; Sterling 1955, pp. 154–55, ill.; Wildenstein 1960, pp. 14, 257, 259, no. 256, ill.; Sterling 1964, n.p.; Cuzin 1987, pp. 116–17, 293–94, no. 182, ill. (color and black-and-white); Sheriff 1987, p. 84; Rosenberg 1988, pp. 288–89, no. 139, ill. (color); Percival 2012, pp. 19, 26, 28, 32, 34, 36, 44 n. 19, 153, 169–70, 172, 189, 218, 224, pl. 9 (color); Blumenfeld 2013a, pp. 18, 20, 22, 34, 55, 59–60, 69, 71 nn. 35, 36, ill. pp. 21 (color), 56; Blumenfeld 2013b, pp. 52, 54, 57, ill. (color); Dupuy-Vachey 2015, figs. 8, 12 (color); Jackall 2017, pp. 3, 6, 10–12, 15, 44, 56, 61–64, 66, 68, 71, 73 n. 15, 84, 93–94, 114, 132, 135, 137, 140–42, ill. p. x (color detail), colorpl. 14, figs. 3 (p. 44; paintings in order of corresponding figures on “Sketches of Portraits”), 2 (p. 136; plot showing thread count), 6–7 (p. 138; weave-density maps), 13 (p. 142; false-color hyperspectral infrared reflectogram).

81 | Jean Honoré Fragonard

The Two Sisters, ca. 1769–70

Oil on canvas, 28¼ x 22 in. (71.8 x 55.9 cm)

Gift of Julia A. Berwind, 1953 (53.61.5)

The painting was elaborately, and accurately, described in 1785, when it was first sold at auction and while Fragonard himself was still a popular artist living in Paris and working there for private clients. According to the entry by A. J. Paillet in the catalogue of the sale of the late marquis de Véri, the subject is two little girls playing games appropriate to their ages, the younger child riding a papier-mâché horse on wheels, while her sister holds on to her and pushes the vehicle.¹ Fragonard must have known the collector, who had been buying important paintings from him as well as from JEAN-BAPTISTE GREUZE.² Originally, the canvas was roughly twice the size it is now, and the entire composition was recorded by Géraud Vidal in an engraving titled *Les Jeunes Soeurs*, or *The Young Sisters* (fig. 81.1).³ A signed pastel copy



Fig. 81.1. Géraud Vidal (French, 1742–1801) after Jean Honoré Fragonard, *Les Jeunes Soeurs* (*The Young Sisters*). Etching, first state, 19¼ x 13¾ in. (49.4 x 33.8 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1953 (53.674)



dated 1770, by Fragonard's patron, the Abbé de SAINT-NON, shows the complete figure group and most of the columned hall (cat. 75). The style of the picture suggests a date of about 1769–70, shortly before Saint-Non's pastel.

The children wear miniature adult dresses typical of the time, and their hair is tied back in ringlets. The older girl's neck ruffle is of the sort popularly worn with costumes or by theatrical people. The palette is particular to Fragonard, who focuses on yellow drapery inflected with a slightly acid turquoise and a pink dress shaded with strong yellow. The toy horse has a salmon-colored lead rein and saddle blanket, with bows of the same color tied to the harness. Saint-Non's pastel indicates that the big Polichinelle doll in a pointed hat with reddened cheeks, lips, and eye sockets had rested stiffly on the horse's wheeled platform. It is now generally agreed that the painting, which had been identified as two portraits,⁴ is simply a scene of children at play, a genre that had been developed by JEAN SIMÉON CHARDIN in the 1730s. Fragonard's approach is lighthearted by comparison. A loosely painted sketch in Lisbon (fig. 81.2) is a rarity in Fragonard's oeuvre but does not necessarily indicate that the scene was observed. In the sketch, which tightly frames the figures, the younger child wears a wide-brimmed hat.

Between 1785 and 1916 the canvas was cut down. Perhaps the owner thought that the awkward effect of the finished work—especially the alignment of the animal's head, the little girl's knees, and the older one's bustle—would be mitigated if it were smaller. The Lisbon sketch, quite messy and unresolved, suffers from the same awkwardness. The (lost) background seems to have been uninteresting and not suited to the subject. The face of the younger child is oddly unsympathetic and the composition so awkward that one might describe it as a failed picture.

NOTES

1. Honoré Fragonard, no. 35: "Un joli Tableau, représentant deux jeunes filles occupées à des jeux de leur âge; la plus petite est montée sur un cheval de carton porté par des roulettes, & sa soeur est auprès d'elle qui la soutient & pousse l'équipage. Elles sont toutes deux coëffées en cheveux, & vêtues d'ajustemens gracieux; le fond du Tableau présente un intérieur d'appartement. / Ce morceau est plein de finesse & de grâces; il est d'un dessin agréable, & d'une couleur brillante. Hauteur 37 pouces largeur 30 pouces. T[oile]." Paillet 1785, p. 24.

2. Bailey 1983 and Bailey 2002, pp. 107–9, who states that Véri began to collect contemporary paintings in 1772, and that most were bought in 1775–79.

3. Géraud (or Gérard) Vidal also engraved pendants by Fragonard, made in collaboration with Marguerite Gérard, *L'Enfant chéri* and *Les Premiers pas de l'enfance*. See Grappe 1913, pp. 65, 73.

4. Even if so, the identification of the children as Fragonard's daughter Rosalie, born in 1769, and his sister-in-law Marguerite Gérard, born in 1761, is ruled out by their birthdates.



Fig. 81.2. Jean Honoré Fragonard, *Two Sisters*, ca. 1760–70. Oil on wood, 12½ x 9½ in. (31.7 x 24 cm). Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon (1546 Pint)

EX COLL.: Louis Gabriel de Véri-Raionard, marquis de Véri, Paris (until d. 1785; his estate sale, Hôtel de Bullion, Paris, December 12, 1785, no. 35, as *deux jeunes filles occupées à des jeux de leur âge* . . . , 37 x 30 pouces [39½ x 32 in. (100.3 x 81.3 cm)], for 350 livres to Saint-Marc); Jean Paul André des Rasins, marquis de Saint-Marc (from 1785); private collection, near Stockholm (sold to Zarine); A. Zarine, consul general of Russia, Paris (until 1916; sold to Wildenstein); [Gimpel & Wildenstein, Paris, 1916–18; sold for \$194,000 to Berwind]; Edward J. Berwind, New York (1918–d. 1936); his sister, Julia A. Berwind, New York (1936–53).

SELECTED EXHIBITIONS: Paris, Galeries Nationales du Grand Palais, *Fragonard*, September 24, 1987–January 4, 1988, no. 157 (exh. cat.: Rosenberg 1987); New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Fragonard*, February 2–May 8, 1988, no. 157 (exh. cat.: Rosenberg 1988).

SELECTED REFERENCES: Goncourt 1880–82, vol. 2, p. 374; "Dans les galeries d'art," *The New York Herald [Paris]*, December 2, 1916, p. 4; Vauxcelles 1917, ill.; Wildenstein 1959a, p. 228; Wildenstein 1960, p. 305, no. 476, pl. 106; Gardner 1962, pp. 265, 268, fig. 6; Wurth Harris 1979, pp. 57, 60–61, fig. 2; Cuzin 1987, pp. 127–28, 296–97, no. 195, ill.; Rosenberg 1988, pp. 332–34, no. 157, ill. (color).



82 | Jean Honoré Fragonard

Portrait of a Young Woman, 1770s

Oil on canvas, oval, 31¼ x 25 in. (80.6 x 63.5 cm)

Bequest of Margaret V. Haggin, 1965 (65.226)

In 1927 Wildenstein informed Mrs. Haggin that the picture came from the La Fare family. It was said to represent Gabrielle Françoise Victoire de Riquet de Caraman, who had married, on May 30, 1775, Joseph Gabriel Henri de La Fare (1749–1786), comte de La Fare de Vénéjan. Described as a brigadier in the king's armies, the count was also a poet and descended from a distinguished and ancient family from Languedoc in the south of France. His wife was born in 1755; the couple had several children. The picture is thinly painted

in an even range of soft golden and rosy hues. Although much paler in overall tone, it is close in style and in the use of washes of color to the *Allegory of Vigilance* (cat. 83) and may date to the later 1770s, several years after the marriage of the countess, in the unlikely event that it represents her. There is no documentary evidence of any kind to support this assumption, and the La Fare de Vénéjan family seems to have died out before 1927.

EX COLL.: ?La Fare; [Wildenstein, Paris and New York, until 1927; sold to Mrs. Haggin]; Mrs. James B. Haggin, New York (1927–d. 1965).

SELECTED REFERENCES: Wildenstein 1960, pp. 287–88, no. 409, fig. 171; Cuzin 1987, pp. 310–11, no. 265, ill.; Rosenberg 1989, p. 98, no. 248, ill.



83 | Jean Honoré Fragonard
Allegory of Vigilance, 1770s

Oil on canvas, oval, 27 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 21 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (68.9 x 54.9 cm)
Gift of René Fribourg, 1953 (53.161)

This canvas came to light in November 1925 when, with other French paintings and decorative arts belonging to Ernest Cognacq and Marie-Louise Jay, it was included in a display from the couple's private collection at La Samaritaine de luxe, a branch of their Paris department store (fig. 83.1). (They had married in 1869 and opened a small shop, La Samaritaine, which was enlarged until it eventually extended from the rue de Rivoli to the quai du Louvre at the Pont Neuf.) Louise died on December 26, 1925, and Ernest on

February 21, 1928, leaving to the city of Paris the greater part of their paintings, drawings, sculpture, and decorative arts— primarily French and numbering more than one thousand items. Cognacq intended that their museum, which he did not live to see, should be accessible, offering the possibility of informing the public and shaping taste.¹ Since 1990, the Musée Cognacq-Jay has been housed in the Hôtel Donon in the Marais.² The balance of the collection was bequeathed to, and had been selected by, his nephew Gabriel, whose holdings were in turn dispersed after his death in 1951 at the Galerie Charpentier.

The young woman's bare breast suggests that she is a model, and her attributes, the antique oil lamp and books, indicate that she is presented as Vigilance. Georges



Fig. 83.1. Works from the collection shown at La Samaritaine de luxe (November 1925–early January 1926), ca. 1925. Musée Cognacq-Jay, Paris (2000.3)

Wildenstein saw a connection with a painting of the goddess Minerva wearing a plumed helmet and carrying a shield, which is the same shape and very close in size and technique (fig. 83.2). In turn, Jean-Pierre Cuzin grouped them with a third oval representing a young woman crowned with roses and holding a mirror. If the New York and Detroit pictures form a pair, then, as Pierre Rosenberg noted, Minerva should be identified as an allegory of Force. Possibly the two belong to a larger set, in which case the woman with a mirror, in the Utah Museum of Fine Arts in Salt Lake City, would be the third and should be read as an allegory of Prudence.³ The connection to the painting in Utah is perhaps less persuasive.

Fragonard paints our canvas and the one in Detroit with sweeping strokes, stopping little for details, in a style he is generally thought to have used through the 1770s, or perhaps later in the decade. Pictures of the kind, oval single figures of young women embellished with roses or with other attributes, are difficult to date more specifically. A point of reference might be the set of decorative overdoors by Fragonard bought

by Madame de Pompadour through **FRANÇOIS HUBERT DROUAI**s in June 1770: these would be a little earlier.⁴ They appear to have been painted quickly.

In the past, the single-figure ovals had been associated with two round canvases discovered in the Pavillon Colombe at Saint-Brice-sous-Forêt in 1906. On the very slight evidence that the pavilion had been built by a lover of the oldest of the three Colombe sisters, actresses of the Comédie Italienne, the roundels were identified as portraits of two of them.⁵ Despite the fact that this argument is unsupported, paintings belonging to the group are nevertheless identified from time to time as portraits of Marie Catherine, Thérèse, or Madeleine Colombe.

NOTES

1. See Néto 2001, pp. 9–17, for information about the formation of the collection and Cognacq’s intentions.
2. Burolet 2004, pp. 12–14, with further details and images of the donors.
3. The measurements for the picture in Salt Lake City (1993.034.013) are 26 $\frac{3}{16}$ x 21 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (66.5 x 55.6 cm).
4. Cuzin 1988, pp. 135–37, 288–89, nos. 148–51, ill.



Fig. 83.2. Jean Honoré Fragonard, *The Goddess Minerva*, ca. 1770s. Oil on canvas, oval, 27 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 21 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (70.2 x 55.6 cm). Detroit Institute of Arts, Bequest of Mr. and Mrs. Edgar B. Whitcomb (53.354)

5. Rosenberg 1988, pp. 495–97, nos. 245–46, quotes René Gimpel on the discovery of the paintings in a bedroom of the villa. The three sisters were Marie Catherine; Marie Thérèse Théodore, called Colombe l’ainée because she was the first to join the theater in 1773, who is depicted in at least two prints; and Marie Madeleine Riggieri (1760–1841). It cannot be demonstrated that any Fragonard painting represents one of them. The Pavillon Colombe later belonged to Edith Wharton.

EX COLL.: Ernest Cognacq and Louise Cognacq-Jay, Paris (until her d. 1925); Ernest Cognacq, Paris (1925–d. 1928; inv., 1928, no. 25); his nephew, Gabriel Cognacq, Paris (1928–d. 1951; his estate sale, Galerie Charpentier, Paris, May 14, 1952, no. 15, as *Young Woman Reading*, for Fr 3,700,000); René Fribourg, New York (until 1953).

SELECTED EXHIBITION: Paris, La Samaritaine, November 1, 1925–January 10, 1926, no catalogue but photographed in situ (lent by Ernest Cognacq and Louise Cognacq-Jay).

SELECTED REFERENCES: Cognacq 1952, no. 15, pl. 14; Cailleux 1960, p. vi, pl. 14 (detail); Wildenstein 1960, p. 287, no. 408, fig. 168; Mandel 1972, p. 105, no. 433, ill.; Cuzin 1987, p. 304, no. 229, ill.; Rosenberg 1989, pp. 97–98, no. 244, ill.

84 | Jean Honoré Fragonard

The Love Letter, late 1770s

Oil on canvas, 32 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 26 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (83.2 x 67 cm)

The Jules Bache Collection, 1949 (49.7.49)

The acquisition of *The Love Letter* in 1919 by Jules Bache was much publicized by Wildenstein. André Gide mentioned having seen it at the Galerie Georges Petit in 1905, and found it delicious, though he thought the Cronier collection, from which it came, “un peu le *migliaionnaire*” (a little in the millionaire’s taste).¹ The picture, with an important history of ownership, has a massive bibliography. The discussion has revolved almost exclusively around the transcription of the writing on the note the sitter holds. This has been read as “A Monsieur Mon Cavalier” or “A Monsieur . . . Cuvillier.” If the former, the lady writes to a generic “cavalier”; if the latter, Georges Wildenstein suggested in 1929² that she could be Marie Emilie Boucher, born in 1740, daughter of **FRANÇOIS BOUCHER** and widow of the painter Pierre





Fig. 84.1. Alexander Roslin (Swedish, 1718–1793), *Marie Emilie Boucher*, 1779. Oil on canvas, 31½ x 25¾ in. (80 x 64.5 cm). Private collection



Fig. 84.2. Nicolas II Lavreince (Swedish, 1737–1807), *The Letter*, ca. 1780. Gouache on paper, 11¾ x 8¾ in. (29.5 x 21.5 cm). Musée Cognacq-Jay, Paris (J 154)

Antoine Baudouin, who died in 1769. Marie Emilie married secondly, in 1773, Charles Etienne Gabriel Cuvillier, an architect and a friend of her late father. However, more recently a portrait by Alexander Roslin of Boucher's daughter (fig. 84.1) has come to light,³ and by no stretch of the imagination is she the person represented in *The Love Letter*, which in any event should be read as a genre scene.

The canvas is generally dated to the 1770s, and may have been painted toward the end of the decade. It shows a lady seated at a writing desk before a curtained oeil-de-boeuf window in a domestic interior. The desk, apparently with gilt-bronze mounts, is perhaps a little earlier, while the upholstered stool or bench may be contemporary. The writing stand is covered with baize cloth; the papers on the surface are not inscribed. The lady wears a blue silk robe *à la française*, with stitched pleats falling from the neckline at the back and half-length sleeves with wide cuffs. A black cord is tied around her neck, and her hair is dressed high, under a cap and ribbon. Her heavy white makeup and rouge are formal, but her hair is worn without powder. Either she receives the flowers wrapped in a paper cone and sends an answering note, or she sends the

note hidden in the bouquet. The dog, usually said to be a poodle or bichon frisé, guards their intimate, private environment against unwarranted intrusion. The picture is distinguished by the febrile, complicit expression of the lady, and for purposes of comparison we reproduce a more neutral presentation of a letter writer by Nicolas II Lavreince (fig. 84.2).

The paintings closest in style are likewise undated: *The Little Mischief-Maker* (private collection), for example, and the famous *Fête at Saint-Cloud* belonging to the Banque de France in Paris.⁴ Fragonard was aware of his virtuosic ability, demonstrated here. He declined to weave or blend together the colored and neutral strokes, instead leaving a mass of commas, zigzags, squiggles, and daubs in white and shades of blue sprinkled densely over brightly lit but colorless surfaces. He contrasts passages in brown modeled up from the ground tones. The white face separates itself as if it were a theatrical mask.⁵ The effects are calculated and have been noticed by modern painters. Reflecting on why he liked the picture, Roy Lichtenstein, for example, offered the deadpan observation that “[t]o draw outlines and color them in is about as dumb a way of painting as you can imagine.”⁶ The

English artist Adrian Daintrey admired Fragonard's ability to indicate arrested movement and evoke interior space "by the slightest means."⁷

NOTES

1. André Gide, *Journal, 1939–1949, avec un index des noms et des oeuvres cités* (Paris: Gallimard, 1948–54), vol. 1, pp. 187–88 (December 2, 1905).
2. *Pantheon* 3 (1929), pp. 244, 246, ill., comments on a display at Wildenstein, New York, of French paintings, including *Le Billet Doux*, described as a portrait of Boucher's daughter.
3. See Lundberg 1957, vol. 1, pp. 208, 310, vol. 2, n.p., no. 146, ill., vol. 3, p. 93, no. 514, and Bailey 2005, pp. 232 n. 88, 233, fig. 15. The Roslin portrait was sold at Bukowski's, Stockholm, June 2, 2010, no. 236, ill. It is signed and dated (at right), "le: chev: Roslin / 1779," and the note the sitter holds is inscribed "A Monsieur / Monsieur Cuvillier / AVersailles."
4. Rosenberg 1988, pp. 312–13, no. 148, ill., and 338–43, no. 161, ill.
5. The painting was cleaned by conservator Hubert von Sonnenburg in 1970 to remove darkened retouches and varnish. He pointed out that it had been cleaned unevenly in the past, drawing attention to the face (where he photographed the remains of darkened varnish in the interstices). This suggests that there had been loss of surface glazing.
6. Despite what he called the "dopey" subject, Lichtenstein preferred Fragonard to Ingres. Michael Kimmelman, "At the Met with Roy Lichtenstein: Disciple of Color and Line, Master of Irony," *The New York Times*, March 31, 1995, p. C27, ill.
7. Daintrey 1969, p. 26.

EX COLL.: Baron Félix Sébastien Feuillet de Conches, Paris (by 1860–d. 1887); his daughter, Madame Georges Claude Jagerschmidt, Paris (1887–at least 1897; sold to Cronier); Ernest Cronier, Paris (1897 or later–d. 1905; his estate sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, December 4, 1905, no. 7, for Fr 420,000 to Kraemer and Wildenstein); [Gimpel & Wildenstein and Eugène Kraemer, Paris, 1905–at least 1907; sold to Bardac]; Joseph Bardac, Paris (by 1909–19; sold to Gimpel & Wildenstein); [Gimpel & Wildenstein, Paris and New York, 1919; sold for \$44,940 to Bache]; Jules S. Bache, New York (1919–d. 1944; his estate, 1944–49; cats., 1929, unnumbered; 1937, no. 50; 1943, no. 49).

SELECTED EXHIBITIONS: Paris, Galerie Martinet, *Tableaux et dessins de l'école française, principalement du XVIIIe siècle, tirés de collections d'amateurs*, 1860, no. 133 (as *Le Billet doux*, 79 x 69 cm [31 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 27 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.], lent by M. le baron F. de Conches). Paris, Ecole des Beaux-Arts, *Portraits de femmes et d'enfants*, April 30–?, 1897, no. 59 (as *Femme avec un petit chien*, 80 x 62 cm [31 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 24 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.], lent by Mme Jagerschmidt) (exh. cat.: Paris 1897). New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Fragonard*, February 2–May 8, 1988, no. 148A (exh. cat.: Rosenberg 1988). Milan, Palazzo Reale, *Il gran teatro del mondo: L'anima e il volto del settecento*, November 13, 2003–April 12, 2004, no. II.67 (exh. cat.: Caroli 2003). Paris, Musée du Luxembourg, *Fragonard amoureux: Galant et libertin*, September 16, 2015–January 24, 2016, no. 61 (exh. cat.: Faroult 2015).

SELECTED REFERENCES: Portalis 1889, vol. 2, p. 272; Alexandre 1905, pp. 6–7, ill.; Roberts 1905, p. 807; Sterling 1955, pp. 157–59, ill.; Wildenstein 1960, p. 284, no. 388, ill. opp. p. 24 (color); Cuzin 1987, pp. 186–88, 324, no. 335, ill. (color); Fried 1996, pp. 147, 149–50, 491 n. 142, 513 n. 39, ill.; Faroult 2015, pp. 179, 184–85, no. 61, ill. (color).

85 and 86 | Jean Honoré Fragonard

A Shaded Avenue, ca. 1778

The Cascade, ca. 1778–80

Oil on wood, each 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (29.2 x 24.1 cm)

The Jules Bache Collection, 1949 (49.7.51, .50)

These small panels were first recorded in 1800, as "Vues de jardins d'Italie." Fragonard was in Italy from 1756 until 1761 and in 1773–74. En route, and while there, he made copies of works of art, studies of ancient and modern architecture, landscapes, and *capricci*, or inventions inspired by observed views. The history of the two paintings suggests that they must always have been companions, and though the compositions are not complementary, the figure scale is the same, and each was inspired by an earlier drawing.

A Shaded Avenue is one-third smaller than a splendid bister wash and chalk drawing of the same subject in the Musée du Petit Palais, Paris (fig. 85.1).¹ Another drawing, also larger than the painting, shows similar trees but different staffage, including two women, one with a child, seated on a

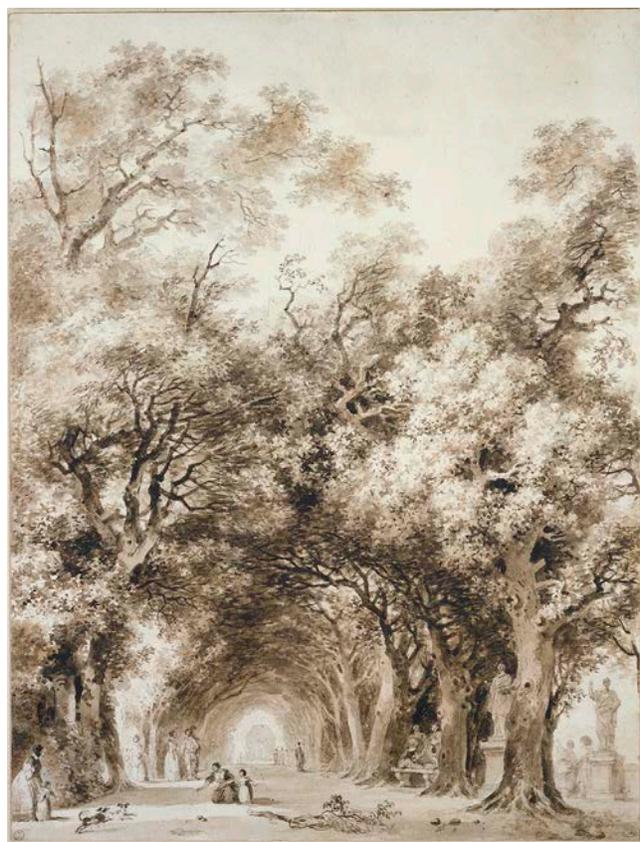
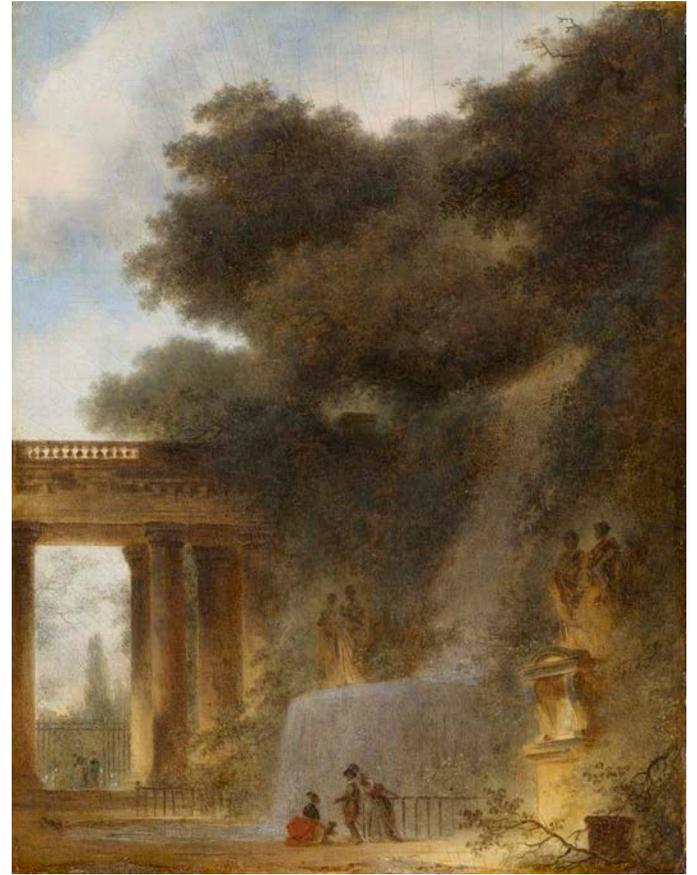


Fig. 85.1. Jean Honoré Fragonard, *A Shaded Avenue*, ca. 1773–74. Bister wash over black chalk, 17 $\frac{1}{16}$ x 13 $\frac{11}{16}$ in. (45.5 x 34.7 cm). Musée du Petit Palais, Paris (Dutuit 966)



Cat. 85



Cat. 86

bench in the center foreground.² It is generally agreed that the Petit Palais sheet—the largest and the earliest, about 1773–74—precedes the panel painting, in which the figural component is simplified, and also the second drawing, which by comparison is relatively schematic in handling.



Fig. 85.2. Jean Honoré Fragonard, *View of a Park*, ca. 1757–59. Black chalk, gray, black, and brown wash, framing lines in pen and black ink, 10¼ x 15½ in. (27.3 x 39.4 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1952 (52.14)

The allée of very large, dense, overarching trees sheltering small figures and leading to an aureole of light at the end of a tunnel (which may contain a statue on a pedestal) is one of Fragonard's most brilliant conceptions in landscape (fig. 85.2). It has not been possible to establish that the view is observed, whether in Rome or anywhere in France; almost certainly it is imaginary. The statues must be intended to evoke antiquity and bring Italy to mind. The sky plays a more important role in the painting than in the drawings: there is more of it, and the delicate silhouettes of the leaves and branches of the trees toward the top form an elaborate tracery or fretwork against the blue void that is central to Fragonard's conception. Local color is limited to touches of red for the costumes of two of the female figures.

The principal subject of the second picture is a carefully maintained formal park with, at right, a wooded cliff and a natural cascade falling into a basin that in turn overflows into an oval pool, partly framed by low wrought-iron fencing and flanked by large robed statues grouped in pairs. To the right, in front of the sculptures, is a pedestal supporting a niche with a rounded pediment resting on brackets that take the form of scrolls. A smaller pedestal occupies the foreground at right, and another may be seen in the shrubbery among the



Fig. 86.1. Jean Honoré Fragonard, *Italian Landscape*. Black chalk and brown wash, 9 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (23.2 x 17 cm). Nationalmuseum, Stockholm (NMH 6/1977)

trees. Two figures pass through an opening in the grillwork in the distance, while a group of three figures with a dog occupies a central position beside the pool. The plumed hat and wide britches worn by the man and the standing white collar of one of the women indicate fancy dress; the hair of the other woman is dressed high, perhaps with a feather in it. There are no variants in painting or drawing of this charming but improbable combination of motifs, which we might identify as an imaginary Italian landscape similar in spirit to the work of **HUBERT ROBERT**.

There is, however, a slightly smaller ink-and-wash study in the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, that is generally dated to Fragonard's second Italian journey and relates loosely to *The Cascade* (fig. 86.1), as well as two further sketches, both horizontal variations, in private collections.³ The Stockholm sheet is loosely drawn, and the structure in the background is similar to that in the painting. An arch and four columns support a walkway with figures and a balustrade with statues, foliage at the left, large trees to the right on sloping ground, a sculpture on a pedestal in the near distance, and two separate couples. The combination in this drawing of the arch

and columns in a remote setting, and the presence in the horizontal variants of Egyptian sculpture among the antiquities supports the presumption that the subject matter of all three drawings is invented.

The catalogue in which the panels were first published was written by their then owner, the discerning Saint Petersburg collector Count Alexander Sergeevich Stroganov, in 1800.⁴ They are not mentioned in his earlier, 1793 catalogue, however, and must therefore have been acquired on the international art market, probably through an agent in Paris, in the later 1790s.⁵ From 1771 until 1778, the count had lived with his second wife in Paris. He was exceptionally well educated and a gifted linguist, and while there made the acquaintance of many writers and artists, including the sculptor Houdon and the painter Robert. It is not surprising that Stroganov, who had known Italy as well as France since his student days and was a major patron of the great French view painter, would have wished to own these landscapes. However, his primary interest was in seventeenth-century Italian, French, Flemish, and Dutch paintings. Most of the Stroganov collection was nationalized, but these landscapes remained with the family in Rome until 1923.

NOTES

1. This conclusion is convincingly argued by, among others, Los Llanos 1992, pp. 81–82, no. 38, ill. In the painting, there are four fewer figures to the left, as well as fewer in the center background and to right. The statue among the trees is engulfed in darkness, while the one to the right of it has been reversed, to show the back rather than the front. In the Petit Palais drawing there is definitely another sculpture at the end of the avenue of trees.
2. J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, 2016.17.
3. Bjurström 1982, n.p., no. 954, ill.
4. On Count Stroganov, see Hunter-Stiebel 2000, pp. 32–34, 78–79, 115, 146–48, and Serge Kuznetsov in Valence 1999, pp. 56–65.
5. The 1793 catalogue includes no works by Fragonard; information kindly provided by the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, in an email dated July 4, 2016.

EX COLL.: Count Alexander Sergeevich Stroganov, Saint Petersburg and Maryno (until d. 1811; cat., 1800, nos. 115–16, as “Vues de jardins d’Italie”); his cousin, Count Grigory Alexandrovich Stroganov, Saint Petersburg (1811–d. 1857); his grandson, Count Grigory Sergeevich Stroganov, Palazzo Stroganov, Rome (1857–d. 1910; cat., 1912, vol. 2, p. 99, pl. 78); his daughter, Princess Maria Grigorievna Scherbatova, and her children, Prince Vladimir Alekseyevich and Princess Alexandra Alexeyevna, Palazzo Stroganov (1910–d. 1920); Prince Vladimir’s widow, Princess Elena Petrovna Scherbatova, later Wolkonsky, and her children, Princess Olga Vladimirovna and Princess Maria Vladimirovna, Palazzo Stroganov (1920–23; sold through Prince Alexandre Wolkonsky, Paris, to Wildenstein and Duveen); [Wildenstein and Duveen, Paris and New York, 1923–26; sold by Wildenstein for \$12,500 to Bache]; Jules S. Bache, New York (1926–d. 1944; his estate, 1944–49; cats., 1929, unnumbered; 1937, nos. 52 and 51; 1943, nos. 51 and 50).

SELECTED REFERENCES: Stroganov 1800, pp. 79–80, nos. 115–16; Wrangel and Troubnikov 1909, pp. 135–37, ill.; Sterling 1955, pp. 155–57, ill.; Wildenstein 1960, pp. 23, 276, nos. 349–50, pls. 68, 69; Cuzin 1987, p. 316, nos. 295–96, ill.; Rosenberg 1988, pp. 389–90, 393, ill.; Rosenberg 1989, pp. 110, 227–28, nos. 343–44, ill.; Los Llanos 1992, pp. 81, 83 (*The Cascade* only); Cuzin 2001, p. 173 (*The Cascade* only).

HUBERT ROBERT

Paris 1733–1808 Paris

Born in Paris, Robert benefited from a traditional classical education. He received his initial training either in the studio of the sculptor and academician René Michel Slodtz or in that of the history painter and academician Pierre Jacques Cazes. Through a family connection, Robert met the comte de Stainville and as his traveling companion accompanied him to Rome in 1754 after Stainville was appointed ambassador to the Vatican. Stainville, later duc de Choiseul, arranged for Robert's admission to the Académie de France in Rome and supported him until he became an official pensioner in 1759, by which time he had found favor also with the marquis de Marigny, the newly appointed director of the Bâtiments du Roi in Paris. The young painter indulged his taste for ruins during eleven years in Italy, mostly in the capital, where he was influenced by Giovanni Battista Piranesi, met the Abbé de SAINT-NON and JEAN HONORÉ FRAGONARD, with whom he worked in Naples and at Tivoli, and enjoyed the continuing patronage of Choiseul and of the ambassador from Malta, the bailli de Breteuil. Robert returned to Paris in 1765 and the following year was received and admitted into the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture at the same session. Exhibiting at the Salons regularly from 1767, he settled into a busy and prosperous career. He also rejoiced in the title of designer of the king's gardens and later participated in the transformation of the Louvre into a national museum. Imprisoned in the early 1790s during the Terror, he was eventually released and later awarded a pension by the state. His collection of paintings and drawings was disbursed at auction after his death in 1808.

LITERATURE ON THE ARTIST: Gabillot 1895; Beau 1968; Cayeux and Boulot 1989; Cuzin and Rosenberg 1990; Moulin 1999; Dubin 2010; Faroult and Voiriot 2016.

87 and 88 | Hubert Robert

The Return of the Cattle under the Ruins in the Setting Sun, ca. 1773

Oil on canvas, 80¾ x 47¾ in. (205.1 x 121.3 cm)
Bequest of Lucy Work Hewitt, 1934 (35.40.1)

The Portico of a Country Mansion, near Florence, 1773

Oil on canvas, 80¾ x 48½ in. (205.1 x 123.2 cm)
Signed, dated, and inscribed (right corner, on stone block):
H·· / ROBERT. / PINXIT. L. / PARISIORUM.. /
ANNO 1773.
Bequest of Lucy Work Hewitt, 1934 (35.40.2)

Robert's many contributions to the 1775 Salon include two paintings listed under number 71 in the *livret* as *Le retour des Bestiaux sous les ruines au Soleil couchant* and *Le Portique d'une Maison de Campagne, près de Florence*. The works were lent by the financier Jean François Bergeret de Frouville, who, born in 1719, was four years younger than his better-known brother, the collector Bergeret de Grancourt. As *Le Portique* is elaborately signed in Latin and dated 1773, undoubtedly the two were commissioned by, and delivered to, Frouville and then borrowed back to be included in the next Salon. The dimensions are recorded as 7 pieds x 3 pieds 6 pouces each, or roughly 89¼ x 44⅞ inches (226.8 x 113.4 cm).¹ According to Frouville's posthumous inventory of 1783, four paintings on canvas by BOUCHER and Robert representing landscapes and buildings were in his Paris dining room at the time of his death.² Even if these are not the paintings referred to, the text cements the connection between artist and patron as well as that between two artists belonging to succeeding generations (Robert admired and emulated Boucher, who had died in 1770). Nothing more is heard of our pictures until 1919, when they were bought by Wildenstein from an unrecorded source and exhibited in New York.³

One was inspired by Rome, while the other was described as a house near Florence. *The Return of the Cattle* was admired by the writer of the *Lettre à M. le comte de ****, who, astonished by the chiaroscuro, drew attention to the way in which light pierces the dark wall.⁴ Robert constantly observed and in his drawings recorded light penetrating darkness, whether a beam passing through a ruined Roman ceiling or sunlight at the end of an allée of trees in a park. Beautifully composed, this picture reads well from a distance, and the critic's description of the Salon indicates that it was installed in a central position. He also remarked that the foreground was overelaborated. The work is in every way typical of the artist, who favored ancient vaults, lanterns, hoardings, and sheep descending steep zigzag paths accompanied by peasants on foot or riding donkeys.



Cat. 87



Cat. 88

Two finished studies by Robert of ancient arches and pastoral staffage have long been associated with *The Return of the Cattle*. (It is worth noting that the larger study, with the lantern, in which the design is reversed, is inscribed *A Rôme*.)⁵ However, the source of the composition may perhaps be found on folio 38 of the Robert album in the Musée du Louvre (fig. 87.1), in which the lighting and the essential components of the architecture—a vaulted arch with a heavy cornice and a niche with a pediment housing a sculpture—are already defined.⁶ The motif of the girl riding sidesaddle while looking over her shoulder derives from Boucher, as Alan Wintermute pointed out.⁷ The mother and child at the lower left appear in reverse in at least two Robert drawings, one of which (fig. 87.2) belonged to Pierre Adrien Pâris, a winner of the Prix de Rome and later interim director of the Académie de France in Rome.

The Portico of a Country Mansion, near Florence, signed and dated, is inscribed “Paris” in Latin. The view is imaginary and the title incomprehensible, in the sense that there were no ruined Roman country houses near Florence, which was visited by artists and other travelers in the eighteenth century but not for its antiquities. The building, apparently, is only a partial facade, as daylight pours through the window opening. Just beyond the portico there is a buttressed wall and, in front, a small, round, columned structure with a flattened dome, whose design is based on a Roman temple. These features are combined with a low basin and jet of water, sculpture, fencing,

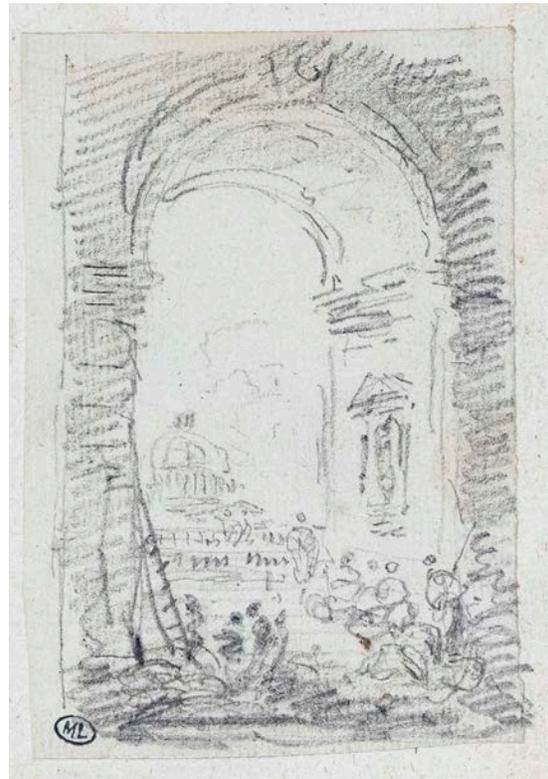


Fig. 87.1. Hubert Robert, *Figures under a Portico, and in the Distance a Monument with a Cupola*. Album leaf. Graphite, 4 x 2¾ in. (10.1 x 7 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris (RF 11552.TER recto)



Fig. 87.2. Hubert Robert, *A Child Climbing a Tree near Ancient Ruins*. Red chalk, 11½ x 15½ in. (28.7 x 38.5 cm). Bibliothèque Municipale, Besançon, on deposit at Musée des Beaux-Arts et d'Archéologie, Besançon (D.2977)

a potted plant, and a ruined tree. The effect is that of a sunny pleasure park with frolicking peasants, lacking in seriousness.

The composition is known in variants, in reverse, which in their sobriety are truer to Roman sources: a drawing in the Musée de Valence and another narrow upright painting in the Louvre.⁸ Neither of these includes the jet of water or any additional buildings in the background. Both depict imaginary subjects. Joseph Baillio published a study for the musician in a cape and hat standing on a barrel in the angle formed by the stair and the facade.⁹ According to the *Lettre à M. le comte de ****, the tree with its foliage was not robust enough to hold the foreground, nor sufficiently finished in its details. The writer was not alone in observing that Robert was a better painter of architecture than of landscape.

NOTES

1. The dimensions are listed in the commemorative catalogue, London 1933, nos. 235–36, as 230 x 115 cm (90½ x 45¼ in.). The margins of this canvas were cut when it was relined (before 1935).
2. Cayeux and Boulot 1989, p. 175: “Quatre tableaux peints sur toile par Boucher et Robert, représentant paysages et architectures.” They were valued at 600 livres.
3. The additional provenance (see below) was introduced by Sterling in 1955 and, absent supporting information in the archive of the Department of European Paintings, was likely taken from the back of a photograph that he found elsewhere. See Sterling 1955, p. 162.
4. *Observations* 1775, p. 41.
5. Musée de Valence D 92 and D 117.
6. The arch and distant building of the sketch were used by Robert as the main features of a large upright painting signed and dated 1773 (State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg, 7733); the composition differs, however, in the disposition of the figures and other details of the stonework in the foreground. The building in the drawing may be Saint Peter’s, but both drawing and painting are imaginary.
7. Wintermute 1990, no. 43A.
8. Musée de Valence D 25; see Beau 1968, no. 59, ill. The Louvre painting is not on Joconde, but an illustration may be found in Brejon de Lavergnée et al. 1986, p. 180.
9. Baillio 1992, p. 161, fig. 12.

EX COLL.: Jean François Bergeret de Frouville, Paris (by 1775–d. 1783); ?Baron d’Anchon, Paris; ?Monsieur L. de Lamolère, Paris; ?Monsieur de Boisfleury, Paris; ?Monsieur Favier, Paris; [Wildenstein, Paris and New York, 1919–21; sold to Mrs. Hewitt]; Mrs. Peter Cooper (Lucy Work) Hewitt, Paris (1921–d. 1934).

SELECTED EXHIBITIONS: Paris, Salon, August 25–September 25, 1775, no. 71 (as *Deux Tableaux, l’un le retour des Bestiaux sous les ruines au Soleil couchant, l’autre le Portique d’une Maison de Campagne, près de Florence*. “Ces deux morceaux ont chacun 7 pieds de haut, sur 3 pieds 6 pouces de large. Ils appartiennent à M. de Frouville”). New York, Gimpel & Wildenstein, *Notable Paintings by Hubert Robert (1733–1808)*, May 17–June 14, 1919, nos. 11–12 (lent by Wildenstein) (exh. cat.: New York 1919). New York, Colnaghi, *Claude to Corot: The Development of Landscape Painting in France*, November 1–December 15, 1990, nos. 43A–43B (exh. cat.: Wintermute 1990).

SELECTED REFERENCES: Gabriel Bouquier, “Observations critiques sur le Salon de 1775,” 1775 (published in Soubeyran and Vilain 1975, p. 103) (McWilliam 1991, no. 0249); Denis Diderot, *Salon de 1775*, Paris, 1775 (published in Diderot 1957–67, vol. 4 [1967], p. 286) (McWilliam 1991, no. 0250); “Exposition des peintures, sculptures et gravures de messieurs de l’Académie Royale de Peinture en 1775,” *Mercure de France*, October 1775 (CD 1980, vol. 10, no. 165, p. 733; McWilliam 1991, no. 0246); *Observations* 1775, p. 41 (CD 1980, vol. 10, no. 160; McWilliam 1991, no. 0247); Sterling 1955, pp. 161–63, ill.; Diderot 1957–67, vol. 4 (1967), pp. 250–51, 286; Beau 1968, p. 293, no. 59c, ill.; Cayeux 1985, pp. 222, 249, figs. 77, 90; Cayeux 1987, p. 56, no. 43, ill.; Cayeux and Boulot 1989, pp. 174–75, 216, 370 n. 5; Baillio 1992, pp. 162, 164, 171, figs. 13, 14, 37 (overall and details).

89 | Hubert Robert

A Corner of the Courtyard of the Capitol, with Itinerant Musicians, ca. 1777–79

Oil on canvas, 68¼ x 48¼ in. (174.6 x 122.6 cm)

Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 (17.190.30)

This painting belongs to a set of six Roberts that formed the decoration of a small room at Bagatelle, a Neoclassical pavilion near the Bois de Boulogne (fig. 89.1). Bagatelle still stands, though the interiors are changed, and its history is in great part recorded.¹ The building was constructed by order of Charles Philippe, comte d’Artois, who, born in 1757, was the youngest brother of Louis XVI and also an intimate friend of Marie Antoinette. Much later, he succeeded as Charles X of France. He had occasionally visited the property, which had the advantage of being very close to Paris, and he bought it intending to tear down an existing structure that was in ruins because it had been compromised by the rising waters of the Seine. The comte d’Artois wagered the queen 100,000 francs that the new Bagatelle could be completed while the court was at Fontainebleau in the autumn of 1777 and promised to give an entertainment there in her honor upon her return to Versailles. His architect was François Joseph Bélanger, and the painters and decorators, who presumably were engaged by Bélanger, were among the most distinguished of the era. More than 800 people worked ceaselessly to complete the elegant building, outbuildings, and formal garden (the English park dates a little later) within sixty-four days, on November 26, 1777. The project was finished in great part on time, and the comte d’Artois won his wager, but the queen’s appearance was long delayed and the works continued into the 1780s. The enormous costs have been estimated as high as three million livres.

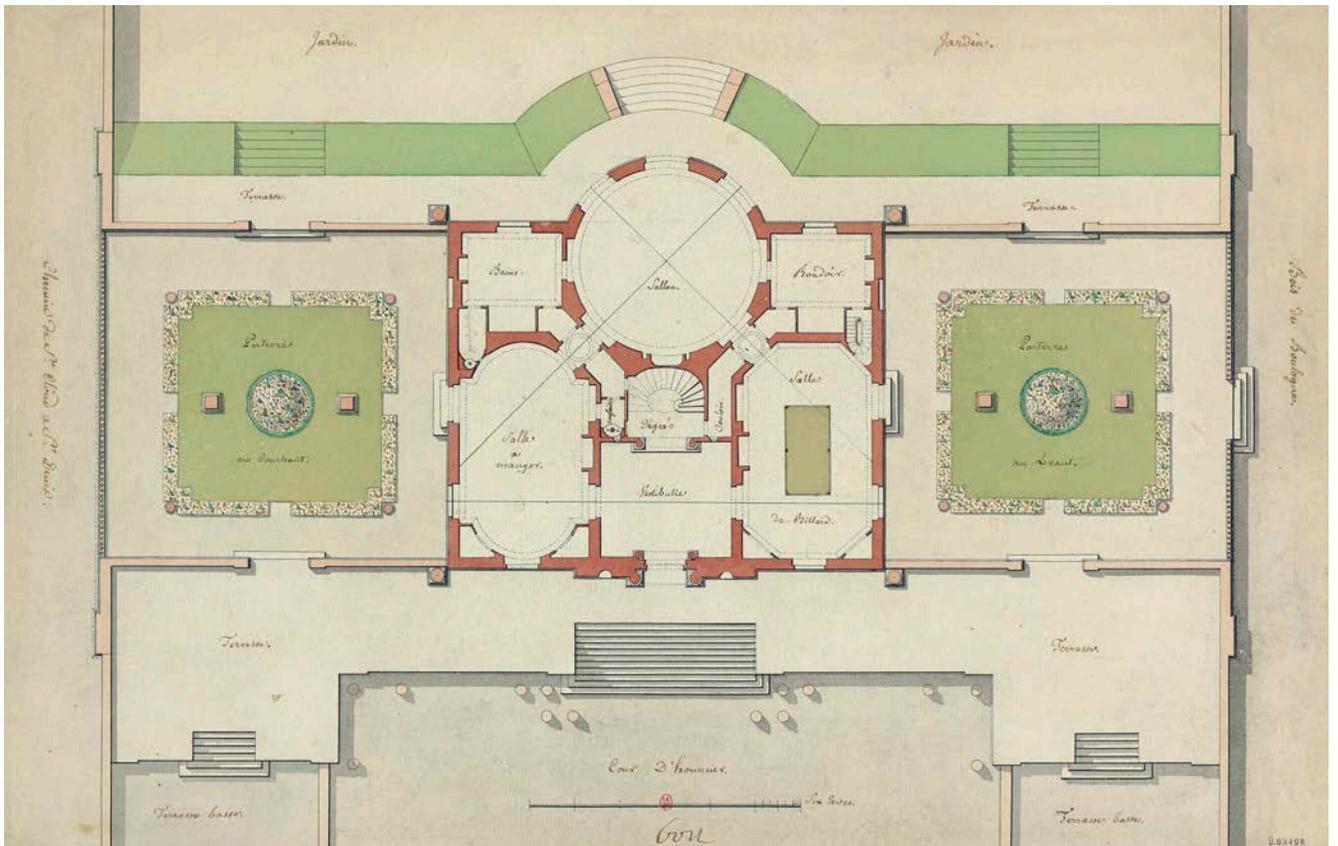
The principal space was a double-height domed salon overlooking a formal garden and flanked by small rooms to either side (fig. 89.2): Robert was commissioned to decorate one of them (that to the left), while the other was assigned to





Left: Fig. 89.1. Jean Démosthène Dugourc (French, 1749–1825), *The Garden Facade of Bagatelle*, 1779. Pen and black ink, watercolor, and black chalk, 11¼ x 15½ in. (28.3 x 40.2 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Bequest of Susan Dwight Bliss, 1966 (67.55.17)

Below: Fig. 89.2. François Joseph Bélanger (French, 1744–1818), *Bagatelle: Plan of the Rez-de-Chaussée*, 1777. Ink and wash. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris



the portraitist Antoine Callet. Robert's wall paintings were for what was usually described as the bathing chamber, though the visiting German architect Friedrich Gilly noted that when he was there, in 1797, the room opposite was fitted out for that purpose. Six pictures by Robert and six by Callet

were in situ in each of the two rooms. The building changed hands various times after the comte d'Artois emigrated, and it was finally bought in 1806 by Napoleon's Administration des Domaines. In 1808 the Robert and Callet paintings were removed and offered for sale with other works of art at an

anonymous public auction in Paris.² A century later, six upright canvases (cats. 89–94) and two overdoors by Robert, from the Flaux family, were sold through an agent to J. Pierpont Morgan, president of the board of trustees of the Metropolitan Museum.³ Lent to The Met in 1912, they were part of the Morgan gift, one of the most important in the Museum's history. Joseph Baillio's comprehensive account of Robert's commission for Bagatelle and his addendum, written for the *Metropolitan Museum Journal* in the early 1990s, are the primary sources.⁴

The ever prolific Robert exhibited eleven paintings and various finished colored drawings at the Salon of 1779. He borrowed most of the works back from their owners and, in accordance with convention, those lent by the comte d'Artois, who held the highest rank among the lenders, were listed first. This canvas is apparently number 90, *Une partie de la Cour du Capitole, ornée de Musiciens ambulans près d'une Fontaine*. The capitol to which the artist refers is the Campidoglio in Rome. The size of the painting recorded in the *livret* is 5 x 4 pieds (a French pied was a little larger than a foot). The pendant, whose modern title is *The Bathing Pool* (cat. 90), was not exhibited. According to the 1779 Bagatelle accounts, Robert was to receive 3,600 livres in total for the commission, and according to the 1785 accounts, he was eventually paid an additional 1,200 livres. Luckily for the painter, these sums were finally remitted between January 17 and June 6, 1789, shortly before the comte d'Artois, who was deeply in debt, went into exile.

There are four additional paintings, and as all are roughly the same height, the pairings are determined by their widths: *The Swing* (cat. 92), which is signed, and *The Dance* (cat. 91) measure 34–35 inches across, while *The Fountain* (cat. 93) and *The Mouth of a Cave* (cat. 94) are narrower, at about 31 inches. *The Mouth of a Cave* is signed and dated 1784. It differs slightly in style and is in very good state, much better preserved than its damaged pendant. A discrepancy in the sums mentioned in the several documents may be explained in part by a report of May 18, 1784, to Artois's superintendent of finance, Monsieur de Verdun, stating that the two paintings installed on either side of the chimney piece were particularly compromised by moisture: the writers recommended that Robert "redo" them for 25 livres each, and the superintendent gave his authorization. (If, on the other hand, Robert had entirely repainted the panels beside the chimney, his fee would presumably have been 1,200 livres; however, only one seems to have been replaced.)

In the summer of 1795 Bagatelle came to the attention of the citizen members of the Commission Temporaire des Arts. The commissioners agreed that while the works of art which constituted (movable) national property at Bagatelle should be sent to Paris to be auctioned off, the pictures decorating the two apartments were set into the woodwork and should

therefore remain in situ, where they were to be safeguarded and preserved. As the building was sold shortly thereafter and reopened as a restaurant and place of public entertainment, it is remarkable that Robert's decorations survived in the condition in which Mr. Morgan received them.⁵

The boudoir, or *chambre de bains*, measured 13½ x 10 feet, and the paintings would have covered three walls more or less completely. The fourth wall—at either side of a recessed alcove for the tub, which when not in use was converted into an ottoman—was mirrored, and there was also a large mirror over the green marble mantelpiece opposite the main door to the room. The floor was white marble and the ceiling painted to imitate the sky, while the single French window was hung with sheer, lace-trimmed curtains. A 1778 watercolor by Bélanger shows how the decorations contributed to the intimacy of the stylish little room (fig. 89.3).⁶ The present canvas and its companion would have been installed on either side of the window overlooking the formal garden.

Each of Robert's Bagatelle paintings was prepared by or relates to one or several sketches, many or most of which date back to his years of study in Rome and elsewhere in Italy. The drawings he retained from his travels were a source of inspiration throughout his career as a painter/decorator. An important collection of ninety-five sheets is at Valence, where it was catalogued in 1968 by Marguerite Beau, who reproduces five sketches inspired by Michelangelo's facade of the Palazzo dei Conservatori on the Roman Campidoglio, as if seen from the piazza but without the statue of Marcus Aurelius.⁷ The drawing closest to this canvas shows an obelisk at left and a landscape with a bridge in the background.⁸ The obelisk stands at the center of a low, round basin, with indications of a fountain or fountains, small figures to the right, and one bay of the building. Three related paintings all differ in composition and various details.⁹

A bagatelle is a trinket or trifle, something small and frivolous. The count's Bagatelle was not a place to live but one to visit occasionally, when it became a private environment walled off from any but intimate friends with whom he might cultivate extravagant behavior or illicit relationships. Its princely owner, young, fit, and handsome, was raised to a life of idleness and expenditure on a heroic scale. His occupations were entertainments that notably included women (he had an unprepossessing wife), sport, and building, and he occasionally showed an interest in contemporary paintings, some with erotic subjects. The airy salons decorated with pastel grotesqueries and with many windows opening on terraced gardens were perhaps meant to contrast with the tiny private rooms, darker, lavishly fitted up, and intended for intimacy. Bathing was coming into fashion with the upper classes at the time but was still a novelty.¹⁰

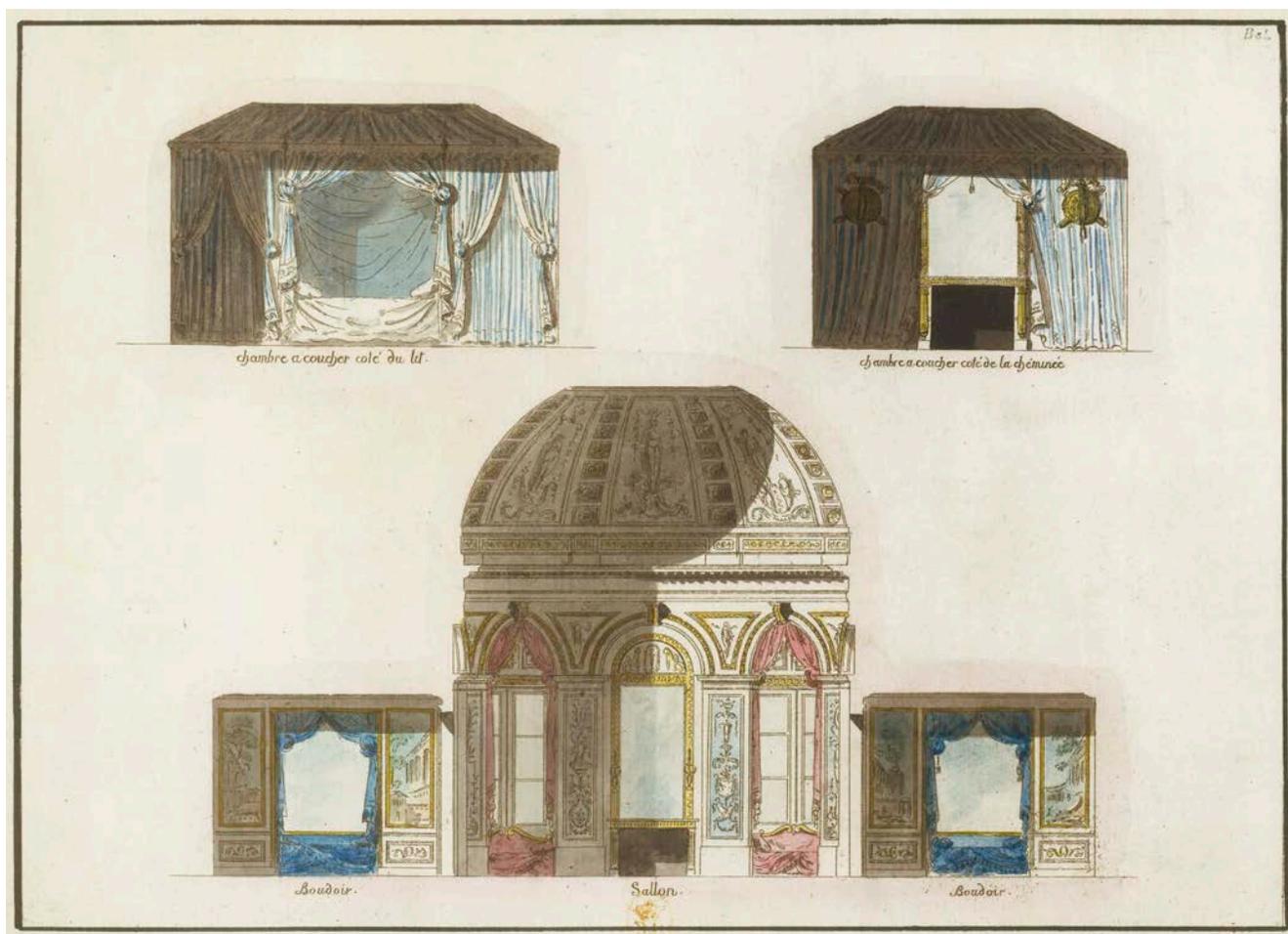


Fig. 89.3. François Joseph Bélanger, *Bagatelle: Cross-sectional View of the Rez-de-Chaussée*, 1778. Watercolor. Reproduced in Baillio 1992, fig. 5

NOTES

1. Duchesne 1909, pp. 117–27, and particularly pp. 119–20, for Bachaumont’s account of October 22, 1777. Some of the interior details and furnishings are illustrated in *Bagatelle* 1988.

2. Fredericksen and Peronnet 1998, vol. 1, p. 47, no. 148. Callet’s paintings were never described and have disappeared. According to *Chronique des Arts et de la Curiosité*, no. 31 (October 7, 1911), p. 242, Robert’s six decorative panels were rediscovered by M. Forestier, *conservateur* of the Bois de Boulogne. They were said to have been at Malmaison until the empress Josephine gave them to her physician, a member of whose family took them to the Midi. As *Bagatelle* was bought by Napoleon’s functionaries in 1806 and the pictures were sold in 1808, such a scenario is most unlikely. Gérard Hubert, chief curator at Malmaison (in a letter of April 28, 1980), found no record that the pictures had ever been there.

3. According to the 1912 exhibition list, they had belonged to Madame de Flaux, in whose possession they were recorded in Forestier 1910, p. 35.

4. For a digest of the documents, see Baillio 1992, pp. 177–78.

5. In preparation for their installation in the Wrightsman Galleries in 1988, all of the works in the series were examined. In the case of this painting, two old tears and an insert were noted, in the building at right, as well as

damage along the edges. The painting had been glue-lined twice, and the tacking margins were eliminated. The ground is a smooth cool gray and the paint is lean, with virtually no impasto. Some drawing is visible in the sky and the architecture. Ground and paint losses had been filled and retouched in the course of various prior restorations. The canvas was surface-cleaned by conservator Gwen Tauber, and the fills and retouches were improved in appearance.

6. Robert’s *tableaux de place* are rarely seen in the sort of intimate space for which they were designed. In 2006–7, during the closure of the Wrightsman Galleries for renovation, they were installed in one of the smallest European paintings galleries to wonderful effect.

7. Beau 1968, nos. 24a–c, 24h, 24j (the last two show the composition reversed).

8. The drawing is reproduced in Baillio 1992, p. 160, fig. 10, as well as a drawing relating to the trumpeters, fig. 11.

9. These are *A Fête at the Villa Medici in Rome* (Baillio 1992, p. 160, fig. 9); *Les chanteurs ambulants* (Musée du Louvre, Paris, MI 1109); and *Rivière vue d’une terrasse* (Paris 1933, no. 107).

10. See Vigarello 1988, pp. 93–99.

EX COLL. (cats. 89–94): Charles Philippe, comte d’Artois, Château de Bagatelle, near Paris (until 1789; abandoned, then nationalized, sold in 1796); Lieuthraud, or Leuthraud, called marquis de Beauregard (1796–97); André Lhéritier and the Société des Entrepreneurs de Fêtes (1797–1806; sold to Napoleon’s Administration des Domaines); sale, Hôtel de Bullion, Paris, Clisorius and Masson jeune, April 4ff., 1808, no. 151, as “Six Tableaux sous ce numéro; ils représentent des monuments d’Italie et amusements champêtres. Ils ont été peints pour le ci-devant comte d’Artois, à Bagatelle. Toile.”; two-part lot, the first sold for Fr 381 and the second for Fr 240, both to Brunot; ?[Jacques Nicolas Brunot, from 1808]; Pierre Justin Armand Verdier, comte de Flaux, Château de Flaux, near Uzès (until d. 1883); Edouard Henri Roger Verdier, comte de Flaux, Château de Flaux (1883–d. 1898); Clémence Pascal Verdier, comtesse douairière de Flaux, Château de Flaux (1898–d. 1908); Flaux estate (under arbitration, 1908–10); Eliane Berger, Roger de Flaux’s daughter (1910–11; offered through Maurice de Verneuil to the MMA and to Morgan); J. Pierpont Morgan, New York (1911–d. 1913; his estate, 1913–17).

EXHIBITIONS: Paris, Salon, August 25–October 3, 1779, no. 90 (as *Une partie de la Cour du Capitole, ornée de Musiciens ambulans près d’une Fontaine*. “De 5 pieds de haut; sur 4 de large. . . à M. le Comte d’Artois.”). Paris, Galerie Thos. Agnew & Sons, *Oeuvres d’Hubert Robert*, March 12–30, 1912 (as one of eight *Panneaux Décoratifs pour un salon, provenant de la collection de Madame de Flaux*, lent by J. Pierpont Morgan).

SELECTED REFERENCES: Thiéry 1787, vol. 1, pp. 28–29; Friedrich Gilly, “Description de Bagatelle,” 1797 (published in Gilly 1965, p. 22); *Annonces, Affiches et Avis Divers* 93, April 2, 1808, p. 1478; Yriarte 1903, pp. 21, 33; Duchesne 1909, pp. 142, 155, 160; Forestier 1910, pp. 34–35; “Nouvelles,” *Chronique des Arts et de la Curiosité*, no. 31, October 7, 1911, p. 242; Sterling 1955, pp. 163–66, ill.; Cayeux 1988, pp. 64–65, 68, ill. (color); Cayeux and Boulot 1989, p. 120; Baillio 1992, pp. 149, 156–57, 160–62, 164, 171–73, 176–78, 181 n. 20, 182 nn. 51, 53–54, figs. 8, 11 (overall and detail); Baillio 1995; Radisich 1998, pp. 12–13, 78–96, 110–11, 118–19, 171–72 nn. 25, 29, 173 n. 35, 174 n. 42, 176 n. 56, figs. 40–45.

90 | Hubert Robert

The Bathing Pool, ca. 1777–80

Oil on canvas, 68¾ x 48¾ in. (174.6 x 123.8 cm)

Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 (17.190.29)

While the subjects of the Bagatelle decorations are generically Italian, *A Corner of the Courtyard of the Capitol* (cat. 89), the only one exhibited, is thus the only one titled by the artist. Its pendant, called *The Bathing Pool*, shows a woodland temple with a pool and fountains, visitors, and bathers, and better illustrates Robert’s capacity for invention. The ancient ruined buildings that may have inspired him are the temple of the sibyl at Tivoli and the so-called temple of Serapis at Pozzuoli, near Naples, though Bramante’s Tempietto at San Pietro in Montorio in Rome has also been mentioned. However, only the temple in Tivoli held enduring fascination for Robert, whose many paintings and drawings take the form of observed and imagined views of the site, as well as a combination of the

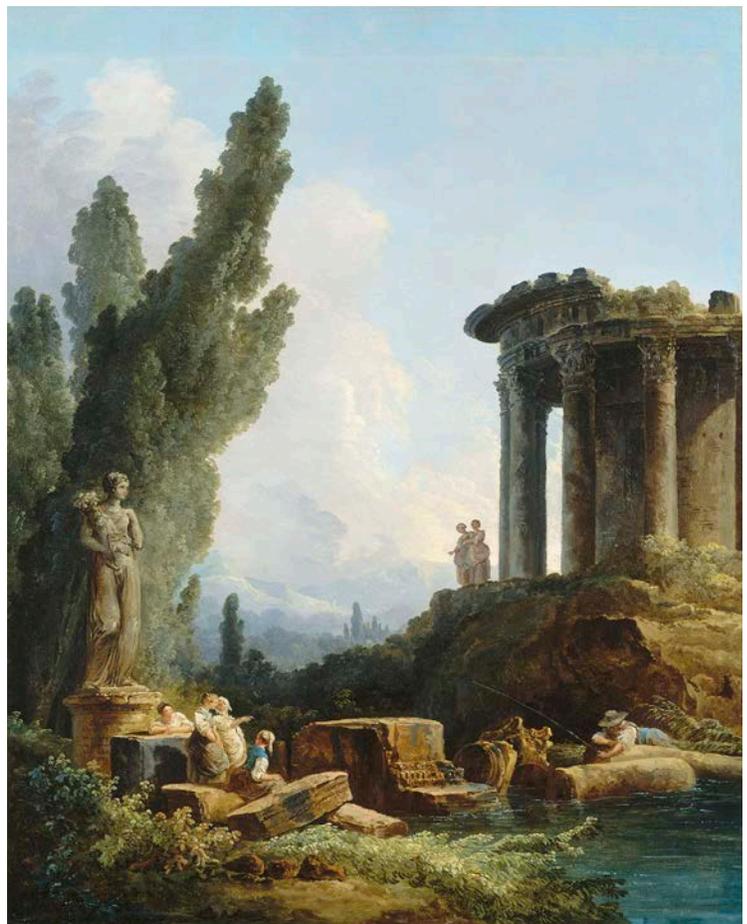


Fig. 90.1. Hubert Robert, *Ancient Ruins, and Young Women before a Statue of Abundance*, 1779. Oil on canvas, 30¾ x 24¾ in. (78 x 63 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris (INV 7644)

two.¹ A canvas dating to 1779 in the Musée du Louvre, Paris, belongs to the latter category (fig. 90.1). It is much closer to reality than our painting in showing the little building on a promontory with a distant landscape.² Of more immediate interest are two pages from Robert’s sketchbooks with drawings showing figures in a landscape with an ancient temple and a tomb, and a landscape with an ancient temple at the center (figs. 90.2–3). Both show flat, wooded scenery with proportionately larger columned buildings in the round, one without a roof and the other with a shallow dome; both must be imaginary.

Robert also drew on the work of two major French artists of previous generations, the sculptor Jean-Baptiste Pigalle, born in 1714, and the painter FRANÇOIS BOUCHER. Pigalle had been accorded preliminary admission to the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture in 1741 with a terracotta model of *Mercury Attaching His Sandals* and was invited to design a companion piece, representing *Venus*, of which he exhibited a plaster model at the Salon of 1742.³ He presented





Fig. 90.2. Hubert Robert, *Landscape with an Ancient Temple and a Tomb*. Album leaf. Black chalk, $2\frac{3}{8} \times 3\frac{1}{16}$ in. (6.7 x 9.4 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris (RF 11489 recto)

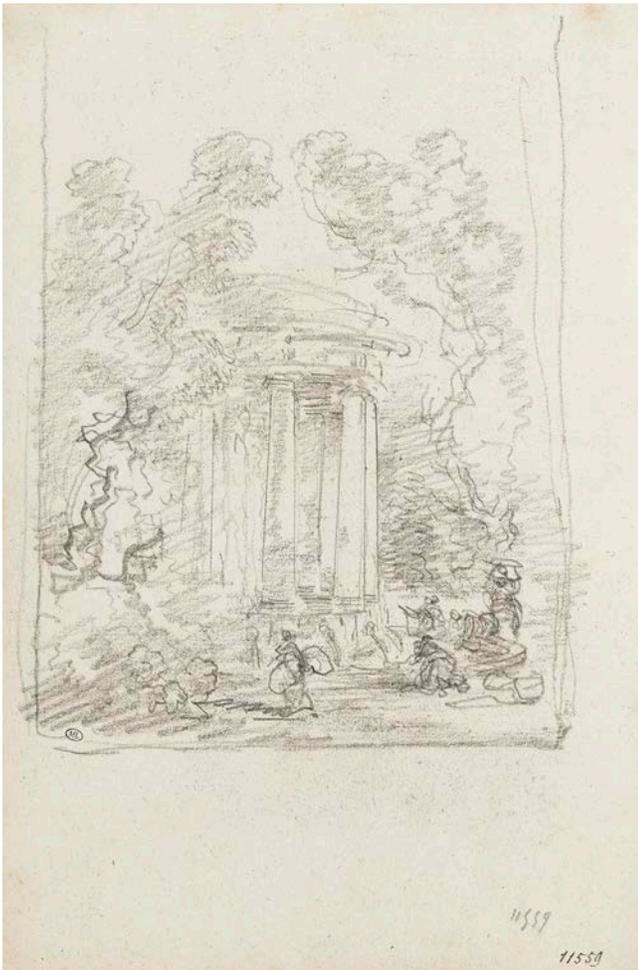


Fig. 90.3. Hubert Robert, *Landscape with an Ancient Temple*. Album leaf. Black chalk, $13\frac{1}{16} \times 9\frac{1}{16}$ in. (33.2 x 23 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris (RF 11559, 5)

a small marble *Mercury* (fig. 90.4) to the Académie Royale in 1744 as his reception piece and later carved large marbles of each that were sent in 1750 to Berlin as diplomatic gifts for Frederick II of Prussia. Robert reproduces an alternate design for *Venus* together with the small *Mercury* beside the steps to the pool. As to Boucher, Joseph Baillio drew attention to the fact that the figure of the bather drying her foot follows a painting by that artist that had been reproduced in an engraving by Nicolas de Larmessin.⁴

The interest of this canvas lies partly in Robert's glancing allusions to modern life. The roofless monument houses an antique sculpture protected from incursions by an ironwork fence. The six visitors are women, and while some are in peasant costume, at least two wear contemporary French cloaks and hoods; one, pointing at the statue, behaves as if she were a tourist, while another, seated on the steps, gazes in the



Fig. 90.4. Jean-Baptiste Pigalle (French, 1714–1785), *Mercury Fastening His Winged Sandals*, 1744. Marble, $22\frac{3}{16} \times 14 \times 13$ in. (58 x 35.5 x 33 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris (MR 1957; N 15437)



Fig. 90.5. Joseph Vernet (French, 1714–1789), *Nymphs Bathing*, 1771. Oil on canvas, 25³/₁₆ x 38³/₈ in. (65.5 x 97.5 cm). Bowes Museum, Barnard Castle (B.M.280)

direction of the bathers. Nude women were commonly presented in eighteenth-century art only in an allegorical or mythological context. As Baillio noted, these nudes were inspired by **JOSEPH VERNET** (fig. 90.5), who used such figures as staffage in his timeless Italianate marine views. (The painting illustrated here was shown at the Paris Salon of 1771.) The present case differs, because while the scene is imaginary, the visitors are modern women, and one of the nudes wears a modern pink shoe. In the context of a bathing chamber, Robert projects his nudes into a contemporary time frame.

NOTES

1. Examples of the first and third are among Robert drawings at the Musée du Louvre, titled *The Temple of the Sybil at Tivoli* (32731, recto) and *Landscape with a Waterfall near a Round Temple* (RF 14781, recto). For these finished studies in red chalk, see Joconde.

2. Paintings of invented landscapes with a temple in a wood include *Capriccio: A Garden Landscape with the Temple of the Sibyl*, an enormous canvas reproduced in London 1988, p. 68, no. 26, ill. (color); and *The Spring at the Temple of Vesta* from the Madame Roussel collection (her

estate sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, March 25–28, 1912, no. 21, ill. [engraving]) and later with Wildenstein. The pendant also has a subject relating to the Bagatelle series.

3. Charageat 1953. A reduction of the *Venus* that Robert reproduces is in the Louvre (OA 19800); further information about both sculptures is on Joconde. A drawing, pointed out to me by Joseph Baillio, shows the two sculptures side by side in a landscape; see Barthélémy 1999, p. 58, no. 47, ill. A painting illustrating the *Mercury* is reproduced in *ibid.*, fig. 11.

4. See Baillio 1992, p. 166, figs. 22, 23.

EX COLL.: see *cat.* 89.

EXHIBITION: Paris, Galerie Thos. Agnew & Sons, *Oeuvres d'Hubert Robert*, March 12–30, 1912 (as one of eight *Panneaux Décoratifs pour un salon, provenant de la collection de Madame de Flaux*, lent by J. Pierpont Morgan).

SELECTED REFERENCES: Sterling 1955, pp. 163–66, ill.; Cayeux 1988, pp. 62–65, 68, ill. (color, overall and detail); Baillio 1992, pp. 149, 156–57, 161, 164, 171–73, 176–78, 181 nn. 25–26, 182 nn. 51, 53–54, figs. 15, 17, 18, 20, 22 (overall and details).



91 | Hubert Robert

The Dance, ca. 1778–80

Oil on canvas, 68¼ x 33⅝ in. (173.4 x 85.4 cm)

Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 (17.190.28)

Robert's mountain landscapes may be precipitous but are free of drama.¹ Often he includes a stone bridge—it is impossible to understand why the immense, casually balanced blocks depicted here do not fall into the river. Several travelers crossing the bridge stop to study the view. Watched over by villagers in the foreground, a dancing couple, based on a **BOUCHER** drawing,² are accompanied by a guitarist. Another traveler with a red cap and cloak looks on. There is a sketch in the Musée du Louvre (fig. 91.1) that could have informed this composition. Were the larger, linear figures of the guitarist and the gentleman with a sun shade in the drawing added to a view drawn from nature?

NOTES

1. The painting sustained damage in 1987: a horizontal tear 9 in. (22.9 cm) in length just above the left center with a fractional loss of pigment. The restoration was begun immediately; the lining was replaced.

2. Reproduced in Baillio 1992, p. 172, fig. 32.

EX COLL.: see cat. 89.

EXHIBITION: see cat. 90.

SELECTED REFERENCES: Sterling 1955, pp. 163–65, ill.; Cayeux 1988, pp. 64–65, 67–68, ill. (color, overall and detail); Baillio 1992, pp. 149, 156–57, 161, 167, 171–73, 176–78, 182 nn. 51, 53–54, fig. 29.

92 | Hubert Robert

The Swing, ca. 1778–80

Oil on canvas, 68¼ x 34⅝ in. (173.4 x 87.9 cm)

Signed (on base of statue): H. ROBERT

Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 (17.190.27)

In eighteenth-century France, swinging, which conveys a sense of abandon, was a popular amusement thought to have either romantic or erotic and voyeuristic overtones. Swings were depicted by **WATTEAU** (fig. 92.1), one of whose compositions may have been Robert's source, and, famously, by Robert's contemporary **FRAGONARD** in a painting in The Wallace Collection, London, the subject of an article by Donald Posner often cited in this context.¹ The motif is not associated with Italy. Here a young peasant (lively, but awkwardly drawn) moves not of her own volition but because the swing is fixed to a rope manipulated by a man standing in the foreground. The two men taking an interest, fashionably dressed and with elegant hats, evidently belong to a different social class. The girl looks over her shoulder, not at any of the men but instead at a sculpture of a nude male on a high pedestal beside her. Perhaps Robert was recalling a drawing or drawings that he had made of a marble leaning satyr in the Musei Capitolini in Rome.² If so, then he traduced his source, because he changed the pose, and both the sculpted figure and the man with the rope (they face and reflect each other) seem to be leering at the woman.



Fig. 91.1. Hubert Robert, *Washerwomen, a Musician, and Another Person in a Landscape*. Album leaf. Black chalk, 8¹¹/₁₆ x 12¹¹/₁₆ in. (22 x 32.3 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris (RF 11551 recto)



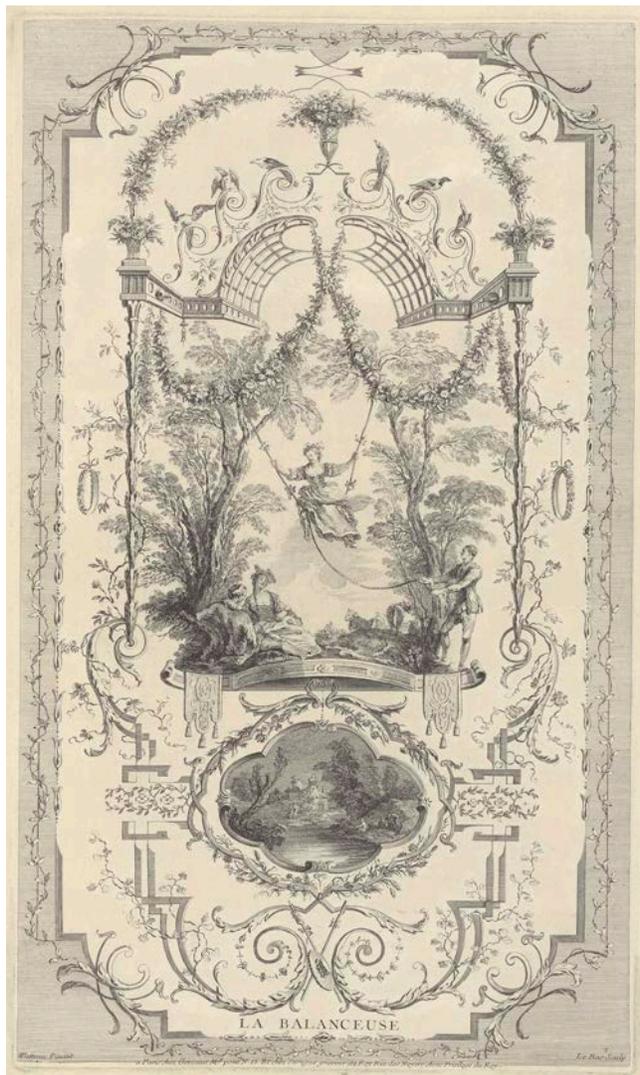


Fig. 92.1. Jacques Philippe Le Bas (French, 1707–1783) after Antoine Watteau (French, 1684–1721), *Woman Swinging*, 1731. *Recueil Jullienne*. Engraving, 16¹⁵/₁₆ x 12⁵/₁₆ in. (43 x 31.2 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of Mrs. and Mrs. Herbert N. Straus, 1928 (28.113(3))

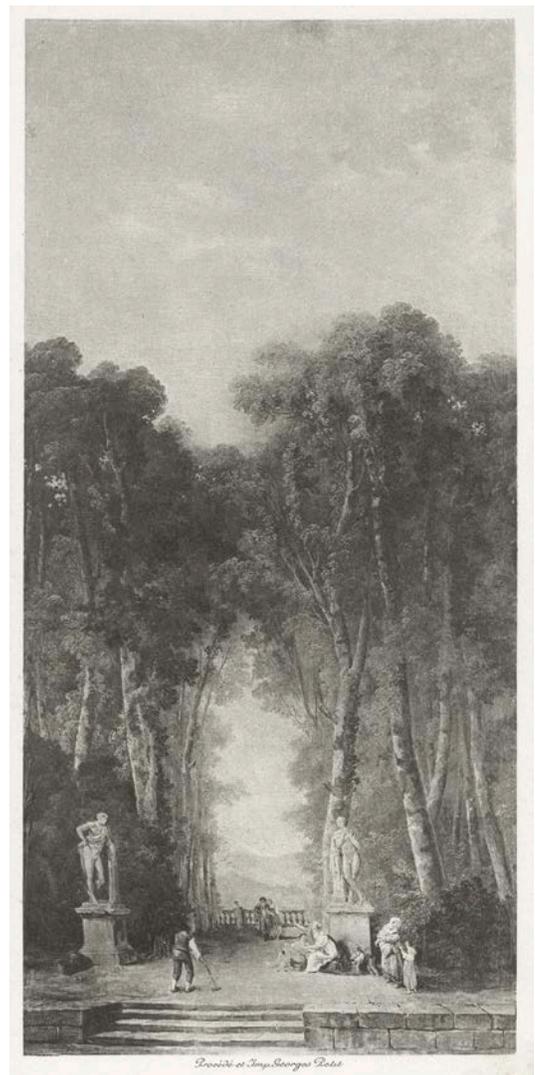


Fig. 92.2. After Hubert Robert, *Repose in the Park*. Reproduced in *Catalogue des tableaux . . . de Madame Roussel*, sale cat., Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, March 25–28, 1912, no. 20

Robert deployed this composition with variations. Another large upright panel (fig. 92.2) shows a woodland with the same bright opening at the center, sculptures to left and right, a man and woman in the distance, and a man raking in the foreground. The woman swinging has disappeared.³ A much smaller picture with the same sculptures and a woman on a swing guided by two ropes is in Brussels.⁴ It is signed and dated 1799.

NOTES

1. The Wallace Collection P430. Posner 1982, figs. 4, 12; Milam 2006, pp. 54, 70–71 nn. 9, 10, 12, 14.
2. Beau 1968, no. 27, ill., reproduced a drawing of various antiquities in the Capitoline including the satyr; her fig. 27d is a photograph of the sculpture.
3. The painting was illustrated when sold from the collection of Madame Roussel (her estate sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, March 25–28, 1912,

no. 20, ill.). By 1983, what purports to be the same work was at Christie's (sale, Christie's, New York, June 10, 1983, no. 171A, ill.), with the swinging figure revealed or added and the rake held by the gardener painted out.

4. Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts 7443: Cayeux 1987, pp. 134–36, pl. 106 (color). The wood is denser; the figure group at lower right is similar. Another related painting is in the Museo Nacional de Artes Decorativas, Havana (information confirmed by Katia Varela Ordaz in an email of March 6, 2015).

EX COLL.: see cat. 89.

EXHIBITION: see cat. 90.

REFERENCES: Sterling 1955, pp. 163–64, ill.; Cayeux 1988, pp. 64–65, 68, ill. (color); Baillio 1992, pp. 149, 156–57, 161, 166–67, 171–73, 176–78, 181 n. 34, 182 nn. 39, 51, 53–54, fig. 25.



93 | Hubert Robert

The Fountain, ca. 1778–80

Oil on canvas, 68¼ x 31⅜ in. (173.4 x 79.7 cm)

Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 (17.190.26)

Robert was inspired either by the column of Trajan or by that of Marcus Aurelius, though both Roman columns have a spiral band of decoration. Here the shaft is smooth and the column has been illogically placed near and at angles to an aqueduct, another feature of the Italian landscape with which the artist would have been familiar. Obelisks and columns were suited to narrow decorative panels, as Robert illustrated in an early drawing (fig. 93.1). A column atop a pedestal with a basin and a fountain below was, however, his own rather eccentric invention. Travelers stir up dust on a roadway in the distance. The painting suffered irreparable damage at an earlier stage in its history.

EX COLL.: see [cat. 89](#).

EXHIBITION: see [cat. 90](#).

SELECTED REFERENCES: Sterling 1955, pp. 163–64, ill.; Cayeux 1988, pp. 63–65, 68, ill. (color, overall and detail); Baillio 1992, pp. 149, 156–57, 161, 167, 169, 171–73, 176–78, 182 nn. 51, 53–54, fig. 33.



Fig. 93.1. Hubert Robert, *Studies of an Obelisk and a Column and of a Dog Drinking from a Basin*. Album leaf. Black chalk, 8⅞ x 6⅞ in. (20.5 x 16 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris (RF 37335 verso)

94 | Hubert Robert

The Mouth of a Cave, 1784

Oil on canvas, 68¾ x 31¼ in. (174.6 x 79.4 cm)

Signed and dated (lower right): H· ROBERT / 1784·

Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 (17.190.25)

Traveling with the Abbé de SAINT-NON, Robert visited Naples in the spring of 1760 and while there made drawings of the grotto of Posillipo, a tunnel dug in antiquity that afforded a direct route from Naples to Pozzuoli.¹ This tunnel was a favorite with artists and Grand Tourists, but it is difficult to imagine that, as has been suggested, it inspired the present quasi-marine view. Always fascinated with light penetrating dark, whether in an architectural or natural setting, Robert drew and painted this effect throughout his career, from the interior arcades of the Colosseum in Rome to the grottoes of the Bay of Naples. He must have visited the Grotta del Tuono (fig. 94.1), a natural cave with a high, relatively narrow entrance whose rocky floor is partially exposed at low tide.² The figures are typically Italian: a barefoot fisherman and two peasant women standing on the rocks, and a wader, in profile in the rather dark foreground with a basket of reeds on his shoulder. The sky shows the rosy color of early evening.

The painting is signed and dated 1784, five years after the original Bagatelle commission. Presumably it replaced an earlier work that had been unalterably compromised by damp.³

NOTES

1. Lamers and Rosenberg 1995, pp. 68–70, 345, no. 399a. For Robert's visit to the Posillipo tunnel and his interest in spaces of the kind, see Corboz 1978, esp. pp. 10–16, figs. 8, 9.

2. The painting is close to an observed view, but Robert also used very similar rock formations for imaginary subjects. See Baillio 1992, p. 177, fig. 36, and a related oil sketch that omits the water altogether (sale, Palais Galliera, Paris, June 3, 1975, no. 43, ill.).

3. The canvas has been relined and the tacking margins cut. In the past, it was selectively cleaned and varnished. There is an area of abrasion at the upper right and near the bottom, a horizontal tear measuring roughly 20 in. (50 cm), which has resulted in some distortion.



Fig. 94.1. Fulvio De Marinis, *Grotta del Tuono (Thunder Grotto)*, 2014



EX COLL.: see cat. 89.

EXHIBITION: see cat. 90.

REFERENCES: Sterling 1955, pp. 162–64, ill.; Cayeux 1988, pp. 63–66, 68, ill. (color, overall and detail); Baillio 1992, pp. 149, 156–57, 161, 169, 171–73, 176–78, 182 nn. 38–39, 51, 53–54, fig. 34.



Cat. 95

95 and 96 | Hubert Robert

***Bridge over a Cascade*, late 18th century**

Oil on canvas, 32 x 54 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (81.3 x 137.5 cm)

Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1906 (07.225.264a)

***Aqueduct in Ruins*, late 18th century**

Oil on canvas, 32 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 54 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (81.6 x 137.5 cm)

Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1906 (07.225.264b)

In the first of these pendant paintings, a couple lean against a wooden railing on a stone bridge above a dam. Robert embellished the structure with an antique bust in a niche and some trailing plants. In the foreground, next to an outcropping, a herdsman leans on the back of a white horse, a cow lies beside a pathway, and a laborer kneels beside the water to harvest reeds that he has cut with a hand scythe. The discrepancy in scale among the figures is less noticeable from below, and the peasants in the foreground, unusually large, are visible from a steep angle and from some distance. Robert may have had in mind Rome's ancient bridges and the engravings Piranesi made of them.

In *Aqueduct in Ruins*, the upper level of the structure, recognizable by its scale and by the absence of decoration, occupies the middle distance in this overdoor that is almost

certainly from the Hôtel Rouillé de l'Étang. The remains of Roman aqueducts may still be seen in the Italian capital and the surrounding countryside. The ancient statue appears elsewhere in Robert's work (fig. 96.1). Water flowing into a basin then overflows into a stream forded by a flock of sheep and a cow, while a shepherd boy washes his hat at the fountain. Above and to the left is another shepherd with his staff and dog.



Fig. 96.1. Hubert Robert, *Two Women Drawing among Ancient Ruins*, 1786. Pen and watercolor, 27 $\frac{1}{16}$ x 38 $\frac{9}{16}$ in. (70 x 98 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris (RF 31695 recto)



Cat. 96

The two canvases were part of a group of works by Robert that included another pair of overdoors and five uprights, the largest of which measures more than 91½ inches (232 cm) in height. The possibility, supported by family tradition, is that they were commissioned or assembled by David Etienne Rouillé de l'Etang for the great house that he remodeled at 6, Place Louis XV, later Place de la Concorde, beginning in 1780.¹ Rouillé was childless, and at his death in 1811 the house and collection were inherited by his niece, Adélaïde, marquise de Pastoret, the subject of a famous portrait by **JACQUES LOUIS DAVID**; her son Amédée, the subsequent owner, sat for Ingres.² The owners of the house enjoyed wealth, power, and high office, and none fell victim to the Revolution. According to the 1897 sale catalogue, the Robert paintings were removed from the house in 1870 by the last, childless marquise, who took them to the country, from whence they went to the auction rooms. Three of five of the larger paintings described in the sale catalogue have been traced: *Le Jet d'eau* (fig. 96.2), *Personnages devant les ruines du Temple de Saturne à Rome*, and *Environs de Naples*.³

NOTES

1. Claeys 2011, vol. 2, pp. 2149–52.
2. Both portraits are in the Art Institute of Chicago, 1967.228 and 1971.452.
3. The latter two are in private collections.

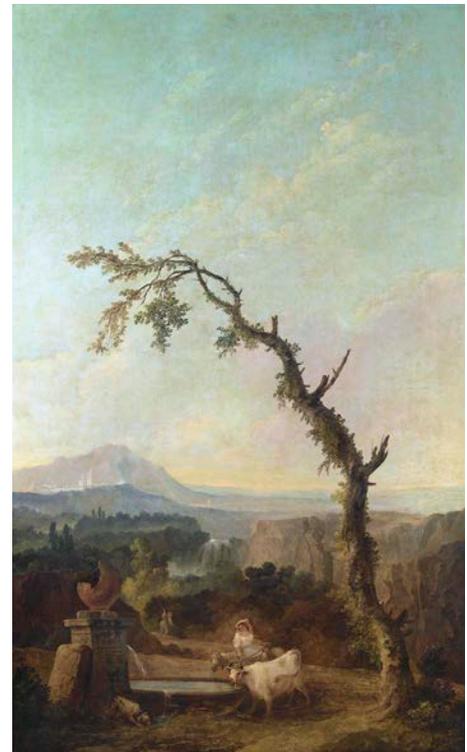


Fig. 96.2. Hubert Robert, *The Fountain*, 1784. Oil on canvas, 91½ x 55½ in. (232 x 141 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris (RF 1946-27)



Cat. 97

EX COLL.: ?David Etienne Rouillé de l'Etang, 6, Place Louis XV, Paris (until d. 1811); ?his niece, Adélaïde Anne Louise Piscatory, marquise de Pastoret, Paris (1811–d. 1843); ?Amédée David de Pastoret, marquis de Pastoret, Paris (1843–d. 1857); Marie Jeanne Louise Thérèse de Pastoret, marquise du Plessis-Bellière, Paris, later (from 1870) Château de Moreuil, Somme (1857–d. 1890; her estate sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, May 10–11, 1897, no. 72, for Fr 2000); [Georges Hoentschel, Paris, until 1906; sold to Morgan]; J. Pierpont Morgan, New York (1906).

SELECTED REFERENCES: Plessis-Bellière 1897, pp. III–V, 22–23, nos. 71–72; Sterling 1955, p. 170, ill.

97 and 98 | Hubert Robert

Arches in Ruins, late 18th century

Oil on canvas, 23½ x 61¼ in. (58.7 x 155.6 cm)

Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 (17.190.31)

A Colonnade in Ruins, late 18th century

Oil on canvas, 23 x 61½ in. (58.4 x 155.3 cm)

Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 (17.190.32)

Designed for installation above the doors of a room, this pair of paintings was intended by Robert to be seen both from a distance and from below.¹ The height of the canvases suggests that the interior was on a fairly modest scale. In the interest of increasing the illusion, the artist placed the figures on a rise in both of the pictures, with the arches constituting the ruins sunk (and partially buried) behind them. He deployed the Doric order, the simplest and most robust. For *Arches in Ruins*, the lowest arcade of the Colosseum in Rome provides a comparable example of ancient architectural style. The pale

coloring of the distant landscape contributes to the impression of recession. Arches and arcades were constant elements of Robert's vocabulary, easily adapted to the horizontal format. Although he did an enormous amount of decorative work, in general this did not include overdoors (see also cats. 95 and 96), which were often found in elegant rooms in late eighteenth-century Europe.

The compositions and color schemes of the paintings are similar. The open, curving arcade in *A Colonnade in Ruins* would have been recognizable to many of Robert's patrons and contemporaries as based on the portico through which Saint Peter's Basilica is approached, a subject Robert drew, and freely modified (fig. 98.1), on various occasions. Here the motif has been transferred to a remote mountain landscape, deprived of the statues on its roofline, and reduced to a ruinous state. The plant life flourishing in the crevices of the damaged cornices suggests the passage of time and impending decay. An artist in a wide-brimmed hat is seated on a grassy hillock with his back against a fragment of an ancient column and a drawing board on his knee. A peasant woman extends her arm above his head to indicate the finer points of the view.

When the overdoors were offered for purchase to both the Museum and J. Pierpont Morgan in 1911, they were stated, incorrectly, to have belonged to the decoration of Bagatelle (see cats. 89–94). They may have been acquired separately by, and formed part of the inheritance of, Armand Verdier, comte de Flaix, a poet and collector of works of art who died in 1883 and whose granddaughter, through an agent, sold them to Morgan.



Cat. 98

NOTES

1. In 1982 *Arches in Ruins* suffered damage—a T-shaped tear and a second straight tear in the sky at left of the rocky outcropping. The canvas had been paste-lined to a double lining canvas that was brittle and desiccated, and the tacking edges had been cut off. There were tiny holes, small losses, draws at the corners, and a buckle along the top edge. Dirt was lodged between the discolored varnish layers. Lining and adhesive were removed mechanically, and a new lining was adhered using electrostatic rather than vacuum pressure. The threads were rewoven under the microscope; the old losses were filled and retouched. The painting was cleaned by conservator Holly Hotchner.

EX COLL.: ?Armand Verdier, comte de Flaux, Château de Flaux, near Uzès (until d. 1883); ?Edouard Henri Roger Verdier, comte de Flaux,

Château de Flaux (1883–d. 1898); Clémence Pascal Verdier, comtesse douairière de Flaux, Château de Flaux (1898–d. 1908); Flaux estate (under arbitration, 1908–10); Eliane Berger, Roger de Flaux’s daughter (1910–11; offered through Maurice de Verneuil to the MMA and sold to Morgan); J. Pierpont Morgan, New York (1911–d. 1913; his estate, 1913–17; on loan to the Museum from April 1912).

SELECTED EXHIBITION: Paris, Galerie Thos. Agnew & Sons, *Oeuvres d’Hubert Robert*, March 12–30, 1912 (as two of eight *Panneaux Décoratifs pour un salon, provenant de la collection de Madame de Flaux*, lent by J. Pierpont Morgan).

SELECTED REFERENCES: Friedley 1912; Sterling 1955, pp. 167–68; Baillio 1992, pp. 173, 182 n. 49.



Fig. 98.1. Hubert Robert, *A Colonnade*. Album leaf. Brown ink and wash, black chalk, 6 $\frac{1}{16}$ x 9 $\frac{1}{16}$ in. (15.4 x 23 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris (RF 30593 recto)

ANTOINE VESTIER

Avallon 1740–1824 Paris

Born in Avallon, Burgundy, Vestier grew up there and saw his father imprisoned for debt. Without benefit of formal training and before he was twenty, he painted an enormous altarpiece for the principal church in the town. A local patron then sent him to Paris, where he was a student of the history painter and academician **JEAN-BAPTISTE MARIE PIERRE**. Vestier signed pastel and miniature portraits in 1758, 1759, and 1764, the year in which he married the daughter of a Parisian enameler. In 1776 he visited London. He was registered as a student at the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture in 1781; exhibited at the Salon de la Correspondance in 1782 and 1783; and in 1785 was admitted a candidate member of the Académie Royale, showing six portraits and several miniatures at the Salon. With the support of **JOSEPH SIFFRED DUPLESSIS**, by whom his style was influenced, Vestier was received as a full member of the Académie Royale in 1786 and the following year, a high point in his career, exhibited works that included the portrait catalogued below. From the later 1760s through the early years of the nineteenth century he signed and dated many fine miniatures, and these must have represented a regular source of income. Gradually, he also built up a practice as a portraitist in oils, but his best work as an oil painter dates from about 1775 to the Revolution; he seems to have been less prolific and to have enjoyed fewer successes thereafter. Nevertheless, he continued to exhibit whenever occasion offered. In 1796, after repeated requests, Vestier was awarded rooms in the Louvre, from which he and other artists were expelled in 1801. Five years later he ceased to paint.

LITERATURE ON THE ARTIST: Sueur 1974; Passez 1989.

99 | Antoine Vestier

Eugène Joseph Stanislas Foullon d'Ecotier, 1785

Oil on canvas, oval, 31 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 25 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (80.3 x 63.8 cm)

Signed and dated (lower right, on map cartouche): vestier / pinxit— / 1785

Inscribed on book: ORDON[NANCE] / DE LA / MARINE (Naval regulations); on pamphlet: MEMOIRE; on map: CARTE REDUITE DES ISLE[S DE] / LA GUADELOUPE / MARIE GALANTE ET LES SAINT[ES] / Dressé[e] au Depon des [Cartes] Plan[s] et Journ[aux de la Marine] / POUR LE SERVICE DES V[AISSEAUX DU ROY] / Par Ordre de M. BERRY[ER Ministre et Secrétaire d'Etat / aiant le Departement de la Marine / Par le Sr. Bellin Ingenieur de la Marine et du Depost des Plans / Censeur Royal de l'Academie de Marine et de la Societé Royale de

Londres / M.DCC.LIX] (Reduced map of the islands of Guadeloupe, Marie Galante, and Les Saintes, drawn up for the depository of maritime maps, plans, and journals, for the use of the king's vessels. By order of Mr. Berryer... [1759]) Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Charles Wrightsman, 1983 (1983.405)

Little was known about Vestier in 1965, when Mr. and Mrs. Wrightsman bought at auction for a modest sum this impeccably preserved, signed and dated portrait of Eugène Foullon d'Ecotier. The picture had not been mentioned since it was exhibited in 1787 and described in the *livret* of the Salon as "Monsieur *** in black with a map of Guadeloupe." Everett Fahy and Anne Poulet published details of the sitter's career in the 1973 Wrightsman catalogue. Presumably his identity had remained known to his family and was passed on when the portrait was sold, likely in the early twentieth century.

Foullon d'Ecotier, born at Valenciennes on October 2, 1753, began his career as a counselor at the Châtelet court of Paris in March 1772.¹ Through the 1770s and early 1780s he held steadily more senior posts until, on June 5, 1785, Louis XVI appointed him *intendant* for Guadeloupe (he was subordinate to the governor, and both operated under the supervision of the navy through the Ministère de la Marine). Foullon d'Ecotier became a colonial financial administrator through the good offices of his father, the powerful *intendant général des finances* for France. The new appointee departed for the islands in late November 1785 and arrived in February, remaining en poste in Guadeloupe with intervals in Martinique until the summer of 1789. Then there was an uprising, and when he took the side of the patriots rather than the planters, he was removed from office and in 1790 sent back to France. His father and brother-in-law had been executed the year before; he was imprisoned for eighteen months during the Terror, in 1792 and 1793. He had met his future wife, a divorcee, in Martinique and married her sometime after divorce was legalized in France in 1792.² Foullon d'Ecotier continued to seek reappointment and finally returned to Guadeloupe in 1816, but in a year or two he was once more living in France, ruined, and asking for financial assistance. He received a pension in 1820 and died in 1821.

A skilled miniaturist, Vestier was accustomed to the oval format and used it effectively: here the shape forces the sitter and the setting to the foreground. His cleft chin and black brows and the mole on his left temple are distinctive, as is his direct engagement with the viewer. He wears an elaborately dressed wig and the formal black coat and waistcoat of a government official, together with a lace ruff and lace at his wrist. His hand is described with care, as is the cartouche on the 1759 map of Guadeloupe and its dependencies that he holds (fig. 99.1). The book stamped with gilt letters is *La grande*



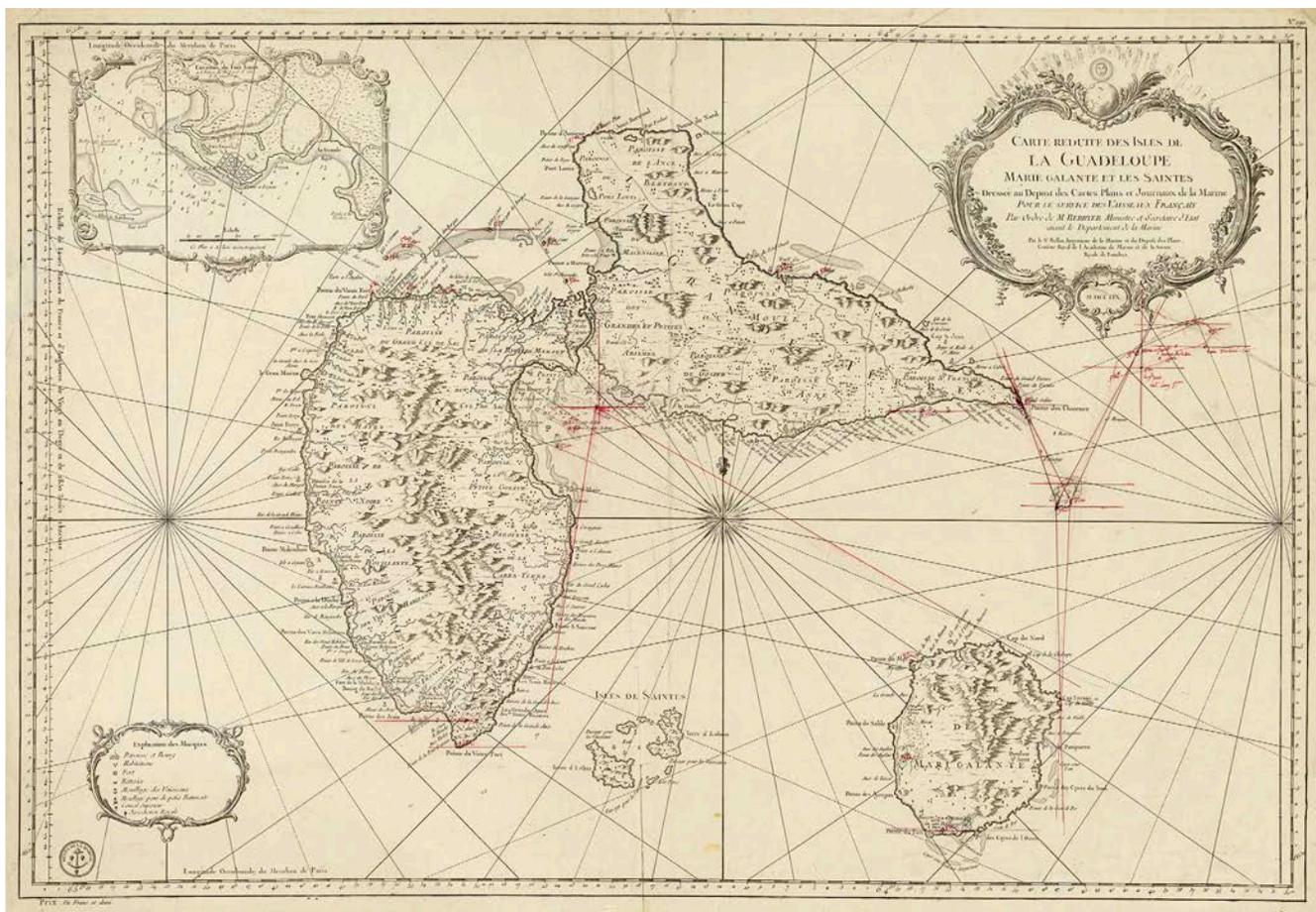


Fig. 99.1. Jacques Nicolas Bellin (French, 1703–1772), *Map of Guadeloupe*, 1759. Engraving, 23¼ x 34½ in. (59 x 87.5 cm). Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (cb438545986)

ordonnance de la marine, published in 1681, which governed the operations of the French merchant marine fleet. Fahy suggested that the memoir is probably that of 1784 addressed by the secretary of the navy to the newly appointed governor, the baron de Clugny, who preceded Foulon d'Ecotier to Guadeloupe. The document principally concerns issues of defense and trade there. Vestier is attentive to the various still-life details but troubles to transcribe only the lettering of the main lines in the titles. His signature and the date of the painting replace the date on the original map. While Vestier's portraits were highly regarded, one Salon critic found the faces too gray and felt that undue attention was given to the secondary parts of the picture.³ Centuries later, the carefully painted books and papers afford the viewer a sense of the sitter's world.

NOTES

1. In addition to the Wrightsman catalogues (Fahy and Watson 1973, Fahy 2005), this summary relies on a letter from J. P. Babelon of the Archives Nationales dated November 27, 1970, as well as notes taken in about 1970 by Anne Poulet at the Archives Nationales, file Colonies EE 950.

2. Passez 1989, p. 170, points this out, thus excluding the possibility that an oval Vestier portrait dated 1787 could represent his wife, as Fahy had suggested.

3. *Observations* 1787, pp. 26–27 (CD 1980, vol. 15, no. 373, pp. 26–27; McWilliam 1991, no. 0439).

EX COLL.: [Galerie Heim-Gairac, Paris, in 1930; sold to Balmain]; Mme Balmain, Paris (until her d.; sold by her estate to Heim-Gairac); [Galerie Heim-Gairac, Paris]; private collection; [art dealer, London, until 1965; sale, Sotheby's, London, March 24, 1965, no. 84, for £2,000 to S. & R. Rosenberg for Wrightsman]; Mr. and Mrs. Charles Wrightsman, New York (1965–83).

SELECTED EXHIBITION: Paris, Salon, August 25–September 25, 1787, no. 148 (as *M. *** en habit de satin noir, tenant en sa main la carte des Isles de la Guadeloupe*).

SELECTED REFERENCES: Fahy and Watson 1973, pp. 323–29, no. 33, ill. p. 325 (color), figs. 2, 4 (details); Sueur 1974, p. 52; Passez 1989, pp. 77, 142, 144, 170, no. 48, ill.; Fahy 2005, pp. 244–47, no. 67, ill. (color).

ANNE VALLAYER-COSTER

Paris 1744–1818 Paris

At the time of Anne Vallayer's birth, her father was an apprentice with the Gobelins tapestry manufactory, but he had been trained as a goldsmith and became a jewelry merchant. Typically for a woman, we have little knowledge of her teachers. She may have studied with the watercolorist Madeleine Basseporte, a professional botanical artist associated with the Jardin du Roi (after the Revolution, the Jardin des Plantes). There is some slight evidence that she received instruction from the marine painter **JOSEPH VERNET**, and each owned examples of the other's work. Vernet was helpful to more than one woman artist. In the summer of 1770 Vallayer presented herself to the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture and was accorded both preliminary reception and full membership. From the works presented, the academicians selected as her reception pieces a pair of canvases representing the attributes of painting and sculpture, dated 1769, and of music, dated 1770 (both Musée du Louvre, Paris). These are much indebted to **CHARDIN**, as are her kitchen and hunting subjects. Vallayer made a successful debut at the 1771 Salon with eleven still lifes: fruit and vegetables, musical instruments, and natural history subjects, as well as a trompe l'oeil of a bas-relief. These were the object of a flattering appraisal from the critic Denis Diderot. Every two years until the Revolution she sent eight to ten works, including, in 1779, a quasi-historical subject, a painting of a vestal virgin, belonging to the queen. At about the same time, she made a pastel of Marie Antoinette, by whom she was favored, and she also painted Louis XVI's three great-aunts. In 1781 she married Jean Pierre Silvestre Coster, a lawyer. She lived in Paris, exhibiting until 1817, and died the following year. The first major monographic exhibition of her work was held in 2002.

LITERATURE ON THE ARTIST: Roland Michel 1970; Kahng and Roland Michel 2002.

100 | Anne Vallayer-Coster

Vase of Flowers and Conch Shell, 1780

Oil on canvas, oval, 19¾ x 15 in. (50.2 x 38.1 cm)

Signed and dated (lower right): M^{lle} Vallayer / 1780

Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1906 (07.225.504)

This small canvas is typical for Vallayer, including the placement of the vase on a stone shelf, with the signature on the front edge, before a neutral background. The artist used various blue vases with gilt-bronze mounts. Her flowers are life-

like and, as here, may be brilliantly colored, painted over a light preparation, with red and blue predominating.¹ As Claire Barry pointed out, some of the greens have lost subtlety and variety, causing an imbalance that slightly detracts from the naturalism of this work among others. The blossoms are not as easy to identify as one might suppose: Marianne Roland Michel refers rather vaguely to anemones and marguerites. Instead, the larger flowers resemble asters, notably the so-called Reine Marguerite, which exists not in blue but in shades of lavender. Much later, Madame Vallayer-Coster made at least two botanical drawings of the same flower, with blue and white blossoms and in one case also with pink, which are variously referred to as dahlias and autumn daisies (fig. 100.1).² Conch shells of the type depicted here must have been common on the beaches of the French islands of the Caribbean, as they are still in Florida. While the artist painted several exceptionally beautiful still lifes of shells and corals, shells are not often combined in her work with flowers.

In 1955 Charles Sterling suggested that the present canvas might be one of "trois petits tableaux ovales de fleurs et de fruits," or three small oval paintings of flowers and of fruits, described under number 105 in the *livret* of the 1781 Salon. Roland Michel later identified our picture with number 28 in



Fig. 100.1. Anne Vallayer-Coster, *Autumn Daisies*, 1811. Watercolor, 10¼ x 8¼ in. (26 x 21 cm). Musée des Beaux-Arts, Nancy





Fig. 100.2. Anne Vallayer-Coster, *A Vase of Flowers and Two Plums on a Marble Tabletop*, 1781. Oil on canvas, oval, 18 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 15 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (48 x 39.8 cm). Private collection

the 1891 Cournerie sale and associated it with one of two other flower still lifes by Vallayer-Coster offered at the same time. She proposed that number 30, described as an oval with a crystal vase and shells, signed and dated 1780, might have been the pendant. Number 25 of the Cournerie sale, listed by Roland Michel immediately below, was an undated oval with a blue vase, and flowers and a bird's nest on a shelf. No painting fitting either of these descriptions has been found, presuming that two works, and possibly three, had been exhibited under one number in 1781 and were still together in 1891. If not, then, as Eik Kahng suggests, *A Vase of Flowers and Two Plums on a Marble Tabletop* (fig. 100.2) might qualify: very close in size to ours, it is signed and dated "M^e Vallayer Coster / 1781."³

The still life with a conch and the others mentioned above are in any event typical of Vallayer-Coster's style in 1781. Denis Diderot described her flower painting exhibits that year as "truthful," but, inexplicably, he also called her handling "soft" and "cold."⁴ By comparison, the author of *Panard au Sallon* found her equal to her chief rival in the genre, the Dutch-born Gerard van Spaendonck, while the writer of *La Vérité* called the still lifes "superb productions."

NOTES

1. Claire Barry, in Kahng and Roland Michel 2002, esp. pp. 104–6.
2. Kahng and Roland Michel 2002, p. 220, nos. 146, 148, figs. 56, 59 (color). The former belonged to the empress Josephine; the latter

(illustrated) was perhaps in the Cournerie collection. However, bright blue is not a typical color for (modern) dahlias either.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 207–8, no. 67, fig. 30 (color). The painting (formerly in the Michael L. Rosenberg collection, Dallas, and now in a private collection) was woven as one of a pair of Gobelins textiles.

4. Diderot 1957–67, vol. 4 (1967), p. 365: "Il y a de la vérité; mais la touche est molle et froide."

EX COLL.: Monsieur Cournerie, Paris (until 1891; his estate sale, Féral, Paris, December 8–9, 1891, no. 28, for Fr 700); [Georges Hoentschel, Paris, until 1906; sold to Morgan]; J. Pierpont Morgan, New York (1906).

SELECTED EXHIBITIONS: Paris, Salon, August 25–?September 25, 1781, no. 105 (one of *Trois petits Tableaux ovales, de fleurs & de fruits*). Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, *Anne Vallayer-Coster: Painter to the Court of Marie-Antoinette*, June 30–September 22, 2002, no. 61 (exh. cat.: Kahng and Roland Michel 2002); Dallas Museum of Art, *Anne Vallayer-Coster: Painter to the Court of Marie-Antoinette*, October 13, 2002–January 5, 2003, no. 61; New York, The Frick Collection, *Anne Vallayer-Coster: Painter to the Court of Marie-Antoinette*, January 21–March 23, 2003, no. 61.

SELECTED REFERENCES: Denis Diderot, *Salon de 1781*, Paris, 1781 (published in Diderot 1957–67, vol. 4 [1967], pp. 324, 365, no. 106 [*sic* for 105], fig. 150) (McWilliam 1991, no. 0340); *Panard* 1781, pp. 13–14 (CD 1980, vol. 12, no. 259; McWilliam 1991, no. 0328); *Vérité* 1781, p. 27 (CD 1980, vol. 12, no. 260; McWilliam 1991, no. 0337); Sterling 1955, p. 179, ill.; Roland Michel 1970, pp. 125, 269, no. 67, ill. p. 121; Eik Kahng in Kahng and Roland Michel 2002, pp. 50–51, 206–7, no. 61, figs. 15, 16 (color details), pl. 29 (color), ill. p. 206; Claire Barry in Kahng and Roland Michel 2002, pp. 96, 107, 109.

PIAT JOSEPH SAUVAGE

Tournai 1744–1818 Tournai

Piat (or Pieter) Joseph Sauvage trained with a specialist in grisaille, Marten Jozef Geeraerts, a member of the Antwerp guild and a director of the academy there. Sauvage first exhibited in Paris in 1774, at the Académie de Saint-Luc, presenting a moralizing subject from ancient history painted in imitation of a marble bas-relief. He also showed two small pictures imitating antique bronze reliefs. The subject of one of them was the “Mercantessa di amorini,” or “Sale of Cupids,” which the artist had based on a famous ancient Roman wall painting excavated at Herculaneum, as he noted for the text of the exhibition list. Presented to the academicians by **JOSEPH SIFFRED DUPLESSIS** in 1781, Sauvage was accorded preliminary admission to the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture as a painter of still life. He was elected to full membership in 1783 and showed at nearly every Salon from 1781 until he left France some twenty-five years later. While Sauvage’s career was largely given over to fictive depictions of sculpture, many of them based on ancient sources and some others on contemporary works, he also presented compositions of his own invention. His pictures, regarded as tours de force, were commissioned in very large numbers for the royal châteaux—Compiègne in 1785 and Fontainebleau in 1786—where they were installed as overdoors. He also contributed depictions of the four seasons (presumed lost) to the decoration of Marie Antoinette’s dairy at Rambouillet in 1786–87. The artist harbored republican sentiments and continued to work in France throughout the revolutionary period. In 1808, however, he returned to his

native Tournai, to accept local commissions and teach at the academy where he himself had been schooled. Sauvage achieved considerable renown in Paris as a wholehearted exponent of Neoclassicism, but his work is very little studied.

LITERATURE ON THE ARTIST: Renouvier 1863, pp. 195–96; Bellier de la Chavignerie 1865, pp. 153–54; Faré 1976, pp. 276–85; Populaire 1985.

101 and 102 | Piat Joseph Sauvage *Nymph and Putti in a Vintage Scene*, last quarter of the 18th century

Oil on slate, 9½ x 23¼ in. (24.1 x 59.1 cm)

Signed (at right, on the block above the putto’s knee):

SAUVAGE

Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1906 (07.225.306a)

Nymph with a Wreath and Putti with Garlands of Flowers, last quarter of the 18th century

Oil on slate, 9⅝ x 23¾ in. (24.4 x 60.3 cm)

Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1906 (07.225.306b)

Sauvage was a trompe-l’oeil specialist who worked either in grisaille—a term deriving from the word *gris* (gray)—or *en camaïeu*, in which he employed tones of a single color against a ground that either was made of, or imitated, marble or stone. Here the support is a piece of slate cut in half. The slate had previously been used as a shop sign: on what are now the reverses, the two sections are inscribed in neatly cut letters in a border “DAVID M/ENUISIER” (David joiner).¹

Each picture shows a nymph seated low to the ground and in profile. The nymphs face each other. They are dressed,



Cat. 101

and their hair is arranged in what the eighteenth century thought of as antique style. The principal figures are surrounded by gamboling putti, in one case with grapes to evoke the autumn vintage season, and in the other with garlands of flowers signifying spring. Sauvage paid close attention to the glassy highlights along the rounded curves of the forms as these were intended to suggest that the figures were not painted but rather modeled in wax. The shadows are delicately colored. The artist's motifs are more or less interchangeable, and there is, for example, a large grisaille panel at Kedleston Hall in Derbyshire in which the principal subject is a similar group of putti bearing a vase that rests on a litter draped with a cloth.²

NOTES

1. After the signature was noted in 2010, it was decided to clean the pictures, and conservator Alice Panhard treated them under the supervision of Michael Gallagher and Dorothy Mahon. The vintage scene had two breaks, one vertical, near the center, and one oblique, toward the right, following a vein in the stone; both panels had been heavily and repeatedly restored before 1906. The backgrounds were scratched and the old breaks abraded; later the segments were reglued and the losses retouched. After the removal of several campaigns of restoration, it became clear that the handling is of high quality and that there is an interesting relationship between the paint and the stone ground, which seemed not to have been covered originally. Panhard believed the works to be by two different hands. In 2014 the vintage scene sustained further damage, and the pieces, a larger number, had to be reglued. The slate is now supported from the reverse.

2. *Infant Bacchanal* (National Trust 108909), 21 x 36 in. (53.3 x 91.4 cm). See also an overdoor by Sauvage at Fontainebleau (SN Sauvage 22; 1541).

EX COLL.: [Georges Hoentschel, Paris, until 1906; sold to Morgan]; J. Pierpont Morgan, New York (1906).

103 | Piat Joseph Sauvage

Bacchanal: Putti Sporting with a Goat, last quarter of the 18th century

Oil on canvas, 10¼ x 29⅝ in. (26 x 75.2 cm)

Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1906 (07.225.314b)

The *Bacchanal*, with twelve figures, depicts a procession of three fauns and nine putti, one tugging on a braided leading rein wrapped around the horn of a resisting she-goat led to sacrifice. In the first group a putto carries a *thyrsus*, or staff, and another a jar containing a sprig of grape leaves; one in the third group brandishes a wreath that may have been intended to support an amphora balanced on his head. The grapes and vines on top of the amphora suggest that it contains wine. The bucking goat has thrown the wreathed infant Bacchus, who lands in the arms of a faun with pointed ears. In front of the goat, a putto has fallen to the ground. Sauvage occasionally described his Salon submissions as inspired by Clodion. The latter was surely his source for this composition, which is based on a magnificent relief dating to about 1781 and commissioned for the courtyard of the Hôtel de Bourbon-Condé.¹ The important components of Clodion's arcadian relief (fig. 103.1) are repeated by Sauvage in simplified but recognizable terms.

NOTES

1. See Guilhem Scherf in Poulet and Scherf 1992, pp. 210–27, esp. pp. 223–27, nos. 42–43, figs. 42, 43, and details (color).

EX COLL.: [Georges Hoentschel, Paris, until 1906; sold to Morgan]; J. Pierpont Morgan, New York (1906).

REFERENCE: Sterling 1955, p. 181, ill. (misidentified as 07.225.314a [cat. 105]).



Cat. 102



Cat. 103



Fig. 103.1. Clodion (French, 1738–1814), *Children and Satyr Children Sporting with a Goat*, ca. 1781. Terracotta, 10 x 30½ in. (25.4 x 77.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Fletcher Fund, 1959 (59.87.1)

104 | Piat Joseph Sauvage

The Triumph of Bacchus, last quarter of the 18th century

Oil on canvas, 19¼ x 46⅞ in. (48.9 x 117.2 cm)

Signed (lower left): Sauvage

Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1906 (07.225.272)

Generally speaking, Sauvage's compositions are long and narrow, and the principal figures, mostly small children, or putti—in this case fourteen of them—are well suited to the format. The brown monochrome coloring is intended to mimic a bronze relief with highlights to indicate reflections on the modeled surfaces. Often, as here, there is a painted ledge or shelf along the bottom edge suitable to the placement and function of an overdoor. Under the shelf is the artist's signature. Sauvage showed a canvas titled *Bas-relief imitant le bronze, dont le sujet est un Triomphe de Bacchus par des enfants*, with the dimensions "4 pieds, sur 19 pouces," as number 225 at the Salon of 1781, the first in which he participated. The size of the Salon exhibit is about 20¼ x 51⅞ inches (51.4 x 129.9 cm), larger than the present work. The

proportions also differ, but the subject is the same, and a favorite with the artist.

Bacchus, the Roman god of wine, was long associated with wild religious rites. Here he takes the form of a wreathed putto riding on a cart drawn by a panther facing to left. The putto-god carries a *thyrsus* and raises a cup of wine. Grapes and vines are draped over the cart and arranged at the lower right beside a triangle and a tambourine. A putto in the foreground carries an amphora with a lid; another balances a basket of fruit on his head, and a third blows a horn. A faun beats a tambourine, while two figures wrestle at the end of the procession to right. Those in the second rank are painted as if modeled in lower relief.

A similar but smaller canvas, showing the same subject but with twelve figures instead of fourteen, is signed on the base of the chariot. It was offered for sale by a London dealer in 1989.¹ Another example is discussed below (cat. 105). Images of playful children naked or in classical garb were popular in the late eighteenth century.



Cat. 104



Cat. 105

NOTES

1. London 1989a, no. 32, ill., 31.3 x 81 cm (12 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 31 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.) (sold, Christie's, New York, October 21, 1997, no. 85, ill. [color], for \$27,600, bought in; Sotheby's, New York, May 27, 2004, no. 40, ill. [color], bought in). The composition is simplified to allow for the reduced size of the canvas and omits two of the more distant figures, including the one with the basket of flowers.

EX COLL.: [Georges Hoentschel, Paris, until 1906; sold to Morgan]; J. Pierpont Morgan, New York (1906).

105 | Piat Joseph Sauvage

***The Triumph of Bacchus*, last quarter of the 18th century**

Oil on canvas, 14 x 32 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (35.6 x 83.5 cm)

Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1906 (07.225.314a)

This *Triumph of Bacchus* is smaller than the signed version also belonging to the Metropolitan Museum ([cat. 104](#)) but larger than the one offered for sale in London in 1989.¹ Sauvage deployed a similar composition, with twelve instead of fourteen figures. The first putto in the procession blows reed pipes (*auloi*). The wreath held by the putto in the third group may be an *oknos*. All are on canvas, imitate bronze, and are of equivalent quality.

NOTES

1. See [cat. 104](#), note 1.

EX COLL.: [Georges Hoentschel, Paris, until 1906; sold to Morgan]; J. Pierpont Morgan, New York (1906).

JACQUES LOUIS DAVID

Paris 1748–1825 Brussels

The great history painter and portraitist Jacques Louis David began his studies with **FRANÇOIS BOUCHER** and, in 1764, with Joseph Marie Vien, before entering the school of the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture in 1766. Having won, on the fourth attempt, the 1774 Prix de Rome, he traveled to Italy with Vien, an early exponent of Neoclassicism and the newly appointed director of the Académie de France there. While a pensioner, David followed the traditional course of study, drawing from the antique, from models, and from nature, and studying contemporary and earlier painting, notably that of Raphael. He made innumerable sketches attesting to his passionate interest in antiquity and in the sculptural style of painting espoused in the seventeenth century by Nicolas Poussin, who had lived in Rome. (David was later regarded as Poussin's successor.) David returned to Paris in the autumn of 1780 and the next year was accepted as a candidate member of the Académie Royale, with *Belisarius Begging Alms* (Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lille), a historical subject praised for its nobility of spirit. His reception piece, presented in 1783, was the starkly heroic *Andromache Mourning Hector* (Ecole Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, Paris). Such moralizing subjects were admired in the tumultuous period leading up to the Revolution, notably, David's *The Oath of the Horatii* (Musée du Louvre, Paris), painted in Rome in late 1784–85; *The Death of Socrates*, dated 1787 (cat. 106); and *The Lictors Bringing Brutus the Bodies of His Sons* (Louvre), dated 1789. An ardent revolutionary, David argued for the suppression of the academies in 1793, the year he painted *The Death of Marat* (Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts, Brussels). He was twice briefly jailed in 1794–95, after the Terror. David was also a supremely gifted portraitist. Eventually he transformed himself into Napoleon's court artist and received the commission for the enormous canvas memorializing the Empire, *The Coronation of the Emperor and Empress*, completed in 1807 (Louvre). He went into voluntary exile in Brussels in 1816 and died there in 1825.

LITERATURE ON THE ARTIST: *Notice* 1824; Wildenstein 1973; Schnapper and Sérullaz 1989; Rosenberg and Prat 2002; Bordes 2005.

106 | Jacques Louis David

The Death of Socrates, 1787

Oil on canvas, 51 x 77¼ in. (129.5 x 196.2 cm)

Signed, dated, and inscribed: (lower left corner) M D CC LXXXVII; (at left, on stool) L·D; (center right, on bench) L·David.; (right, in Greek) ΑΘΕΝΑΙΩΝ (of the Athenians) Catharine Lorillard Wolfe Collection, Wolfe Fund, 1931 (31.45)

In 399 B.C., accused by the Athenian government of impiety and of corrupting his young followers with unorthodox teachings, the Greek philosopher Socrates was tried, found guilty, and offered the choice of renouncing his beliefs or drinking the cup of poisonous hemlock. He chose the latter course: refusing offers of help to escape from prison, he died for his principles. In David's painting he gestures toward the cup and points to the heavens as he discourses on the immortality of the soul. From its first appearance in the 1787 Salon, *The Death of Socrates* has been admired for the purity of its moral sentiment. With its stoic theme, the picture anticipated revolutionary commitment, and it is arguably David's most perfect Neoclassical work.

The ancient source is Plato's *Phaedo*, in which he describes the accusations, trial, philosophy, imprisonment, and death of Socrates through a dialogue between Echecrates and Phaedo.¹ (The latter was among no fewer than fifteen followers who were present, together with Crito and Apollodorus. Plato was absent.) When the jailer admitted them, they found Socrates, his chains removed, with his wife Xanthippe. She was taken away lamenting, together with their three children. Socrates, seated upon his couch, then bent and rubbed his leg, and spoke of the relationship between the pain that had been caused him by the shackle and the pleasure that succeeded its removal. He explained that in obedience to a dream intimating that he would write or make music, he sought to compose verse while he was imprisoned. He reminded his followers that any philosopher should be willing to die for his beliefs, although not by his own hand, unlawfully. His companions should cease to protest, he said, as in going from them he would join the blessed. Socrates then drank from the cup offered to him, walked about until his limbs began gradually to weaken, lay down upon his couch among them, and died.

Jacques Louis David received instruction in Latin, but it is difficult to judge the extent of his education in classical languages and literature since he began to study painting at a very early age. By the second quarter of the eighteenth century, the writings of Socrates had become a focus of attention and a source of inspiration in French intellectual circles, so that he was able to seek learned advice. On April 8, 1786, writing from the Paris house of the Oratorian fathers, Jean



Félicissime Adry addressed a letter to David on the subject, of which a copy survives.² Adry, a scholar and bibliographer of ancient and modern history and literature, responded to specific questions that David must have asked about the philosopher's death. The Oratorian advised the painter that even though Plato was not present, he must figure among the disciples because he had transcribed Socrates's last words.³ Adry felt that Plato's grief would be best expressed by showing him seated, immobile ("une grande douleur . . . absorbe . . . toutes les facultés"), at the foot of the bed. The scholar also pointed

out a specific antique source, a sarcophagus front with the death of Meleager (fig. 106.1), and recommended that the heads of Socrates and Plato be based on ancient models (fig. 106.2).⁴ Crito and Apollodorus should occupy important places; moreover, as the children and Xanthippe were not present, they should be excluded. While heeding most of Adry's advice, David decided to collapse the narrative chronologically and include, in the background, not only the philosopher's wife but also two of the elders of Athens who had visited the prison earlier in the day.

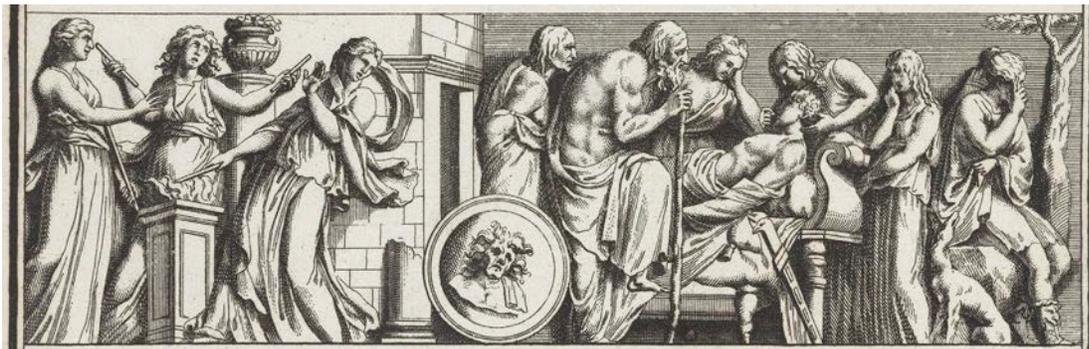


Fig. 106.1. *The Untimely Death of Meleager*. Reproduced in Montfaucon 1722–24, vol. 1, pl. 97. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Thomas J. Watson Library (500 M76 Q)



Cat. 106 detail

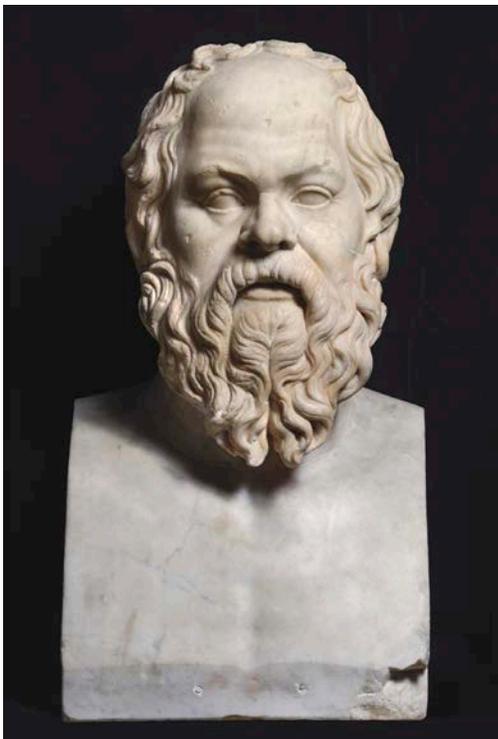


Fig. 106.2. *Herm of Socrates*, 4th century B.C. Marble, height 21 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (54.8 cm). Musei Capitolini, Rome, Sala dei Filosofi (MC 508/S)



Fig. 106.3. Vulci Workshop (Etruscan), Pontic chalice, 550–525 B.C. Terracotta black-figure cup on stem, 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 5 in. (11.8 x 12.7 cm). Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, California Midwinter International Exposition (4155.18)

We know that David had seen ancient vases, because the cup of poison presented by the servant or slave is of an identifiable type. It is Pontic, a variety of Etruscan black-figure ware datable to the sixth century B.C. (fig. 106.3).⁵ Ceramics of the kind were made in Italy and were doubtless

available in Rome in the late eighteenth century, though perhaps not in Paris. Behind the couch there is a bronze stand supporting an oil lamp or incense burner emitting a small plume of smoke. Natural light from a window casts the shadow of these objects on the cell wall. On the outer face of the block seat in the right foreground, set within a square, is the small figure of an owl, together with a leaflike form at the upper left, and an inscription along the right edge reading ΑΘΕΝΑΙΩΝ, “of the Athenians.” There can be no doubt that David drew on the reverse of an ancient Athenian coin of the fifth century B.C. that was minted in large quantity and widely distributed.⁶ On the coins there is a sprig of olive and only the three letters ΑΘΕ; however, the connection is unmistakable. David’s owl is more naturalistic and lacks the enormous staring eyes and lashes of its numismatic counterpart. The painting is signed in cursive script and inscribed in Latin letters with the artist’s initials and, separately, the date. The script on the scroll at the lower left, though, was clearly not meant to be read.

David would have been aware of the critical writings of his contemporaries. Among those with a lifelong interest in Socrates was Denis Diderot, who in 1749 had translated Plato’s third dialogue, the *Apology*, from Greek into French, and had begun a translation of the *Crito*. Diderot later expressed the view that the events of the final day of the philosopher’s life constituted a narrative suitable for the stage. He envisioned the critical moments leading up to Socrates’s death as a series of tableaux vivants, a form that lies between painting and spoken theater and in which there was renewed interest at the time.⁷ The tableaux formed a story line that Diderot described in his 1758 *De la poésie dramatique*. He described in parallel terms a member of the audience at a pantomime and a viewer of a painting at an exhibition, indicating how each might focus on contrasting emotional reactions depicted simultaneously.⁸ The friezelike composition that David chose and its exemplary clarity, the focus on gesture, and the simplicity in form and coloration of the setting would equally have been suited to a tableau.

The *Phaedo* identifies the principals in the scene as the philosopher, the author (with the scroll, inkpot, and pen), Crito, Apollodorus, and a servant or slave who presented the cup. Here there are five figures in front, and, in accordance with Adry’s description, the quieter, seated disciple might therefore be Crito, while Apollodorus, at Crito’s shoulder to the right, expresses violent grief. As Adry also proposed, Plato is seated in contemplation at the foot of the couch. Socrates’s ankle is reddened to suggest pain where the chain had been removed. A length of the chain lies on the couch, and another, which finishes in an open cuff, is displayed on the floor in the foreground. The lyre may refer to his desire to

write poetry while in prison, as suggested by the ancient text. There are, however, fewer additional figures, seven or eight, not fifteen or more as reported in the classical text.

The subject had been explored previously. A canvas by Charles Michel Ange Challe of the death of Socrates was presented at the 1761 Salon: the description in the *livret* (the work apparently is lost) suggests that Challe also was mindful of Diderot’s recent writings on paintings and performance.⁹ The next year, the academicians set Socrates’s death as the subject to be essayed by the students admitted to the Prix de Rome competition of the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture.¹⁰ It was the first time that they had ever selected a theme from antiquity. In 1780, while Pierre Peyron was a pensioner of the Académie de France in Rome, Louis XVI’s minister, Angiviller, ordered two pictures from him and suggested the death of Socrates as one of the two subjects, although in the end the artist painted only *The Funeral of Miltiades*.¹¹ Angiviller later awarded Peyron a royal commission for a work to be shown in the 1787 Salon, and the artist himself seems to have selected the death of Socrates. His preliminary sketch¹²—distinguished by its modest size rather than by lack of finish—was exhibited; the very large commissioned piece (Assemblée Nationale, Paris) appeared at the next Salon, and the artist’s print was published in 1790 (fig. 106.4). Peyron’s sketch and our painting were both delivered late to the Salon (in David’s case, the delay was not for the first time). However, as JEAN-BAPTISTE MARIE PIERRE, first painter to the king, observed, Peyron had labored and delayed in vain: David’s was the superior work.

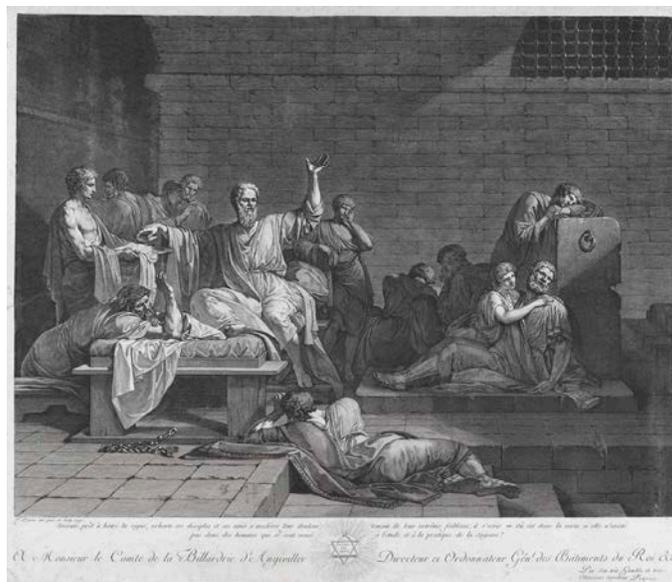


Fig. 106.4. Pierre Peyron (French, 1744–1814), *The Death of Socrates*, 1790. Etching, 16 x 21¹/₁₆ in. (40.6 x 53.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Rogers Fund, 1962 (62.602.597)

Ton véritable juge est la postérité:
 Le Génie a des droits à l'immortalité.
 (Your true judge is Posterity:
 Genius has the rights to immortality.)¹³

Almost all of the contemporary critics offered extravagant praise for David's *Death of Socrates*, but, in accordance with tradition, a number of them drew attention to one or another fault in the painting, usually a detail that he thought inaccurate. (They noted, for example, the colossal scale of the philosopher at the foot of the bed; the short left arm of Socrates; the oddly positioned foot of the cup bearer; and the fact that in general the figures, which resembled colored sculptures, should have been united with the background.) The picture was celebrated in poetry, and several writers drew attention to the depth of public curiosity and interest, which extended to foreign visitors, Thomas Jefferson among them. In describing the narrative, the critics identified only Socrates by name, and although almost all of them drew attention to the inspiration of the antique, only one noted that the philosopher's head was based on an ancient model. None mentioned the literary source, and perhaps this was thought to be self-evident. One writer aptly observed that the prison architecture resembled the contemporary buildings of Claude Nicolas Ledoux, and several compared David to his teacher, Vien, or, negatively, to his contemporary, Peyron, noting the two artists' differing treatments of their common subject.

Among those who were thought to have influenced David were Raphael (*The School of Athens*), Michelangelo, and Nicolas Poussin. In a famous and much-quoted description—for long attributed to Sir Joshua Reynolds but in fact written by an English publisher, John Boydell—the author identified the painting as “the most exquisite and admirable effort of Art which has appeared since the Capella Sistina,” opining that it “would have done honour to Athens in the age of Pericles.”¹⁴ Nevertheless, it was Poussin who was foremost in the artist's mind. Deathbed scenes assumed great importance for both artists. A canvas by Poussin that had not been widely known or published but was referenced by Diderot in 1758 was *The Testament of Eudamidas*, then in a private collection. The attention of Diderot, and later of David, would have been drawn to the *Eudamidas* owing to the appearance in the mid-1750s of a widely advertised and admired reproductive print by Antoine de Marcenay de Ghuy (fig. 106.5).¹⁵ Poussin's composition is of utmost clarity, shaped by a grid of verticals and horizontals the most important of which is the couch of Eudamidas, in parallel to the picture plane. There the king of Corinth, near death, lies dictating his will to a scribe seated beside him, while his wife and daughter lament at its foot. The noble severity of the conception and the focus on both gesture and silhouette influenced



Fig. 106.5. Antoine de Marcenay de Ghuy (French, 1724–1811) after Nicolas Poussin (French, 1594–1665), *Testament of Eudamidas*, 1757. Etching, 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 13 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (26.4 x 33.9 cm). British Museum, London (1840,0314.114)

David's own presentation of impending separation and death. A possible source for the figure of the seated Socrates is a work then in the Giustiniani collection, Rome, where it was incorrectly inventoried as by Giusto Fiammingo, that is, the Flemish Baroque painter Justus Sustermans.¹⁶ A drawing recording the composition is pasted into one of David's Roman sketchbooks, and even if not in his hand, it testifies to his awareness of what he believed to be a Flemish Baroque picture.

Throughout his life, Jacques Louis David kept various albums containing his drawings, and a very few by others, made in Rome. The majority record ancient sculptures and a lesser number Renaissance and Baroque paintings, works that he saw there in the years 1775–80 and 1784–85. Several may be loosely associated with the present work. The erect frontal pose of Socrates distinguishes it from practically all other eighteenth-century French treatments of the subject, and a Greek votive relief in the Vatican Museums (fig. 106.6) offers a classical parallel. A sketch (fig. 106.7) deriving from the relief has been attributed to both David and his pupil Jean Germain Drouais, indicating that the piece was familiar at the time. The principal male figure is seated facing to the left, his right arm fully extended and his left arm raised in a commanding gesture. His nude torso is three-quarters frontal, and the drapery over his left shoulder pools around his waist and upper legs. There are also several ancient heads then in Rome that would have provided suitable models, notably those at center and right of a sketch on folio 9 verso of album 7, annotated by David as at “ville medicis” (Villa Medici).¹⁷

No less than eight preliminary studies for *The Death of Socrates* have survived, two or more for the composition as a



Fig. 106.6. Greek votive relief from Villa Altieri. Marble, 20¼ x 27¾ in. (51.5 x 70.5 cm). Vatican Museums, Rome (Inv. 799)

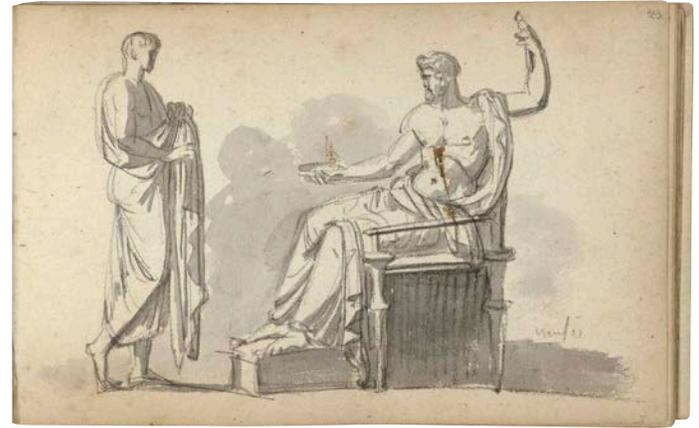


Fig. 106.7. Jean Germain Drouais (French, 1763–1788) or Jacques Louis David. Album leaf, fol. 23 recto. Black chalk and gray wash, 5¼ x 8 in. (14.6 x 20.3 cm). Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen, Berlin (79 D 30a)



Fig. 106.8. Jacques Louis David, *Study for "The Death of Socrates,"* 1782. Black chalk, gray wash, over traces of black chalk, 9¼ x 14¼ in. (23.5 x 37.5 cm). Private collection

whole and six for the drapery. Arlette Sérullaz, in the 1989 David exhibition and catalogue, introduced a sheet signed and dated 1782 that shows just eight figures; the five principals, however, are close to those that David depicted in the final painting (fig. 106.8).¹⁸ In 2015 the Met was able to acquire an undated drawing in pen and black ink with the same composition, but much advanced: all of the foreground figures are included, but various still-life details are omitted, while the motifs in the background under the arch, from which a lamp

is suspended, have not yet been developed (fig. 106.9).¹⁹ The most important changes between the second drawing and the painting involve the figures: there is a doorway behind Plato and to the right through which a cloaked male departs (as in the 1782 sheet); and for the right hand and the right and left legs of Socrates, two positions, including the final ones, have been illustrated simultaneously. The drapery was sketched over the nude legs. The final placement of the philosopher's right hand hovering over the cup was another significant adjustment.²⁰



Fig. 106.9. Jacques Louis David, *Study for the "The Death of Socrates,"* ca. 1786. Pen and black ink over black chalk with touches of brown ink, 11 x 16 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (27.9 x 41.6 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Purchase, Walter and Leonore Annenberg Acquisitions Endowment Fund and Mr. and Mrs. J. Tomilson Hill and Mr. and Mrs. Mark Fisch Gifts, 2015 (2015.149)

Few if any drawings by David are more beautiful than the drapery studies for *The Death of Socrates* (figs. 106.10–12).²¹ The sheets are all large and squared for transfer, but nevertheless there are some differences between them and the figures in the finished picture (which are a little bigger). The studies, in black chalk with white heightening, fill or spill out of the space, the heads and limbs slightly indicated and in some cases, to a degree differing from sheet to sheet, incomplete. The heavy, meticulously observed fabric is shaped and folded around the limbs, affording a tactile sense of the volumes beneath. The draperies were studied from the posed model, but the faintly sketched heads follow the composition drawing. We are fortunate to own a sheet for the seated figure often called Crito (fig. 106.12): it is the only one that is inscribed by the artist with a dedication, to the young Neoclassical sculptor Antoine Denis Chaudet. A comparable study for the servant or slave is recorded but presumed lost, indicating that the pose of each major figure was considered in advance, in detail.

Jacques Louis David's most important Neoclassical paintings were presented in the 1780s: *Belisarius*, his *morceau d'agrément* for the Académie Royale, exhibited at the Salon of 1781; *Andromache Mourning Hector*, his reception piece, exhibited in 1783; *The Oath of the Horatii*, commissioned for the crown and exhibited in 1785; *The Death of Socrates*, exhibited in 1787; and *The Lictors Bringing Brutus the Bodies of His Sons*, also for the crown and exhibited in 1789, shortly after the onset of the Revolution. The list omits one work, *The Loves of Paris and Helen* (see fig. 107.1), which lacks the heroic moral dimension and was a private commission from Louis XVI's brother, the comte d'Artois. Conceived in 1786, it was completed in 1788 and exhibited in 1789 without mention of the unpopular owner's name.²² On August 21, 1791, by decree of the Assemblée Nationale, the forthcoming biennial exhibition was declared open to all, and the standing of the Salon of the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture was greatly weakened. A catalogue of 321 works by the members, prepared according to the usual hierarchical scheme,



Left: Fig. 106.10. Jacques Louis David, *Study for Plato in "The Death of Socrates,"* ca. 1787. Black chalk heightened with white on squared paper, 19¹¹/₁₆ x 23⁷/₈ in. (50 x 60 cm). Musée Magnin, Dijon (1938DF234)

Below left: Fig. 106.11. Jacques Louis David, *Study of a Mourning Figure for "The Death of Socrates."* Black chalk heightened with white on squared paper, 20³/₄ x 13⁷/₈ in. (52.8 x 35.2 cm). Musée Bonnat-Helleu, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Bayonne (NI514; AI1891)

Below right: Fig. 106.12. Jacques Louis David, *Study for the Figure Often Called Crito in "The Death of Socrates,"* ca. 1786–87. Black chalk, stumped, heightened with white chalk on beige paper, squared in black chalk, 21¹/₈ x 16⁵/₁₆ in. (53.6 x 41.4 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Rogers Fund, 1961 (61.161.1)



was withdrawn and replaced by a democratic publication listing 794 items. The 1791 exhibition was to showcase the most important (and patriotic) recent French painting, and David sent, with two current works, the *Horatii*, *Socrates*, and *Brutus*.²³ Together with his pupils, he triumphed.

Important history paintings ordered by the crown for the Salons were about four meters in height, with lifesize figures. *The Death of Socrates*, commissioned privately, was instead of only “average size.” By David’s choice, it was his sole exhibit in 1787, and lent by “M. de Trudaine.” As had been the case with the *Horatii*, and as would be the case with the *Brutus*, for which the king would pay 6,000 livres, *Socrates* was delivered late, in this case perhaps specifically to draw attention to the unspoken competition between David and Peyron (who had won the Prix de Rome a year earlier than his rival, which David never forgave or forgot). In view of David’s meeting with Adry prior to April 8, 1786, he must have settled on the subject for his Salon submission no later than March 1786. It is unlikely that this choice fell to the future owner. The agreed price rendered in livres had been the enormous sum of 6,000, which, after the Salon, Trudaine raised to 9,000 or 10,000. For the Lavoisier double portrait (cat. 107), David was paid 7,000 livres. *Socrates* was thus among the most expensive paintings of the entire prerevolutionary era, and it is evident that the proud and ambitious artist expected his achievements to be recognized monetarily as well as critically.

One of the Trudaine brothers—either Charles Louis Trudaine de Montigny, born in 1764, or Charles Michel Trudaine de la Sablière, born in 1766—commissioned the painting.²⁴ They were politically liberal but had also inherited enormous wealth accumulated principally by their grandfather, who was an *intendant des finances* and the highly successful administrator of the agency for the building of bridges and roads. Educated at the Collège de Navarre, the brothers had traveled widely in Europe and as far as Constantinople in spring 1786, when they settled in Paris. Charles Louis was named *conseiller au Parlement de Paris* on March 3, 1786, while on August 4 of the same year, Charles Michel received an equivalent appointment.²⁵ Though in the mid-1780s they had been acquainted with David and had shared his enthusiasms, in 1794 they were arrested, and despite an appeal to the artist, were executed. *The Death of Socrates* and a small preliminary oil sketch were removed, as the property of the nation, from a house described in the inventory of their property as belonging to them and located in Paris at 31, rue Thetebout.²⁶ Ownership of the picture eventually fell to the widow of one brother and the sister-in-law of the other, and then to her unmarried sibling, Lubin Micault de Courbeton, who died in August 1809, the last of his line. In the year previous to Micault de Courbeton’s death, Napoleon wished to arrange a

gallery devoted to David’s most important work at the Louvre and attempted, through the artist, to buy back *The Death of Socrates* for a sum variously recorded as from 40,000 to as much as 80,000 francs.²⁷ David anticipated that the offer would be refused at any price.²⁸ Since the painter, an arch-revolutionary and member of the Committee of Public Safety, dismissed an appeal to save the Trudaines from the guillotine, his overtures can only have been ill received. It is for this reason that the picture remained in private hands passing by descent well into the twentieth century.

In 1931 the canvas was bought through a private channel on the initiative of curator Bryson Burroughs, when, as Philippe Bordes has pointed out, Neoclassicism was unpopular in America, and portraits by or attributed to David were preferred to his history paintings.²⁹ It was the property of an estate whose value the heirs wished to divide; an application made to the French customs authorities for an export license was approved. The initial offering price to the Metropolitan Museum was reduced by \$2,000 to \$16,000, the equivalent of 400,000 francs. Burroughs and the agent for the sale, Walter Pach, were both artists and passionately interested in American modernism. Burroughs proposed to use a fund established in 1887 by Catharine Lorillard Wolfe for the purchase of “modern”—which in Miss Wolfe’s case meant nineteenth-century—paintings by native or foreign painters. He argued that “David is recognized as the first of the modern school and as the founder of modern art. No artist since the Renaissance has had so lasting an effect.” *The Death of Socrates* was the last of David’s great historical compositions remaining in private hands. It is the only one that does not belong to the French nation.

NOTES

1. Plato, *Five Dialogues*, trans. G. M. A. Grube, 2d ed. (Indianapolis: Hackett, 2002), pp. 94–154; Debra Nails, “The Trial and Death of Socrates,” and Kenneth Lapatin, “Picturing Socrates,” in *A Companion to Socrates*, ed. Sara Ahbel-Rappe and Rachana Kamtekar (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), pp. 5–19 and 110–55.
2. See Bonnardet 1938, pp. 312–14. The writer, an Oratorian, found the draft letter among Adry’s papers. In 1938 he did not know that the family of the vicomtesse Fleury—named as the owner in the illustration credit—had sold the picture to the Metropolitan Museum.
3. Adry pointed out that Plato was in his early twenties when the seventy-year-old Socrates died; the scholar drew attention to the complications this raised when representing the younger man, whose appearance is known only when in old age. Perhaps because Plato is inserted when and where he was not present, David chose to represent him as outside of time, as an elderly writer.
4. Adry referenced an engraving of the death of Meleager illustrated in Montfaucon (1722–24, vol. 1, p. 162), which refers to “Meleagri Interitvs” (illustrated here as fig. 106.1). David may have seen the bust of Socrates discovered in 1698 that belonged, as Keith Christiansen noted (in an email of 2017), to Cardinal Albani. See Richter 1965, vol. 1, p. 112, nos. 5–7,

- figs. 484–89, and 511, for this bust and two others that are recorded in Rome in the eighteenth century. See also note 17 below, with reference to a bust that David saw in the gardens of the Villa Medici. A fairly early source, Pougens 1834, p. 27, reported that in the spring of 1786 Père Lacouture, who had a long, thick beard, served as a model for the picture.
5. After studying *The Death of Socrates* in Paintings Conservation in June 2017, Joan R. Mertens kindly provided information on ancient objects and sources. For an example of the cup type, see Hannestad 1976, p. 75, no. 133, pl. 51a.
6. Kraay 1966, pp. 324–26, pl. 119, supplies examples of the coins. According to Carmen Arnold-Biucchi, Damarete Curator of Ancient Coins at the Harvard Art Museums, writing to Joan R. Mertens on June 20, 2017, there are Athenian coins with the full inscription, but they are bronze and later in date.
7. Sez nec 1957, pp. 1–3, 15–22, fig. 9. Plays, tableaux, and exhibitions were primary forms of entertainment seen as interrelated in the eighteenth century. Those who were informed, attended.
8. Among literary sources, Samuel Richardson’s *Clarissa Harlowe* was introduced into the discussion in 1806, when the author of *Le Pausanias français* admired the pose of Crito, whom he described as sunk in grief, and stated that David had said he had taken the details from Richardson, basing the pose on that of Uncle Harlowe during the reading of *Clarissa’s* will (Chaussard 1806, p. 156). It is not surprising that David mentioned a popular modern moral tale, the complete French edition of which was published in 1785–86. However, what Richardson wrote in English was that in an atmosphere of “upbraidings and grief,” *Clarissa’s* uncles “lamented that their sweet niece . . . was now got above all grateful acknowledgment” (*The History of Clarissa Harlowe* [London: H. Sotheran, 1883], vol. 5, p. 395). It is difficult to see a connection to the two lamenting uncles.
9. The Challe painting was exhibited as no. 40, *Socrate condamné par les Athéniens à boire la ciguë, la reçoit avec indifférence, tandis que ses Amis & ses Disciples cèdent à la plus vive douleur*.
10. The winner was the little-known Jacques Philippe Joseph de Saint-Quentin (his painting is in the Ecole Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, Paris, PRP 10).
11. Musée du Louvre, Paris, 7179. Rosenberg and van de Sandt 1983, pp. 124–27, figs. 105–9. The work existed in many versions.
12. Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen, KMS 7066.
13. Pujoulx 1787, p. 17.
14. *The World*, October 2, 1787, p. 2.
15. For Diderot’s remarks on the *Eudamidas* (Statens Museum for Kunst KMS 3889), see Sez nec 1957, pp. 17, 123 n. 65, and Verdi 1971, who points out that the painting was engraved twice, the first time in 1693 by Jean Pesne.
16. Nash 1978, p. 203, fig. 3, p. 206 n. 3. The canvas showed Socrates with his mourning wife and children; the work is known only from a photograph. Eventually transferred to Berlin, and much later destroyed in World War II, it has never been convincingly attributed.
17. Rosenberg and Prat 2002, vol. 1, p. 560, ill. See also vol. 1, p. 630, ill. 929 recto, and p. 714, ill. 114.
18. A variant of the drawing (possibly a tracing) in ink and wash and very close in size was acquired by the Metropolitan Museum in 2013 (2013.59) and is attributed to Jacques Louis David; a lithograph after the drawing by Jean-Baptiste Debret had appeared in 1844. See Louis-Antoine Prat in Rosenberg and Prat 2016, p. 115, fig. 18, p. 117 nn. 16–19, as after Jacques Louis David (?). For the engraving, see Rosenberg and Prat 2002, vol. 1, p. 72, fig. 52a.
19. Louis-Antoine Prat in Rosenberg and Prat 2016, pp. 111–12, fig. 8, p. 117 n. 11.
20. The claim of Pierre Alexandre Coupin (1827, p. 21) that originally David painted Socrates holding the cup is in error. Coupin stated that it was André Chénier who insisted Socrates be shown extending his hand, because he took the cup *after* he had finished speaking.
21. All are catalogued in Rosenberg and Prat 2002, vol. 1, pp. 97–100, nos. 81–86, ill.
22. The comte d’Artois emigrated in July 1789; the painting, inventoried and seized in 1794, was exhibited at Versailles and at the Luxembourg before it was returned to the Louvre. Certainly its febrile eroticism and overelaborated archaeological detail were suited to the tastes of the patron, while it was not an aspect of antiquity nor a manner of painting natural to the artist. See Schnapper and Sérullaz 1989, pp. 184–91, nos. 79–83, ill. (one in color).
23. Louvre 3692 (*Horatii*) and 3693 (*Brutus*). His other exhibits were a drawing for *The Oath of the Tennis Court* (Louvre, deposited at Versailles, RF 1914) and a portrait, since identified as that of Madame Thélusson (Alte Pinakothek, Munich, HUW 21).
24. Morellet 1794, p. 79, stated that “Trudaine l’ainé” often had David at his house, gave him work, and paid him handsomely, and that he ordered *Socrate buvant la ciguë*. According to Choullier 1883, p. 468, the elder Trudaine was to pay 2,000 écus, but after the Salon he instead gave 3,000.
25. See *Almanac royal* (Paris, 1787), pp. 318, 320, under August 4, 1876, for Trudaine de la Sablière, *conseiller, première chambre*, and under March 13, for Trudaine de Montigny, *conseiller, deuxième chambre*. Chénier 1872, pp. xiv–xv, nn. 3–5, refers to the appointments and assigns the commission to the elder Trudaine (listed in various recent genealogical sites as born in 1764), the inheritor of a great fortune. He is said to reside at Place Louis XV, while the family hôtel in rue des Franc-Bourgeois was the residence of Trudaine de la Sablière. This information and the document cited in note 26 negate Sterling’s arguments (1955, p. 193) in favor of the younger brother as the commissioner of the painting.
26. See Oberreuter-Kronabel 1986, p. 144 n. 209, for the document, F¹⁷ 1267 (T, No. 190), “Inventaire des objets réservés pour la Nation trouvés en la maison de Trudaine La Sablière condamné et Trudaine l’ainé rue Thetebout No. 31,” nos. 1, 13. Morellet 1794, pp. 69–85, described the circumstances in 1793–94 of the Trudaines and their recent family history, including their contributions to the revolutionary cause, their arrest, with Micault de Courbeton and Chénier, and their execution. On February 6, 1795, Jean Massard requested that *The Death of Socrates* be turned over to him, so that he could complete his reproductive engraving, and a directive was issued to that effect on February 12, 1795 (Wildenstein 1973, p. 119). It is not clear when the picture was returned to the family.
27. *Notice* 1824, p. 22; Miette de Villars 1850, p. 189; David 1880–82, vol. 1, p. 445; Wildenstein 1973, p. 180.
28. It has not been possible to ascertain whether the picture was lent from the Vérac collection shortly thereafter; in 1864 it had been at the Musée du Luxembourg for years (“pendant longtemps”), according to Seigneur 1863–64, p. 361.
29. Bordes 2017, pp. 106–8, ill. (color), 110, 112, 118 nn. 28–38, 42, and p. 297. It is an indicator of taste that *The Death of Socrates* is not among the ten most important paintings purchased between 1905 and 1945 in a history of the Met’s collections published in 1945 (Howe 1945, p. 244). French paintings by Watteau and Renoir are included instead.

A Condition Note on *The Death of Socrates*

Owing to David's sound technique, and to careful custodianship over the subsequent 230 years, the appearance of this painting is minimally altered. The artist used a lead-white ground to impart luminosity to the dramatically lit scene. Over this he laid in the main contours of the composition with a brushed underdrawing, and then blocked in the figures with a hot translucent reddish brown that remains visible in the shadows, for example on the underside of Socrates's raised foot. For the halftones in the flesh he had only to add a thin layer of opaque color over the underpaint, exploiting the "turbid medium effect" (whereby a light color pulled over a warm, dark tone will appear cool). From hot, thin shadows through opalescent halftones, to creamy highlights for the flesh—and throughout the painting—David's technique is one of extraordinary economy, refinement, and virtuosity, and the condition is such that these qualities are resoundingly evident. Even tiny details such as the cracks between flagstones are intact. The medium-rich paint has an enamel-like aspect, which has enhanced with age. The widely spaced craquelure and slight cupping (small dish-shaped deformations) of the paint in between are characteristic of this school of painting, the result of the thick, lead-white ground becoming brittle with age and unable to accommodate the movements of the canvas and sizing in response to fluctuations in temperature and humidity. The original canvas support has an old glue lining and retains its tacking edges. Before it came to the Museum, a thick coating of white material was applied to the reverse of the lining canvas; this was probably to mirror the ground and paint layers, in an attempt to maintain structural stability.

Imaging has allowed the exploration of aspects of the painting in its early stages.¹ Infrared reflectography (IRR) did not reveal either orthogonal lines for a perspective system or a grid for the transfer of the design, though it is possible that these were in a material invisible to infrared wavelengths, such as red chalk. (A horizontal line in Socrates's chest that might be read as part of a grid is a continuation of the crack between the stone blocks of the wall.) IRR did reveal extensive underdrawing around the contours of the figures and indications of folds in the clothing. Most evident in the figure assumed to be Crito (seated to the right of Socrates) due to the relative transparency of his robe to infrared radiation, the fine underdrawn lines were carefully laid in with a brush. Key contours, for example Socrates's left shoulder, were indicated before the drapery. IRR shows numerous small adjustments made during painting, for example in the shoulders of the servant who hands Socrates the cup; there is a slightly larger shift between the underdrawn left contour of Crito's robe—which corresponds to the squared figure study (fig. 106.12)—and the painted contour, which was moved further to the

right. That IRR shows only minor changes to the composition is not surprising, given David's practice of making extensive preparatory drawings for the composition and for individual figures. Both involve key elements in the drama that had evolved in the studies and had not been resolved when the painting began. The position of the chain of Socrates's shackles was adjusted: initially the chain was suspended in front of the leg of the bed, and subsequently the artist placed it coming around the back of the bed. Likewise, the relationship between the hands and the cup of hemlock also evolved in the painting: Socrates's wrist was initially painted closer to the cup and was subsequently moved further to the right.

Charlotte Hale

NOTE

1. Infrared reflectography carried out with an OSIRIS InGaAs near-infrared camera with a six-element, 150mm focal-length f/5.6–f/45 lens; 900–1700nm spectral response.

EX COLL.: Charles Louis Trudaine de Montigny, Paris (until d. 1794; inv., as "composition de 13 figures," estimated at 10,000 livres and seized for the nation); Louise Micault de Courbeton, Madame Trudaine de Montigny (1794–d. 1802); her brother, Lubin Marie Vivant Micault de Courbeton (1802–d. 1809); his cousin, Armand Maximilien François Joseph Olivier de Saint-Georges, fifth marquis de Vêrac (1809–d. 1858); his widow, Euphémie de Noailles, marquise de Vêrac (1858–d. 1870); her son-in-law, Adolphe, comte de Rougé (1870–d. 1871; his estate sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, April 8, 1872, no. 1, for Fr 17,600 to Bianchi); Marius Bianchi, Paris (1872–d. 1904); Mathilde Jeanin, Madame Marius Bianchi (1904–13 or after); their daughters, Renée, vicomtesse Fleury, Thérèse, comtesse Murat, and Solange, marquise de Ludre-Frolois (until 1931; sold through Walter Pach to the MMA).

SELECTED EXHIBITIONS: Paris, Salon, August 25–?September 25, 1787, no. 119 (as *Socrate au moment de prendre la ciguë*, 6 pieds x 4 pieds, lent by M. de Trudaine). Paris, Salon, September 15–?December 3, 1791, no. 88 (as *La Mort de Socrate, au moment de prendre la ciguë*) and no. 299 (as *Socrate, au moment de prendre la Ciguë*). Paris, Galerie du Luxembourg, 1818 (see Bulgari 1827). Paris, Galerie des Beaux-Arts (Bazar Bonne-Nouvelle), *Exposition au profit de la caisse de secours et pensions de la société des artistes peintres . . . et dessinateurs*, January 11–?, 1846, no. 7 (lent by the marquis de Vêrac). Paris, Musée du Luxembourg, until and/or after 1864. Paris, Palais des Beaux-Arts, *David et ses élèves*, April 7–June 9, 1913, no. 23 (as *Socrate au moment de prendre la ciguë*, lent by Mme Bianchi) (exh. cat.: Paris 1913). Paris, Orangerie des Tuileries, *David: Exposition en l'honneur du deuxième centenaire de sa naissance*, June 1–September 30, 1948, no. M.O. 21 (exh. cat.: Florisoon 1948). London, Royal Academy of Arts and Victoria and Albert Museum, *The Age of Neo-Classicism*, September 9–November 19, 1972, no. 63 (shown at Royal Academy) (exh. cat.: London 1972). Paris, Galeries Nationales du Grand Palais, *De David à Delacroix: La peinture française de 1774 à 1830*, November 16, 1974–February 3, 1975, no. 32 (exh. cat.: Paris 1974); Detroit Institute of Arts, *French Painting 1774–1830: The Age of Revolution*, March 5–May 4, 1975, no. 32 (exh. cat.: Detroit 1975); New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, *French Painting 1774–1830: The Age of Revolution*, June 12–September 7, 1975, no. 32. Washington,

D.C., National Gallery of Art, *The Eye of Thomas Jefferson*, June 5–September 6, 1976, no. 331 (exh. cat.: Adams 1976).

SELECTED REFERENCES: John Boydell, “Observations on the State of the Arts in Paris,” *The World*, October 2, 1787, p. 2 (reprinted in Bordes 1992); Jean Germain Drouais, letters to Jacques Louis David, June 13 and August 10, 1787 (published in David 1880–82, vol. 1, pp. 41–42); *Examen* 1787, pp. 22–24 (CD 1980, vol. 15, no. 400, pp. 926–28; McWilliam 1991, no. 0445); Thomas Jefferson, letter to John Trumbull, August 30, 1787 (published in Boyd 1955, p. 69); Lenoir 1787, pp. 37, 41 (CD 1980, vol. 15, no. 371, pp. 97, 101; McWilliam 1991, no. 0451); *Observations* 1787, pp. 15–17 (CD 1980, vol. 15, no. 373, pp. 157–59; McWilliam 1991, no. 0439); Stanislas Kostka Potocki, *Lettre d’un étranger sur le Salon de 1787*, [1787] (see *Revue Universelle des Arts* 16 [1862], pp. 377–79, and Zoltowska 1974, pp. 334, 336–38); Sir Brooke Boothby, letter to Sir Joshua Reynolds, January 26, 1788 (published in Schnapper and Sérullaz 1989, p. 573); Bachaumont 1789, pp. 318–20, 346–47; Lefébure 1789, pp. 11, 15–16 (CD 1980, vol. 16, no. 415, pp. 173–74); Chery 1791b, pp. 59–60 (CD 1980, vol. 17, no. 441, pp. 419–20; McWilliam 1991, no. 0485); Chaussard 1806, pp. 155–56 (reprinted in Chaussard 1863–64, pp. 119–20); Bulgari 1827, pp. 6–8 (first published 1818; see Saunier 1913, p. 380 n. 1); Coupin 1827, pp. 19–21, 46, 53; Théophile Thoré, “Etudes sur la peinture française depuis la fin du 18^e siècle: A propos de l’exposition de la Société des Peintres . . . David . . .” *Le Constitutionnel*, February 9, 1846 (reprinted in Taylor 1995, pp. 206–8); Delécluze 1855, pp. 119, 348–49, 399; Seigneur 1863–64, pp. 361–62; David 1880–82, vol. 1, pp. 41–42, 45–51, 445, 637, vol. 2, ill. (etching); Burroughs 1931, ill.; Bonnardet 1938, ill.; Holma 1940, pp. 50–51, 55, 117–18 nn. 41–47, p. 126, fig. 9; Wind 1943; Adhémar 1953, pp. 42–43, 59–60, pls. 1, 12, 13, 17, 19, 20; Hautecoeur 1954, pp. 90–96, 98, 112, 116, 189, 219, 238, 285, 291, 294, 297, 301, 303; Sterling 1955, pp. 191–96, ill.; Salmon 1962, ill. opp. p. 100; Brookner 1967, pp. 188–89, pl. I/45; Rosenblum 1967, pp. 73–76, 103, 125–26, fig. 74; Herbert 1972, pp. 39, 48, 68; Arlette Sérullaz in London 1972, pp. xxvi, 41–42, 44, no. 63, pl. 2; Wildenstein 1973, doc. nos. 162, 180, 188–89, 191–92, 195, 303, 327, 352, 1165, 1167, 1543, 1810, 1929, 1931, 1938, 2039, 2049 (20), 2062 (97), 2080; Antoine Schnapper et al. in Detroit 1975, pp. 40–42, 166, 359, 367–68, 411, 562, no. 32, ill. p. 82; Arnaud Brejon de Lavergnée in Adams 1976, pp. xxviii, 154, 190, 377, no. 331, ill. (color); Nash 1978, fig. 1; Bordes 1979, pp. 179, 181–84, fig. 8, nn. 19–21; Brookner 1980, pp. 29, 44, 46, 79–80, 82–86, 90, 99, 103, 112, 135, 167–68, fig. 43; Fried 1980, pp. 136, 157, 160, 193 n. 81, 232 n. 60, 239 n. 102, 240 n. 108; Schnapper 1980, pp. 59, 72–73, 76, 80–84, 86, 100–101, 128, 174, 178, fig. 39 (English ed.: Schnapper 1982, pp. 59, 72, 77, 80–84, 86, 100–101, 130, 174, fig. 39); Bryson 1981, pp. 205, 226, 233–35, 240, fig. 78; Bordes 1983, pp. 21–22, 95 n. 39, 131–32; Rosenberg and van de Sandt 1983, pp. 124–26, fig. 113; Crow 1985, pp. 215–16, 243–47, fig. 117; Oberreuter-Kronabel 1986, pp. 27–28, 33, 60–84, 91–94, 142–43 nn. 195, 206, p. 144 nn. 209, 211, p. 146 nn. 230, 232–33, p. 147 nn. 236, 244, p. 148 nn. 266–67, p. 149 nn. 268–69, p. 177, ill. on cover (detail), fig. 27; Antoine Schnapper in Schnapper and Sérullaz 1989, pp. 18–19, 21, 122–23, 160, 178–81, 186, 197–98, 329–30, 571–73, 577, 601, 635, fig. 44; Bordes 1992, pp. 482, 484, 487, 490, ill.; Fried 1993, pp. 207–8, 211, 216, 223 n. 17, fig. 65; Kohle 1993, vol. 1, fig. 65, vol. 2, pp. 1095, 1100–1106, 1110; Crow 1994, pp. 205, 211–13, 217 n. 18, fig. 35; Crow 1995, pp. 95–103, 108, 140, 183, 316 nn. 50, 54, 60, pl. 72 (color); Lajer-Burcharth 1999, pp. 3–4, 57–58, 63, 264, 268, 297–99, pl. 5, ill. (color); Rosenberg and Prat 2002, vol. 1, pp. 50, 67, 70–72, 79, 88, 97–101, 109–10, 182, 226, 344, 429, 454, 560, 657, under nos. 52, 81–86, p. 984, fig. 52b, vol. 2, pp. 756, 1173, 1191, 1214, 1221.

107 | Jacques Louis David

Antoine Laurent Lavoisier (1743–1794) and His Wife, 1788

Oil on canvas, 102¼ x 76⅝ in. (259.7 x 194.6 cm)

Signed, dated, and inscribed (lower left): L. David [faciebat] / parisiis anno / 1788

Purchase, Mr. and Mrs. Charles Wrightsman Gift, in honor of Everett Fahy, 1977 (1977.10)

Ils était dignes l’un de l’autre par leurs vertus, leur union, leurs connaissances et leurs talens.

(They are worthy of each other owing to their virtues, their union, their knowledge, and their abilities.)¹

On August 10, 1789, Jean-Baptiste Pierre Cuvillier, a functionary of the royal fine arts administration, or Bâtiments du Roi, addressed a letter to the painter Joseph Marie Vien, who had recently been named first painter to Louis XVI. Cuvillier was forwarding to Vien the directives of the arts minister, comte d’Angiviller, concerning works shortly to be shown at the biennial Salon. Angiviller’s primary concern was that the academicians’ choices for display in 1789 be governed by prudence and circumspection: they should take no risks. Specifically, the Lavoisier double portrait by David must be withheld. Cuvillier wrote for Angiviller: “I imagine that M. Lavoisier would be the first who would not wish it to be exhibited.”² On the other hand, David’s 1788 mythological painting, *The Loves of Paris and Helen* (fig. 107.1), might be safely displayed, but without mentioning the name of the owner—because it had been commissioned by the king’s extravagant and unpopular younger brother, the duc d’Artois,



Fig. 107.1. Jacques Louis David, *The Loves of Paris and Helen*, 1788. Oil on canvas, 57½ x 71¼ in. (146 x 181 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris (INV 3696)



later Charles X of France. In the politically fraught atmosphere of late summer 1789, decisions about exhibits for the Salon impinged upon matters of state, and mythology was unquestionably preferable to reality.

Antoine Laurent Lavoisier was the lead director of the gunpowder and saltpeter administration, the Régie des Poudres et Salpêtre, a position to which he had been appointed in 1775 owing to his exceptional scientific and administrative abilities. He had made improvements in the production of saltpeter, and had enjoyed success in the position. In fact, the gunpowder that France provided to the Americans for use in the Revolutionary War had proven to be superior in quality to the powder manufactured in England. On August 5, 1789, three weeks after the fall of the Bastille on July 14, Lavoisier directed that several hundred barrels of inferior powder (*poudre de traite*) stored at the Paris Arsenal, adjoining the Bastille, be loaded onto a barge for transfer, so that musket powder (*poudre à mousquet*) of higher quality could be delivered in its place. The populace rioted in the mistaken belief that Lavoisier was deceiving them and that essential supplies they might need in their own defense were being removed from the city. Lavoisier himself attempted to restore calm, but as he was suspect both as a member of the hated *ferme générale*, or tax collection agency, and as a *régisseur des poudres*, he and his wife found themselves in grave peril and could have lost their lives in the violence of the moment had they not slipped away. It may therefore be supposed that Lavoisier shared the view of Angiviller and would not have risked a negative response to his portrait, or even personal danger, were it to have been shown at the Salon opening on August 25. The result was that the magnificent picture, which had been seen by few, disappeared from sight for a century.³

David's painting is signed and dated 1788, and his receipt of December 16, 1788, records Lavoisier's full payment of 7,000 livres. This was an immense price.⁴ The couple moved in social circles that were frequented by the artist, whose paintings of subjects from ancient history were acclaimed when exhibited in the early 1780s. Lavoisier visited the Salons of 1783 and 1785, such visits being common among people of his social and professional class. In 1785 he made a few desultory remarks in his copy of the *livret*, or exhibition list, addressing what he perceived to be the inadequacy of the anatomy of one of the figures in David's *Oath of the Horatii*.⁵ If he attended in 1787, his visit is not recorded. The surviving individual portraits of Antoine and Marie Lavoisier are without distinction, and there is no record that they owned important works of art of any kind in addition to the present canvas. They were passionately committed to other fields of endeavor. But while Lavoisier seems to have had no more than a slight interest in painting and sculpture, he knew the

value of his reputation, and it is not at all surprising that he—or they—should have chosen David as their portraitist.

The scale is exceptional in the 1780s for a portrait of two private persons, even if they belonged to the governing classes, and he was a scientist and academician, and a member of the minor nobility. Such huge canvases were reserved for members of the royal family, and for monarchs, ministers, or heroic military figures on horseback. The arrangement of the Salon was hierarchical: placement was determined in part by size, with the largest—history paintings and portraits ordered by the state—holding the center, surrounded by tightly hung smaller works. In ordering such a large picture, Monsieur and Madame Lavoisier were intending to make a public statement, but owing to political circumstance the opportunity to do so was withheld from them. The gifted Lavoisier was mindful of what he regarded as his standing as a public servant and scientist. Marie, the offspring and spouse of wealthy members of the *ferme*, was proud. The enormous work expressed hubris on both of their parts.

Antoine Laurent was born on August 26, 1743, and brought up wealthy and protected, a motherless only child.⁶ At university, he studied law officially and science unofficially, and it was the latter that claimed his interest throughout his relatively short life. In 1764 he qualified in law and began to prepare his first presentation to the Académie Royale des Sciences, a paper that would draw public notice and gain him a medal in 1766. His proposal (he preferred scientific work that had application to practical problems) was entered in a public competition sponsored by the Académie Royale for a street lighting system for Paris. At the same time, he was taking courses and receiving private instruction in mineralogy, field geology, and experimental physics in addition to chemistry, with a view to gaining entry into that august body at the earliest possible moment. He was admitted in 1768, when, based on several papers addressing the analysis of water, he was appointed an adjunct, or *adjoint chimiste surnuméraire*.

In 1768 Lavoisier borrowed a large sum of money and bought into the *ferme générale*, one of the most powerful organizations in France.⁷ The *ferme*, under renewable six-year leases (one of the meanings of *ferme* is lease) controlled by sixty shareholders, provided operating funds and collected taxes—notably customs duties and tariffs on salt, wine, and tobacco—for the monarchy. Under the terms of payment governed by the lease, each shareholder received a percentage, amounts never publicly disclosed, of the total taxes collected and any surplus beyond what was owed to the king. The shareholders were educated people engaged in various fields of endeavor, and a number of them were patrons of the arts; few contributed their energies or their knowledge to the day to day operations of the tax farm, while all drew income

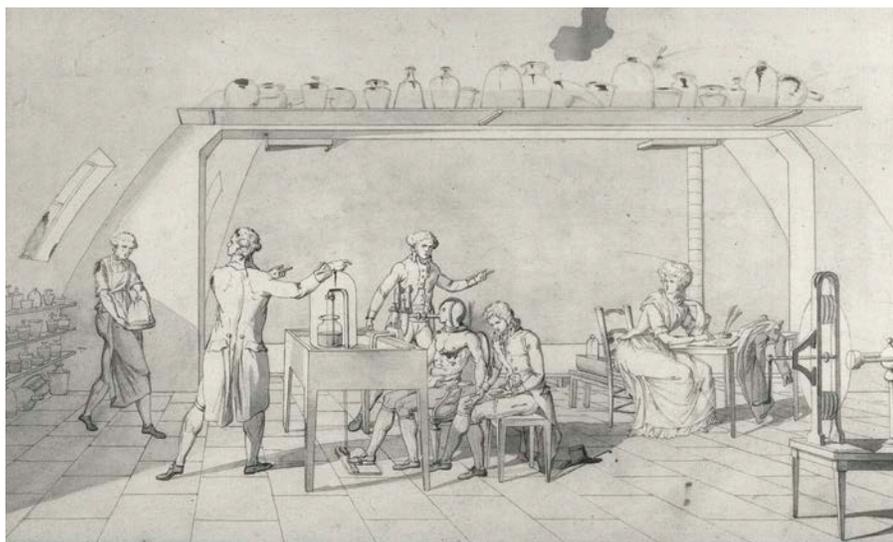


Fig. 107.2. Marie Anne Pierrette Paulze Lavoisier (French, 1758–1836), *The Arsenal Laboratory*, 1790–91. Reproduced in Beretta 2001, p. 48, fig. 2

and became very much richer. By contrast, Lavoisier made extensive tours of inspection, studied the various functions of the *ferme*, and gained managerial skills that he applied to improving performance and profitability. His personal social and economic agenda remained liberal and progressive.

Owing to his contributions to experimental science, Lavoisier is called the father of modern chemistry. He was disciplined in his habits and trained in the belief that theory must be tested and conclusions exactly demonstrated. Whenever possible, he spent three hours in the early morning and three in the evening in the laboratory that he set up in a suite of rooms at the Arsenal (fig. 107.2), to which he moved with his wife in the spring of 1776. Lavoisier set out to elucidate the role played by pure air in combustion in 1771. He registered a memoir on the subject with the Académie Royale des Sciences in 1772 and in 1775 presented more complete results, demonstrating that combustion is the reaction of a combustible organic or metallic substance with pure, respirable air, to which he later gave the name oxygen. In experiments undertaken with Meusnier de La Place in 1783–85, he showed that a combination of hydrogen and oxygen when burned together typically produces water, which is therefore not an element but a compound. His findings began gradually to take hold in the scientific community. With Guyton de Morveau, Berthollet, and Fourcroy, he undertook to reform the language of chemistry, and together they published *Méthode de nomenclature chimique* in 1787. Their nomenclature is still in use today. Lavoisier then turned to preparing his groundbreaking chemistry textbook, *Traité élémentaire de chimie*, published in the spring of 1789, upon which he was doubtless working when he sat to David. Later, among other achievements, he would give his attention to studies of respiration and establish a scientific journal for research reports in his subject area, the *Annales de Chimie*.

Lavoisier's Arsenal laboratory was among the most advanced of the time, a meeting place for scientists in many fields and a training ground for students of physics and chemistry.⁸ The laboratory housed hundreds of costly scientific instruments, some of which, notably the gasometers, were designed and constructed with their owner's personal input to be used in the various programs of research that he devised. English instrument makers were then the more highly skilled, and Lavoisier must have been intent upon improving the quality and variety of the scientific instruments built in France. He sought ever greater precision from his instrumentation. Among those to whom he gave orders in the late 1770s and 1780s were Nicolas Fortin, for scales; Mossy, for thermometers; and Pierre Bernard Mégnié, for barometers. His equipment and his supply of mercury, seized by the state and inventoried in 1793, were valued at the exceptionally large sum of 10,500 livres.

One of four children, Marie Anne Pierrette Paulze was born on January 20, 1758. She was the only daughter of Jacques Alexis Paulze, a member of the *ferme* and a nephew by marriage of the influential Abbé Terray.⁹ Marie, rather small in stature, with blue eyes and brown hair, emerged when she was twelve from the convent where she had been brought up and received a minimal education. Shortly thereafter, her great-uncle, the powerful abbé, influenced by a friend, exerted pressure on Paulze to agree to a marriage between his daughter and a titled but dissolute aristocrat fifty years old who was seeking to improve his fortunes. Mademoiselle Paulze, appalled, resisted, and her father, in order to protect her, quickly found a more appropriate candidate among his business acquaintances, the twenty-eight-year-old Lavoisier. A marriage contract was signed on December 4, 1771, and the ceremony took place on December 16. Marie was thirteen. Apparently the groom had not previously thought of looking

for a wife. Over the years as their relationship developed, they began to forge a close though childless working partnership.

The young Marie Lavoisier sought to be worthy of her husband. Informed and gracious, she received guests who shared the couple's many interests. In 1777 she was studying chemistry with Jean-Baptiste Bucquet, Lavoisier's first collaborator, and learning Latin with the help of one of her brothers. She gained an excellent command of English, acquiring skills that allowed her to translate research materials on chemical subjects important to her husband's work. Marie translated unpublished writings by the English scientist Joseph Priestley, a competitor whom they had met when he visited Paris in 1774. Her French editions of a book and brochure by Richard Kirwan, who held opposing views in matters of chemistry to those of Lavoisier, were published in 1788 and about 1790, the latter with annotations to which she contributed. Madame Lavoisier joined her husband in his work, taking dictation and noting the results of his experiments for the record. She prepared thirteen minutely detailed copperplate engravings from her own annotated drawings to illustrate Lavoisier's 1789 chemistry text, and, early in the 1790s, four drawings of experiments in her husband's laboratory.

It is possible that while David was a student in Rome, Marie Lavoisier studied painting. In 1788, she sent her half-length portrait (private collection) of the couple's close friend, Benjamin Franklin, to the sitter in Philadelphia. The picture is an awkward variant of a pastel by **JOSEPH SIFFRED DUPLESSIS** dating to 1777–78 (see fig. 59.2).¹⁰ The pastel was in the sitter's possession in Passy until he left France in 1785, and a reasonable argument would be that while there, Marie made the workmanlike copy as a keepsake and later sent the copy or replicated it as a gift to the elderly American statesman and scientist. On the basis of this portrait and of the scientific drawings and engravings, Lavoisier's first biographer, Edouard Grimaux, asserted that in the mid-1780s Marie had been a pupil of David. The argument has more recently been reinforced by the appearance of two drawings from the Lavoisier inheritance.¹¹ One is a line study made from a cast after the antique, perhaps a head of Antinoüs; the other is an elaborate chalk study of a male nude, an *académie* (fig. 107.3). Each is dated March 1786 and inscribed with words of approval written in David's hand, but neither is signed. They were tentatively identified in 1994 as studies by Marie made under David's supervision. Despite the logic of the argument, without the provenance I do not believe that the drawings could be ascribed to the same hand. Aspiring females studied with David, mostly at later dates, but *académie* studies of nude male models by late eighteenth-century women (who were for the most part prohibited from seeing nude men pose) were proscribed; almost none exist.¹²

The knowledge that Marie Lavoisier gained of the graphic arts was for a specific purpose: to aid her husband in his scientific writing and publishing by preparing illustrations (parallel, in its utility, to her study of languages). It is most improbable that she learned technical draftsmanship and engraving from the leading Neoclassical painter in France. It would also have been outside the norm for a woman to order a portrait of herself and her well-placed spouse, or to decide on her own how such a work should be composed, especially as Lavoisier was an ambitious man who left nothing to chance. Antoine Laurent and the childless Marie Lavoisier enjoyed a carefully calibrated partnership centered in the world of science, while in 1788 Marie was enjoying an intimate long-term relationship with her husband's colleague Pierre Samuel Du Pont.¹³

Seventy-five years ago, Edgar Wind argued that David's *Paris and Helen* and the Lavoisier double portrait were

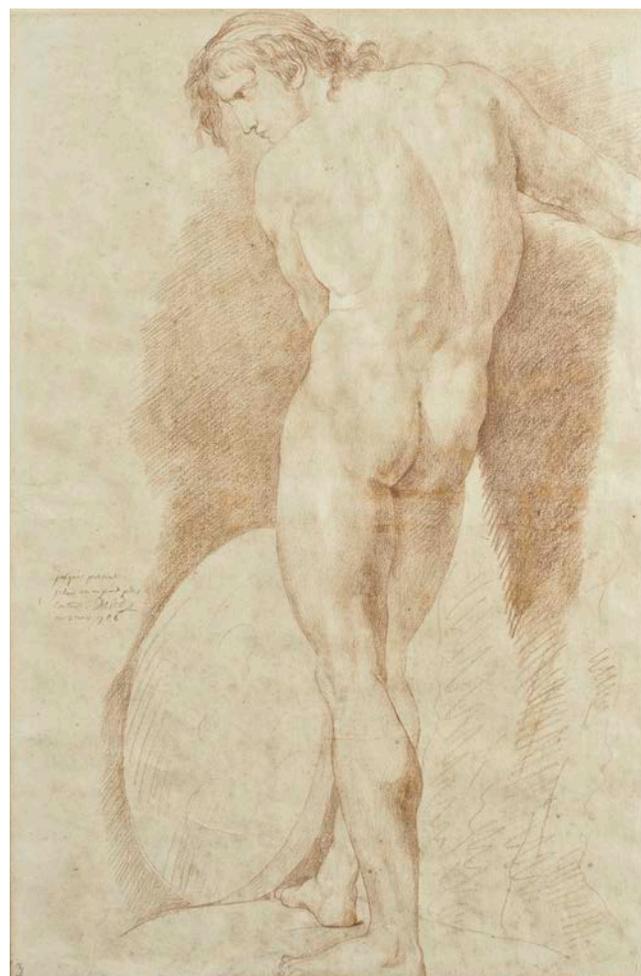


Fig. 107.3. Attributed to Marie Anne Pierrette Paulze Lavoisier, *Study of a Nude Man*, with David's annotation "jusqu'a présent je suis on ne peut plus Content. David ce 2 mars 1786" (So far, I am quite pleased. David March 2, 1786), 1786. Red chalk, 23% x 16% in. (60 x 41 cm). Musée des Arts et Métiers, Paris (19882)



Fig. 107.4. Elisabeth Louise Vigée Le Brun (French, 1755–1842), *Charles Alexandre de Calonne (1734–1802)*, 1784. Oil on canvas, $61\frac{1}{16} \times 51\frac{1}{16}$ in. (155.5 x 130.3 cm). Royal Collection Trust: H.M. Queen Elizabeth II (RCIN 406988)

complementary and that each was inspired by the classical concept of the musician and his muse. It was thought that the designs had been conceived at the same time, and Wind proposed that the theme of each was “‘parodied’ (in the musical sense) by the other.”¹⁴ Antoine Schnapper has shown that the composition of *Paris and Helen* was decided upon in 1786.¹⁵ The picture, commissioned by a member of the royal family, was intended as a pendant to a lost *Renaud and Armide* by Joseph Marie Vien that was exhibited in 1787. In the mythological scene, intended for the 1787 Salon though not completed until 1788, Helen leans awkwardly over the shoulder of a more or less nude, acquiescent Paris. The interdependent arrangement of the figures in the 1788 Lavoisier portrait is more evolved. Antoine Laurent Lavoisier admired, but cannot have wished to be seen as yielding to, his wife. The critic Pierre Chaussard, among others, noted what he interpreted as equality in their relationship.

Lavoisier presents himself in the black satin coat, knee britches, and silk stockings of a state official. The fine pleated white fabric of his neck cloth is linen. His shoe buckle is silver, and, as has often been observed, he had an elegant leg. Lavoisier’s brown eyebrows and slightly receding hairline and the varying color of his hair suggest that it is his own, pow-

dered and tied with a black ribbon. His anxious look would suit what we understand to have been his character and temperament. In France at the time, standing was reflected in dress with great precision: for example, VIGÉE LE BRUN’S 1784 portrait of Calonne (fig. 107.4), who held higher, ministerial rank, shows him in an elaborate wig, wearing black satin with lace. The pictures have in common the stern gray color of their marble walls, with wide, fluted pilasters suggesting large, formal spaces. The red coverings of the tables balance the palette. David knew Vigée Le Brun, whose portrait of Calonne he must have seen at the 1785 Salon.

Madame Lavoisier wears the white lawn dress of high fashion, which Vigée often depicted. Such dresses had been introduced by Marie Antoinette five years earlier and were worn by the aristocracy and members of the wealthy classes (without regard to the harsh criticism to which the queen had been subjected for appearing inadequately corseted and covered). The style may have originated in England, where double portraits were also more commonly found. Marie’s dress is made of two layers of fabric, gauze and a heavier cotton, with a wide skirt padded in back at the waist. The separate lace collar is apparently not fastened. These details and the reflections of the blue sash are minutely observed. Her stylishly wide mound of hair is presumably a wig, while the long curling tresses hanging down her back must be her own. Marie Lavoisier engages the viewer with a piercing look.

If in the minds of the sitters the picture was intended to preface the publication in April 1789 of Lavoisier’s chemistry text, then the portfolio is his wife’s attribute and refers to the preparation of her engraved plates for the book. His scientific instruments, in addition to manuscript or proof pages, quill pens, and green leather document boxes, would have been chosen to stand in for the full panoply of his laboratory equipment.¹⁶ This was certainly the case with the mercury gasometer, the gleaming glass and brass object with tubes and cocks containing liquid that stands on the table. Lavoisier had used the instrument at an earlier stage in his career, and it had long since been replaced by a larger and much more complex one built in cooperation with Meusnier. Beside the gasometer is a glass tube immersed in a tray of mercury. In 1777 Felice Fontana had employed these components to extinguish a red-hot charcoal and thereby absorb a quantity of air, which could have led the Italian to what Lavoisier himself later discovered, that is, the composed nature of water. Further right, at the edge of the canvas, is a tall glass bell mostly filled with water resting in a white ceramic dish. This was deployed in experiments to measure the volume of gasses. A large spherical glass *ballon*, or recipient, supported by a braided ring, lies beside the scientist’s foot. The purpose of the *ballon*, with its brass collar and tubes that could be opened and closed at will,

was to collect and weigh air. The smaller brass object behind it is an aerometer, used to determine the specific gravity of fluids. Lavoisier's registers document the use of such aerometers from 1772 to 1788.

Throughout his professional life, Antoine Laurent Lavoisier undertook other works for what he conceived to be the public good. He proposed improvements to prisons, hospitals, and slaughterhouses. He traveled regularly to his estates, notably a property in the Loire Valley, Fréchinés, where by close study and experimentation he sought to improve methods of agricultural production, though without much success. An economist *avant la lettre*, he served as the commissioner of the royal treasury. He contributed to the establishment of the metric system. However, as a young man Lavoisier had alienated the revolutionary leader Jean Paul Marat, who had aspired to a career in science. In 1784, to increase revenues from imports, Lavoisier led the efforts of the *ferme* to build a wall enclosing the city of Paris: this inspired widespread animosity toward him personally and resulted in a public outcry. But it was the tremendous wealth acquired in the administration of the *ferme générale*, which underwrote Lavoisier's many and various careers, notably in science, that brought him to the guillotine, together with twenty-seven other members of the *ferme*, including his father-in-law, on May 8, 1794. They were tried, convicted, and decapitated the same day.

NOTES

1. Chaussard 1806, p. 156.
2. Furcy-Raynaud 1907, pp. 263–65: “[J]’imagine à ce sujet que M. Lavoisier sera le premier à ne pas desirer l’exposition de son portrait.”
3. One of two engravings by and attributed to Jean Joseph François Tassaert after François Anne David, half-length portraits of Lavoisier based on David's painting, was published in 1796 and demonstrates that Lavoisier's scientific achievements continued to be recognized throughout the revolutionary era despite his execution in 1794 as a tax farmer. Madame Paulze Lavoisier must have given access to the picture to the makers of the print, upon which most nineteenth-century Lavoisier portraits are based. For further details, see Beretta 2001, pp. 84–86, nos. 17–18, figs. 17, 18.
4. Cantinelli 1930, p. 104. David was paid 6,000 livres for *The Oath of the Horatii* (signed and dated 1784; Salon of 1785, no. 103; Musée du Louvre, Paris, 3692), much larger at 129% x 167% in. (330 x 425 cm), with nine figures, and commissioned by Angiviller. Antoine Schnapper in Schnapper and Sérullaz 1989, p. 167.
5. The annotated *livret* has disappeared, but Lavoisier's notes were published in Grimaux 1888, pp. 378–80, and Beretta 2001, pp. 69–71.
6. Details of Lavoisier's life are drawn primarily from Grimaux 1888 and Donovan 1993.
7. Claëys 2011, vol. 2, pp. 1281–86 (Lavoisier), 1875–78 (Paulze), summarizes the positions and connections within the *ferme générale* of Lavoisier and his father-in-law, Jacques Paulze; see also Schama 1989, pp. 73, 76–79.
8. Viel 1995; Truchot 1879, esp. pp. 23–26.

9. See Grimaux 1888, pp. 33–43, 330–36; Duveen 1953; Vidal 1995, pp. 600, 611–23. Madame Paulze Lavoisier oversaw the posthumous publication of her husband's writings and devoted herself to recovering his property and protecting his reputation. She received proposals of marriage from, among others, Pierre Samuel Du Pont. She married secondly another scientist, Benjamin Thompson, Count Rumford, from whom she later separated, and she died in 1836.

10. Sellers 1962, pp. 212 n. 7, 273–74, no. 6. The painting was surely copied from an earlier example and is almost exactly the size of the pastel. For an illustration, see Beretta 2001, pl. 3 (color). A purported self-portrait in a damaged state also exists.

11. The drawings were published in Pinault Sørensen 1994 with a nuanced commentary. They belong to the Musée des Arts et Métiers, Paris, 19883 (*buste*) and 19882 (*académie*). See also Vidal 1995, pp. 612–14, figs. 4, 5.

12. I express my appreciation to Paris Spies-Gans for her email of April 5, 2017. With the single exception of male and female nudes by Pauline Auzou (1775–1835), which must be from the 1790s, Spies-Ganz has found no drawings from the nude male model made by women artists in the studio of David. However, as she kindly pointed out, Margaret Oppenheimer (2007) discovered limited evidence of women with access to anatomy classes as early as the 1770s. Such classes would have been offered privately, outside the context of the Académie Royale. It is possible that David gave Marie Lavoisier an academic drawing (by a male student) to copy.

13. See Poirier 2002, pp. 287–88 n. 1.

14. Wind 1940–42, p. 136, and also Gaus 1974, ill. p. 201. Wind proposed that David knew an engraving of Hogarth's portrait of David Garrick and his wife (Royal Collection Trust: H.M. Queen Elizabeth II, RCIN 405682), but the Hogarth double portrait seems not to have been engraved until the nineteenth century.

15. Schnapper and Sérullaz 1989, pp. 184–91, nos. 79–83, ill. One design shows a reversal of the figures, with Paris standing.

16. See Truchot 1879; Jacomy 1994; Poirier 1994; Beretta 2001, pp. 31–42. Many of Lavoisier's instruments are preserved at the Musée des Arts et Métiers in Paris, including the gasometer and the aerometer illustrated by David (20003/1-2 and 7508). A similar recipient in that museum's collection (1532) belonged to another scientist.

EX COLL.: the sitter, Paris (until d. 1794); his wife, Madame Antoine Laurent Lavoisier, later Countess Rumford, Paris (1794–d. 1836); her great-niece, Comtesse Pierre-Léon Bérard de Chazelles, Paris and the Auvergne (1836–d. 1888); her son, Comte Etienne Bérard de Chazelles, Paris, and Château de la Canière, near Aigueperse (1888–d. 1923; his estate, 1923–24; sold to Wildenstein); [Wildenstein, Paris and New York, 1924–25; sold to Rockefeller]; John D. Rockefeller Jr., New York (1925–27); Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research, later Rockefeller University, New York (1927–77; sold to MMA).

SELECTED EXHIBITIONS: Paris, Exposition Internationale Universelle, *Exposition centennale de l'art français (1789–1889)*, May–November 1889, no. 234 (lent by M. Etienne de Chazelles). Paris, Palais des Beaux-Arts, *David et ses élèves*, April 7–June 9, 1913, no. 20 (lent by M. Etienne de Chazelles) (exh. cat.: Paris 1913). Paris, Galeries Nationales du Grand Palais, *De David à Delacroix: La peinture française de 1774 à 1830*, November 16, 1974–February 3, 1975, no. 33 (lent by Rockefeller University, New York) (exh. cat.: Paris 1974); Detroit Institute of Arts, *French Painting 1774–1830: The Age of Revolution*, March 5–May 4, 1975, no. 33 (Detroit 1975); New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, *French Painting 1774–1830: The*

Age of Revolution, June 12–September 7, 1975, no. 33. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, *The Eye of Thomas Jefferson*, June 5–September 6, 1976, no. 105 (lent by Rockefeller University) (exh. cat.: Adams 1976). Paris, Musée du Louvre, *Jacques-Louis David, 1748–1825*, October 26, 1989–February 12, 1990, no. 84 (exh. cat.: Schnapper and Sérullaz 1989).

SELECTED REFERENCES: Charles Etienne Gabriel Cuvillier, letter to Joseph Marie Vien, August 10, 1789 (published in Furcy-Raynaud 1907, p. 264); Chaussard 1806, pp. 156–57; Truchot 1879, pp. 1–4, 25 (reprinted from *Annales de Chimie et de Physique* 18 [1879]); David 1880–82, vol. 1, pp. 53, 637, vol. 2, ill. (David etching); Delahante 1881, vol. 2, pp. 547–48; Grimaux 1888, pp. vi, 364–65, ill. (frontis., Lemercier heliogravure); Dorbec 1907, pp. 310–11, 321 n. 1, ill.; Brière 1909, pp. 122–24, no. 57; Pauli 1913, pp. 544, 546; Holma 1940, pp. 53, 118 n. 58, 126, no. 61, pl. 17; Wind 1940–42, pp. 136–38, pl. 32C; Duveen 1953, pp. 17, 27; Duveen and Klickstein 1954, pp. 158, 378, 462; Antoine Schnapper et al. in Detroit 1975, p. 369, no. 33, pl. 87; Arnauld Brejon de Lavergnée in Adams 1976, pp. 59, 359, no. 105, ill.; Brookner 1980, pp. 88, 90, 105, 132–33, fig. 46; Smith 1982, p. 279, fig. 37; Crow 1985, p. 231, ill.; Hunter 1988, pp. 323–52, 357, 403–4 nn. 21–22, 405 n. 27, 407 n. 37, 408 n. 39, 409 n. 43, 410 n. 50, pl. 70; Carol S. Eliel in Wintermute 1989, pp. 57, 61 n. 54, fig. 12; Antoine Schnapper in Schnapper and Sérullaz 1989, pp. 19–20, 192–94, 573, no. 84, ill. (color); Donovan 1993, p. 239, fig. 4; Vidal 1995, ill.; Poirier 1996, pp. 1–3, 131, 244, 403, 410, 464 nn. 54, 72, fig. 1; Beretta 2001, pp. viii, xiii, xiv, 2, 6–7, 9, 12–13, 16, 21, 25–28, 30–31, 34–37, 39–42, 64, 67–68, 82, 84, 86, 88, 90, 94, 100, 103, 115, pl. 1 (color), figs. 3, 4(a), 5(a), 6(a), 7 (details); Poirier 2002, pp. 295–96 n. 2; Vidal 2003, p. 247; Poirier 2004, pp. 107–9, 122, 163, 231; Gary Tinterow and Asher Ethan Miller in Fahy 2005, pp. 255–62, no. 70, ill. (color).

108 | Jacques Louis David

Comte Etienne Maurice Gérard (1773–1852), Général de Division, 1816

Oil on canvas, 77 $\frac{5}{8}$ x 53 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. (197.2 x 136.2 cm)

Signed, dated, and inscribed: (on pedestal base) L. DAVID. 1816 / BRUX[ELLES]; (on envelope) A Son Excellence / L[e] Gé[néral] Gérard / Com[mandant en] Chef. (To His Excellency General Gérard, Commander in Chief)

Purchase, Rogers and Fletcher Funds, and Mary Wetmore Shively Bequest, in memory of her husband, Henry L. Shively, M.D., 1965 (65.14.5)

David, having been a leading figure of the Revolution, then became first painter to Napoleon. When forced into exile following the Bourbon restoration, the artist moved to Brussels. He arrived on January 27, 1816,¹ found a studio space, and was soon occupied with mythological subjects and portraits of other French émigrés who had decamped to the same city. Among his sitters was General Gérard, a career soldier who had served in the revolutionary and imperial armies and had been obliged in September 1815 to leave France. Artist and sitter were without political power but not without renown. Apparently neither dwelt on recent

reversals. David expressed the resolve and confidence of the general, who was twenty-five years his junior, in Rubensian terms, conveying a certain documentary realism in the colorful precision of his depiction. The brilliant light gives a sheen to the damask and marble, while leaving the recessed space a flattened backdrop. This conventional military portrait is one of only two full-lengths that David painted in Brussels. It was on his easel when, between March and May 1816, a brother of the king of Prussia visited him in his studio to invite him to take up residence in Berlin, an invitation that David declined owing, he said, to the ill health of his wife.² The general's portrait was therefore among the first paintings the artist completed abroad.³

A compositional drawing in black chalk (fig. 108.1)⁴ differs only slightly from the finished canvas, in the angle of the general's sword, as indicated by the hilt, for example, and in showing more of the column or pilaster. The figure is less thick in the waist. The oval of the head is narrower. His hat is drawn over his proper left leg, while the contour of the same leg and the angle of his foot have been adjusted. The sheet is numbered 2. On page 1 of the same album there is an architectural study (fig. 108.2) that David may have consulted when painting the background, as several elements are similar.⁵ Rosenberg and Prat point out that studies for portraits other than those representing members of the imperial family are rare. Full-lengths depicting anyone but the emperor are also uncommon. Several heads of William I, who in 1815 had become king of the United Kingdom of the Netherlands, and of his consort, Louise Wilhelmine, are on adjoining pages. It may be imagined that David hoped to paint them as well, but he never received such a commission.



Fig. 108.1. Jacques Louis David, *Study for Comte Etienne Maurice Gérard, Général de Division*. Album leaf. Black chalk, 5 $\frac{3}{16}$ x 3 $\frac{3}{16}$ in. (13.2 x 7.7 cm). Reproduced in Rosenberg and Prat 2002, vol. 2, p. 1161, no. 1898 recto



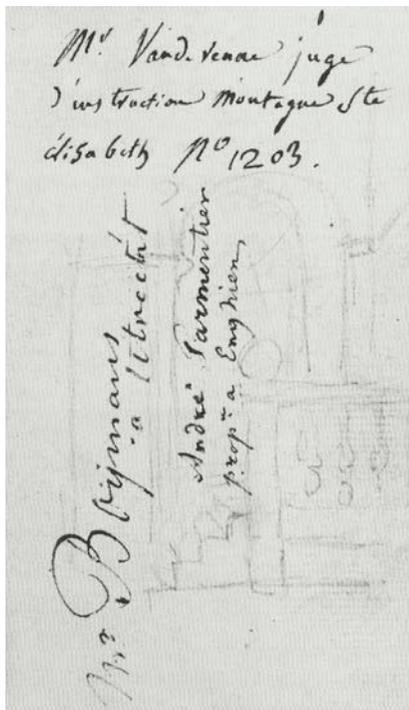


Fig. 108.2. Jacques Louis David,
Architectural Study with Balustrade. Black chalk, $5\frac{5}{16} \times 3\frac{3}{16}$ in. (13.2 x 7.7 cm).
Reproduced in Rosenberg and Prat 2002, vol. 2, p. 1160, no. 1897 recto

General Gérard wears a blue field service undress uniform and short boots with spurs.⁶ His costume, without any gold embroidery, is unusual in its simplicity. He holds letters, two with wax seals, and the enormous feathered bicorne hat of a commanding officer, the rank he held during the 1815 campaign. He stands on a multicolored checkerboard pavement in front of a veined marble pilaster and balustrade. A red brocaded curtain is draped behind his head and shoulders, and beyond the balcony is an Italianate landscape with trees, towers, and a distant mountain. The background, which is atypical for David, does not refer in any way to the general's career. However, his epaulettes indicate that he held the rank of *général de division*, which is roughly equivalent to major-general, in the imperial army. His decorations include the red ribbon and star of the Légion d'Honneur and, conferred in 1814, the plaque and grand cordon of the grand cross of the Légion d'Honneur. Suspended from a ribbon around his neck is the grand cross of the Order of the Dannebrog, awarded in 1808 in Copenhagen when he was chief of staff to Marshal Bernadotte. In addition he wears the blue ribbon and twelve-point star of the Ordre de la Réunion and the plaque of commander grand cross of the Swedish Order of the Sword, conferred in 1814. The artist's signature in block letters appears on the base of the pilaster, with the date and the place the picture was painted. Perhaps the occasion for the commission was the sitter's marriage in the spring or summer of 1816 to the daughter of an aristocrat, the *général-comte de*

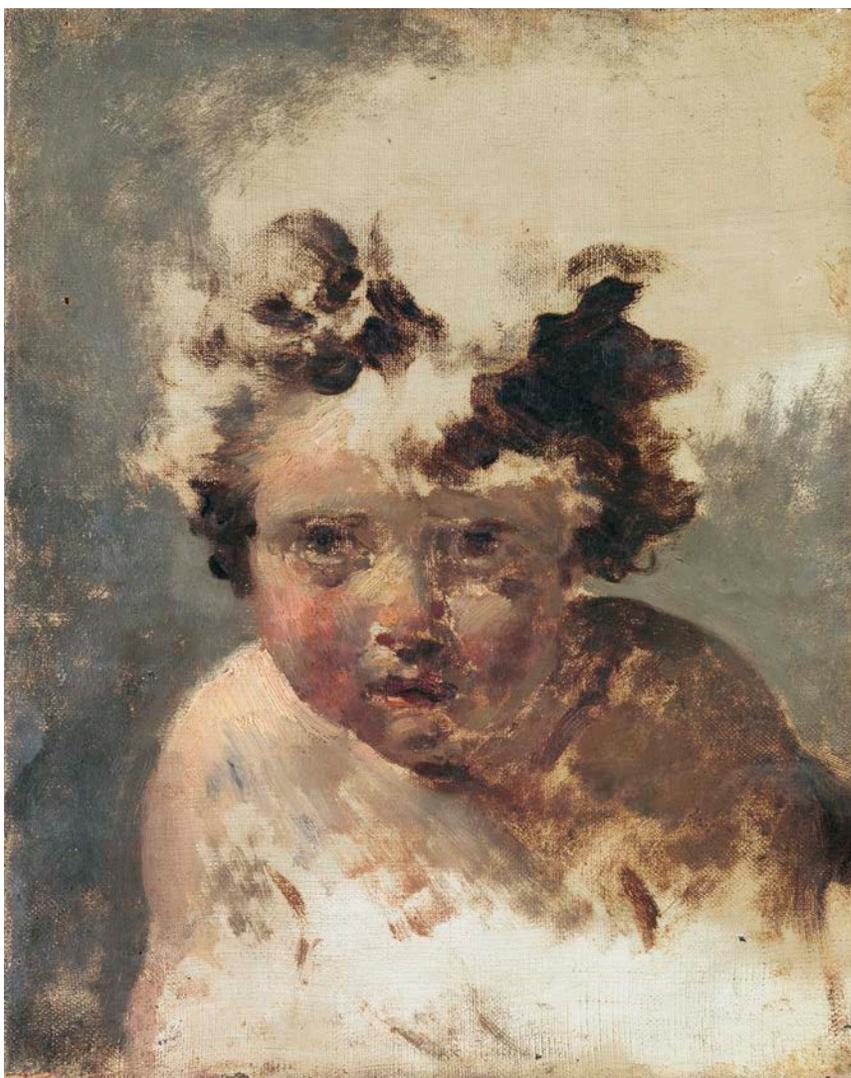
Valence, through whose good offices it became possible for Gérard and his young wife to return to France. They bought the Château de Villers Saint-Paul in the Oise, and the first of their three children was born shortly thereafter.

The general is presented as a man of action, and his apparent optimism was not unwarranted. Etienne Maurice Gérard, born at Damvillers, enrolled in the Garde Nationale as an eighteen-year-old volunteer on October 11, 1791. He participated in the 1792 victory at Jemappes. By 1799 he was a squadron chief and in 1805, colonel and aide-de-camp to Bernadotte. Twice promoted during the Prussian and Russian campaigns, General Gérard was gravely wounded in 1813 at the Battle of Leipzig. Thereafter he was named commander of the fourth army corps. (The address on the letter he holds refers to that appointment.) After the fall of Napoleon in 1814, Louis XVIII named him grand cross of the Légion d'Honneur. During the Hundred Days he rejoined Napoleon and distinguished himself at Ligny and Wavre, where he was again wounded, before the emperor's final defeat at Waterloo. With the accession of Louis Philippe in 1830, Gérard served briefly as minister of war and was raised to the rank of marshal. He returned to the battlefield to drive the Dutch army from Antwerp in 1832, securing the independence of Belgium. From 1822 he also had a political career. In old age he became grand chancellor of the Légion d'Honneur. He died in 1852.⁷

General Gérard must have chosen David. He would have requested, and was perhaps proud to have been able to afford, this full-length standing portrait in which he wears the medals symbolic of his outstanding bravery and various military achievements. The straightforward man with a square head and short neck in a dark uniform is in sharp contrast to the sumptuous background. However, despite their common concerns and the panoply of skills David brought to bear, the artist does not seem to have responded with any particular empathy to his soldier sitter.

NOTES

1. Schnapper and Sérullaz 1989, p. 621.
2. Thomé 1826, p. 145; Schnapper and Sérullaz 1989, p. 622; Bordes 2005, p. 311 n. 1.
3. Bordes 2005, p. 301, suggests that the bust-length portrait of Turenne at the Clark Art Institute (1999.2) may be earlier.
4. Rosenberg and Prat 2002, vol. 2, p. 1161, no. 1898 recto, ill.
5. *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 1160, no. 1897 recto, ill. The incomplete notebook (*ibid.*, no. 14) contains drawings most of which were made in Belgium.
6. Responding to a letter from Dean Walker, then assistant curator, Colonel MacCarthy, honorary curator of the Musée de l'Armée, Hôtel National des Invalides, Paris, wrote on January 7, 1980, describing the general's medals and uniform, and mentioning details of his career.
7. For an account of his life, see Coffinier 1983. Many online sites discuss his accomplishments, for example napoleon.org and fr.wikipedia.org, and see also Bordes 2005.



EX COLL.: the sitter, Brussels and Château de Villers Saint-Paul, Oise (until d. 1852); his grandson, Jean Etienne Desmiers d'Olbreuse, comte d'Archiac, Château de Villers Saint-Paul (1852–d. 1927); his nephew and adopted son, Comte Ferdinand de Bryas-Desmiers d'Archiac (1927–d. 1958; his estate, 1958–59; sold to Wildenstein); [Wildenstein, Paris and New York, 1959–65; sold to MMA].

SELECTED EXHIBITIONS: London, Royal Academy of Arts and Victoria and Albert Museum, *The Age of Neo-Classicism*, September 9–November 19, 1972, no. 70 (shown at Royal Academy) (exh. cat.: London 1972). Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, *Jacques-Louis David: Empire to Exile*, February 1–April 24, 2005, no. 50 (exh. cat.: Bordes 2005); Williamstown, Mass., Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, *Jacques-Louis David: Empire to Exile*, June 5–September 5, 2005, no. 50. Paris, Galeries Nationales du Grand Palais, *Portraits publics, portraits privés, 1770–1830*, October 4, 2006–January 9, 2007, no. 130 (exh. cat.: Paris 2006); London, Royal Academy of Arts, *Citizens and Kings: Portraits in the Age of Revolution, 1760–1830*, February 3–April 20, 2007, no. 142 (exh. cat.: London 2007).

SELECTED REFERENCES: *Notice* 1824, p. 67; Coupin 1827, p. 57; David 1880–82, vol. 1, pp. 531, 583, 649; Brookner 1980, p. 178, pl. 109; Schnapper 1982, pp. 282, 286, pl. 179 (French ed. 1980); Nanteuil 1985, pp. 51, 70, 156, pl. 43 (color); Antoine Schnapper in Schnapper and Sérullaz 1989, pp. 21, 514, fig. 144; Rosenberg and Prat 2002, vol. 2, p. 1161, ill.; Bordes 2005, pp. 292, 301, 304, 307–11, 329, no. 50, ill. (color and black-and-white).

109 | Style of Jacques Louis David

Head of a Child, ca. early 1800s

Oil on canvas, 15¼ x 12⅝ in. (40 x 32.1 cm)

Bequest of Harry G. Sperling, 1971 (1976.100.5)

Jacques Louis David's *Sabine Women* was in hand in spring 1796 and largely complete in 1798.¹ It is signed and dated 1799. For more than four years, from December 1799 through

May 1805, the artist presented this enormously important work to paying visitors in a room at the Louvre previously assigned to the Académie d'Architecture. There was a significant and well-documented critical response. He exhibited it again in the Salon of 1808, in 1810, and in 1814. When he emigrated in 1816 and his studio was taken over by **ANTOINE GROS**, the picture was still there. It was finally purchased in 1819 for the French royal museums.

The babies in the center foreground of *The Sabine Women* are believed to have been added at a late stage.² Chalk drawings of very young children by David may be loosely connected to the design process of the painting, but none resembles the frontal, kneeling child from which this unfinished head in oils derives. It was bequeathed to the Museum as a study for *The Sabine Women*, but has been catalogued for fifty years as attributed to David on the presumption that it could be by one of his many pupils, and someone who had been exposed to David's studio practices.³

The Museum's sketch differs entirely in its chaotic handling from the relatively few studies of heads in oil on canvas that David made, mostly for portraits.⁴ Each is a smoother, more developed rendering, in which the working of the brush may or may not be fully blended, but no part of the canvas or ground underlying the face is exposed. The backgrounds are a neutral tone with strokes to suggest contours of the neck, shoulders, or costume. Perhaps it was the intention of the painter of the present picture to imitate the scumbling, or *frottis*, found in several of David's unfinished portraits, though in David's hand the technique by contrast is one of disciplined control.⁵

NOTES

1. Musée du Louvre, Paris, 3691. See Schnapper and Sérullaz 1989, pp. 323–53, nos. 146–56, ill. (color and black-and-white).
2. Rosenberg and Prat 2002, vol. 2, p. 980, no. 1495 recto and verso, ill., discuss one of the drawings of babies, which they connect elsewhere with David's study of Raphael.
3. Thanks to Daniella Berman for reviewing this entry in 2017 and for her suggestions.
4. See Schnapper and Sérullaz 1989, pp. 124–25, nos. 43–44, ill., pp. 240–41, no. 99, ill. (color), pp. 268–75, nos. 111–14, and pp. 378–79, no. 159 (color).
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 276–81, nos. 115–17, ill. (color), and also, for attributed portraits, pp. 17–20, ill. The Met's sketch was first published in 1980 in the Museum's summary catalogue. The attribution to Jacques Louis David has been rejected by Jacques Vilain (1975), Robert Rosenblum (1976), and Pierre Rosenberg (1977). Antoine Schnapper tentatively accepted it in a letter of May 12, 1976, comparing it to the study of a young man in the Musée Fabre, Montpellier, but never referred to it among attributed works.

EX COLL.: [Ambroselli, Paris, until 1968; as by Jacques Louis David; sold for \$3,500 to Kleinberger]; [Kleinberger, New York, 1968–71; half share exchanged with Ambroselli]; [Kleinberger, New York, and Ambroselli, Paris, 1971–75; bequeathed by Harry G. Sperling, last surviving partner of Kleinberger].

ADÉLAÏDE LABILLE-GUIARD

Paris 1749–1803 Paris

Labille's training followed the course that was available to a gifted and determined woman artist born in Paris in the mid-eighteenth century. Her father, a shopkeeper, placed her with François Elie Vincent, a miniaturist whose studio was in the same street. In 1769 she was admitted to membership in the Académie de Saint-Luc, which unlike the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture accepted women, and married Louis Nicolas Guiard (from whom she would obtain a legal separation ten years later). Her training with the pastelist **MAURICE QUENTIN DE LA TOUR** was reportedly complete in 1774, when she exhibited a miniature self-portrait and a pastel portrait at the Académie de Saint-Luc and turned her attention to oil painting, studying with François André Vincent, the son of her first teacher, whose studio she entered in 1776, the year after he returned from Rome. The Académie de Saint-Luc was suppressed, and in 1782 and 1783 she instead sent pastel portraits to the new Salon de la Correspondance. By 1783, when she and **VIGÉE LE BRUN** were admitted to the Académie Royale and showed at the Salon for the first time, she had her own studio and a number of women students. Her most important clients at court were the comte de Provence, Louis XVI's younger brother, and the king's maiden aunts, the Mesdames Adélaïde and Victoire; in 1787 she was named their official painter. Labille-Guiard was dedicated to teaching young women and improving their position in the Académie Royale, and she took a lead role in seeking their admission in larger numbers. As she held democratic sentiments, she did not leave France but weathered the Revolution, even seeking commissions from several of its leaders, although she was at risk and saw the number of her patrons dwindle (we know little of her work from the 1790s). Labille-Guiard divorced in 1793 and in 1800 married Vincent, her childhood friend, former teacher, and longtime companion.

LITERATURE ON THE ARTIST: Bellier de la Chavignerie 1865, pp. 174–75; Portalis 1902; Passez 1973; Auricchio 2009.

110 | Adélaïde Labille-Guiard

Self-Portrait with Two Pupils, Marie Gabrielle Capet and Marie Marguerite Carreaux de Rosemond, 1785

Oil on canvas, 83 x 59½ in. (210.8 x 151.1 cm)

Signed and dated (at left, on the shelf of the easel): Labille f^{me} Guiard / 1785.

Gift of Julia A. Berwind, 1953 (53.225.5)

Exhibited at the Salon of 1785, this group portrait of three lifesize females secured the professional reputation of a gifted





Fig. 110.1. Adélaïde Labille-Guiard, *Marie Gabrielle Capet and Marie Marguerite Carreaux de Rosemond*. Black chalk with stumping, red and white chalks, on beige paper, 15 x 19 in. (38.1 x 48.3 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Purchase, Gifts from Mrs. Gardner Cassatt, Mrs. Francis Ormond, Bessie Potter Vonnoh, William Benton, Donald Silve, William M. Ivins Jr., and Mrs. Harry Payne Whitney, and other gifts, bequests, and funds, by exchange, 1998 (1998.186)

woman dedicated to the advancement of women artists.¹ The subject was described as a painter and two pupils, but the critics knew it for Labille-Guiard's self-portrait, and it can be read as a statement of intent. She had studied with a miniaturist, a pastelist, and a painter in oils, securing for herself training of a high order in the full variety of artists' materials. In 1783 she showed a large number of works, mainly pastels, at the Salon de la Correspondance and the Salon, to which she gained access for the first time as an academician. She was in her mid-thirties. That year, nine young women who were singled out as her pupils sent work to the *Exposition de la Jeunesse*, where they were identified with the Muses and attracted the notice of both critics and the wider public.² The student painters she depicted here and in a preliminary study (fig. 110.1) were doubtless among them: Carreaux de Rosemond, described as a beauty and compared to a lily,³ and Capet,⁴ who was thought to have had the greater talent and went on to a successful career working in both oils and pastels. Capet eventually became companion to Labille-Guiard and her husband François André Vincent.

When Labille-Guiard and **VIGÉE LE BRUN** joined the Académie Royale, the total number of female members rose to four, the maximum allowed. (Madame Vien and **ANNE VALLAYER-COSTER** already belonged.) Vigée, the wife of a dealer and theoretically excluded because of her connection with the trade, gained admission at the insistence of the king and Marie Antoinette. By contrast, Labille-Guiard came

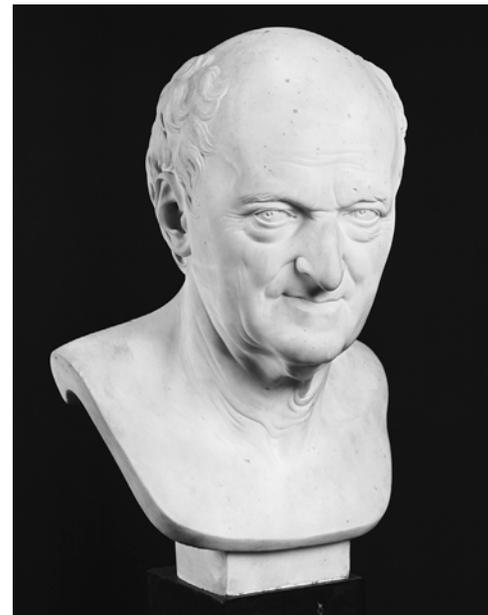


Fig. 110.2. Augustin Pajou (French, 1730–1809), *Claude Edme Labille*, 1784. Marble, 17¼ x 12¼ x 10½ in. (45.5 x 31 x 27.5 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris (N. 15487)

before the academicians entirely on her own initiative. Through Vincent, she had met and taken sittings from his teacher, Joseph Marie Vien, the rector, and through her father she knew the sculptor and academician Augustin Pajou, both of whose portraits she sent to the Salon de la Correspondance

and to the 1783 Salon.⁵ She showed five other portraits of academicians in 1783 and three more in 1785. Eleven exhibits in 1783 were pastels, and the twelfth was an oil representing the sculptor Etienne Pierre Adrien Gois.

It was a bold move for a new woman member to so quickly present a lifesize full-length self-portrait.⁶ Labille-Guiard, seated with one well-shod foot on the crossbar of her easel, holds her palette and brushes and gazes straight out . . . at the viewer, or at her presumed sitter, or in the mirror that captured this likeness. Her dress is fashionable but not modern, made of lace-trimmed satin in the style called *robe à l'anglaise*, and she wears a large, lavishly trimmed straw hat. Vigée Le Brun was Labille-Guiard's most important rival, and she had already painted not only Marie Antoinette, but also the queen's intimate friend the comtesse de Polignac, her self-portrait, and several other ladies wearing broad-brimmed straw hats, so the style was well established. **ANTOINE VESTIER'S** portrait of his daughter Marie Nicole (private collection), exhibited at the same Salon, shows the young woman seated at her easel in a dress and hat of similar design. Marie Nicole's costume is of a dark color, and she wears a

fichu. In Labille-Guiard's painting, Capet's attire is conservative, while Carreaux de Rosemond wears the newly popular white pleated muslin. The room is of generous proportions, with a parquet floor and modern gilded and upholstered furniture of good quality, though the artist's personal financial circumstances at the time were strained.⁷ In the background are Pajou's marble bust of Labille-Guiard's father (fig. 110.2), which was also exhibited in 1785, and a statue of a vestal virgin by Houdon (fig. 110.3). The Pajou head as well as the self-portrait were in the artist's studio at the time of her death.⁸ The Museum owns not only a chalk drawing of the heads of the girls, but also a study from a model (fig. 110.4) that may represent Mademoiselle Capet.

Labille-Guiard's painting was well placed (fig. 110.5) and attracted attention, most of it positive. The king's great-aunt Madame Adélaïde offered 10,000 livres for it.⁹ More than one critic stressed the fact that Madame Guiard's talent was unique because she combined with the graces of her sex the vigor and force that characterize the work of male artists.¹⁰ Other visitors assumed that the portrait had been painted by a man, and still others called the artist the victorious emulator



Fig. 110.3. Jean Antoine Houdon (French, 1741–1828), *Vestal Virgin*. Plaster, height 25½ in. (64.8 cm). Frick Art and Historical Center, Pittsburgh (1973.33)

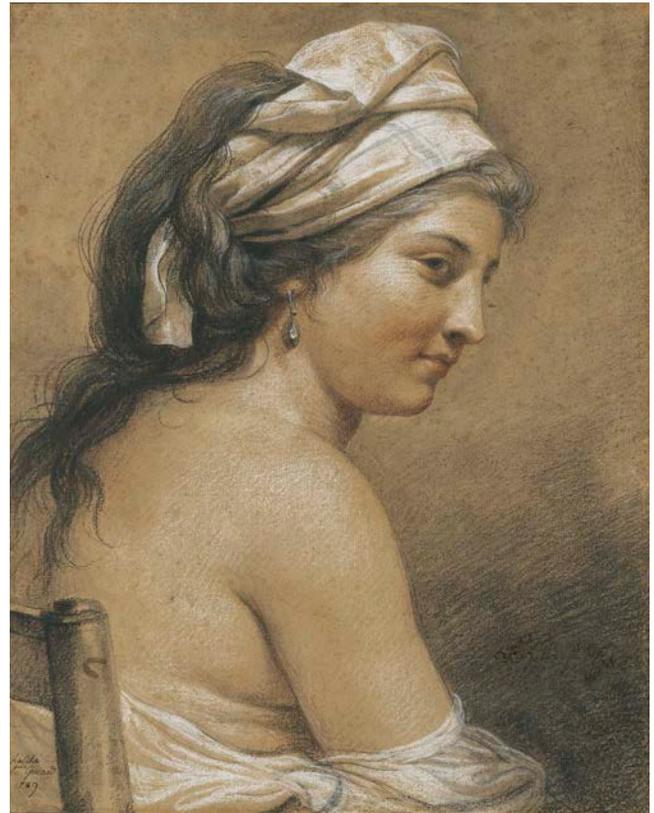


Fig. 110.4. Adélaïde Labille-Guiard, *Study of a Seated Woman Seen from Behind (Marie Gabrielle Capet)*, 1789. Red, black, and white chalk on toned laid paper, 20½ x 18¾ in. (52 x 48 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of Mrs. Charles Wrightsman, 2008 (2008.538.1)



Fig. 110.5. Pietro Antonio Martini (Italian, 1738–1797), *View of the Salon of 1785*, 1785. Etching, 10% x 19% in. (27.6 x 48.6 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, A. Hyatt Mayor Purchase Fund, Marjorie Phelps Starr Bequest, 2009 (2009.472)

of Rosalba Carriera.¹¹ Madame Guiard was held to be good at capturing resemblance. She was congratulated for her firm handling of form, and it was thought that her skills had improved significantly since the 1783 Salon.

NOTES

1. This view, central to Laura Auricchio's critical writings on the picture, finds full support in the recent literature, for which see www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/436840.
2. Passez 1973, pp. 20–22.
3. While neither student is named in the Salon criticism, the picture descended to her husband's nephew, who identified them in 1848. Carreaux de Rosemond was called "un lys au milieu des beaux jardins de Flore" ("Arts: Aux auteurs du Journal ce vendredi 27 juin," *Journal de Paris*, no. 179 [June 28, 1783], p. 746). She exhibited portraits at Place Dauphine in 1783 and 1784. She married the engraver and academician Charles Clément Balvay, called Bervic, in 1788 and died the same year. No work by her has been identified.
4. For Capet, see Doria 1934. In her group portrait of 1808 (illustrated in Auricchio 2009, p. 109, fig. 74 [color]), she casts herself as Labille-Guiard's devoted assistant.
5. Passez 1973, p. 118, no. 40. Portraitists, including pastelists, often exhibited "plusieurs portraits sous le même numéro," as was the case with Labille-Guiard in 1783, no. 134. For three of the pastels representing artists

belonging to the Musée du Louvre, see Salmon 2018, pp. 148–54, nos. 74–76, pls. 74–76 (color).

6. The painting was restored by conservator Christel Faltermeir in 1974–75. It is well preserved, although there is a history of cupping associated with the edges of an extensive crack pattern.
7. Passez 1973, p. 301, no. 1. On November 8, 1785, Angiviller appealed to the king to provide Madame Guiard, "sans aucune fortune et même très peu occupée," with a pension of one hundred pistoles.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 308.
9. "Exposition des tableaux au Louvre," *Année Littéraire* (1785) (CD 1980, vol. 14, no. 349, p. 796).
10. *Peintre anglais* 1785, p. 24: "Cette Artiste est d'un mérite très-distingué & très-rare, puisqu'elle a su joindre aux grâces de son sexe la vigueur & la force qui caractérisent les Ouvrages de l'homme."
11. *Aviis* 1785, pp. 28–29 (CD 1980, vol. 14, no. 344).

EX COLL.: the artist (until d. 1803; inv., 1803); her husband, François André Vincent, Paris (1803–d. 1816); his brother-in-law, Marie François Griois, Paris (1816–d. 1824); his son, Auguste François Griois, Paris (1824–at least 1848); his widow, Virginie Barry, Madame Auguste François Griois, Paris (until d. 1878; offered to the Louvre and declined); their son, Auguste Griois, Paris (from 1878); his widow, Madame Auguste Griois, Paris (until 1905; sold to Gimpel & Wildenstein); [Gimpel & Wildenstein, Paris and New York, from 1905; sold to Guinle]; Eduardo Palassin Guinle, Rio de

Janeiro (until d. 1912; his estate 1912–15; sold to Wildenstein); [Gimpel & Wildenstein, New York, 1915–18; sold for \$98,000 to Berwind]; Edward J. Berwind, The Elms, Newport, R.I. (1918–d. 1936); Julia A. Berwind, The Elms (1936–53).

EXHIBITIONS: Paris, Salon, August 25–September 25, 1785, no. 101 (as *Un Tableau (Portrait) de trois Figures en pied, représentant une Femme occupée à peindre & deux Éléves la regardant. 6 pieds 6 pouces, sur 4 pieds 8 pouces*). Paris, Galerie Bonne-Nouvelle, *Association des artistes: Ouvrages de peinture, sculpture et architecture exposées à la Galerie Bonne-Nouvelle, au profit de la caisse des secours et pensions de l'Association, troisième année*, January 1848, no. 53 (as *Portrait de l'auteur, de Mme Bervic et de Mlle Capet [1785]*), lent by M. Griois) (exh. cat.: Paris 1848). Paris, Galeries Nationales du Grand Palais, *De David à Delacroix: La peinture française de 1774 à 1830*, November 16, 1974–February 3, 1975, no. 112 (exh. cat.: Paris 1974); Detroit Institute of Arts, *French Painting 1774–1830: The Age of Revolution*, March 5–May 4, 1975, no. 112 (exh. cat.: Detroit 1975); New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, *French Painting 1774–1830: The Age of Revolution*, June 12–September 7, 1975, no. 112. Paris, Galeries Nationales du Grand Palais, *Elisabeth Louise Vigée Le Brun*, September 23, 2015–January 11, 2016, no. 40 (exh. cat.: Baillio and Salmon 2015).

REFERENCES: Critès 1785, pp. 36–37 (CD 1980, vol. 14, no. 334; McWilliam 1991, no. 0399); *Jugement* 1785, p. 16 (CD 1980, vol. 14, no. 341; McWilliam 1991, no. 0391); “Observations sur le Sallon de 1785,” *Journal Général de France*, 1785, p. 19 (CD 1980, vol. 14, no. 339); *Peintre anglais* 1785, p. 24 (CD 1980, vol. 14, no. 327; McWilliam 1991, no. 0398-1); Bachaumont 1786, Letter II, pp. 183–84 (reprinted in Fort 1999, p. 297, fig. 53); Portalis 1901–2, pp. 100–103, 107, ill. (engraving by Dujardin); Doria 1934, pp. 5, 15, 88, no. 4, ill. (frontis.); Passez 1973, pp. 19, 26–27, 48–49, 154–59, 308, 313–14, no. 62, pl. 49; Perrin Stein in Stein and Holmes 1999, pp. 188–90, no. 3, ill.; Auricchio 2007, ill. (color); Auricchio 2009, pp. 40, 42–47, 49, 53–55, 76, 105–6, 114 nn. 102–3, 106, 108, 110, 115, p. 122, fig. 30 (color); Bonnet 2012, pp. 57–62, 177 n. 1, 196, 202, pl. 11 (color); Xavier Salmon in Baillio and Salmon 2015, p. 145, under no. 41; Joseph Baillio in Baillio and Salmon 2015, p. 28; Katharine Baetjer in Baillio and Salmon 2015, pp. 57, 142–43, 350, no. 40, ill. (color, overall and detail).

111 | Adélaïde Labille-Guiard

Madame Elisabeth de France, ca. 1787

Pastel on blue paper, seven sheets joined, laid down on canvas, oval, 31 x 25¼ in. (78.7 x 65.4 cm)

Gift of Mrs. Frederick M. Stafford, 2007 (2007.441)

Born at Versailles on May 3, 1764, Elisabeth Philippine Marie Hélène was a *petite-fille de France* and the youngest child of Louis, dauphin of France, and Marie Joséphe de Saxe, both of whom had died by the time she was three. The princess was lively, well educated, and interested in the arts. Devout and charitable, she remained unmarried and was deeply attached to her brother, Louis XVI. However, she was still a child when he wed Marie Antoinette, and she grew up instead in the orbit of her great-aunts, Louis XV’s sisters Adélaïde and Victoire, the Mesdames de France, who held court at the Château

de Bellevue. Madame Elisabeth refused to emigrate with the Mesdames. In 1789 she accompanied the king and queen from Versailles to the Tuileries and later shared their incarceration in the Temple. She spent two years in the prison of the Conciergerie and died by the guillotine on May 10, 1794, just after her thirtieth birthday.

Other than the several surviving portraits, there is no record of contact between Madame Elisabeth and Labille-Guiard, but it is natural that the young princess would have sat for the painter favored by the Mesdames, and not for VIGÉE LE BRUN, Marie Antoinette’s chief portraitist. According to the 1785 *Année Littéraire*, Madame Adélaïde had been much impressed at the Salon by Labille-Guiard’s *Self-Portrait with Two Pupils* (cat. 110), for which she had offered the painter 10,000 livres.¹ It is fascinating that a member of the royal family would have wished to buy at great cost the full-length self-portrait of a woman artist whose father had kept a shop. The offer must have astonished the critics, but Labille-Guiard declined to sell it. Thereafter, Madame Adélaïde commissioned a full-length portrait of herself—an official court portrait, or *portrait d'apparat*—and her sister Madame Victoire ordered a pendant of close to the same enormous size.² A third commission was for a three-quarter-length canvas showing Madame Elisabeth at a writing desk (fig. 111.1), which, together with Madame Adélaïde’s portrait,



Fig. 111.1. Adélaïde Labille-Guiard, *Madame Elisabeth de France Seated*, 1787. Oil on canvas, 57¾ x 45¼ in. (146.7 x 115 cm). Private collection



was exhibited at the Salon of 1787.³ It was customary to take a head study from life of a royal personage to be used while preparing a larger finished oil. In this case, the studies for the three portraits were all pastels, of which we are fortunate to own one.⁴

The pastels representing the Mesdames, half-lengths, do not show the lower arms or hands. Each measures about 29 x 23 inches (73.7 x 58.4 cm). The palette is the same for all three and is limited to blues, bluish gray in the shadows, and a silvery white with touches of gold, colors Labille-Guiard favored. The head of Madame Elisabeth was begun by the artist on a single sheet of about 25 x 19 inches (63.5 x 48.3 cm),⁵ while much of the background, the top half of the pouf and the feather, as well as a little of the dress were added at an early date but by another hand. The young princess is dressed simply but fashionably in a muslin fichu over a silk redingote with a double collar, an open neckline, and a tight bodice closed with three pairs of brass buttons. (The redingote was originally designed as a riding coat, and the sitter was a fine horsewoman.) Madame Elisabeth is said to have had blue eyes, brown hair, very fair skin, and excellent teeth. Her expression has been described as one of sweet melancholy, which would be appropriate for this portrait. The finished painting (private collection) differs in scale, in the degree of formality and elaboration, and in the gold and white formal costume, as well as in the regal and commanding expression of the sitter. A half-length oval replica in which she wears a different head-dress (fig. 111.2) is signed and dated “Labille f^me Guiard 1788.”⁶

NOTES

1. “Exposition des tableaux au Louvre,” *Année Littéraire*, 1785 (CD 1980, vol. 14, no. 349, p. 796): “Madame Adélaïde enchantée de ce tableau, l’a demandé à l’auteur en lui offrant une somme de dix mille livres. . . .” On December 31, 1785, Labille-Guiard was awarded a royal pension, and at the time of the opening of the 1787 Salon she was named *peintre des Madames* through the good offices of this powerful princess.
2. Musée National des Châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon, MV 3958 and MV 3960.
3. Madame Elisabeth’s portrait was no. 109: “Madame Elisabeth, peinte jusqu’aux genoux, appuyée sur une table garnie de plusieurs attributs de Sciences. Tableau de 4 pieds 8 pouces, sur 3 pieds 8 pouces [59¼ x 46⅞ in. (151.6 x 119 cm)].” According to Passetz 1973, p. 172, it was kept at Bellevue. No. 110 was the full-length of Madame Adélaïde measuring “8 pieds 6 pouces de haut, sur 6 pieds 2 pouces de large,” while no. 111 was a pastel study of Madame Victoire “pour faire le pendant du Portrait de Madame Adélaïde” (see note 4). All are signed and dated 1787.
4. The others are in the Châteaux de Versailles: DESS 1159 (Madame Adélaïde) and DESS 1160 (Madame Victoire).
5. The sheet is irregular, measuring 25⅞ in. (64.5 cm) at the maximum, and with the corners chamfered. For a sense of the original format, see Baetjer and Shelley 2011, ill. p. 38 (color).
6. There are replicas of Labille-Guiard’s royal portraits, some of which may have involved studio intervention. Auricchio 2009, p. 123, lists three



Fig. 111.2. Adélaïde Labille-Guiard, *Madame Elisabeth de France*, 1788. Oil on canvas, oval, 31⅞ x 25 in. (81 x 63.6 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris, on deposit at Musée National des Châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon (MV 7332, RF 1947-7)

portraits of Elisabeth (nos. U18–U20), while Passetz 1973, pp. 170–79, catalogues seven (nos. 70–77).

EX COLL.: the artist, Paris (until d. 1803); her husband, François André Vincent, Paris (1803–d. 1816; his estate sale, Paris, October 17–19, 1816, no. 56, listed among pastels as *Celui de Madame Elisabeth*, for Fr 200 to Capet); Marie Gabrielle Capet, Paris (1816–d. 1818; posthumous inv., November 14, 1818, as *Un portrait au pastel de Mme Elisabeth par Me Guiard sous verre et cadre doré, prisé 50 F*); Jacques Mayer (in 1909); [Madame Louis (Elisabeth Wildenstein) Paraf, Paris, by 1963]; [Galerie Pardo, Paris]; [William H. Schab Gallery, New York, until 1969; sold to Stafford]; Mrs. Frederick M. Stafford, New York and New Orleans (1969–2007).

EXHIBITIONS: Paris, Palais de Bagatelle, *Portraits de femmes sous les trois Républiques*, 1909, no. 128 (lent by M. J. Mayer) (exh. cat.: Paris 1909a). New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Pastel Portraits: Images of 18th-Century Europe*, May 17–August 14, 2011, no. 27 (exh. cat.: Baetjer and Shelley 2011).

REFERENCES: Portalis 1902, pp. 87, 94; Passetz 1973, pp. 172, 178, 312–13, no. 76, pl. LXIII; Sprinson de Jesús 2008, figs. 1, 10 (color, overall and detail); Auricchio 2009, p. 123, no. U18.

LOUIS NICOLAS VAN BLARENBERGHE

Lille 1716–1794 Paris

HENRI JOSEPH VAN BLARENBERGHE

Lille 1750–1826 Lille

The miniaturist Louis Nicolas van Blarenberghe represented the third generation of a family of artists whose background was Flemish. His first successes were as a battle painter in miniature in the late 1740s. In or about 1751 he moved from his native Lille to Paris, where he specialized in narrative scenes set in gold boxes that attracted the notice of the most distinguished clientele in the capital, and notably that of Etienne François, duc de Choiseul. Louis Nicolas studied the work of **JOSEPH VERNET**, whose twelve exhibits at the 1753 Salon included the imaginary landscape that was his reception piece to the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture. Vernet left Rome for the French capital that same year to begin work on paintings of the ports of France commissioned for Louis XV; the artist completed the last of these views, representing the harbor of Dieppe, in 1765. Louis Nicolas was known to Vernet and made miniature copies of Vernet's view paintings, presumably in hope of future commissions of the kind. Louis Nicolas's son and compatriot, Henri Joseph, born shortly before his father left Lille, grew up in the family atelier and was trained as a topographical draftsman in Versailles. His earliest signed work is from 1769, and he became his father's collaborator no later than 1773; their styles in the later 1770s are indistinguishable, though larger works with a significant architectural component are often assigned to the younger artist. In 1779 Henri Joseph became drawing master to Madame Elisabeth, whose chamber woman he later married, and also drawing master to the children of Louis XVI. He was still teaching members of the royal family during their imprisonment in the Temple. After his father's death in 1794, Henri Joseph returned to Lille, where he became curator of a new state museum that was later established there.

LITERATURE ON THE ARTISTS: Mailliet-Chassagne 2001; Mailliet-Chassagne and Château-Thierry 2004; Méjanès 2006.

112 | Attributed to Henri Joseph van Blarenberghe
The Outer Port of Brest (View from the Masthead), 1773
 Oil on canvas, 29¼ x 42½ in. (74.3 x 107 cm)
 Signed and dated (lower left): Van Blarenberghe f. 1773
 Gift of Mrs. Vincent Astor, 1978 (1978.493)

The Van Blarenberghes emerged from the Flemish tradition of landscape and genre painting, working often on a small scale. As topographers, they followed in the wake of the

tremendously successful **JOSEPH VERNET**, who in 1753 took up his appointment as Louis XV's marine painter. Between 1753 and 1765, in fulfillment of royal commissions, Vernet completed the fifteen large views of the ports of the realm—notably Toulon, Marseilles, and Bordeaux—that secured his reputation as the principal French landscapist of his era.¹ His large, closely observed maritime scenes were exhibited and engraved beginning in 1755. Famously, he depicted not only the terrain of each port but also the working lives and particular characteristics of its inhabitants. Vernet received no further orders for views of the ports after 1763: the treasury was depleted, and it was an inglorious moment for the navy, marked by the defeat of France in the Seven Years' War. He never visited Brest.

Fortified since the time of Cardinal Richelieu, the well-protected Brittany port of Brest was the country's second most important naval station in the eighteenth century. The facilities along the river Penfeld were extensively modified and rebuilt in the 1760s. On January 1, 1769, Louis Nicolas van Blarenberghe received his first preferment: the duc de Choiseul named him painter of battles in the War Department, a position that he held briefly. After a lapse of several years, on January 1, 1773, he was appointed by Monsieur Bourgeois de Boyne, secretary of state for the navy, to a similar position in the Department of the Navy. Louis Nicolas was engaged to depict “all of the views of the interior and of the exterior of the city and port of Brest,”² and on January 12, Bourgeois de Boyne instructed the commandant of the port to receive and provide access to him and to his son and assistant Henri Joseph. Between January 18 and April 12, 1773, as Louis Nicolas reported the following year to the new secretary, Antoine Raymond de Sartine, the two prepared six large watercolor and gouache studies (Musée du Louvre, Paris) as a first step in the fulfillment of the order.

The Van Blarenberghes' procedures differed somewhat from those of Vernet. Father and son returned to Paris with the topographical studies (fig. 112.1) that they would need to provide the exacting detail required for the finished views.³ As with Vernet, on the other hand, their topographical work was doubtless supplemented by small drawings from life for the figures on the water and animating the quays of Brest in the various finished paintings and gouaches. The Met picture, signed and dated 1773, is the earliest. In 1775 Louis Nicolas received the warrant as painter of the ports and shores of France that he had long sought, but the appointment did not yield further orders. Instead, in 1778 he was reappointed to the War Department, where he served as a painter of battles until the Revolution. The Van Blarenberghes, gifted members of the artisanal class, did not belong to the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture and did not show at the Salons.



Fig. 112.1. Louis Nicolas and Henri Joseph van Blarenberghe, *Vue prise de la mature* (*View [of Brest] from the Masthead*). Watercolor over black chalk, 17 3/4 x 54 3/4 in. (44.1 x 139 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris (RF 3496)



Fig. 112.2. Louis Nicolas and/or Henri Joseph van Blarenbergh, *The Outer Port of Brest*, 1776. Gouache, 14 $\frac{1}{16}$ x 24 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (36.6 x 62.8 cm). Musée des Beaux-Arts, Brest (86-81)

Their views were commissioned as documentation by the secretary of state for the navy, or in one case, as indicated in Louis Nicolas's letter of December 30, 1774, installed in the secretary's office at Versailles.⁴ The *grand public* never saw the works. On the other hand, Vernet's ports, several of which were exhibited, rose above their practical remit, and he achieved canonical status among marine painters.

The views of Brest are impeccable and fascinating works of art, showing in great variety and detail the naval and other buildings and the busy mercantile life of the citizens of the port. Specifically, our view was described as taken from the masthead (though in fact it is a bird's-eye view). How many paintings were made of Brest? According to Louis Nicolas, from the same letter of 1774, he executed three, one measuring 4 pieds and two of 6 pieds square (a pied is marginally larger than a foot). Henri Joseph was responsible for a fourth, which Bourgeois de Boyne had ordered and which his successor had in his office but for which payment had not been made at the time of writing. Unfortunately, the size is not recorded, but it could be ours, the earliest.⁵ A second view in oil on canvas is dated 1774: *The Port of Brest (View from the Terrace of the Capuchins)*.⁶ There are smaller variants of both in gouache as well as of the outlook from the Poudrière, or Powder Magazine. In the gouache relating to ours, the figures, vignettes, and ships differ in many details (fig. 112.2).⁷

NOTES

1. Musée National de la Marine and Musée du Louvre, Paris. See Paris 2003.
2. *Jal* 1872, pp. 225–26, n. 1, published the letter of Bourgeois de Boyne: “Monsieur, étant d’avoir dans le dépôt de sa marine toutes les vues tant

de l’intérieur que du dehors, de la ville et du port de Brest. J’ay chargé de cette operation le s^r Blarenbergh, peintre, de qui les talents me sont particulièrement connus. . . . Il va se rendre à Brest accompagné de son fils qui a pour le moins autant de mérite que son père, pour l’aider dans l’exécution de cet ouvrage.”

3. Though made in winter, the studies show trees in leaf, as noted in Méjanès 2006, p. 60.
4. The letter is published in *Jal* 1872, p. 226.
5. Clément de Ris 1856.
6. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Brest, 81.18. This signed and dated painting was sold at Sotheby's, London, July 8, 1981, no. 15. At 49 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 76 in. (125 x 193 cm), nearly 6 pieds, it is far larger. For what may be related works, see *Tableaux peints par van Blarenbergh*, sale catalogue, Defer, Paris, March 15, 1851, no. 51. Neither materials nor sizes are noted, but two of the four views of Brest are recorded as dated 1775 and 1776.
7. The gouache, signed and dated 1776, first appeared in the Sinoquet sale of February 8, 1858.

EX COLL.: (sale, Lebrun, Paris, September 29, 1806, no. 158, as “Blarenbergh. La Vue intérieure du Port de Brest, où l’on remarque différens bâtimens de guerre, dans l’un desquels se fait un embarquement de troupes. Grand nombre de personnages sont sur les quais, & dans le fond s’offre des vaisseaux en construction. . . . Hauteur 27 pouces & demi, largeur 39 pouces & demi [29 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 42 in. (74.3 x 106.7 cm)],” for Fr 154 to Richard); ?[Baur, Paris]; ?Comte Athanase-Louis Clément de Ris, Paris (?15 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 27 $\frac{3}{16}$ in. [40 x 70 cm]); Vincent Astor, New York (bought in Brest in the 1920s–d. 1959); Mrs. Vincent Astor, New York (1959–78).

REFERENCES: Maillat-Chassagne 2001, pp. 194–95, pls. XXVI, XXVII (color); Maillat-Chassagne and Château-Thierry 2004, pp. 57, 296, 343, 347, 350–51, no. 3-811-13bis, ill.; Méjanès 2006, pp. 67, 69–71, 76, fig. 4 (color).

ELISABETH LOUISE VIGÉE LE BRUN

Paris 1755–1842 Paris

Elisabeth Louise Vigée was born in 1755, the daughter of the Parisian painter and pastelist Louis Vigée, who died when she was twelve. Precocious and largely self-taught, in 1774, at the age of nineteen, she joined the Académie de Saint-Luc and began to exhibit. Two years later she married the dealer and expert Jean-Baptiste Pierre Le Brun, and in 1780 gave birth to their only child, Julie. In 1778 Vigée Le Brun was summoned to Versailles to take sittings from Marie Antoinette for a state portrait in court dress (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna), which was to be sent to the queen's mother, Empress Maria Theresa of Austria, and in 1787 she painted another famous portrait of the queen, a major propaganda piece for the threatened monarchy, *Marie Antoinette and Her Children* (Musée National des Châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon). As a woman, Vigée Le Brun could not attend the school of the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture, and as the wife of an art dealer, she was theoretically barred from admission to the Académie Royale and the Salon, but the rule was suspended in her case in accordance with a directive from the king. She submitted her reception piece and showed in 1783 and at the three subsequent Salons with great success. In October 1789 Vigée fled to Rome as an émigrée. She worked for important clients in Italy and at the courts of Vienna, Saint Petersburg, and, briefly, Berlin, before returning to Paris after an absence of twelve years in 1802. In that year, in 1817, and for the last time in 1824, she submitted work to the Salon. In 1835 she published her memoirs, giving voice to an account of her extraordinary life in later eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Paris as well as her travels and appointments to various European courts.

LITERATURE ON THE ARTIST: Vigée Le Brun 1835–37; Nolhac 1908/1912; Baillio 1982; Baillio and Salmon 2015; Baillio et al. 2016.

113 | Elisabeth Louise Vigée Le Brun

Madame Grand, 1783

Oil on canvas, oval, 36¼ x 28½ in. (92.1 x 72.4 cm)

Signed and dated (at left): L. E. Le Brun 1783

Bequest of Edward S. Harkness, 1940 (50.135.2)

Vigée Le Brun would have chosen all of her 1783 exhibits with care for what essentially was her public debut as both a member of the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture and a painter put forward by the queen: these included portraits of Marie Antoinette and two other members of the royal family, three history paintings, and probably as many as eight other portraits. The present fully signed and dated work was exhibited as *Portrait de M^{me} Grant* under number 117 at the Salon.¹

At the time, the lady was a relatively new arrival to the city. In view of the questionable nature of her position in society, it is not surprising that there are differing accounts of her career, and that we know nothing of the history of the present picture until the twentieth century. Noël Catherine Verlée was likely born on November 21, 1761, on the south-east coast of India in the remote Danish colony of Tranquebar.² She was sixteen at the time of her marriage on July 10, 1777, in Chandernagore to George Francis Grand, who was of Swiss descent and an employee of the British civil service. In December 1778 Mrs. Grand's connection with Sir Philip Francis, a prominent married gentleman, was discovered, and he was sued by her husband and fined by the courts. After an interlude with Sir Philip, in 1780 the lady took ship for England.³

As Madame Grand, having moved perhaps in 1782 to Paris, she immediately became a figure of interest: beautiful and well formed, tall, fair, with abundant blond hair, ill-educated but clever, musical, and of compelling charm to the important men whose protection she from time to time secured. Notably, she resided in a well-appointed house in the rue d'Artois as the companion of the financier Claude Antoine Valdec de Lessart. In 1792 she fled France in fear to take up residence in London but in due course returned. In 1798, some months after she met Charles Maurice de Talleyrand-Périgord, she was arrested and imprisoned as an agent of a foreign government, and Talleyrand secured her release, declaring to Director Barras that although she was idle and ignorant, he loved her. Madame Grand obtained a divorce; Talleyrand, the former bishop of Autun, was released from his vows, and in 1802 they married. However, by then the prominent, wily, politically adept minister had lost interest in the lady from India, who became for him no more than a source of embarrassment. They lived entirely apart from 1815; she died in 1835.⁴

Madame Grand's portrait was favorably received by several critics, one of whom drew attention to its "bewitching sensuality" ("volupté enchanteresse").⁵ However, as there were three royal sitters, three genre subjects, and so many exhibits in all, most of the attention went elsewhere. The textures and patterns and the complex colored shadows of the upholstery and the ribbons on the dress are magisterial, while the sitter's skin has a remarkable softness and subtlety of tone. The way in which her eyes are cast back and her lips are parted to show her teeth would theoretically have been inappropriate to a portrait in modern costume, but this was not remarked upon. As Madame Grand holds a musical score, modern sources have usually suggested that Vigée had a Baroque painting of Saint Cecilia, patron saint of music, in mind (fig. 113.1).⁶ Perhaps for some this semireligious guise





Fig. 113.1. Domenichino (Italian, Bolognese, 1581–1641), *Saint Cecilia with an Angel Holding a Score*, ca. 1623–33. Oil on canvas, 63 x 46 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (160 x 119 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris (INV 793)

drew attention to the picture by its novelty or hid what may have been thought a vacuous expression on the lovely face.

NOTES

1. There is a discrepancy of about 12 in. (30.5 cm) between the recorded width of the Salon exhibit and this canvas. However, if, for example, two pieds were misnoted as three, the measurements would roughly correspond. The spelling Grant is incorrect, for which see note 3 below.
2. Gaebelé 1948; Orioux 1970, esp. pp. 333–41; Waresquier 2003, pp. 246–48, 262 n. 2, colorpl. XI (cropped). In her *Souvenirs* (Vigée Le Brun 1835–37, vol. 1, p. 249), the artist lists a portrait of “Madame Grant, depuis princesse de Talleyrand” under the year 1776, when the sitter would have been living in India. The reference cannot be to a later portrait of a young woman ascribed to Vigée Le Brun (Dayot 1899, ill. p. 312).
3. With respect to her husband, Monsieur Grand, see Charrière de Sévery 1925.
4. For another painting of our sitter as well as a portrait of Talleyrand, see cats. 125 and 126.
5. *Observations* 1783b, p. 961. Renou 1783, p. 29, observed that the head “breathes.”
6. As a student of the old masters, Vigée would have known Domenichino’s *Saint Cecilia* in the French royal collection (now Louvre). She avoids a doleful expression in favor of what a modern viewer might read as false sensibility. However, see Percival 2001.

EX COLL.: Jacques Doucet, Paris (by 1899–1912; his sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, June 6, 1912, no. 190); [Knoedler, Paris, 1912–14; sold to Mrs. Leeds]; Mrs. William Bateman Leeds, later Princess Christopher of Greece, Paris (1914–d. 1923); Prince Christopher of Greece (from 1923); Françoise d’Orléans, Princess Christopher of Greece (until 1934; sold to Knoedler); [Knoedler, Paris and New York, 1934–35; sold to Harkness]; Edward S. Harkness, New York (1935–d. 1940); Mary Stillman Harkness, New York (1940–d. 1950).

EXHIBITIONS: Paris, Salon, August 25–September 25, 1783, no. 117 (as *Portrait de M^{me} Grant. Ovale de 3 pieds 10 pouces de haut, sur 3 pieds 2 pouces de large*). Fort Worth, Kimbell Art Museum, *Elisabeth Louise Vigée Le Brun*, June 5–August 8, 1982, no. 12 (exh. cat.: Baillio 1982). Paris, Galeries Nationales du Grand Palais, *Elisabeth Louise Vigée Le Brun*, September 23, 2015–January 11, 2016, no. 57 (exh. cat.: Baillio and Salmon 2015); New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Vigée Le Brun: Woman Artist in Revolutionary France*, February 15–May 15, 2016, no. 18 (exh. cat.: Baillio et al. 2016); Ottawa, National Gallery of Canada, *Vigée Le Brun (1755–1842): The Portraitist to Marie Antoinette*, June 10–September 11, 2016, no. 18.

REFERENCES: *Observations* 1783a (CD 1980, vol. 13, no. 309, p. 916; McWilliam 1991, no. 0360); *Observations* 1783b (CD 1980, vol. 13, no. 311, p. 961); Renou 1783, p. 29 (CD 1980, vol. 13, no. 303; McWilliam 1991, no. 0353); Vigée Le Brun 1835–37, vol. 1, pp. 249, 331; Nolhac 1908, pp. 30, 151, ill. opp. p. 36 (color); Hautecoeur 1914, pp. 32, 40; Helm 1915, p. 222; Blum 1919, p. 97, ill. opp. p. 80 (color); Sterling 1955, pp. 186–88, ill.; Baillio 1982, pp. 13, 17, 48–49, 126, no. 12, ill.; May 2005, pp. 50, 70, fig. 4; Katharine Baetjer in Baillio and Salmon 2015, pp. 173, 352, no. 57, ill. (color); Katharine Baetjer in Baillio et al. 2016, pp. 90–91, 245, no. 18, ill. (color, overall and detail).

114 | Elisabeth Louise Vigée Le Brun

Alexandre Charles Emmanuel de Crussol-Florensac, 1787

Oil on wood, 35 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 25 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (89.9 x 64.8 cm)

Signed and dated (upper right): L.^{ze} E.^{bet} Vigée: Le Brun:

P.^{xte} 1787

The Jules Bache Collection, 1949 (49.7.53)

Born in Paris on July 5, 1743,¹ Alexander Charles Emmanuel de Crussol descended from the ancient family of the ducs d’Uzès. He belonged to a junior branch of which his older brother, Henri Charles Emmanuel, baron de Crussol, was the last survivor. Both served in Germany in the Seven Years’ War, and both became lieutenants-general of the army. Emmanuel de Crussol was close to the royal family, and in 1773 he was named captain of the guard to the sixteen-year-old comte d’Artois, youngest brother of Louis XVI and the future Charles X. He was a bailli (bailiff) of the Order of Malta, a quasi-religious organization with an obligation of celibacy. In 1777 he was appointed administrator of the Grand Prieuré de France. In 1784 the king named Crussol-Florensac *maréchal de camp* and chevalier of the Order of the Holy Spirit, the most prestigious distinction in France. He sat to





Fig. 114.1. Elisabeth Louise Vigée Le Brun, *Charlotte Eustache Sophie de Fuligny-Damas, marquise de Grollier*, ca. 1787–88. Oil on wood, 36 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 28 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (92 x 71.8 cm). Private collection

JEAN-BAPTISTE GREUZE as well as Vigée Le Brun during this period. Obligated to flee in 1791, he traveled in Switzerland and Germany, settled for a time in Florence, where he represented the Bourbon interests, and returned only under the Consulate. Louis XVIII named him a peer of France. He died on December 16, 1815.

The bailli de Crussol enjoyed a long-standing relationship of intimacy with the marquise de Grollier, born Charlotte Eustache Sophie de Fuligny-Damas, an aristocratic lady who was a gifted flower painter and a close friend of Vigée Le Brun (fig. 114.1).² Evidently they both sat to her within a brief interval for the portraits he must have commissioned; although they differ significantly in their compositions, they are the same size and on panel. Vigée's sitter lists indicate

that she painted the marquise and the bailli three times, in 1788, in 1789, and after her return to France.³ Under the first two dates their names are listed with his following hers, while in the third case Vigée includes a few words of description that fit the surviving portraits: "La marquise de Grollier, peignant des fleurs" and "Le bailli de Crussol. Grand buste." The present painting, fully signed and dated 1787, is the only version known and belonged to Madame de Grollier at the time of her death. Any others would have been replicas. In her *Souvenirs*, Vigée states that in the absence of her husband, Crussol paid her directly for his portrait, and with the funds she was able to finance her departure from France: "Only once in my life, in the month of September 1789, I received the price of a portrait; it was that of the Bailly de Crussol,

who sent me a hundred louis. Happily my husband was absent, and thus I could keep this sum, which, a few days after (the 5 October), allowed me to go to Rome.”⁴

Painted at the height of his career, two years before the onset of the Revolution, when he would sit for the nobility in the Estates General, the bailli de Crussol is dressed formally in the so-called *petit costume* of a knight of the Order of the Holy Spirit. The collar and cuffs of his black velvet costume are thickly embroidered in gold on a green ground. Over the blue sash of the order is the collar with the letter H for Henri III, meticulously depicted, from which hangs the large eight-point gold and enamel cross with the dove. On the left breast of his cloak is the same cross, together with the simpler eight-point cross of the order of the Templars. Around the sitter’s neck is a cord with the cross of the Order of Malta, and suspended from a red ribbon, the military Order of Saint Louis. His expressive head, confident and engaged, is set off by a linen band and a wide fall of lace. He has the fair skin of a redhead and wears his own receding reddish blond hair curled and thickly powdered. His eyebrows are red. This very well preserved portrait⁵ on panel depicts a proud, confident, and engaging aristocrat who has the mobile expression and the stage presence of the successful amateur actor that he was.

NOTES

1. For the sitter’s birthdate, which is not universally agreed upon, see Courcelles 1826, pp. 238–39, who describes his qualities as “brilliantes et chevaleresques,” and Cougny 1890, vol. 2, p. 228.
2. The year of her birth is most often given as 1742; she died in 1828. Her will indicates that she sought to return this painting to the sitter’s family, but the transfer actually occurred one or perhaps two generations later. Information provided by Joseph Baillio, October 3, 1987. A work by Madame de Grollier belongs to the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (AC1996.57.1).
3. The lists serve as a guide but were composed after the fact and contain numerous discrepancies. The paintings were private commissions and neither was exhibited.
4. Vigée Le Brun 1835–37, vol. 1, p. 109: “Une seule fois dans ma vie, au mois de septembre 1789, j’ai reçu le prix d’un portrait; c’était celui du Bailly de Crussol, qui m’envoya cent louis. Heureusement mon mari était absent, en sorte que je pus garder cette somme, qui, peu de jours après (le 5 octobre), me servit pour aller a Rome.”
5. In 1979 the natural resin varnish had oxidized to a dark yellow and become slightly opaque, and the painting was surface cleaned by conservator Charlotte Hale. It is in wonderful state. The support is oak, comprising three butt-joined vertical planks (thinned and cradled). The white preparation is thick and even and has a granular texture. Over this there is a thin pale gray priming. The bravura handling is enhanced by the choice of a solid support. The gray background is thinned and broadly painted in a manner that recalls GREUZE and DAVID. In the face, the halftones are very thin: there is a warm glaze over the preparation, while the lighter tones are thicker, with small variegated brushstrokes and impastoed highlights. A pentiment is visible in the contour of the folds over the sitter’s right shoulder.

EX COLL.: Charlotte Eustache Sophie de Fuligny-Damas, marquise de Grollier (until d. 1828); her daughter, Claudine Alexandrine de Grollier, later marquise de Sales, Château de Thorens, Thorens-Glières (1828–d. 1849); her only daughter, Pauline Françoise Joséphine de Sales, comtesse de Roussy de Sales, Château de Thorens (1849–d. 1852); Anne de Rochechouart de Montmart, duchesse d’Uzès, Paris (by 1883—at least 1894); her son, Louis Emmanuel de Crussol, duc d’Uzès, Paris (until at least 1908); [Sir Robert Henry Edward Abdy, London, until 1929; sold to Wildenstein]; [Wildenstein, London and New York, 1929; sold to Bache]; Jules S. Bache, New York (1929–d. 1944; his estate, 1944–49; cats., 1929, unnumbered; 1937, no. 54; 1943, no. 53).

EXHIBITIONS: Paris, Galerie Georges Petit, *L’art au XVIII^e siècle*, December 15, 1883–January 1884, no. 139 (as *Portrait du Bailli de Crussol*, lent by the duchesse d’Uzès) (exh. cat.: Paris 1883a). Paris, Galerie Sedelmeyer, *Marie-Antoinette et son temps*, 1894, no. 158 (as *Portrait du bailli de Crussol . . . représenté en costume de chevalier de l’ordre du Saint Esprit*, lent by the duchesse d’Uzès) (exh. cat.: Paris 1894). Paris, Lycéum France, *Rétrospective d’art féminin*, February 26–March 10, 1908, no. 50 (as *Le Bailly de Crussol, grand maître de l’ordre de Malte*, lent by the duc d’Uzès). New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Vigée Le Brun: Woman Artist in Revolutionary France*, February 15–May 15, 2016, no. 36 (exh. cat.: Baillio et al. 2016).

REFERENCES: Vigée Le Brun 1835–37, vol. 1, pp. 109, 336, 337, vol. 3, p. 352; Nolhac 1908, pp. 156, 162; Nolhac 1912, pp. 154, 258, 260, 266; Helm 1915, p. 193; Blum 1919, p. 99; Sterling 1955, pp. 188–90, ill.; Baillio 1982, pp. 5, 76–78, ill.; Joseph Baillio in Baillio and Salmon 2015, pp. 32, 184, fig. 20 (color); Joseph Baillio in Baillio et al. 2016, pp. 26, 130–31, 248, no. 36, ill. (color).

115 | Elisabeth Louise Vigée Le Brun

Comtesse de la Châtre, 1789

Oil on canvas, 45 x 34½ in. (114.3 x 87.6 cm)

Gift of Jessie Woolworth Donahue, 1954 (54.182)

Marie Charlotte Louise Perrette Aglaé Bontemps was born in 1762. An only child, she soon lost her father, who was the last of several generations of his family to gain influence and wealth as *valets de chambre* to Louis XIII, Louis XIV, and Louis XV. Mademoiselle Bontemps’s young widowed mother appealed to her brother-in-law, Nicolas Beaujon, the king’s banker, who had no legitimate heirs and was able to provide the girl with a splendid dowry. Upon his death in 1786, she would inherit the enormous Beaujon fortune. Because Aglaé was well provided for, she was able to contract an early and advantageous marriage to a powerful, conservative, and apparently rather crude nobleman seventeen years her senior, Claude Louis de la Châtre, comte de Nançay, later comte de la Châtre. The couple’s only son, born in 1779, died unmarried in 1802. Aglaé’s first husband was a committed royalist, lieutenant-general of the army, and commander of the Order





Fig. 115.1. Sir Joshua Reynolds (British, 1723–1792), *Mrs. Lewis Thomas Watson (Mary Elizabeth Milles)*, 1789. Oil on canvas, 50 x 40 in. (127 x 101.6 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Bequest of Mrs. Harry Payne Bingham, 1986 (1987.47.2)

of the Holy Spirit. He was obliged to emigrate in 1792 and lived abroad until 1814. Created a duke and a peer of France in 1817, he died in 1824.

Aglaé de la Châtre was divorced in 1793, the year after this process was legalized in France. Her longtime companion was Arnail François, comte and later marquis de Jaucourt, whom she married on January 9, 1799. Jaucourt, born in 1757, was serving as colonel of the regiment of Condé Dragoons at the outbreak of the Revolution in 1789. Brought up a Protestant, he had become increasingly liberal and a supporter of constitutional monarchy. Courageous and independent, he sought a political career in republican France. However, because of his background, he fell under suspicion and was imprisoned in 1792. With the help of Madame de Staël and in company with Talleyrand, he and Madame de la Châtre were able to escape and took refuge in England.¹ The couple returned to France after seven years abroad, and the count and later marquis served all of the subsequent monarchs, holding various important ministerial posts; in 1814 he became a peer of France. He was

childless and adopted as his heir a member of another branch of his family. Aglaé de Jaucourt died in 1848 and her husband in 1852.

As Madame de la Châtre, she is listed by Vigée Le Brun among her sitters in 1789. Although we know rather little about her other than her ancestry, her portrait is among the many fine works the artist painted in the months before she was forced into exile in October of that year. It was presumably commissioned by the marquis de Jaucourt and was not exhibited. The marquise was stylish as well as wealthy, as may be seen by her costume. The abundant figured fabric of her dress is made of the fine white muslin that Marie Antoinette had brought into fashion, and the cuffs and fichu are edged with delicate lace. She wears a wide-brimmed straw hat bound with gray silk and with a deep crown extravagantly trimmed with enormous bows; such a costume was thought to have been of English inspiration (fig. 115.1).² The composition is elegantly arranged and natural, with the sitter, close to the picture plane, leaning forward while turning her gaze

outward in direct if wistful contact with her interlocutor. The twist of her seated form opposes the turn of her head and is emphasized by a sinuous curve of white drapery that contrasts with the shape of the back of the green velvet sofa upon which she is seated. The pillow, book, and well-manicured and closely observed hands form an elegant still life.

NOTES

1. Fanny Burney's sister, Mrs. Phillips, met her when she was in exile: "Madame de la Châtre received me with great politeness. She is about thirty-three, an elegant figure, not pretty, but with an animated and expressive countenance; very well read, *pleine d'esprit*, and, I think, very lively and charming." See Hill 1904, pp. 53–54. It is not clear whether she was a woman of conviction or simply pliable and easily influenced, becoming a severe embarrassment to the husband she disliked while wholeheartedly adopting the politics of her lover. For this possibility, see Espinhal 1912, p. 279.
2. Joseph Baillio found it the most English of Vigée's female portraits and suggested the influence of George Romney, whose work she could have known from prints. The hats worn in the 1780s were either rather flat, made of straw and decorated with flowers, or more formal, with high crowns and ribbons, often black. Such hats appear in Romney's work and in that of Sir Joshua Reynolds.

EX COLL.: Arnail François de Jaucourt, marquis de Jaucourt (until d. 1852); Charles Levisse de Montigny, marquis de Jaucourt (1852–d. 1877); Jean François Levisse de Montigny (1877—at least 1883); James Stillman, New York (by 1908–d. 1918); [Duveen and Knoedler, New York, 1934]; Mrs. Charles E. F. McCann, Oyster Bay, N.Y. (1934–d. 1938); Mrs. James P. (Jessie Woolworth) Donahue, New York (1938–54).

EXHIBITIONS: Paris, Ecole des Beaux-Arts, *Portraits du siècle (1783–1883)*, April 25–?, 1883, no. 159 (as *La marquise de Jaucourt*, lent by the marquis de Jaucourt) (exh. cat.: Paris 1883b). Los Angeles County Museum of Art, *Women Artists, 1550–1950*, December 21, 1976–March 13, 1977, no. 59 (exh. cat.: Harris and Nochlin 1976); Austin, University Art Museum, University of Texas, *Women Artists, 1550–1950*, April 12–June 12, 1977, no. 59; Pittsburgh, Carnegie Institute, *Women Artists, 1550–1950*, July 14–September 4, 1977, no. 59; Brooklyn Museum, *Women Artists, 1550–1950*, October 8–November 27, 1977, no. 59. Fort Worth, Kimbell Art Museum, *Elisabeth Louise Vigée Le Brun*, June 5–August 8, 1982, no. 29 (exh. cat.: Baillio 1982). Paris, Galeries Nationales du Grand Palais, *Elisabeth Louise Vigée Le Brun*, September 23, 2015–January 11, 2016, no. 66 (exh. cat.: Baillio and Salmon 2015); New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Vigée Le Brun: Woman Artist in Revolutionary France*, February 15–May 15, 2016, no. 39 (exh. cat.: Baillio et al. 2016); Ottawa, National Gallery of Canada, *Vigée Le Brun (1755–1842): The Portraitist to Marie Antoinette*, June 10–September 11, 2016, no. 39.

REFERENCES: Vigée Le Brun 1835–37, vol. 1, p. 337; Nolhac 1908, ill. opp. p. 140; Hauteceur 1914, pp. 61, 65, ill.; Helm 1915, p. 202; Blum 1919, p. 99, pl. 15; Anne Sutherland Harris in Harris and Nochlin 1976, pp. 192–93, no. 29, ill.; Baillio 1982, pp. 84–85, no. 29, ill.; Katharine Baetjer in Baillio and Salmon 2015, pp. 188–89, 353, no. 66, ill. (color, overall and detail); Katharine Baetjer in Baillio et al. 2016, pp. 136–37, 248, no. 39, ill. (color, overall and detail).

MARIE VICTOIRE LEMOINE

Paris 1754–1820 Paris

Born in 1754, Marie Victoire Lemoine had two sisters who were painters, Marie Elisabeth Gabiou, a portraitist born in 1761 whose work is very little known, and **MARIE DENISE VILLERS**, born in 1774. Marie Victoire reportedly studied with the history painter François Guillaume Ménageot. He was ten years older than she and, having completed his term in Rome in 1774, returned to Paris to become an academician in 1777, exhibited with great success beginning in 1781, and in 1787 was appointed director of the Académie de France in Rome. Ménageot rented an apartment in the house of the art dealer Jean-Baptiste Pierre Le Brun, the husband of the portraitist **ELISABETH LOUISE VIGÉE LE BRUN**, whose work Lemoine, her very near contemporary, must have known well. Lemoine first exhibited at the Salon de la Correspondance in 1779 with a portrait of the princesse de Lamballe, and then again in 1785, showing a head of a child with a hat, perhaps an expressive head. The fact that she had secured a commission to paint the princess, who was a friend of Marie Antoinette, indicates that she had not gone entirely unremarked. Lemoine's first appearance at the Salon was in 1796, and the several works she showed there included *The Interior of an Atelier of a Woman Painter* (cat. 116) and a group of miniatures. She also presented portraits and genre paintings in 1798, 1799, 1802, 1804, and 1814, for a total of nine paintings exhibited. Unmarried, she lived a quiet life and for the most part worked in a traditional ancien régime style.

LITERATURE ON THE ARTIST: Baillio 1996; Oppenheimer 1996c, pp. 222–24.

116 | Marie Victoire Lemoine

The Interior of an Atelier of a Woman Painter, 1789

Oil on canvas, 45 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 35 in. (116.5 x 88.9 cm)

Signed and dated (lower left, along hem of skirt): M. Vic^{re} Lemoine 1789

Gift of Mrs. Thorneycroft Ryle, 1957 (57.103)

This canvas, which came to light in the 1920s, was bought by Wildenstein from the Paris dealer Trotti and alleged to have descended in the artist's family. The signature and date have been recorded only very recently.¹ This may be Lemoine's most significant work if, as is widely believed, it was sent to the Salon of 1796 and exhibited as number 284, *L'intérieur d'un atelier d'une femme, peintre*. In 1791 the Salon, previously open only to members of the Académie Royale (whose number by rule included no more than four women), became for the first time a public venue. Lemoine must already have enjoyed a



modest career as a miniaturist, portraitist, and genre painter with her own roster of private clients, and she did not exhibit until five years later, when she sent, in addition to a group of miniatures, three paintings of which two were genre subjects. According to the *livret*, or exhibition list, *The Interior of an Atelier* measured 4 x 3½ pieds, or 51⅓ x 44¾ inches (130 x 113.7 cm). The size is larger than that of the present canvas: the discrepancy in height could be accounted for by the inclusion of a frame, while the difference in width is significant but may simply have been an error. Our present knowledge of Lemoine's oeuvre is limited to about thirty works, mostly half- or three-quarter-length portraits or allegorical figures of women, a number of which are signed and several of which are close in style to this canvas. The artist was to all intents unknown when the work finally came on the art market, and either she had chosen to retain it or never found a buyer.

The painting was exhibited by Wildenstein in 1926 with a subtitle the meaning of which is "Madame Vigée-Lebrun in her studio giving a lesson to her pupil Mademoiselle Lemoine." Since then, the canvas has been widely described as either a portrait of or an homage to **VIGÉE LE BRUN**, although neither explanation accords with the circumstances.² We know what Vigée Le Brun looked like, as did the critics, who would have noticed had there been talk to the effect that the picture represented her, and Lemoine never called herself Vigée's pupil, only Ménageot's, even if his influence is impossible to detect.³ It is difficult to conceive why Lemoine would have gone to the Salon for the first time (with a picture painted seven years before) to present herself as Vigée Le Brun's pupil, a girl, and an acolyte, when she was a forty-year-old woman and Vigée was living abroad as a refugee (though in 1789 Lemoine could have had Vigée's Salon exhibits, and perhaps her costume preferences, in mind).⁴

The next question is whether the painting is Lemoine's self-portrait. In this context our picture is compared to what is believed to be an earlier self-portrait in Orléans (fig. 116.1), which is signed and incompletely dated, but then we are simply comparing two inconclusively identified sitters or models.⁵ One might abandon the concept of a portrait or portraits and think instead of a genre subject, the theme of which is the relationship between women painters; or interpret the principal figure as a personification of painting in a new age. Lemoine never married, instead growing up with and living among women artists who constituted her immediate and extended family, and such a theme would have engaged her attention. The setting is not a traditional studio but, as suggested by the elaborate carpet and the elegant furniture, a home.⁶ The carpet seems to tilt upward, and the spatial arrangement of the furnishings is rather chaotic, which is perhaps not surprising for a painter who rarely attempted



Fig. 116.1. Marie Victoire Lemoine, *Presumed Self-Portrait*, ca. 1780s. Oil on canvas, 46½ x 35½ in. (118 x 90 cm). Musée des Beaux-Arts, Orléans (69.13.1)

interiors. The composition on the unfinished canvas shows a devotee of Athena and indicates an interest in history painting. It is prepared in the traditional manner with white chalk. The student uses a porte-crayon to draw a head study on blue paper.

NOTES

1. Charlotte Guichard discovered and drew attention to the signature on April 3, 2015.
2. This conclusion was brought home to me by Gerrit Walczak (letters of October 7, 2003, and August 3, 2004), whose unpublished view I acknowledge with thanks.
3. Of Vigée's pupils, only the young Madame **BENOIST** is identified with certainty.
4. Oppenheimer 1996c, p. 224 n. 366; Sheriff 1997, pp. 838–39; Blanc 2006, p. 68.
5. On a visit to the Museum on June 3, 1975, Jacques Vilain first suggested that our subject resembled Lemoine, whom he identified as the sitter in the Orléans picture (for which see also Laura Auricchio in Pomeroy 2012, pp. 94–95, ill.). Oppenheimer 1996c, p. 224, believes the Orléans work is a self-portrait by Lemoine, and Blanc 2006, p. 68, finds a resemblance to another presumed self-portrait. Baillio 1996, p. 127, is less certain and maintains that neither strongly resembles the principal figure in this painting.
6. Sheriff 1997 compares our **LABILLE-GUIARD** (cat. 110), examining the similar relationships and costumes and the difference between professional and private spaces.

EX COLL.: reportedly by descent in the artist's family (until 1920; sold through Trotti to Wildenstein); [Wildenstein, Paris and New York, 1920–37; sold to Ryle]; Mrs. Thorneycroft Ryle, New York (1937–57).

EXHIBITIONS: Paris, Salon, Vendémiaire, an 5 de la République (?September 22–?October 21, 1796), no. 284 (as *L'intérieur d'un atelier de femme, peintre*. Tableau de 4 pieds sur 3 et demi. [51 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 44 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches (130 x 113.7 cm)] by Citoyenne Lemoine [Marie-V.]). Paris, Hôtel des Négociants, *Femmes peintres du XVIIIème siècle*, May 14–June 6, 1926, no. 68 (as *L'intérieur d'un atelier de femme-peintre [Mme Vigée-Lebrun dans son atelier donnant une leçon à son élève Mlle Lemoine]*, lent by Wildenstein) (exh. cat.: Paris 1926). Los Angeles County Museum of Art, *Women Artists, 1550–1950*, December 21, 1976–March 13, 1977, no. 57 (exh. cat.: Harris and Nochlin 1976); Austin, University Art Museum, University of Texas, *Women Artists, 1550–1950*, April 12–June 12, 1977, no. 57; Pittsburgh, Carnegie Institute, *Women Artists, 1550–1950*, July 14–September 4, 1977, no. 57; Brooklyn Museum, *Women Artists, 1550–1750*, October 8–November 27, 1977, no. 57. Paris, Galeries Nationales du Grand Palais, *Elisabeth Louise Vigée Le Brun*, September 23, 2015–January 11, 2016, no. 38 (exh. cat.: Baillio and Salmon 2015).

REFERENCES: Ann Sutherland Harris in Harris and Nochlin 1976, pp. 188–89, no. 57, ill.; Baillio 1996, pp. 125, 134–36, 154–55, 164, no. 30, ill. on cover (color detail) and figs. 13, 13a–c (overall and details); Oppenheimer 1996c, p. 224, no. 366, ill.; Sheriff 1997, pp. 838–39, ill. p. 837; Stéphane Guégan in Baillio and Salmon 2015, pp. 138–39, 350, no. 38, ill. (color).

ROSE ADÉLAÏDE DUCREUX

Paris 1761–1802 Santo Domingo

Rose Adélaïde, born in Paris in 1761, was the eldest of six children of the portraitist and pastelist Joseph Ducreux, a native of Nancy in Lorraine. She represented the third or possibly the fourth generation of artists in her family and studied with her father, who claimed to have been the favorite pupil of the pastelist **MAURICE QUENTIN DE LA TOUR**. In 1769 Joseph Ducreux was sent to Vienna to paint Marie Antoinette and take sittings from other members of the imperial family; he became the queen's court painter and in 1770 was named to the Vienna academy. Neither he nor Rose was admitted to the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture, but he belonged to the Académie de Saint-Luc and in the 1780s exhibited at the Salon de la Correspondance, as she did, in 1786. Joseph Ducreux had connections among the revolutionaries and also enjoyed success during the Consulate. He had a studio at the Louvre and later a studio in the former Hôtel d'Angiviller, where his daughter also lived and worked. Ducreux visited London in 1791 but returned in time to show at the first open Salon, where his exhibits and the self-portrait by his daughter that is the subject of the entry below (cat. 117) were noticed favorably. Both participated in the Salon of 1793

and in that of 1795, when Rose was living in the family apartment at the Louvre. Joseph and Rose Ducreux sent work in 1798, and in 1799 she showed a “study,” as a student of her father and from the maison d'Angiviller. On February 16, 1802, Rose Ducreux sailed from Brest on the *Zélé* for Santo Domingo, where on April 1 she married François Jacques Lequoy de Montgiraud, born in Martinique in 1748. The previous year, Napoleon had named him maritime prefect of the former Spanish colony. They were happy, but very briefly, as Rose contracted yellow fever and died on July 22. Neither her husband nor her father long survived her.

LITERATURE ON THE ARTIST: Bellier de la Chavignerie 1865, pp. 74–76; Lyon 1958; Baillio 1988.

117 | Rose Adélaïde Ducreux

Self-Portrait with a Harp, ca. 1789–91

Oil on canvas, 76 x 50 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (193 x 128.9 cm)

Inscribed on the spine of the book, “Opera,” and on the sheet music, transcribed rather than printed, verses from an unpublished song by Benoît Pollet¹

Bequest of Susan Dwight Bliss, 1966 (67.55.1)

The portrait had been sold in 1898 by the marquis de Saffray, under an attribution to **ANTOINE VESTIER**, and exhibited by Wildenstein in 1902 as a **VIGÉE LE BRUN**. Joseph Baillio noticed that it matched a description of a painting exhibited in the Salon of 1791:² “677. M.^{lle} Ducreux jouant de la Harpe, peinte par elle-même. Portrait, en pied, grand comme nature,” that is, a lifesize standing self-portrait of Miss Ducreux playing the harp. In the chaotic circumstances of the first very large, democratically organized Salon, it was greatly admired by the critics and in fact drew more attention than her father's exhibits. Neither Joseph nor Rose Ducreux ever signed their work, but the evidence of the painting, even if slight, accords with what we know of her both as an artist and as an accomplished musician (the sitter holds a tuning fork). The score has been identified by the musicologist Albert Pomme de Mirimonde as a *romance* by Jean Joseph Benoît Pollet, born in 1753, a near contemporary specializing in harp and guitar music, much of it unpublished.³ Mirimonde found it surprising that a modern woman would have had an old-fashioned instrument, made, in his view, between 1760 and 1770. The furnishings are thus likely to be the sitter's property. Given her costume, which is rather out of date, it seems likely that Mademoiselle Ducreux took the first opportunity to present at the Salon a self-portrait that she had painted perhaps several years before.

In addition to the present work, Rose Ducreux exhibited eight portraits of women, including two with children and two



other self-portraits, one of which was shown in 1785 and another in 1799.⁴ Mademoiselle Gendron, Rose's great-niece and heir to the family property, owned a portrait of Rose that she thought was by **JACQUES LOUIS DAVID**: "Miss Ducreux at 33 playing a sonata by Dussek on the first piano by Sébastian Erard" (fig. 117.1).⁵ Instead, as Baillio pointed out, it is surely by Ducreux herself and includes, in addition to the piano, an easel supporting an oval canvas, a portfolio, a palette, and paintbrushes.

NOTES

1. "Romance / par Benoit pollet / [?] tendre amour . . . marit je rend [es] / ar—me je rend les ar—me / il est pour moi si plein de / charme que j'en atta . . ."
2. Baillio 1988, pp. 23, 25, who also drew attention to Vestier's influence.
3. Letter to Mary Ann Wurth Harris, June 21, 1975.
4. Her first and last exhibits were self-portraits. The first was in pastel, a material particularly associated with young women artists that was taken up also by her younger sister, Antoinette Clémence. See Bellier de la Chavignerie 1865, pp. 75–76, and Neil Jeffares, *Dictionary of Pastellists before 1800*, www.pastellists.com, Rose Ducreux entry updated October 29, 2011. See also Lyon 1958, p. 107.
5. Bellier de la Chavignerie 1865, p. 75, and Lyon 1958, p. 122, no. 9. "Mlle Ducreux à l'âge de 33 ans jouant une sonate de Dussek sur le premier piano de Sébastian Erard. . . H. 2 m. 15; L. 1 m. 50." The size works out to 84% x 59 in. (215 x 149.9 cm).



Fig. 117.1. Rose Adélaïde Ducreux, *Self-Portrait at the Piano*. Oil on canvas, 72 x 48 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (183 x 124 cm). Reproduced in Baillio 1988, p. 23, no. 7

EX COLL.: marquis de S[affray], Paris (until d. 1897; sale, Marquis de S. . . , Féral and Breysse, Paris, May 10, 1898, no. 17, as "*Une jeune musicienne*. Debout, en pied, vêtue d'un élégant costume de soie du temps de Louis XVI. Les cheveux bouclés, poudrés et ornés d'un ruban bleu de ciel, elle est appuyée sur une harpe. Gracieux portrait en parfait état de conservation. Attribué à Vestier. Toile. 1m 90 sur 1m 30," for Fr 25,500); [Gimpel & Wildenstein, Paris and New York, by 1902–5; sold to King]; David H. King Jr., New York (1905; sale, American Art Association, New York, March 31, 1905, no. 69, as *Marquise de Saffray* by Vigée Le Brun, for \$5,700); Susan Dwight Bliss, New York (by 1938–d. 1966).

EXHIBITIONS: Paris, Salon, September 15–December 3, 1791, no. 677 (as *Mlle Ducreux jouant de la Harpe, peinte par elle-même. Portrait, en pied, grand comme nature*). London, Guildhall Art Gallery, *Selection of Works by French and English Painters of the Eighteenth Century*, April 22–July 26, 1902, no. 20 (as *Madame Rolund* by Vigée Le Brun, lent by M. Wildenstein) (exh. cat.: Temple 1902).

REFERENCES: *Béquille* 1791, p. 34 (CD 1980, vol. 17, no. 439); Chery 1791a, p. 61 (CD 1980, vol. 17, no. 436); Abbé de Fontenay, *Journal Général de France*, December 21, 1791 (CD 1980, vol. 17, no. 450); Foulon de Vaulx 1901, p. 404; Baillio 1988, pp. 20–21, figs. 2, 23, 25.

CARLE (ANTOINE CHARLES HORACE) VERNET

Bordeaux 1758–1836 Paris

Carle, baptized Antoine Charles Horace, was the son of the most important landscape and marine painter of the eighteenth century, **JOSEPH VERNET**, and the father of Horace Vernet, a specialist in battle scenes and oriental subjects. The careers of the three artists were closely intertwined. At the age of eleven Carle entered the studio of Nicolas Bernard Lépicier, but as he suffered from rather poor health when he was young, he must have trained principally with his father, whose constant long-term companion both in the studio and in society he soon became. Carle twice competed for—and the second time, in 1782, won—the much sought after Prix de Rome, with his interpretation of *The Parable of the Prodigal Son* (location unknown), but his stay abroad lasted only a few months, as he suffered an emotional crisis that resulted in his returning to Paris by the summer of 1783. He presented the enormous painting catalogued here in 1789 and was approved for preliminary admission to the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture, after which the work was immediately presented at the Salon and much appreciated. Carle was a supporter of the Revolution despite the fact that he lost his sister to the guillotine in 1794; he reemerged in Paris in the later 1790s to become a major battle painter of the Napoleonic era. His designs for engravers and lithographers were popular, he had a gift for caricature, and he exhibited large numbers of paintings regularly at the Salons. From early childhood he had been passionately

interested in horses, and during the first quarter of the nineteenth century he focused on fashionable hunting and racing subjects and on genre scenes. Carle Vernet received the Légion d'Honneur in 1808 and was elected to the reformed Académie des Beaux-Arts in 1816. He was prolific and enjoyed a highly successful career, showing for the last time at the Salon of 1824. A full account of his life has not yet been published.

LITERATURE ON THE ARTIST: Asse 1866; Paris 2010.

118 | Carle Vernet

The Triumph of Aemilius Paulus, 1789

Oil on canvas, 51½ x 172½ in. (129.9 x 438.2 cm)

Signed and dated (lower left): Carle Vernet 1789

Gift of Darius O. Mills, 1906 (06.144)

Although his stay in Rome was brief, Carle Vernet's style had been influenced by his exposure to the ancient and modern city. In 1787, under his father's direction, he began work on a submission for admission to the Académie Royale, *The Triumph of Aemilius Paulus*, to which he devoted the most careful attention, reportedly enlarging the picture twice to its present enormous size.¹ Ambitious, he is said to have rebuilt his painting room to accommodate it. The canvas was a success not only with the academicians but also with the general public and the critics, most of whom noisily celebrated his achievement in their reviews of the 1789 Salon. Although there is no record of when or to whom it was sold in the artist's account books, Xavier Paris has found mention of a price for the picture of 4,000 francs. Vernet had been contemplating a companion piece that would represent the death of Patroclus, but meanwhile the subject matter of his *Aemilius Paulus* was so appropriate to the triumphalist sentiments and celebratory activities of the revolutionary period that he decided to show it again at the 1791 Salon.

At the exhibitions of 1793 and 1795, he exhibited the second painting on a classical subject, which in the end was a work with different proportions and a slightly different theme from the one he had first envisaged. It was titled *The Chariot Races Ordered by Achilles for the Funeral of Patroclus*. This must have related (although the dimensions do not correspond) to a painting with the same title that is signed and dated in the Year III and was bought in 1858 from the artist's son, Horace, for the Museo Nacional de San Carlos in Mexico City (fig. 118.1).² The picture in Mexico, at roughly three-quarters the size, could be a reduced replica of a lost original. It shows Vernet handling the complexities of space and movement with greater confidence than in 1789, and seems to have been influenced by JACQUES LOUIS DAVID'S painting of a related subject, which had been exhibited at the 1781 Salon.³

The patrician Lucius Aemilius Paulus (ca. 229–160 B.C.), pictured here, was the son of a consul of the same name and descended from an ancient Roman family. He was first elected consul in 182 B.C. Having campaigned successfully in both Spain and Liguria, he was again elected consul in 168 B.C. and was sent to Greece, where in only fifteen days he defeated King Perseus of Macedon at Pydna, ending the Third Macedonian War.⁴ Following the orders of the Roman Senate, he then undertook looting and slaughter in Epirus, with the result that he was able to bring even greater wealth back to the capital. A triumph, a lavish celebration granted from time to time by the Roman Senate to a military commander who had achieved a major victory on the battlefield, generally included speeches and feasting. A parade through the city afforded the opportunity to display to the Roman people the prisoners taken and the armor and booty seized in the conquest. The triumph with which Aemilius Paulus was honored lasted three days. The parade is pictured here: the consul, seated and wearing a red cloak and a laurel wreath, rides upon an elaborate cart that is drawn in accordance with tradition by four horses abreast. A statue of victory on a pedestal behind him holds an additional wreath over his head. The armor and the goods in precious metals that he has seized precede him. He is closely followed by the captive Perseus, marching dolefully with his wife and two of their children.

The painting continues to astonish by its size and elaboration, as there are in excess of one hundred figures and more than a dozen horses, while the details of the costumes, armor, and horse trappings of antiquity had been studied and depicted with care in a variety of bright colors throughout. Although the procession forms a shallow frieze, the crowd is doubled in size by gray helmets and profiles arranged in rows behind the more colorful full-lengths, and then tripled by the tiny figures that populate the more distant view. Carle Vernet sees the landscape through the eyes of both his father and Nicolas Poussin. He would also have been familiar with the triumphs depicted on Roman monuments, as well as with prints after Mantegna's famous *Triumphs of Caesar* from Mantua, though in European painting the quadriga was more often shown as a chariot. There is a failure in his rendering of perspective, as only one of the four horses seems actually to stand in front of the triumphal cart. Nevertheless, most critics were impressed by the enormity of his achievement as an artist who, even if well placed to succeed, was inexperienced and taking the stage in Paris for the first time. When the picture was exhibited in 1791, the anachronism of the architecture was noted. Philippe Chery pointed out that Carle had introduced identifiable buildings—Trajan's Column, the Arch of Constantine, and the Colosseum—that were built centuries later.



Fig. 118.1. Carle Vernet, *Funeral Games in Honor of Patroclus*, ca. 1795. Oil on canvas, 74¼ x 141¼ in. (190 x 360 cm). Museo Nacional de San Carlos, Mexico City

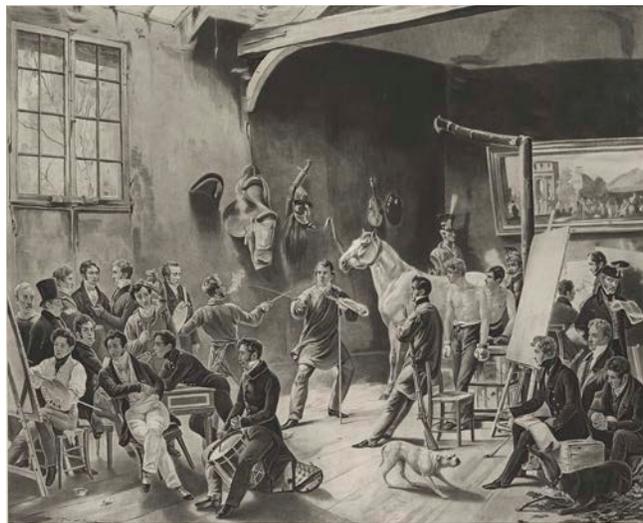


Fig. 118.2. Jean Pierre Marie Jazet (French, 1788–1871), *The Studio of Horace Vernet*, 1824. Aquatint on heavy white wove paper, 29 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 34 in. (75.9 x 86.4 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of David and Constance Yates, in honor of Karen Cohen, 1998 (1998.409.1)

No owner is listed in the 1791 *livret*, and therefore Laborde de Méréville, famously a patron of **JOSEPH VERNET** and **HUBERT ROBERT**, bought the work after the opening. He owned it briefly, as he was guillotined in 1794. By 1824 it was again in the possession of the family, as Carle's son Horace showed it hanging on the wall of his studio (fig. 118.2). The canvas later belonged, most appropriately, to Jean-Baptiste Claude Odier, who was famous for the silver and gold tableware his firm provided to Napoleon and members of the imperial family. It was bought by Darius Mills for the Metropolitan Museum on the advice of the English critic Roger Fry, who was briefly a curator and advisor on European paintings.

NOTES

1. There are two irregularly spaced seams. The segments, left to right, measure 20 $\frac{1}{2}$, 74 $\frac{3}{4}$, and 77 $\frac{1}{4}$ in., for a total of 172 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (52.1, 189.8, and 196.3 cm; 438.2 cm). Canvas measuring roughly 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (3.8 cm) at left and 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (8.3 cm) at right was folded out; the paint has darkened along both of these segments. The artist would of course have painted the principal motifs first and then added on to the procession.

2. The painting is signed and dated: "Carle Vernet f. L'an 3. R.," or Year III of the Republic, that is, 1794–95. See Judith Gómez del Campo in Gutiérrez and Lozano 1999, pp. 160–61, ill. (color).
3. National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin, NGL.4060.
4. The standard source is Plutarch, whose account of the triumph the artist evidently did not consult, as Perseus, dressed in black, preceded Paulus Aemilius.

EX COLL.: Jean Joseph de Laborde de Méréville, Paris (until d. 1794; confiscated by revolutionary authorities); his widow, Nettine de Laborde (from 1797; restituted by the state); Emile Jean Horace Vernet, Paris (in 1824); Jean-Baptiste Claude Odier père, Paris (by 1845—at least 1847; his sale, Paillet, Paris, March 3–6, 1845, no. 66; his sale, Ridel, Paris, February 20, 1847, no. 61); Baron François Delessert, Paris (until 1869; his sale, Pillet, Paris, March 15–18, 1869, no. 206, for Fr 8100); Heber R. Bishop, New York (by 1891–d. 1902; his estate sale, American Art Association, New York, January 19, 1906, no. 86, for \$4,200 to Mills); Darius Ogden Mills, New York (1906).

EXHIBITIONS: Paris, Salon, August 25–October 6, 1789, supplément no. 342 (as *Triomphe de Paul Emile*, 14 pieds x 4 pieds ½). Paris, Salon, September 15–?December 3, 1791, no. 217 (as *Le Triomphe de Paul Emile après la défaite de Persée*). New York, Wildenstein & Co., *The Winds of Revolution*, November 14–December 28, 1989, no. 32 (exh. cat.: Baillio 1989).

REFERENCES: *Amphigouri* 1789, p. 30 (CD 1980, vol. 16, no. 416, p. 210; McWilliam 1991, no. 0455); "Exposition des peintures, sculptures et gravures de MM. de l'Académie Royale au Salon du Louvre," *Mercure de France*, 1789 (CD 1980, vol. 16, no. 423, pp. 392–93; McWilliam 1991, no. 0460); *Observations* 1789, pp. 26–27 (CD 1980, vol. 16, no. 410, pp. 90–91; McWilliam 1991, no. 0462); Chery 1791a, pp. 30–31, no. 217 (CD 1980, vol. 17, no. 436; McWilliam 1991, no. 0494); Garnier 1836, p. 3; Quatremère de Quincy 1837, pp. 185, 187; Asse 1866, col. 7; Boyer 1954, pp. 222, 225–26; Sterling 1955, pp. 183–84, ill.; Benisovich 1958, ill.; Baillio 1989, pp. 40–43, no. 32, ill. (color); Paris 2010, pp. 44–45, 161, 164.

NICOLAS ANTOINE TAUNAY

Paris 1755–1830 Paris

Taunay was born in Paris into a family of artisans. His father painted porcelains and enamels for the manufactory at Vincennes, his brother Auguste was a sculptor, and his son Félix a painter. Nicolas Antoine studied successively with Nicolas Bernard Lépicicé, Nicolas Guy Brenet, and Francesco Casanova. He made expeditions into the countryside, working at Fontainebleau, and with Jean Louis Demarne visited Switzerland. Taunay first exhibited at Place Dauphine in 1777. He was admitted preliminarily to the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture in 1784 as a landscape painter, but never applied for full membership, probably owing to the disruptions of the revolutionary era. He spent the statutory period of three years at the Académie de France in Rome, from which he returned in 1787 to send a number of pictures to the Salon, where he continued to show his work regularly

for more than thirty years. Taunay left the capital during the Revolution but returned under the Empire, and in 1800 received orders from the empress Josephine and subsequently official commissions for battle paintings. He also worked as a miniature painter and illustrator and for the manufactory at Sèvres. After the fall of Napoleon he was invited to visit Brazil, and in 1816 with his family he settled for five years in the capital, Rio de Janeiro. There seems to have been enthusiasm in Paris for the exotic landscapes he sent back for exhibition, and his Brazilian period has always been of special interest in view of the fact that so few important European artists visited and depicted South America. Taunay was extremely prolific, often painting on a small scale and on wood (cat. 119). He essayed a very wide variety of subjects and doubtless maintained a flourishing studio as his followers were numerous. Scholars and collectors have greatly benefited from the oeuvre catalogue published by Claudine Jouve in 2003.

LITERATURE ON THE ARTIST: Jouve 2003.

119 | Nicolas Antoine Taunay *The Billiard Room, after 1810*

Oil on wood, 6⅞ x 8⅝ in. (16.2 x 21.9 cm)

The Jack and Belle Linsky Collection, 1982 (1982.60.49)

Taunay depicts a gathering of men, eighteen of them, several rather boisterous, in a public billiard room.¹ Two of the visitors have taken off their coats and hats, while others wear outdoor clothing; the individual at the door is perhaps a servant. Five of the figures hold billiard cues. The colors of the costumes are boldly decorative. Two windows at left admit light to the main room, while a third illuminates the space beyond the Palladian arch. There is a bottle on a sill in the background to the left and a rather scruffy dog in the foreground at right. One senses Taunay's taste for Dutch genre painting, which he collected.

This small genre scene on wood is a reduction for the art trade of a larger painting that was shown at the 1808 Paris Salon under number 572 with the title *Salle de billiard où figurent différens personnages* (fig. 119.1).² Further detail was provided by a critic writing in the *Journal de l'Empire* for 1808, who drew attention to the sculpture over the door of the main room, which he described as a figure of Victory with a money purse rather than a palm, that is, "une figure de la Victoire, tenant, au lieu de palme, une bourse remplie d'espèces."³ Whether the relief simply suggests the possibility of gain or instead refers to the potential for vanity and avarice among the players is not clear, though Taunay was in general not interested in moralizing messages. When our panel was sold from the Perregaux collection in 1841, it was



paired with another of the same size and on the same support, *Le Concert*.⁴ This is also a reduced version, but of an exhibit from the Salon of 1810 called *Concert à la Concorde* or *Concert au Palais Royale*. The two works therefore date no earlier than 1810, and if painted in the following decade, the comte de Perregaux may well have been their first owner.

The nature of the differences between the small and larger works confirm that the small ones are not *modelli*, as Claudine Jouve suggested, but variants. In the Museum's billiard room panel, the figures are larger with respect to the space they occupy than those in the canvas. The costumes are generalized, with no fur collars or striped pantaloons, and the hats are simplified as well, with no bicornes in evidence. The facial types are indistinguishable one from another, whereas in the larger work the man in the red coat is apparently a caricature, and there is less variation in age among the others. The rack of cues and the stains on the wall have been omitted from our picture, and the black and white tile floor is replaced with squares of a more or less uniform brown. Despite its charm, ours is a composition that has been recycled with less care than was taken when preparing the larger painting for the Salon.



Fig. 119.1. Nicolas Taunay, *The Billiard Room*, ca. 1808. Oil on wood, 27 $\frac{1}{16}$ x 20 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (69 x 52 cm). Reproduced in Jouve 2003, p. 70, no. P.545

The game of billiards has a long history and was favored by the French aristocracy, both men and women, in the eighteenth century. As a genre subject, however, it was not widely popular. **CHARDIN** depicted a public billiard hall in about

1725.⁵ Louis Léopold Boilly showed men and women playing in an elegant private setting in a canvas he, too, sent to the Paris Salon of 1808 and later replicated.⁶ This was the Salon at which Taunay's larger work was exhibited.

NOTES

1. Except in the most important particular, the identification of the larger version of the painting, following Claudine Jouve, the entry differs little from that published in 1986.
2. Paris 1808, p. 86, no. 572.
3. M. B. [Jean-Baptiste Bon Boutard], "Beaux-Arts. Salon de 1808," *Journal de l'Empire* (November 13, 1808), p. 2 (CD 1980, no. 1154; McWilliam 1991, no. 995).
4. The sizes are identical, but the price for the pendant was much higher, at 371 francs. At the Perregaux sale, the two were separated. Both versions of the pendant are recorded as privately owned.
5. Musée Carnavalet, Paris, CARP 2081.
6. This is presumed to be the painting, signed and dated 1807, belonging to the State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg (5666). See Kostenevich 1976, n.p., no. 10, ill. opp. (color). Another is in the Chrysler Museum in Norfolk, Virginia (Harrison 1986, pp. 35–37, no. 18), and a third is recorded in an engraving of 1828.

EX COLL.: Alphonse Claude Charles Bernardin, comte de Perregaux, Paris (until d. 1841; his estate sale, Paris, December 8–9, 1841, no. 55, as *La Partie de billard*, on wood, 16 x 22 cm [6¼ x 8¾ in.], for Fr 261, with pendant, *Le Concert*); Monsieur L. de Saint-Vincent (until 1852; his estate sale, Hôtel des Ventes, Colin and Vallée, Paris, March 8–9, 1852, no. 85, as *Salle de billard. Joueurs et galerie*, for Fr 229); Jules Burat (by 1860–85; his estate sale, Chevallier and Féral, Paris, April 28–29, 1885, no. 172, as *Le Café des Arts*, on wood, 16 x 22 cm [6¼ x 8¾ in.], for Fr 4,400); Monsieur E. H. . . (until 1951; his sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, March 9, 1951, no. 56, for Fr 500,000 to Linsky); Mr. and Mrs. Jack Linsky, New York (1951–his d. 1980); The Jack and Belle Linsky Foundation, New York (1980–82).

EXHIBITIONS: Paris, 26, boulevard des Italiens [Francis Petit], *Tableaux et dessins de l'école française, principalement du XVIIIe siècle, tirés de collections d'amateurs*, 1860, no. 254 (as *Le Café des Arts*, lent by M. Burat). Paris, Palais de la Présidence du Corps Législatif, *Ouvrages de peinture exposés au profit de la colonisation de l'Algérie par les Alsaciens-Lorrains*, April 23–?, 1874, no. 478 (as *Le Café des Arts*, lent by M. Burat) (exh. cat.: Paris 1874).

REFERENCES: Bürger 1860, pp. 356, 358; Lejeune 1864, vol. 1, p. 389; Katharine Baetjer in MMA 1986, pp. 161–63, no. A.3., ill.; Jouve 2003, pp. 72, 253–54, 266, no. P. 546, ill.

PIERRE PAUL PRUD'HON

Cluny 1758–1823 Paris

Prud'hon began his training in 1774 with François Devosge in Dijon. Sponsored by a local patron, he traveled to Paris in 1780 to study at the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture, where in 1783 he received an award for a drawing. He returned to Dijon and in 1784 won a Prix de Rome offered by the Burgundian authorities. After three years in Italy he

settled in Paris, where his career was shaped in part by the tumult of the Revolution. He exhibited a drawing in 1791 and several portraits and drawings of allegorical subjects at the Salon of 1793, Year II of the revolutionary calendar. In the 1790s he lived outside Paris for a time and supported himself with portrait commissions and drawings for prints and book illustrations. Prud'hon bid for recognition with *Wisdom and Truth Descending to Earth* (Musée du Louvre, Paris), which received a mixed reception at the Salon of the Year VII (1799). He finally secured recognition under the Empire with *Empress Josephine at Malmaison* (Louvre), which shows the melancholy empress seated in a romantic landscape, and was perhaps begun in 1805 but not completed until 1810. Owing to the divorce of Napoleon and Josephine, it was not shown at the Salon, but it is nonetheless one of the pictures that secured the artist's reputation. This was the summit of his career, when he prepared *Justice and Divine Vengeance and Psyche Carried Off by the Zephyrs* (both Louvre) for the Salon of 1808. Prud'hon was a brilliant draftsman whose chalk studies and *académies* are admired. However, the technique he used for historical and allegorical subjects was flawed: he repainted extensively, and disfiguring cracks and separations interfere with our appreciation of his work.

LITERATURE ON THE ARTIST: Goncourt 1876; Laveissière 1998; Guffey 2001.

120 | Pierre Paul Prud'hon

Completed by Charles Pompée Le Boulanger de Boisfrémont (Rouen 1773–1838 Paris)

Andromache and Astyanax, ca. 1813–14 and 1823–24

Oil on canvas, 52 x 67½ in. (132.1 x 170.5 cm)

Signed (lower left, on base of plinth): P. P. Prud'hon

Bequest of Collis P. Huntington, 1900 (25.110.14)

The trade in high-quality books revived and flourished in Paris during the 1790s, in part because at a time when there were fewer public commissions, artists found it expedient to take up illustration. The leading figure in luxury publishing was Pierre Didot, called Didot l'ainé, who took over his family business in 1789 and later engaged **JACQUES LOUIS DAVID** to direct the illustration of three of his most important publications, one of which was the *Oeuvre de Jean Racine*. Didot also employed Prud'hon—to whom he paid a monthly stipend of 1,000 livres from July 1793 through January 1794—who was tasked with preparing a sketch for the *Racine* title page and five sketches for illustrations to precede each of the five acts of the playwright's tragedy *Andromaque*.¹ At the Salon of the Year II, which opened on August 10, 1793, Prud'hon exhibited a pen drawing titled *sujet tiré du premier acte*



d'Andromache, which Sylvain Laveissière has tentatively identified with a sheet in the Fogg Art Museum.² A preliminary study and a finished drawing for *The Apotheosis of Racine*, the latter engraved by Henri Marais for the title page of Didot's edition, are known; the finished drawing was exhibited *hors catalogue* at the 1798 Salon. Prud'hon also sketched a first idea for Astyanax running from his nurse into the embrace of his mother (fig. 120.1). The composition of the painting evolved from the initial idea for an illustration for act 2 through a more developed study in the Albertina, Vienna,³ and a finished sheet belonging to the Metropolitan Museum (fig. 120.2). The drawings connected with the Didot book illustration project, all of which are uprights, must have been completed by January 1794. Laveissière has demonstrated that a large,



Right: Fig. 120.1. Pierre Paul Prud'hon, *Andromache and Astyanax*, ca. 1793. Black and white chalk on blue paper, 8 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 7 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (22 x 20 cm). Musée d'Art et d'Archéologie, Cluny (86.6.1)



fully worked-up horizontal study, the composition of which closely anticipates the picture, can be dated not later than 1800 (fig. 120.3). There are also several drapery studies that would have been more closely associated with the picture chronologically, and one of these belongs to The Met as well.⁴

Despite his training in Rome and his early interest in ancient sculpture, Prud'hon generally did not paint themes from antiquity and may not have consulted any source other than Racine for *Andromache and Astyanax*. The chain of events may be summarized as follows. Andromache was the wife of Hector, son of Priam, king of Troy, and the mother of his son Astyanax. After her marriage, her own family died at the hands of Achilles during the sack of Thebes. She was devoted to and became increasingly dependent upon Hector, whom Achilles killed before the walls of Troy. Thereafter Pyrrhus, son of Achilles and king of Epirus, took Andromache and Astyanax as spoils of war, disregarding the petitions of the victorious Greek soldiers that the boy should be put to death (lest he become a future adversary). Pyrrhus fell in love

Left: Fig. 120.2. Pierre Paul Prud'hon, *Andromache and Astyanax*. Pen and gray ink with brush and brown wash over traces of black chalk, 11¼ x 8½ in. (29.8 x 21.9 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Harry G. Sperling Fund, 1999 (1999.348)



Fig. 120.3. Pierre Paul Prud'hon, *Andromache and Astyanax*, ca. 1800. Black and white chalk, stumped, on blue paper, 14¹⁵/₁₆ x 18¼ in. (38 x 46.3 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris (RF 1454 recto)



Fig. 120.4. X-radiograph of cat. 120

with Andromache and sought to secure her affections by ensuring the safety of her son. However, Andromache—out of devotion to Hector, whom she saw in the features of Astyanax when she embraced him—refused Pyrrhus, as in the scene depicted here. Prud'hon intended to show the work at the Salon of 1817 and provided an accompanying text (Racine, *Andromaque*, act 2, scene 5) for the *livret*:

C'est Hector, disait-elle, en l'embrassant toujours;
Voilà ses yeux, sa bouche, et déjà son audace:
C'est lui-même, c'est toi, cher époux, que j'embrasse.
(Hector, she'd cry, and clutch the boy again.
Behold his eyes, his mouth, his brave young face;
'Tis he, 'tis you, dear husband, I embrace.)⁵

Andromache is seated at left with her arms open to receive Astyanax, who has been released from the oversight of his nurse. Leaning on the back of Andromache's chair is her confidante, Cephise. The four figures are in strict profile, forming a triangle arranged as a frieze across the foreground. Behind and to the right is Pyrrhus, accompanied by his counselor Phoenix.

Prud'hon had not completed the painting when he died in 1823. In the inventory of his estate, the canvas, titled *Andromaque et Pyrrhus*, is described as “Non terminé dans quelques parties” (not finished in some parts).⁶ The sale catalogue offered rather greater clarity, identifying some of the accessories and drapery as incomplete. The buyer, who paid 6,000 livres, was “Boisfrémont”: the artist's friend, with whom he lived toward the end of his life, a minor painter and restorer.⁷ Charles Pompée Le Boulanger de Boisfrémont took it upon himself to finish *Andromache and Astyanax*, which was exhibited in 1824 to a mixed reception. The critic Charles Landon admired the taste and grace of Prud'hon's style but found his heads expressionless. Having questioned the capacities of the artist's pupils, he then drew attention to the fact that the figures in the background “announce another hand.” For Augustin Jal, Andromache lacked the desolate sadness of a mourning widow, while Edmé Miel described the picture as touching but not grand enough. As Auguste Chauvin pointed out, it was regrettable that the pupil had seen fit to finish the work of the master.

An x-radiograph (fig. 120.4) made in 1984 confirmed the observations of contemporary critics but left many other

questions unanswered, as Laurence Kanter explained.⁸ It is difficult to separate Prud'hon's work on the canvas from that of Boisfrémont. While Prud'hon intended a landscape background, as indicated in the Louvre drawing, Boisfrémont introduced several vases to fill the spaces between the pillars and cover his pentiments. To judge from the elegant and consistent drawing visible in the radiograph, Prud'hon adjusted the pose of Cephise, straightening her back, but did he paint out the folds gathered under her right shoulder? A figure study acquired in 2015 (fig. 120.5) demonstrates that it was he who not only repositioned the nurse's foot, but also introduced the Phrygian cap and the shoulder strap of her dress. Originally Pyrrhus had extended both arms toward Andromache and Astyanax. His costume seems to have been fully developed by Prud'hon and the position of the head slightly changed. However, Boisfrémont painted over the entire figure, probably including the inexpressive head, and hid most of the left arm under a clumsy drapery. He moved the figure of Phoenix, repainted to eliminate his declamatory gesture.

The history of the commission is also complex. In 1810 Prud'hon became drawing master to Napoleon's second wife, Marie Louise, a position he occupied until the empress and her son left France immediately before Napoleon's first abdication in April 1814; Marie Louise never returned. On February 25, 1813, Prud'hon's patron and friend Giovanni Battista Sommariva mentioned in a letter that the empress had honored Prud'hon with a commission for a painting, but did not disclose the subject.⁹ Laveissière has proposed that in 1813 Prud'hon took up his existing design and began to paint *Andromache and Astyanax*. The subject, which was not then appropriate for Marie Louise, only became so when she and her son were separated from the emperor in the spring of 1814. He therefore offered her the as yet unfinished picture. On December 8 her Austrian chamberlain wrote to say that she would be pleased to receive it. However, after Napoleon's second abdication she lost interest entirely and Prud'hon did so as well. There is also a simpler scenario: Prud'hon could have started the picture in May 1814 only to abandon it in the course of the following year.

NOTES

1. The entry is based principally on Laveissière 1998, pp. 117–20, 210–21, nos. 155–61, 333–34, 338–40 (see esp. figs. 69, 69bis, 158, 159, 159b–c), and on Kanter 1984–85.
2. Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Mass., 1943.885. For illustrations of this and a related drawing, see Laveissière 1998, p. 215, fig. 158a–b.
3. Albertina 12914.
4. The drawing (2008.44) bears the collector's mark of Boisfrémont.
5. Jean Racine, *Andromache: Tragedy in Five Acts, 1667*, translated by Richard Wilbur (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1982), p. 42.
6. Laveissière 1998, p. 219.



Fig. 120.5. Pierre Paul Prud'hon, *Study for Astyanax's Nurse*. Black and white chalk, with stumping, on blue paper, 11 $\frac{1}{16}$ x 7 $\frac{13}{16}$ in. (28.8 x 19.9 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of Louis de Bayser, 2015 (2015.652.1)

7. What seems to be a representative example of his work was sold at Bonham's, San Francisco, May 16, 2006, no. 3135, ill. (color), as *Princess Hatzfeld Implores Napoleon to Save Her Husband's Life*. It is signed and dated 1810.

8. See Kanter 1984–85, esp. pp. 148–49. In 1963 conservator Hubert von Sonnenburg called the state of the painting satisfactory. He attributed the pronounced crackle pattern and the deformations in the paint layer to failure of the medium, and in general to the artist's technique. As far as was possible, he removed the many old darkened retouchings that were covering or bordering on the crackle pattern where they obscured original paint.

9. Mazzocca 1981, pp. 262–63.

EX COLL.: the artist (until d. 1823; his posthumous inventory, 1823, as *Andromaque et Pyrrhus*; his sale, Paillet, Paris, May 13–14, 1823, no. 1, "Andromaque pressant tendrement son fils Astyanax, en présence de Pyrrhus; l'instant représenté est celui où le fils d'Achille cherche à fléchir la veuve d'Hector. Céphise et Phénix, témoins de cette scène du plus haut intérêt, partagent avec la nourrice d'Astyanax, une émotion des plus grandes. Ce tableau, dont une partie des accessoires et quelques draperies ne sont point terminés, avait été destiné à l'Archiduchesse de Parme," for Fr 6,000 to Boisfrémont); Charles Boulanger de Boisfrémont, Paris (1823–

at least 1824; sold for Fr 8,000 to Laperlier); Laurent Laperlier, Paris (until 1867; his sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, April 11–13, 1867, no. 38, as *Andromaque*, for Fr 11,000 to Rivière); Baron Rivière, Paris (1867–69; sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, March 22, 1869, no. 37, for Fr 7,150 to Caillot); Madame Caillot, Paris (from 1869); E. Secrétan, Paris (until 1889; his sale, Sedelmeyer, Paris, July 1, 1889, no. 66, for Fr 10,100 to Durand-Ruel); [Durand-Ruel, Paris, from 1889]; Collis P. Huntington, New York (until d. 1900; life interest to his widow, Arabella D. Huntington, later Mrs. Henry E. Huntington, 1900–d. 1924; life interest to their son, Archer Milton Huntington, 1924–terminated in 1925).

EXHIBITIONS: Paris, Salon, August 25–?, 1824, no. 1384 (as *Andromaque*, lent by M. De Boisfrémont). Paris, Grand Palais, *De David à Delacroix: La peinture française de 1774 à 1830*, November 16, 1974–February 3, 1975, no. 145 (exh. cat.: Paris 1974); Detroit Institute of Arts, *French Painting, 1774–1830: The Age of Revolution*, March 5–May 4, 1975, no. 145 (exh. cat.: Detroit 1975); New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, *French Painting, 1774–1830: The Age of Revolution*, June 12–September 7, 1975, no. 145. Paris, Galeries Nationales du Grand Palais, *Prud'hon, ou Le rêve du bonheur*, September 23, 1997–January 5, 1998, no. 161 (exh. cat.: Laveissière 1997); New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Pierre-Paul Prud'hon*, March 10–June 7, 1998, no. 161 (exh. cat.: Laveissière 1998).

REFERENCES: Ballouhey, letter to Prud'hon, December 8, 1814 (published in Clément 1880, p. 402); Miel 1817–18, p. 6; Jal 1824, pp. 221–23 (McWilliam 1991, no. 1272); Landon 1824, pp. 43–44, pl. 27 (engraving by Reveil) (McWilliam 1991, no. 1273); Pillet 1824, pp. 34–35 (McWilliam 1991, no. 1276); Stendhal, “Musée Royal: Exposition de 1824,” *Journal de Paris*, August 29, 1824 (reprinted in Stendhal 1932, p. 14) (McWilliam 1991, no. 1239); Chauvin 1825, p. 89 (McWilliam 1991, no. 1266); Philippe Burty in Laperlier 1867, p. 22, no. 38; Goncourt 1876, pp. 116–18, no. 47; Clément 1880, pp. 401–3; Guiffrey 1924, pp. 89–93, no. 249, under nos. 250–58; Seznec 1944, pp. 350–54, 358–61, fig. 13; Sterling 1955, pp. 201–3, ill.; Slayman 1970, pp. 78–80, 198 n. 26, 199 n. 30, pl. 65; Jean Lacambre in Detroit 1975, pp. 278, 572–73, no. 145, ill.; Kanter 1984–85, figs. 1, 6 (x-ray photograph); Laveissière 1997, pp. 16, 26, 28, 31, 119, 174, 210–13, 215–16, 218–21, 231, 236, no. 161, ill. (color, overall and detail); Laveissière 1998, pp. 12, 25, 28–29, 119, 174, 210–13, 215, 216, 218–21, 231, 236, no. 161, ill. (color, overall and detail).

121 | Pierre Paul Prud'hon

Charles Maurice de Talleyrand-Périgord, Prince de Talleyrand, ca. 1816–17

Oil on canvas, 85 x 55 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (215.9 x 141.9 cm)

Signed (lower left, on plinth): P. P. Prud'hon pinxit.

Purchase, Mrs. Charles Wrightsman Gift, in memory of Jacqueline Bouvier Kennedy Onassis, 1994 (1994.190)

Talleyrand, Napoleon's minister of foreign affairs from 1799 through July 1807, thereafter gradually distanced himself from the emperor and his bellicose policies. After the allies entered Paris in 1814, Talleyrand persuaded Alexander I of Russia that the Bourbons, in the person of Louis XVIII, should again assume the French throne, and at the Congress

of Vienna, where he remained through the one hundred days of Napoleon's return from Elba, he secured favorable terms for France. In 1815 he served briefly as foreign minister and in the last years of his life held various official posts, including that of French ambassador to the court of St. James's.

Sylvain Laveissière has shed light on the particular circumstances surrounding the creation of this portrait of Talleyrand as a private citizen.¹ In April 1806 Dominique Vivant Denon, Napoleon's de facto minister of culture, awarded commissions for portraits of the various ministers serving under the emperor, who wished to install them in the Palais des Tuileries. Napoleon had a weakness for images of ceremony and a month later decided that he also wanted ministerial portraits for Fontainebleau. Prud'hon received commissions for both Talleyrand portraits, a practical and less expensive solution since using the same painter meant that fewer sittings would be required. The first canvas was painted in 1806 and represents Talleyrand as minister of foreign affairs, a position he had held since 1799, while the second was painted in 1807 and shows him as *grand chambellan*, or grand chamberlain, a largely honorary post in which he served beginning in 1804. (He retired from both in August 1807.) The artist was paid 4,000 francs for each, and a receipt of November 29, 1807, for the later of the two paintings is recorded. The portraits were installed in the Galerie de Diane at the Tuileries in the summer of 1807 and then in May 1808 were removed to the Château de Compiègne, where they were displayed in the Salon des Ministres and the Salon des Grands Officiers respectively. When Louis XVIII took the throne, portraits from the imperial period were no longer required, and in December 1815 the Talleyrand portraits were offered to, and accepted by, the sitter.

As foreign minister, Talleyrand is shown standing in an interior and facing to left with his right hand on a velvet-covered table and a chair behind him. He wears a formal blue costume lavishly brocaded in silver with the star of the Légion d'Honneur on his left breast. This painting belongs to his descendants and is housed at the Château de Valençay. As grand chamberlain (fig. 121.1), he instead wears red and gold and faces to the right. He rests his right elbow on a pedestal that supports a bust of Napoleon in quasi-antique style crowned with a laurel wreath. Talleyrand perhaps decided that as the two were so similar (in fact, more or less mirror images), the red costume in the second picture could be repainted to show him wearing street clothes. The canvas was accordingly returned to the artist. At the same time, Dorothee, comtesse de Périgord (later duchesse de Dino and duchesse de Talleyrand)—Talleyrand's hostess and mistress, whom he had married off to his nephew—sat to Prud'hon for a half-length portrait and became involved in the negotiations.





Fig. 121.1. Pierre Paul Prud'hon, *Talleyrand as Grand Chamberlain*, 1807. Oil on canvas, 83 $\frac{7}{16}$ x 54 $\frac{5}{16}$ in. (212 x 138 cm). Musée Carnavalet, Paris (P.1065)

On April 12, 1817, Prud'hon wrote an indignant letter to the countess, objecting to the fact that her agent had twice declined to pay in her behalf the price of 7,000 francs for the work on the Talleyrand portrait that had been agreed between them. Having given the matter further thought, he explained the decision he had made, in the hope of settling their differences:

I will bring back to you, Madam, next Monday the old portrait of the prince, whose costume I was supposed to have changed entirely; this change would have . . . presented difficulties which would have produced a sad result, that is a poor portrait, which caused me to imagine it would no longer be worthy either of the person it represents or of the person for whom it was destined. After spending some time considering what I might do under the circumstances, I decided to begin again, intending to leave you unaware of these difficulties.²

In the event that she continued to refuse payment, he noted that it was his intention to accompany the porters who would return the 1807 portrait and take back the new one—the present picture—which had already been delivered. The letter speaks to Prud'hon's flawed working practices. The paintings commissioned for Napoleon are, and even then may have been, poorly preserved owing to inherent technical deficiencies on the part of the artist. Later restorers have enjoyed only limited success in improving their damaged, darkened, and wrinkled surfaces.³ We are thus fortunate to own the canvas Prud'hon painted on his own initiative in about 1816–17. He replicated the composition of the figure in the 1807 portrait, inserted the chair from the 1806 version, and depicted a rather youthful-looking private person in modern clothes standing in a relaxed manner between busts of ancients in an elegant interior. Talleyrand wears the medal of the Légion d'Honneur on his left breast and the red ribbon on the lapel of his coat. He is a *flâneur*, ready to step into the street, with gloves and hat in hand. In the end the lady must have paid the 7,000 francs requested because the painting descended in the family, though it may conceivably have remained with the painter until his death.

NOTES

1. At the time of the purchase, Gary Tinterow consulted Sylvain Laveissière, who provided a full account of the portraits that was later published in the Prud'hon exhibition catalogue. The canvas had been dated 1809 in accordance with a later inscription at the top that was masked by conservator Hubert von Sonnenburg in 1994 in accordance with a suggestion from Philippe de Montebello. The inscription reads: CHARLES MAURICE DE TALLEYRAND PÉRIGORD PRINCE DE BÉNÉVENT — / VICE GRAND ÉLECTEUR DE L'EMPIRE+1838 (PEINT PAR PRUD'HON EN 1809.) There are similar inscriptions on the 1806 and 1807 pictures discussed in this entry.

2. Clément 1880, pp. 304–5: “Je vous remettrai, Madame, lundi prochain l'ancien portrait du Prince, dont je devais changer tout l'habillement; ce changement entraînait tout le reste et présentait des difficultés qui n'auraient produit qu'un triste résultat, c'est à dire un mauvais portrait, ce qui m'a fait supposer qu'il n'aurait plus été digne ni de celui qu'il représentait, ni de celle pour qui il était destiné. Après du temps passé à essayer ce que je pourrais faire à ce sujet, je me suis décidé à le recommencer, avec l'intention de vous laisser ignorer tous ces désagréments.”

3. For modern photographs showing the compromised state of the earlier portraits, see Fahy 2005, p. 274, figs. 1, 2.

EX COLL.: the artist (until ?1823); the sitter (?1823–d. 1838); by descent to Napoléon Louis, third duc de Talleyrand-Périgord, later duc de Sagan, Château de Valençay (until d. 1898; his estate sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, May 29–June 1, 1899, no. 21, for Fr 25,000 to Castellane); his daughter, Comtesse Jean de Castellane (1899–d. 1948); by family descent (1948–91); [A. Moatti and Didier Aaron, Paris and New York, 1991–94; sold to MMA].

EXHIBITIONS: Paris, Ecole des Beaux-Arts, *Exposition des oeuvres de Prud'hon au profit de sa fille*, May 1874, no. 37 (as *Portrait de Charles-Maurice*

de Talleyrand-Périgord, prince de Bénévant, vice-grand électeur de l'empire, lent by M. le duc de Valençay). Paris, Palais des Beaux-Arts, *P.-P. Prud'hon*, May–June 1922, no. 57 (lent by Mme la comtesse Jean de Castellane) (exh. cat.: Paris 1922). Paris, Palais National des Arts, *Chefs d'oeuvre de l'art français*, July–September 1937, no. 210 (lent by Comtesse Jean de Castellane) (exh. cat.: Paris 1937). New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Pierre-Paul Prud'hon*, March 10–June 7, 1998, no. 135 (exh. cat.: Laveissière 1998).

REFERENCES: Goncourt 1876, p. 39; Guiffrey 1924, pp. 240–41, no. 631, pl. XX; Gary Tinterow in MMA 1994, pp. 5, 40–41, ill. (color); Laveissière 1998, pp. 25, 176, 193, 195–96, 277–78, no. 135, pl. 135 (color); Sylvain Laveissière in Waresquiel 2005, pp. 70–71, under no. 50, ill. (color); Gary Tinterow in Fahy 2005, pp. 272–75, no. 74, ill. (color).

ANTOINE JEAN GROS

Paris 1771–1835 Meudon

Gros, comfortably brought up and traditionally educated, also received instruction in drawing from both of his parents. Late in 1785 Gros enrolled with **JACQUES LOUIS DAVID** and became the youngest of a group of gifted artists who matured in the 1780s in the atelier where David's many students made drawings from the model and after the antique in preparation for careers as history painters. Having entered but failed to win the 1792 competition for the Prix de Rome, in January 1793 Gros nevertheless set off for Italy, where he studied, traveled, and, to support himself, accepted commissions for portraits and miniatures. He lived apart from events in his native country until the French conquest of Lombardy. At that time he was introduced to the empress Josephine in Genoa and traveled with her to Milan, where in December 1796 Napoleon gave him a single sitting for the famous sketch titled *Napoleon on the Bridge of Arcole* (Musée du Louvre, Paris). After a decade of disruption arising from the events of the Revolution and its aftermath, Gros at last returned to Paris to resume his career in 1801, introducing himself at the Salon with, in addition to a portrait of Bonaparte, a mythological subject and a portrait miniature of a family group. He received major commissions for battle and set pieces, notably *Napoleon Visiting the Plague-Stricken in Jaffa* of 1804 and *Napoleon on the Battlefield at Eylau* (both Louvre), which was exhibited in 1808, the year he became a baron of the Empire. Named first painter to the empress Josephine in 1806, he was appointed professor at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in 1815. When David was forced into exile, Gros took over the direction of his master's studio. In 1817 he became first painter to the restored Bourbon king, Louis XVIII. He died by his own hand.

LITERATURE ON THE ARTIST: Tripiet Le Franc 1880; Crow 1995; O'Brien 2006.

122 | Antoine Jean Gros

François Gérard, ca. 1790–92

Oil on canvas, 22½ x 18⅝ in. (56.2 x 47.3 cm)

Gift of Mrs. Charles Wrightsman, 2002 (2002.441)

This beautifully preserved portrait by Gros of the young **FRANÇOIS GÉRARD** is reproduced in Henri Gérard's catalogue of Gérard's works (fig. 122.1); the engraving is inscribed "Peint par Gros 1791" and "Gravé par Vallot 1853."¹

Elsewhere in the text, Henri Gérard, the sitter's nephew and sole heir, who owned the portrait, assigns it to the year 1790. It was certainly painted in David's studio, where the two artists became friends in 1786, and it must date before January 1793, when Gros left for Italy. Presumed to have been the gift of Gros, the picture would have been in Gérard's possession at his death as it formed part of his inheritance. Further confirmation of the sitter's identity, if any is necessary, takes the form of an engraving (fig. 122.2) that Gérard made after a lost portrait of himself by Girodet dating to 1789. The long nose and prominent rounded chin, the thick, wavy,

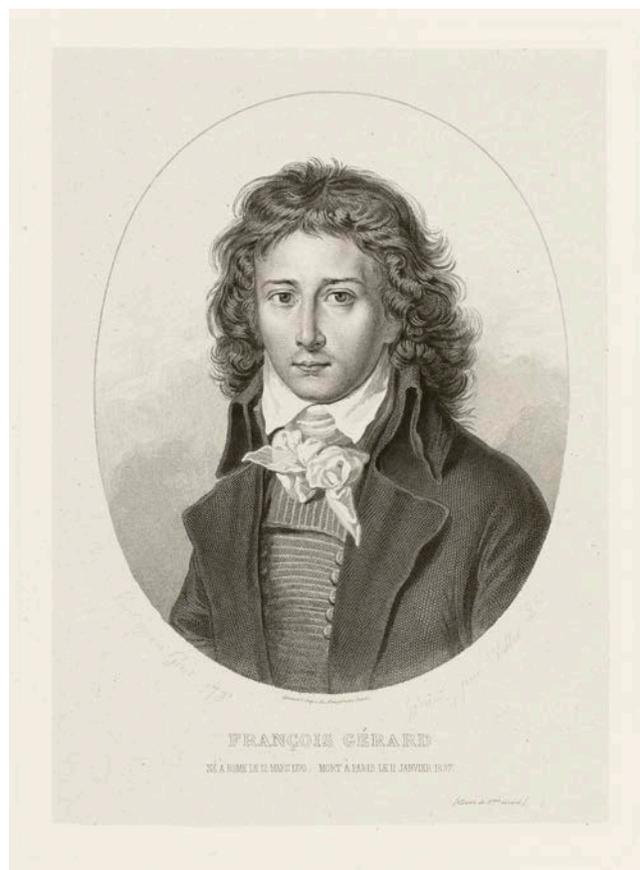


Fig. 122.1. Philippe Joseph Vallot (French, 1796–1840) after Antoine Jean Gros, *François Gérard*, 1853. Inscribed: "Peint par Gros 1791." Line engraving, plate 8¾ x 6½ in. (22.2 x 16.4 cm). National Portrait Gallery, London (D16039)





Fig. 122.2. François Gérard (French, 1770–1837) after Anne Louis Girodet de Roussy-Trioson (French, 1767–1824), *François Gérard*. Inscribed: “Girodet delt. 1789.” Reproduced in Gérard 1867, p. 40

shoulder-length and slightly disordered hair, and the serious expression are strikingly similar. Gérard’s elegant costume is typical of the moment. The characterization is exceptionally sympathetic, suggesting the intimacy that existed at the time between artist and sitter.

Gérard was born in Rome in 1770 to a French father and an Italian mother. In Paris he studied with Augustin Pajou and Nicolas Guy Brenet before joining David’s atelier. The corps of gifted students to which he belonged included François Xavier Fabre and Anne Louis Girodet as well as Gros, who was a year younger than Gérard but arrived a little earlier in David’s studio.² In 1787 the Prix de Rome went to Fabre, and he departed for Rome and a stay of decades in Italy. Girodet, the winner in 1789, set off in 1790; he remained in Italy until the autumn of 1795. In the 1789 *concours* Gérard placed second, but neither he nor Gros ever won the much coveted prize. François Gérard was able to revisit Rome briefly after his father’s death in the summer of 1790, when he assumed responsibility for his family’s affairs.³ He returned to Paris the following spring. Conditions in David’s studio were chaotic during the Revolution, and disorder and violent outbursts were not uncommon.⁴ There can have been few opportunities for commissioned portraits or any other paid work, and most of David’s pupils were poor, cast on their own devices. They posed for each other, some in the

nude and others for head studies. The neutrally toned and apparently unfinished backgrounds of many of the portraits are typical of David and of works from his studio painted at the time. A possible date range for this painting is 1790–92.

Gérard was appointed to the Revolutionary Tribunal (of which he was a dilatory member), while Gros remained intent upon studying abroad. According to a story that was first told in 1863 and may be apocryphal, it was at this time that Gérard, meeting Gros in a Paris café, condemned and threatened him for preparing to emigrate. David assured the authorities that Gros was going to Italy temporarily to improve his skills and secured his passport so that he could leave France quickly in January 1793. The supposed encounter, although unsupported by contemporary evidence, is often invoked in considering our picture and the others that may be related.

Three portraits of Gros are more or less contemporary with the present painting: a finished work of similar size and format, in which the sitter wears a black hat (fig. 122.3), a related oil sketch (fig. 122.4), and a replica or copy at Versailles.⁵ After the death of Gros and in accordance with the artist’s wishes, the finished painting was bequeathed by his widow to the Musée des Augustins in Toulouse. Madame Gros called it a self-portrait, and it was catalogued as such until 1911, when Gaston Brière attributed it instead to Gérard. Although there is no firm evidence, Brière’s reasoning and



Fig. 122.3. Antoine Jean Gros, *Self-Portrait*, ca. 1791. Oil on canvas, 24 x 19¹/₁₆ in. (61 x 50 cm). Musée des Augustins, Toulouse (RO 109)



Fig. 122.4. Attributed to Antoine Jean Gros, *Antoine Jean Gros*, ca. 1791. Oil on paper, mounted on canvas, 10¹/₄ x 8 in. (26 x 20.3 cm). Private collection

his conviction that a mutual exchange of portraits had been intended were widely accepted until 2007, when Valérie Bajou argued once again for the attribution to Gros of the Toulouse picture.⁶ It seems that Gros was the more gifted when the two were young and, judging from photographs, the portraits of Gros and Gérard look similar in handling. On the other hand, the sketch, in the opinion of Bajou, is by Gérard. The circumstances that would yield such a result are difficult to imagine. In Genoa in 1795, after a long separation, Girodet and Gros met and again became intimate friends. They exchanged self-portraits in classicizing costume, though this has limited bearing in the present case.

NOTES

1. Gérard 1852–57, vol. 1, frontis.
2. Delécluze 1983, pp. 251, 272–76, 287–88, provides short biographies; for a chronology of the arrivals and departures of students in David's studio, see Sérullaz 2005, pp. 14–15.
3. Gérard's father died in June 1790. He may have arrived in Rome in October 1790 for a stay of about six months. See Girodet's letters to him in Gérard 1867, pp. 52–55, 63–64.
4. Delécluze 1983, pp. 52–53.
5. Musée National des Châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon, MV 4643.
6. Further to Brière's line of reasoning, see the entry on the oil sketch relating to the portrait of Gros in Wintermute 1989, pp. 214–18. Brière saw neither the portrait of Gérard by Gros nor the oil sketch for the portrait of

Gros in Toulouse. These arguments have more recently been reviewed in Salmon 2014, pp. 38–41, no. 4, ill. (color) and figs. 1, 2 (color).

EX COLL.: the sitter (until d. 1837); his widow, Marguerite-Françoise Gérard, Baronne Gérard (1837–d. 1848); their nephew, Henri-Alexandre Gérard, Baron Gérard, Paris and Calvados (1848–d. 1903); Maurice-Henri-François Gérard, Baron Gérard, Paris and Calvados (1903–d. 1924); François Gérard, Baron Gérard, Paris and Calvados (1924–d. 1929; ?his estate, until at least 1936); ?his sister, Marguerite, comtesse Dors de Lastours (after 1936); his daughter, Antoinette, duchesse d'Harcourt-Beuvron (until d. 1958); François-Charles d'Harcourt, duc d'Harcourt-Beuvron (1958–d. 1997); [Eric Turquin, Paris, by 1997]; [Simon C. Dickinson, London, and Marlborough, London, until 1998; sold to Wrightsman]; Mrs. Charles Wrightsman, London and New York (1998–2002).

EXHIBITIONS: Paris, Palais du Trocadéro, *Première exposition française des portraits nationaux [Exposition universelle de 1878]*, 1878, no. 662 (as *François, baron Gérard, à vingt ans*, lent by M. le baron Gérard, Paris). Paris, Palais des Beaux-Arts, *David et ses élèves*, April 7–June 9, 1913, no. 169 (lent by M. le baron Gérard) (exh. cat.: Paris 1913). Paris, Petit Palais, *Gros: Ses amis, ses élèves*, May–July 1936, no. 3 (lent by Baron Gérard) (exh. cat.: Barnaud and Sjöberg 1936).

REFERENCES: Gérard 1852–57, vol. 1, n.p., ill. (frontis., etching by Vallot, 1853), vol. 3, n.p.; Tripiet le Franc 1880, p. 608; Brière 1911, pp. 209–12, ill. opp. p. 212; Gary Tinterow and Asher Ethan Miller in Fahy 2005, pp. 268–71, ill. (color); Bajou 2007, pp. 414–15, 425 n. 22, fig. 4; Salmon 2014, pp. 27, 38, 41, fig. 5 (color).

MARIE GUILHELMINE BENOIST

Paris 1768–1826 Paris

Marie Guilhelmine, born in 1768, was the oldest of three surviving daughters of Marguerite and René Leroulx-Delaville. No later than 1784 she entered the studio of the portraitist **ELISABETH LOUISE VIGÉE LE BRUN**, and she was first identified as a pupil of the history painter **JACQUES LOUIS DAVID** in 1786. Exhibiting annually at Place Dauphine from 1784 through 1788, she took advantage of the new policy of open admissions to the Salon, to which she contributed for the first time in 1791. Her father held posts in public works, in the tax farm and tax department, and in the Commune. In 1795 he was appointed to represent French naval and commercial interests in Rotterdam, where he died two years later. On March 12, 1793, the artist married the attorney and politician Pierre Vincent Benoist, known as Benoist d'Angers. He too had been a member and secretary of the Commune in December 1789, but from 1793 to 1795 was forced into exile in Switzerland. He took up an important post in the ministry of the interior in 1799. Named to the Council of State in 1814, from 1815 until 1827 he sat for Maine-et-Loire in the *Chambres des Députés*. From 1795 until 1812 Madame Benoist was able to exhibit regularly at the Salons. She was provided with a studio at the Louvre in 1795 and later at the *Hôtel d'Angiviller*. As Madame Benoist, she sent the famous *Portrait of a Black Woman* (fig. 123.1) to the 1800 Salon and won a medal and a prize at the Salon of 1804, but eventually, owing to her husband's positions in government, she could no longer participate in public exhibitions. Primarily a portraitist, Madame Benoist later received important commissions from Napoleon and members of his extended family.

LITERATURE ON THE ARTIST: Ballot 1914; Oppenheimer 1996b; Reuter 2002.

123 | Marie Guilhelmine Benoist

Madame Philippe Panon Desbassayns de Richemont and Her Son, Eugène, ca. 1801

Oil on canvas, 46 x 35¼ in. (116.8 x 89.5 cm)

Gift of Julia A. Berwind, 1953 (53.61.4)

Jeanne Eglé Fulcrande Catherine Mourgue, called Eglé, was born in Montpellier on June 5, 1778, and died in Paris in 1855.¹ She married at Montlhéry on June 18, 1799, Philippe Panon Desbassayns de Richemont, who was four years older than she and belonged to a wealthy colonial family from the island of La Réunion. The couple returned to La Réunion; thereafter, he embarked on a long and successful administrative and diplomatic career that lasted from the Consulate through the

Bourbon restoration. Eglé and her husband had eight children of whom the eldest were a son, Eugène, born in 1800, and a daughter, Camille, who was born the following year and died in an accident in 1804. Panon Desbassayns de Richemont was created a baron in 1815, a count in 1827, and a commander of the *Légion d'Honneur*. He was elected a deputy for the Meuse in 1824 and died in 1840.

The portrait may have been a gift from M. Benoist to Eglé's brother, Scipion Mourgue. When Hélène Mourgue Chabert lent it for exhibition in 1897 and sold it in 1905, the sitters were identified as Madame de Richemont and her daughter, and the painting was attributed to **JACQUES LOUIS DAVID**. Although undocumented, it was at first much admired as David's work, but in the second half of the twentieth century it went largely unnoticed. By the 1970s the attribution had come into question, but no viable alternative presented itself until 1996, when Margaret Oppenheimer put forward the name of Marie Guilhelmine Benoist.² She drew attention to the fact that as the child's costume is that of a boy he must be Eugène, not Camille.

The oeuvre of Benoist is still relatively small in number but is more widely known since the publication of Astrid Reuter's monograph, and it is in any event clear that the smoothly shaped forms and the beautiful but inexpressive face of Madame de Richemont lack the force of David's characterizations. The grayish tonality seems to be typical of Benoist. Oppenheimer's attribution is seconded by Reuter³—who drew attention to the fact that Scipion Mourgue knew the artist's husband—and is universally accepted in the more recent literature on women who came to maturity as painters during the revolutionary era.

The picture is now identified with *Portrait d'une jeune femme avec un enfant* by Madame Benoist, née Leroulx-Delaville,⁴ which was presented at the Salon of 1802. The *livret* described her as a student of "citizen" David. A contemporary critic, praising the work, observed that the unnamed sitter much resembled the beautiful "Mme. D**" and that she was accompanied by a blond child.⁵ A replica descended in the family, together with two variants that show the mother without her child and seated beside a table holding a book. One of the latter was attributed to Benoist by Marie-Juliette Ballot, and Reuter has suggested that an unfinished version in the *Hôtel Ritz*, Paris, may be a sketch by the artist herself.⁶

Madame de Richemont's portrait is often compared to the famous image of a black woman exhibited in 1800 (fig. 123.1) as well as to the portrait of Benoist's brother-in-law, Jean Dominique Larrey (fig. 123.2), from the Salon of 1804. The compositions are similar, and each displays a limited palette and a solid color background, though neither is stippled in the





Fig. 123.1. Marie Guilhelmine Benoist, *Portrait d'une Negresse (Antilles)* (*Portrait of a Black Woman [Antilles]*), ca. 1800. Oil on canvas, 31 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 25 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (81 x 65 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris (INV 2508)

Davidian fashion, as this one is. For Larrey's portrait Benoist again deploys the odd device of a strip of lighter-colored floor reading as a band at the base of the canvas.

NOTES

1. Family members have kindly provided extensive documentation for the sitter and her family, as well as identifying copies and/or variants of the portrait that belong or belonged to them.
2. Oppenheimer 1996b, p. 146. Claus Virch first advanced this possible attribution.
3. Reuter 2002, pp. 273–74, no. 34.
4. The artist's family name is variously cited as Le Roulx de la Ville, Le Roux de la Ville, and Laville-Leroux; her first name also appears as Guillelmine. See Ballot 1914, pp. 7–10, 83–85.

5. "Suite de l'examen du Salon," p. 107, quoted in Reuter 2002, p. 321, no. 40.
6. Ballot 1914, p. 253; Reuter 2002, p. 274.

EX COLL.: the sitter's brother, Scipion Mourgue (until d. 1860); his son, Edmond Mourgue (from 1860); his niece, Hélène Mourgue, Madame Camille Chabert, Paris (by 1897–1905, as by Jacques Louis David; sold through Gimpel & Wildenstein to Bardac); Sigismond Bardac, Paris (1905–18); [Gimpel & Wildenstein, Paris and New York, 1918; sold for \$228,000 to Berwind]; Edward J. Berwind, New York (1918–d. 1936); his sister, Julia A. Berwind, New York (1936–53).

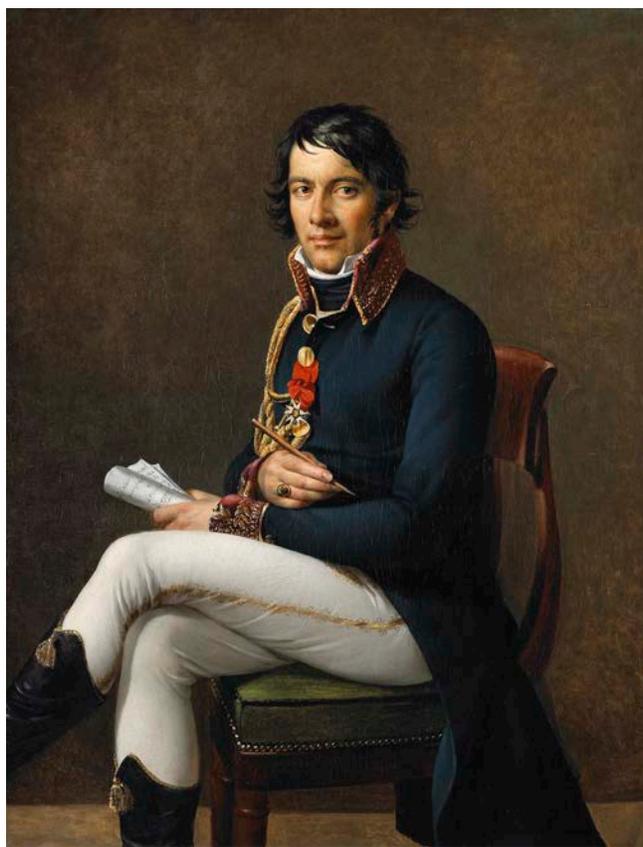


Fig. 123.2. Marie Guilhelmine Benoist, *Baron Jean Dominique Larrey*, ca. 1804. Oil on canvas, 45¼ x 34⅞ in. (115 x 88 cm). Musée des Augustins, Toulouse (RO 339)

EXHIBITIONS: Paris, Salon, 15 Fructidor, an X de la République Française (September 2, 1802–?), no. 17 (as *Portrait d'une jeune femme avec un enfant*, by Benoist). Paris, Ecole des Beaux-Arts, *Portraits de femmes et d'enfants*, April 30–?, 1897, no. 45 (as *Madame de Richemont et sa fille*, by Jacques Louis David, lent by M. Chabert) (exh. cat.: Paris 1897). San Diego, Timken Museum of Art, *Portraiture in Paris around 1800: Cooper Penrose by Jacques-Louis David*, October 17, 2003–February 15, 2004, no. 1 (as *Madame Philippe Panon Desbassayns de Richemont and Her Son, Eugène*, by Benoist) (exh. cat.: Bordes 2003). Northampton, Mass., Smith College Museum of Art, *The French Portrait: Revolution to Restoration*, September 30–December 11, 2005, no. 5 (exh. cat.: Oppenheimer 2005).

REFERENCES: “Beaux-arts: Suite de l'examen du Salon,” *La Décade Philosophique, Littéraire et Politique*, 20 Vendémiaire an XI (October 12, 1802), p. 107, no. 17 (McWilliam 1991, no. 0726); *Revue* 1802, p. 4, no. 17 (CD 1980, vol. 28, no. 769; McWilliam 1991, no. 0755); “Salon de l'an dix, No. IX,” *Journal des Débats et Loix du Pouvoir Législatif, et des Actes du Gouvernement*, 11 Brumaire an XI (November 2, 1802), p. 3 (CD 1980, vol. 28, no. 778; McWilliam 1991, no. 0740); Ballot 1914, p. 253; Jacques Riche, “Mme de Richemont, née Mourgue: Son portrait par David,” *L'Intermédiaire des Chercheurs et Curieux* 96, no. 1797 (October 15, 1933), cols. 755–57 (extracts from the Mourgue family archives in Marseilles); Oppenheimer 1996b, ill.; Reuter 2002, pp. 160–61, 273–74, 319–21, no. 34, ill.; Bordes 2003, pp. 33–34, 41 n. 91, 55–56, no. 1, ill. (color).

MARIE DENISE VILLERS

Paris 1774–1821 Paris

Little is known of the life of Marie Denise Lemoine, who was called Nisa until 1794, when she married Michel Jean Maximilien Villers, an architectural student. She was younger by twenty years than her sister, the portraitist **MARIE VICTOIRE LEMOINE**, and younger also than her sister Marie Elisabeth Gabiou, née Lemoine, who was a painter, as was their cousin, Jeanne Elisabeth Chaudet. In the later 1790s Madame Villers was the student of Anne Louis Girodet de Roussy-Trioson, an academician seven years her senior. Girodet, who had been a pupil of **JACQUES LOUIS DAVID**, had won the Prix de Rome in 1789 and had spent five years in Italy. While studying with Girodet, Villers showed her work at the Salon of 1799 and was named the recipient of a modest prize (the so-called *prix d'encouragement*) for a portrait of a woman painting—*Un portrait, Femme peignant* as it was titled in the *livret*. This was doubtless a self-portrait; unfortunately, it is presumed lost. Villers also exhibited at the Salons of 1800, 1801, and 1802, and in 1814 showed a portrait of an aristocrat (*hors catalogue*). Only three paintings by her have been securely identified, and each was exhibited, while one other work is recorded in the form of an engraving. The famous portrait catalogued here is generally but not universally ascribed to Villers.

LITERATURE ON THE ARTIST: Linda Nochlin, “Mme. Villers,” in Harris and Nochlin 1976, pp. 206–7; Oppenheimer 1996a; Oppenheimer 1996c, pp. 279–81; Siegfried 2015.

124 | Attributed to Marie Denise Villers

Marie Joséphine Charlotte du Val d'Ognes, ca. 1801

Oil on canvas, 63½ x 50½ in. (161.3 x 128.6 cm)

Mr. and Mrs. Isaac D. Fletcher Collection, Bequest of Isaac D. Fletcher, 1917 (17.120.204)

The painting came to public notice in 1897, when it was lent to an exhibition in Paris by Commandant Hardouin de Grosville, from whose grandmother, the presumed sitter, it had descended as a portrait of Charlotte du Val d'Ognes by **JACQUES LOUIS DAVID**.¹ According to this lady's death notice, which was provided to us with other information by members of her family, Marie Joséphine Charlotte du Val d'Ognes, widow of Nicolas Marie Philippe Marcotte, died on April 29, 1868, in her eighty-second year. Her husband had been a *receveur général des finances*, or tax administrator. Called Charlotte, she was born in Val d'Ogne and is said to have been the last of that name.² She sat for her portrait at the turn of the century, as we shall see below, and if she was born





Fig. 124.1. G. Devisme (French, active ca. 1801–6) after Antoine Maxime Monsaldy (French, 1768–1816), *Vue des Ouvrages de Peinture . . . Exposés au Museum Central des Arts en l'An IX, de la R. F.* (*The Salon of 1801*). Etching, center sheet 9¼ x 14¹⁵/₁₆ in. (24.8 x 38 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1959 (59.601.3(a))

in 1786, she would have been fourteen or fifteen. Absent evidence to the contrary, it is likely that the picture was commissioned by her father and painted in Paris.

David's many students and followers were little if at all known one hundred years ago, and Neoclassical portraits were routinely attributed to him.³ This painting remained with the family until 1912, when it was sold as a Jacques Louis David and then resold, before entering The Met's collection as the bequest of Isaac D. Fletcher. Through the first half of the twentieth century it was published, reproduced, and admired as a David.⁴ However, Charles Sterling, the French scholar who was a fellow at the Museum during World War II and eventually an adjunct curator, rejected the attribution. In 1951 Sterling was able to rule out David's authorship, demonstrating that our portrait had been shown at the Salon of 1801, in which David did not exhibit.⁵ The records of the very large Salons held in and after 1801 are difficult to use for portraits, especially as most sitters were not named, but Sterling noticed the canvas in one of Monsaldy and Devisme's engravings of the Salon of the Year IX (1801) (fig. 124.1), and he also uncovered Monsaldy's small sketch, which illustrates the cracked window

and the small figures in the background (fig. 124.2). Unfortunately, the picture is not numbered or identified in the print, many little-known artists exhibited, and Monsaldy and Devisme illustrate several portraits of seated women in Neoclassical costume, including another of an artist, on the same wall.

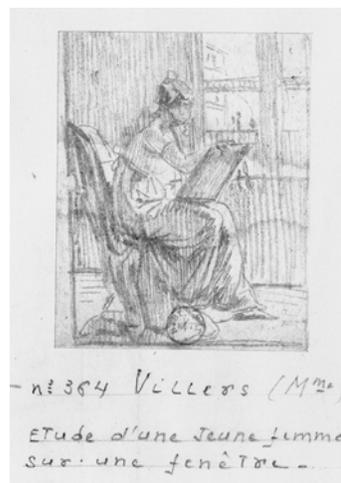


Fig. 124.2. Antoine Maxime Monsaldy, *Sketch of Charlotte du Val d'Ognes* (for the Etching of the Salon of 1801), 1801. Graphite. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (Ad 89a pet. In fol.)



Fig. 124.3. Constance Marie Charpentier (French, 1767–1849), *Melancholy*, 1801. Oil on canvas, 51 $\frac{3}{16}$ x 64 $\frac{15}{16}$ in. (130 x 165 cm). Musée de Picardie, Amiens

After further careful study of the 1801 *livret* and the registration records, which are held at the Musée du Louvre, Sterling isolated several possible candidates and hesitantly attributed our portrait to one of them, Constance Marie Charpentier. A pupil of both David and FRANÇOIS GÉRARD, she was born Blondelu in 1767 and died in 1849. In addition to two portraits, Charpentier sent her only documented work, *Melancholy* (fig. 124.3), to the 1801 exhibition. Sterling studied the painting at the Musée de Picardie in Amiens, prevailed upon the museum to have it cleaned, and, finding it roughly comparable in style to our portrait, published his tentative attribution of the portrait of Charlotte du Val d'Ognes to Madame Charpentier. No one was more surprised than he when his proposal was accepted.⁶ After thirty years during which scholars offered only reserved agreement and no new evidence, his attribution was reconsidered by the Museum in 1980 and found to be insufficiently convincing. The picture, retitled *Young Woman Drawing*, was reduced to anonymity. In a climate of rising interest in women artists, however, many scholars continued to endorse the Charpentier attribution.

Then, in 1996, Margaret Oppenheimer put forward the name of Marie Denise Villers. The only well-known and accessible work by Villers was exhibited in the 1802 Salon and shows a young woman fastening her slipper (fig. 124.4); at the Salon it was titled *Etude de femme d'après nature*. In search of other works, Oppenheimer followed a process roughly equiv-

alent to Sterling's. In the *livret* for 1801, Villers appeared as N.V. M.^{me} and the painter of several portraits, as well as under M.^{me}. Villers, née Nisa, with two studies of women and a portrait. (This must be a duplication of information, made in error, about a single painter.) From a reviewer's comments and description, Oppenheimer was able to identify another work, a woman seated by a window and turning her back to a garden, in half-light. The painting, of which an old photograph and a study survive (fig. 124.5), was reproduced in another Salon engraving by Devisme and Monsaldy of 1801. Oppenheimer also discovered a small half-length of a girl with a dog (fig. 124.6) that figures in the same engraving.

Villers's signature work is the woman fastening her slipper, gazing through a black lace veil, in a forward-leaning posture that exposes her breasts, with her right foot positioned so that her legs are widely separated. The small head and chest of the model are connected by a long, loose contour line that follows the heavy hip, thigh, and calf. Drapery clings tightly to her shoulder, as to all the covered forms, as if it were wet. By comparison with other canvases by Villers, it is quite a sophisticated work and one with an antique source. The composition derives from a Roman marble of Hermes tying his sandal, which was brought to the Louvre (where it remains) from Versailles in 1797, during the painter's student days, and which she must surely have seen.⁷ Similarly exaggerated anatomy distinguishes the woman in white with her



Fig. 124.4. Marie Denise Villers, *Une Etude de femme d'après nature (A Study of a Woman after Nature)*, ca. 1802. Oil on canvas, 57½ x 44¾ in. (146 x 114 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris (RF 173)

back turned to a garden: the thighs and knees are awkwardly, disproportionately, large, and the contours of the back and arm are ill defined.⁸ The young girl with a dog, whose posture is poor and whose expression is disheartened, also wears clinging drapery.

Charlotte du Val d'Oignes is endowed with a gracious demeanor that is lacking in the Villers Salon exhibits. The costumes (including those of the figures at the parapet in the background), chair, portfolio, porte-crayon, and interior, while appropriate and up to date, lack the detail that charac-

terizes the other pictures. The painting evidently is not the work of an established artist, who, known to the officials, could have delivered it at the last minute to the Salon, *hors catalogue*. It is impossible to know if dimensions in the registers are consistent and whether or not they include the frames. Conceivably another close examination of the source materials would yield other possibilities.⁹ In the meantime, the view of the majority is recognized in the attribution, although it is not one with which the present writer concurs.



Fig. 124.5. Marie Denise Villers, *Study for "A Young Woman Seated by a Window,"* ca. 1801. Oil on canvas, 10¼ x 7¼ in. (26 x 18.5 cm). Private collection



Fig. 124.6. Marie Denise Villers, *A Young Woman with a Dog,* ca. 1801. Oil on canvas, 39 x 31½ in. (99 x 80 cm). Reproduced in *Collection du Vicomte de Curel*, sale cat., Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, May 3, 1918 (postponed to November 25, 1918), no. 29, as by Jacques Louis David

NOTES

1. Tourneux 1897, p. 457, identifies Hardouin de Grosville as the grandson of Charlotte du Val d'Ognes, whom the family called a pupil of David, and states that he painted the portrait in 1803. The Museum has received many visits and apparently reliable letters and documents from family members over more than fifty years supporting the attribution to David and the identification of Charlotte du Val d'Ognes. The attribution has been disproven. However, there does not seem to be any reason to question the information provided about the sitter.
2. Chaix d'Est-Ange 1917, p. 298. The family name appears in a variety of forms. De Saint-Allais (*Nobiliaire universel de France*, vol. 3 [Paris: Bachelin-Deflorenne, 1873], p. 360) mentions a Thérèse du Val d'Ogne, second wife of Monsieur du Mesnil de Maricourt; he was born apparently in the late 1760s and the couple had two daughters. The Philadelphia Museum of Art owns a half-length portrait of a boy called Edouard Duval d'Ogne (1963-116-6) that is ascribed to a follower of David and dated 1800-1810.
3. See, for example, Saunier 1904, p. 55.
4. Maurois 1948, n.p., who attributed it with admiration to David, rather surprisingly called it "un portrait dur d'une laide intelligente" (an unforgiving portrait of an ugly intelligent woman).

5. Sterling noticed this detail and first referenced it in a letter of November 7, 1949, to curator Harry Wehle (Department of European Paintings archives). On December 16, 1947, in a letter to curator Josephine Allen of the department, he thought the picture might be by Villers.
6. His attribution to Charpentier is first noted in a letter to curator Theodore Rousseau of February 28, 1950. Writing to curator Elizabeth Gardner on March 22, 1954, after his proposal had been published, he states that "I am a little appalled to see that the Charpentier attribution seems to be accepted without the slightest doubt or question mark. . . . Until now I have not the assurance that the picture is by her; there is only a probability as I pointed out."
7. Louvre MR 238. The marble was brought to my attention by Joan R. Mertens, whose resourcefulness and help I acknowledge.
8. Sterling, in notes on the Salon attached to his letter of November 25, 1950, stated that he had located with a Paris restorer the Villers painting of a woman seated, signed and dated: Salon de l'An IX. Having seen it, he eliminated Villers as a candidate for the authorship of ours ("Nothing to do in style with Charlotte").
9. For example, Siegfried 2015, p. 80, inclines to identify our picture with *Un portrait, Femme peignant*, shown at the Salon of 1799, in which case it

would be a self-portrait, and nothing categorically rules out the possibility that a work was exhibited twice.

EX COLL.: ?the sitter's father, Monsieur du Val d'Ogues (from 1801); the sitter (until d. 1868); her daughter, Madame Marie Norbert Henri Auguste Hardouin de Grosville, Troyes (1868–d. 1892); her son, Commandant Hardouin de Grosville (1892–after 1897, as by Jacques Louis David); by descent to Colonel Norbert Charles Marie Léon Hardouin de Grosville (until 1912; sold to Wildenstein); [Wildenstein, Paris, 1912; sold to Rothschild]; Baron Maurice de Rothschild, Paris (1912–15; sold to Wildenstein); [Wildenstein, Paris and New York, 1915–16; sold to Fletcher]; Mr. and Mrs. Isaac D. Fletcher, New York (1916–his d. 1917).

EXHIBITIONS: Paris, Salon, 15 Fructidor, an X de la République Française, September 2–?, 1801, under no. 338 (Plusieurs portraits peints, by N. V. M.^{me}), or no. 366 (*Un portrait*, by M.^{me} Villers, née Nisa). Paris, Ecole des Beaux-Arts, *Portraits de femmes et d'enfants*, April 30–?, 1897, no. 44 (as *Mademoiselle Charlotte du Val d'Ogues*, by Jacques Louis David, lent by commandant Hardouin de Grosville) (exh. cat.: Paris 1897).

REFERENCES: Tourneux 1897, pp. 457–58; Sterling 1950, ill.; Sterling 1951, ill.; Sterling 1955, pp. 196–200, ill.; Linda Nochlin in Harris and Nochlin 1976, p. 207; Oppenheimer 1996a, pp. 166, 170–72, 176, fig. 2; Cheney et al. 2000, pp. 128–30, pl. XXIII (color); Reuter 2002, pp. 229, 231–32, ill.; Bonnet 2012, pp. 154–55, 191 n. 260, 204–5; Siegfried 2015, pp. 80, 95 n. 15, fig. 4 (color).

FRANÇOIS GÉRARD

Rome 1770–1837 Paris

François Pascal Simon Gérard was born in Rome. His mother was Italian; his French father was in service to Cardinal de Bernis, ambassador from Paris to the Holy See. The family returned to Paris when François was no more than twelve, and he entered the studio of the sculptor Augustin Pajou and then that of the history painter Nicolas Guy Brenet before becoming a pupil of **JACQUES LOUIS DAVID** in 1786. David's most gifted students in the 1780s were Fabre and Girodet, later called Girodet-Trioson, and the slightly younger **GROS** and Gérard. All modeled their styles on that of David—who in 1787 completed and exhibited *The Death of Socrates* (cat. 106)—and intended careers painting subjects drawn from ancient history and mythology. Three of the four pupils were able, in accordance with tradition, to complete their training with extended periods of study in Italy. However, Gérard, having placed second to Girodet in the *concours* for the 1787 Prix de Rome, had only a few months there. He departed for Rome on family business sometime after his father's death in the summer of 1790, returned to France in spring 1791, and was in Paris throughout the Terror. In 1793 Gérard joined (though he hardly participated in) the Revolutionary Tribunal. Working with David until 1794, he inevitably turned to modern historical subjects, preparing

designs for a painting titled *The French People Demanding the Overthrow of the Tyrant on the Tenth of August 1792*, but the state failed to provide funding, and eventually he was forced to abandon it. The market for portraiture then strengthened, and when Gérard sent a lifesize portrait of the miniaturist Jean-Baptiste Isabey and his daughter (Musée du Louvre, Paris) to the 1796 Salon, he opened the door to exalted new patronage. In 1802 he showed a full-length of Napoleon's brother-in-law Joachim Murat at the Salon. Thereafter, he enjoyed enormous success, as the emperor and empress and many crowned heads of Europe sat for him.

LITERATURE ON THE ARTIST: Lenormant 1847; Gérard 1852–57; Crow 1995.

125 | François Gérard

Madame Charles Maurice de Talleyrand-Périgord, ca. 1802–5

Oil on canvas, 88 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 64 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (225.7 x 164.8 cm)
Wrightsmen Fund, 2002 (2002.31)

The present portrait by Gérard represents Catherine Grand, Madame de Talleyrand, and later princesse de Bénévent. The picture is likely to have been painted at the time of, or after, her second marriage in 1802. Talleyrand and his eventually estranged wife had no direct legitimate heirs, and the canvas passed by descent through a branch of the family of his younger brother Boson, who predeceased him. While it has been associated with Talleyrand's own portrait by Gérard (cat. 126), the circumstances of the evidently private commission are unknown, and the two works are not of the same date or size.

Charles Maurice de Talleyrand-Périgord was lame and thus disqualified from military service. Instead, he was ordained a priest in 1779, and in 1780 was appointed agent general of the clergy, thus representing the church at the court of Louis XVI. In 1789 the king named him bishop of Autun, a position from which he found cause to resign in 1791. His future wife, then Madame Grand, was born in India, probably in 1761 (she chronically lied about her age), and arrived in Paris about 1782. She was young, blond, and beautiful, as may be seen from **VIGÉE LE BRUN'S** portrait (cat. 113). Talleyrand could have met her before or during the Revolution, but if he did, he took no notice. They may have been introduced in 1792 when she was a refugee in London and he was there as an emissary of the French government. Apparently Madame Grand returned to Paris in spring 1797 and by early the following year had become his lover. In March 1798, when she was taken into custody as a spy, Talleyrand wrote to Paul Barras of the Directorate:





Fig. 125.1. François Gérard, *Josephine Bonaparte*, 1801. Oil on canvas, 70 x 68½ in. (178 x 174 cm). The State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg (GE-5674)

Mme. Grand has just been arrested as a conspirator. She is the person in all Europe the farthest from and the least capable of embarking on any business; she is a very lovely Indian, very indolent, and the most unoccupied of all the women I have ever met. I beg your influence on her behalf, for I am sure that not even the shadow of a pretext can be found against her, so that this little affair be hushed up, as it would grieve me to see it create a noise. I love her.¹

Such a dismissive and cynical if heartfelt account cannot be trusted, but no more can Madame Grand, who wrote letters to émigrés, traveled abroad, and traded in political information. Paul Barras seems to have believed the two met in London and, after the fact, he judged it a mistake to have let her leave France. Madame Grand sought and obtained a divorce in absentia on April 7, 1798.

Napoleon became first consul in 1799 and appointed Talleyrand foreign minister. Pius VII was pressured to lift the ban of excommunication on him in 1801 and, having returned to the lay community, in 1802 Talleyrand was more or less obliged by Napoleon to marry—without the sanction of the

church—his divorced mistress.² As Madame de Talleyrand, she assumed a highly visible role in Paris society, although the emperor, who found her vulgar, had hoped she would be set aside and made it clear that she was not welcome at court. She was wealthy in her own right and so cannot have been as unintelligent as is often alleged, and she was doubtless the mother of Talleyrand's child, Charlotte, born in the country or abroad in about 1798 or 1799, who eventually joined the couple's household.³ Historians have found it difficult to fathom why, otherwise, he would have agreed to marry, especially as by that time he had a new mistress. Years later, departing in 1814 to represent France at the Congress of Vienna, Talleyrand took as his hostess Dorothee de Courlande, the young wife of his nephew, Edmond de Talleyrand. Upon his return to Paris in 1815, he and the princess at last agreed to a formal separation, and communication between them ceased.⁴ She died in Paris in 1835.

At the time of her marriage to Talleyrand, the sitter was a friend of Josephine Bonaparte, who in 1801 sat to Gérard for an informal portrait (fig. 125.1). The two women were contemporaries (Josephine appears older but likely was not).



Fig. 125.2. François Gérard, *Madame Charles Maurice de Talleyrand-Périgord*. Graphite on paper, 5 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 8 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (13.7 x 22.4 cm). Musée des Beaux-Arts et d'Archéologie, Besançon (D.2040)

Napoleon's wife wears a white dress with a transparent overlay trimmed with a narrow gold band in the Greek style. The banquette upon which she is seated is upholstered in velvet and fringed, and her flat slippers rest on a patterned carpet. Madame de Talleyrand will not have wished to look her age, and her demeanor lacks the dignity of Josephine's, but she must have sought a similar though more luxurious and elaborate effect. The borders of her dress and her paisley shawl are wider, and the fire tools are gilt bronze, even if the urns are not. Despite the fact that she had gained age and weight, her marriage and new position provided the impetus for a major commission, although the portrait was not finished until 1804 or 1805.⁵ She might even have ordered the work herself. The essential features of the design are indicated in a drawing by the artist now in Besançon (fig. 125.2). A reduced replica by Gérard is at Versailles. The most beautiful details are the effect of firelight falling on the sitter's slippers, the gold-embroidered drapery pooled around her ankles, and the carpet at her feet.

NOTES

1. Barras 1895–96, vol. 3, p. 203.
2. Waresquiel 2003, esp. pp. 244–52, 298–312.
3. Orieux 1970, pp. 414–15.
4. Billecocq 1987, pp. 17–29.
5. Galitz 2013, pp. 34, 48 n. 71, and also n. 69, draws attention to a letter of 11 Fr[uctidor] (read 29 August [1804]), previously cited in part by Udo Felbinger. The letter, without salutation, is inscribed “Paris 11 fr,” but as it refers to works done since the summer, the abbreviation is likely for Frimaire, or November/December. Based on what we know of the biographies and portraits of Comtesse Starzeńska and Madame Récamier that are mentioned in the text, the letter could date to either 1804 or 1805. I express my appreciation for their help in this matter to Nathalie Fressard of the Bibliothèque Doucet, to Isabelle Vazelle and Ferdinand Klipfel of INHA, and particularly to Carol Santoleri.

EX COLL.: the sitter or her husband, Charles Maurice de Talleyrand-Périgord, prince de Bénévent, later prince de Talleyrand (until d. 1838); his niece, Georgine de Talleyrand-Périgord, duchesse d'Esclignac (1838–d. 1868); Georgine de Preissac d'Esclignac, marquise de Persan (1868–d. 1911); Bosc Doublet, marquis de Persan (1911–d. 1928); Marguerite Doublet de Persan, Baronne Maurice Eschasseriaux (1928–d. 1974); Baron Jacques Eschasseriaux; Baron Philippe Eschasseriaux, Château de Maureilhan, near Béziers (until 2002; sale, Sotheby's, New York, January 24, 2002, no. 76, to MMA).

REFERENCES: Joachim Le Breton, “Rapport sur les beaux-arts,” 1808, p. 79 (reprinted, including edits made between 1810 and 1815, in Le Breton 1989, p. 124); Lenormant 1847, p. 182; Gérard 1852–57, vol. 1, n.p., ill.; Gérard 1886, vol. 2, pp. 405, 417; Latreille 1973, pp. 34, 111, no. 50; Constans 1995, vol. 1, p. 367, under no. 2081; Apostle 2002, pp. 6–7, 124–26, ill. (color); Gary Tinterow in Fahy 2005, pp. 276–81, no. 75, ill. (color); Galitz 2013, pp. 5, 13–14, 20, 22–23, 25–32, 34–35, 37, 43, 46, 48 n. 66, ill. on front cover and figs. 1, 17, 21, 23, 29, 30 (color overall and details).

126 | François Gérard

Charles Maurice de Talleyrand-Périgord, Prince de Bénévent, ca. 1808

Oil on canvas, 83 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 57 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (213 x 147 cm)

Purchase, Mrs. Charles Wrightsman Gift, 2012 (2012.348)

Charles Maurice de Talleyrand was born in Paris in 1754 to parents of distinguished ancestry but limited resources. His father made a career in the army, rising to the rank of lieutenant-general. However, the son, born lame and suffering from this congenital defect, was ineligible for the military. It was decided that he should seek advancement in the church, and in 1770 he enrolled in the seminary of Saint-Sulpice; later he studied theology at the Sorbonne. Ordained a priest in



1779, Talleyrand was appointed agent general of the clergy in France the following year, becoming a supporter of the rights and jurisdiction of the church with respect to the state. In 1789, as bishop of Autun, he was elected to represent the church in the Estates General. His political skills and inclinations were revealed when, against expectation, he took the lead role in the nationalization of church property and, later, in the reorganization of the church according to more democratic principles. He was excommunicated, resigned as bishop, and in 1792 resumed secular life representing the French ministry of foreign affairs in negotiations with London.

In 1794 Talleyrand was forced to leave France, but when his name was struck from the list of émigrés, he returned and in 1797 was appointed foreign minister under the Directorate. He then reached an understanding with Napoleon, who after a brief interval and in consideration of his role in establishing the Consulate in 1799, once again named him foreign minister. Talleyrand gave his support to Napoleon as consul for life in 1802 and as emperor in 1804, meanwhile negotiating various treaties that were intended to secure territory for France and bring peace to Europe. He also accumulated an immense personal fortune. He was named grand chamberlain in 1804 and prince of Bénévent (a former papal territory) in 1806, but had by that time lost faith with Napoleon and rejected his bellicose policies. He therefore resigned from the foreign ministry in August 1807 and received a new advisory title, that of Vice Grand Elector. He attended the Congress of Erfurt, where from late September until October 14, 1808, Napoleon and Alexander I of Russia met and agreed to an alliance against Austria.

The 1808 Paris Salon opened on October 14 and gave new momentum to Gérard's career as a portraitist. The *livret* listed the present picture as one of six full-lengths, plus five bust-length portraits and two history paintings. *The Three Ages of Man* received the most generally positive comment.¹ When writing to Napoleon, Vivant Denon called attention to eight artists, led by **DAVID**; Girodet, **GROS**, and **PRUD'HON** shared the second rank, followed by Gérard, whom he characterized as elegant, spiritual, and the leader among portraitists. While the latter's sitters included the empress of France, the queens of Holland and Naples, and Napoleon's sisters-in-law, the portrait of Talleyrand attracted particular attention.

Gérard enjoyed an unusual relationship with Talleyrand, who made repeated visits to his studio and wrote to him on several occasions. On February 21, 1808, the former foreign minister sent a note thanking Gérard for the gift of a portrait by him of the Italian sculptor Antonio Canova.² In this communication Talleyrand suggested in a bantering tone that it was risky to visit the atelier (lest one be offered a work that one had admired). The acquaintance between painter and

politician lasted into the early 1830s. Talleyrand was among those who, occupying a highly visible position, sought to manage his image and gave commissions to a number of artists. Several portraits were engraved, including Gérard's, by Baron Boucher Desnoyers, whose print was exhibited at the Salon of 1814 (fig. 126.1). Boucher Desnoyers's 1806 engraving of Gérard's *Belisarius* had been dedicated to Talleyrand and exhibited in the Salon of the same year, suggesting that the painter and the foreign minister had then met. His engraving of Talleyrand's portrait reveals part of an identifying inscription—[NAPOL]EON / [LE GR]AND—and a laurel garland on the pedestal, identifying the bust in the background as that of the emperor. Later, the inscription would be painted out.³

Despite its large size and considerable elegance, the Museum's portrait would have been regarded at the time it was painted as informal. Gérard shows Talleyrand not as a minister of state, but as a decorated noble living privately in retirement. He wears a waistcoat and coat of blue velvet with wide cuffs and large buttons, both lined with white satin, as well as satin breeches fastened below the knee, silk stockings, and pumps with buckles. He also wears a court sword. There is no indication in this or any other portrait of the malformation of his foot. The setting, with a banquette upholstered in a striped fabric, is neutral and modern. His bicorne hat lies on the banquette: a pentimento indicates that the artist moved this hat slightly to the left. A partly hidden bust in profile in the background to the right was an oblique reference to the emperor whom the sitter had ceased to serve. The carved and gilt upholstered chair and the writing table are fine examples of the Louis XVI style, and it is possible that these furnishings and the inkstand, because they are from an earlier period, were personal possessions. The chair, meticulously painted, can be identified as the work of Georges Jacob and dated about 1770.⁴ The mounts on the *bureau plat* are found on pieces from the mid-1760s by Pierre Garnier.⁵

Talleyrand wears the red sash and (below the left shoulder) the silver silk-embroidered badge with the eagle of the grand cordon of the Légion d'Honneur: the order, which Napoleon established in 1802, was awarded to him in 1805. Suspended from his neck, *en sautoir*, from a ribbon and jewel, and passing through a buttonhole, is the emblem of the *toison d'or*, or golden fleece. This decoration was presented by Ferdinand VII of Spain at the Congress of Vienna, and must have been added by Gérard seven years or more after the portrait had been completed. Talleyrand's biographer Emmanuel de Waresquiel argues that at the same time, the embroidered star was modified, with fleur-de-lis added between the branches of the cross.⁶ Gérard may also have been asked to eliminate the inscription on the pedestal,

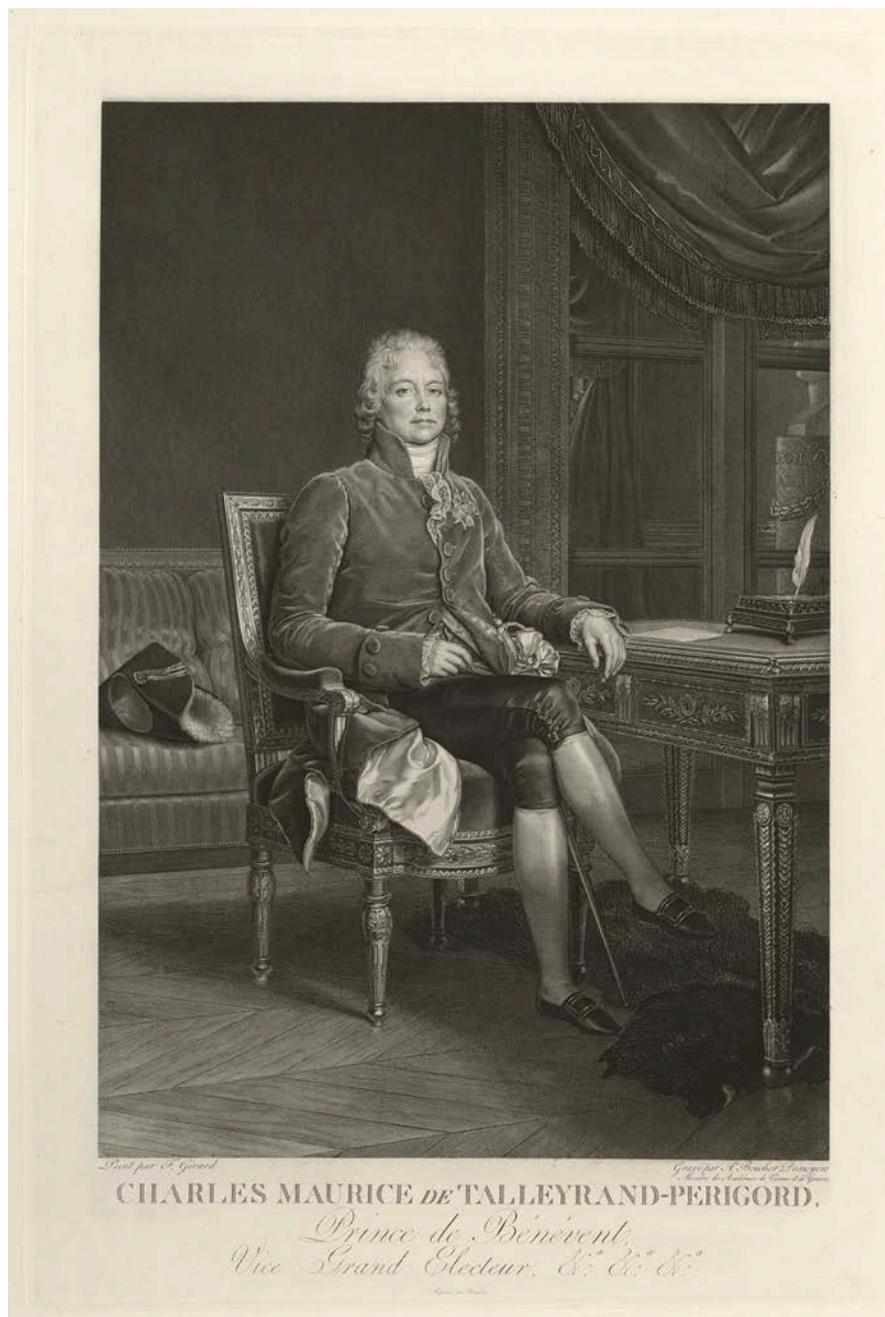


Fig. 126.1. Auguste Gaspard Louis Boucher Desnoyers (French, 1779–1857) after François Gérard, *Charles Maurice de Talleyrand-Périgord, Prince de Bénévent*, after 1808. Engraving with etching, third state of three, 19¼ x 13⅞ in. (50.1 x 34.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of Georgiana W. Sargent, in memory of John Osborne Sargent, 1924 (24.63.1051)

as in the interval Napoleon had fallen and Talleyrand had been instrumental in returning Louis XVIII to the throne. Examination reveals that the top of the column, with decorative motifs, has been repainted over the several letters of Napoleon's name and that below are traces of the A of [GR]AND. The smaller version of the picture at

Versailles—which belongs to a series of portrait reductions bought from the artist's widow—may reflect an early stage, as apparently the sitter is wearing, suspended from a ribbon, the plaque of the Légion d'Honneur (fig. 126.2).⁷ A drawing may be an aide-mémoire rather than a preliminary study (fig. 126.3).⁸

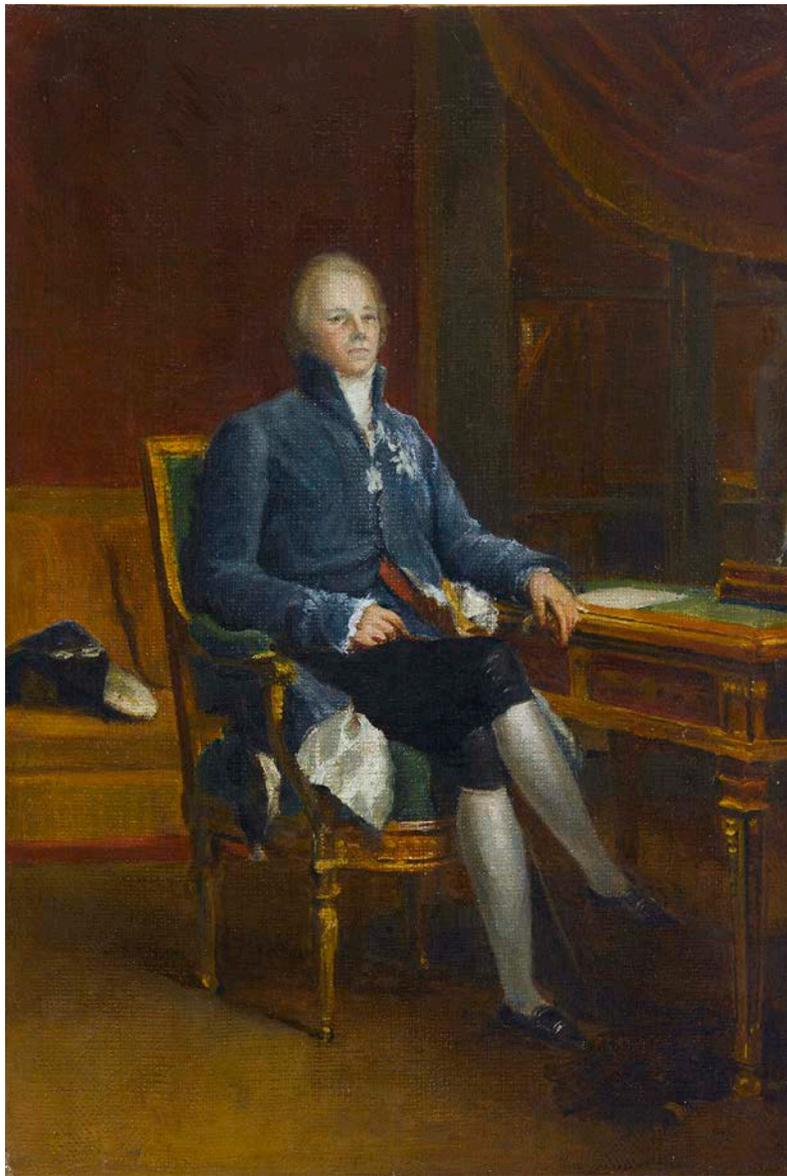


Fig. 126.2. François Gérard, *Charles Maurice de Talleyrand-Périgord, Prince de Bénévent*. Oil on canvas, 12 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 8 $\frac{1}{16}$ in. (32 x 22 cm). Musée National des Châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon (MV 4875)

The sitter's rigid upright posture when seated is characteristic. The powerful effect of command and control is enhanced by the height of his collars and the way in which the column of his neck is wrapped in drapery. His lifted chin and slightly drooping lids distance him from the viewer, and an impenetrable gaze shields his thoughts rather than revealing them. Goethe admired Gérard's characterization of Talleyrand, whom he called "the first diplomat of the century," stating that in this portrait he appears calmly impassive as he awaits the hazards of the impending moment.⁹

NOTES

1. Musée Condé, Chantilly, PE 426.
2. Gérard 1886, vol. 2, p. 119: "Vous rendez bien difficile d'aller dans votre atelier, puisqu'on ne peut, sans danger, dire ce qu'on y aime et ce qu'on admire." Waresquiel 2003, p. 766, dates the letter 1808.
3. The author with conservator Dorothy Mahon, October 21, 2015. The garland has been modified; several strokes scratched into the paint to the right suggest a ribbon or other attachment. Above and beside, toward the edge of the canvas, is an area of damage compromised by repaint where some of the letters would have been.



Fig. 126.3. François Gérard, *Charles Maurice de Talleyrand-Périgord, Prince de Bénévent*, ca. 1815. Graphite, 5% x 4% in. (13.7 x 11.7 cm). Musée des Beaux-Arts et d'Archéologie, Besançon (D.2075)

4. In 2014 Danielle Kisluk-Grosheide, curator in the Department of European Sculpture and Decorative Arts, drew our attention to a pair of identical *fauteuils* by Georges Jacob, master in 1765, one of which is stamped. She dates the chairs about 1770. See Costantino 1961, n.p., ill.
5. This information was provided by Kisluk-Grosheide in 2012. She dates the piece ca. 1762–65. For an illustration of a signed desk by Garnier, master in 1742, see Bennett and Sargentson 2008, p. 88, no. 19, ill. (color).
6. Waresquiel 2003, p. 766, but note that the eagle on the coat was not replaced with the profile of Henri IV, in accordance with a modification made during the Bourbon era.
7. Several other copies and variants are recorded, notably one by Marie Eléonore Godefroid, commissioned by Louis Philippe, which is at the French embassy in London. See Schwab-Pourbaix 2008, p. 65, fig. 4 (color), p. 71 nn. 28–29.
8. The drawings of Talleyrand and his wife (Musée des Beaux-Arts et d'Archéologie, Besançon, D 2040) are in the same material and on the same paper; the sheets are the same height (5% in. [13.7 cm]), while one is roughly half the width of the other. The soft handling and diagonal shading are similar, and there are chair studies on the verso of each. As one

portrait (cat. 125) dates not later than 1805 and the other no earlier than 1807, Gérard made the sketches later, perhaps when he made changes to Talleyrand's portrait in about 1815.

9. Goethe 1883, vol. 2, p. 478: “Nous voyons ici le premier diplomate du siècle, parfaitement calme, assis, attendant avec tranquillité les hasards de l'heure qui va s'écouler.” Goethe's description is based on his examination of Pierre Adam's engraving in Henri Gérard's volumes of engravings.

EX COLL.: the sitter (until d. 1838; possibly commissioned for Fr 6,000); his nephew, Edmond de Talleyrand-Périgord, duc de Talleyrand, duc de Dino, Paris and Zagán (Sagan), Lower Silesia (1838–d. 1872); Louis de Talleyrand-Périgord, duc de Talleyrand (1872–d. 1898); Boson de Talleyrand-Périgord, duc de Sagan (1898–d. 1910); Louis Hélié de Talleyrand-Périgord, duc de Sagan (1910–d. 1937), Zagán, where it remained throughout World War II and until 1947; Muzeum Narodowe, Warsaw (1947–67; by treaty to the duc de Sagan's daughter); Hélène-Violette de Talleyrand-Périgord, duchesse de Sagan, comtesse de Pourtalès, Mme Gaston Palewski, Château du Marais, Saint-Chéron (1969–d. 2003); her son, Comte Hélié Alfred Gérard de Pourtalès de Talleyrand, duc de Sagan, Château de Bandeville, Saint-Cyr-sous-Dourdain (2003–12; sold to Wildenstein); [Wildenstein, New York, 2012; sold to MMA].

EXHIBITIONS: Paris, Salon, October 14–?, 1808, no. 245 (as *Portrait en pied de S. A. Mgr. le Prince de Bénévent*). Vienna, Österreichisches Museum für Kunst und Industrie, *Wiener-Kongress-Ausstellung*, 1896, no. 1910 (lent by Louis Herzog von Talleyrand-Périgord-Valençay, herzog zu Sagan). Königlichen Haupt- und Residenzstadt Breslau, *Historische Ausstellung zur Jahrhundertfeier der Freiheitskriege Breslau*, 1913, no. 77 (lent by Howard Herzog von Sagan, duc de Talleyrand) (exh. cat.: Breslau 1913).

REFERENCES: “Beaux Arts,” *Journal du Commerce, de Politique et de Littérature*, no. 317, November 13, 1808, p. 1258; Victorin Fabre, “Salon de Peinture (sixième article),” *Mercure de France* 34, December 10, 1808, p. 520 (McWilliam 1991, no. 0985); Landon 1808, vol. 2, p. 53 (McWilliam 1991, no. 0993); Joachim Le Breton, “Rapport sur les beaux-arts,” 1808, p. 79 (reprinted, including edits made between 1810 and 1815, in Le Breton 1989, p. 124); *Suite* 1808, p. 31 (CD 1980, vol. 44, no. 1144; McWilliam 1991, no. 0934); Dominique Vivant Denon, letter to Napoleon Bonaparte, October 13, 1808 (published in Vivant Denon 1999, vol. 2, p. 1345, letter no. AN 75); Lenormant 1847, p. 182; Gérard 1852–57, vol. 1, n.p., ill.; Goethe 1883, vol. 2, pp. 478–79; Gérard 1886, vol. 2, pp. 119 n. 1, 405, 417; Latreille 1973, pp. 25, 59, 110–11, no. 49; Loisel-Légrand 1982, n.p., under no. 82; Sotheby's 1989, p. 18, under no. 25, ill. (color, installed in the Château de Sagan); Constans 1995, vol. 1, p. 364, under no. 2067, p. 368, under no. 2089, p. 403, under no. 2280; Waresquiel 2003, pp. 766–68, pl. I (color, first plate section); Waresquiel 2005, pp. 11, 82–84, under nos. 60–61, ill. pp. 10 (color, in the Château de Sagan), 82 (color); Galitz 2013, pp. 5, 39, 41–42, 46, 48 n. 84, figs. 2, 40, 45, 46 (color, overall and details), ill. on back cover (color detail).



Bibliography

- Adams 1976.** William Howard Adams, ed. *The Eye of Thomas Jefferson*. Exh. cat. Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1976.
- Adhémar 1953.** Jean Adhémar. *David: Naissance du génie d'un peintre*. Monte Carlo: R. Solar, 1953.
- Alexandre 1905.** Arsène Alexandre. "La collection E. Cronier." *Les Arts*, no. 47 (November 1905), pp. 2–32.
- Alexandre 1925.** Arsène Alexandre. "De Poussin à Corot." *La Renaissance* 5 (May 1925), pp. 185–200.
- Allen 1938.** Josephine L. Allen. "Drawings from the Biron Collection." *Bulletin of The Metropolitan Museum of Art* 33, no. 3 (1938), pp. 77–78.
- Amateur 1787.** *Lettre d'un amateur de Paris à un amateur de province sur le Salon de peinture de l'année 1787*. Paris, 1787.
- Amphigouri 1789.** *Les élèves au Salon, ou l'Amphigouri*. Paris: Lecomte, 1789.
- Ananoff 1980.** Alexandre Ananoff. *L'opera completa di Boucher*. Milan: Rizzoli, 1980.
- Ananoff and Wildenstein 1976.** Alexandre Ananoff, with the collaboration of Daniel Wildenstein. *François Boucher*. 2 vols. Lausanne: Bibliothèque des Arts, 1976.
- Andrews 1994.** Richard Mowery Andrews. *Law, Magistracy, and Crime in Old Regime Paris, 1735–1789*. 2 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- Apostle 2002.** Christopher Apostle. "Revolution in Art." *Sotheby's Preview* (January 2002), pp. 6–7, 114–16.
- Araújo 1997.** Agostinho Araújo, ed. *Jean Pillement (1728–1808) and Landscape Painting in 18th Century Portugal*. Exh. cat. Lisbon: Fundação Ricardo do Espírito Santo Silva, 1997.
- Arbor 1994.** Keith Arbor. "One Last Word: Benjamin Franklin and the Duplessis Portrait of 1778." *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 118 (July 1994), pp. 183–208.
- Ariosto 1974.** Ludovico Ariosto. *Orlando Furioso*. Translated by Guido Waldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1974.
- Arnaud 1886.** Jean Arnaud. *L'Académie de Saint-Luc à Rome: Considerations historiques depuis son origine jusqu'à nos jours*. Rome: Hermann Loescher, 1886.
- Arnaud 1930.** Odette Arnaud. "Catalogue de l'oeuvre de Subleyras." In *Les peintres français du XVIIIe siècle: Histoire des vies et catalogue des oeuvres*, ed. Louis Dimier, vol. 2, pp. 50–92. Paris: Editions G. van Oest, 1930.
- Arnoult 2014.** Dominique d'Arnoult. *Jean-Baptiste Perronneau, ca. 1715–1783: Un portraitiste dans l'Europe des Lumières*. Paris: Arthena, 2014.
- Arnoult 2017.** Dominique d'Arnoult. *Jean-Baptiste Perronneau: Portraitiste de génie dans l'Europe des Lumières*. Exh. cat. Musée des Beaux-Art d'Orléans. Paris: LienArt, 2017.
- Asse 1866.** Eugène Asse. "Vernet (Antoine-Charles-Horace)." In *Nouvelle biographie générale depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'à nos jours*, vol. 45, cols. 6–9. Paris: Firmin Didot Frères, 1866.
- Asse 1877.** Eugène Asse. *Mlle de Lespinasse et la marquise du Deffand*. Paris: G. Charpentier, 1877.
- Audin and Vial 1918–19.** Marius Audin and Eugène Vial. *Dictionnaire des artistes et ouvriers d'art du Lyonnais*. 2 vols. Paris: Bibliothèque d'Art et d'Archéologie, 1918–19.
- Auricchio 2007.** Laura Auricchio. "Self-Promotion in Adélaïde Labille-Guiard's 1785 'Self-Portrait with Two Students.'" *Art Bulletin* 89, no. 1 (2007), pp. 45–62.
- Auricchio 2009.** Laura Auricchio. *Adélaïde Labille-Guiard: Artist in the Age of Revolution*. Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2009.
- Avis 1785.** *Avis important d'une femme, sur le Salon de 1785, par Madame E.A.R.T.L.A.D.C.S., dédié aux femmes*. S.l., 1785.
- Bachaumont 1786.** Louis Petit de Bachaumont. *Mémoires secrets pour servir à l'histoire de la république des lettres en France [année 1785]*. Vol. 30. London: Adamson, 1786.
- Bachaumont 1789.** Louis Petit de Bachaumont. *Mémoires secrets pour servir à l'histoire de la république des lettres en France [année 1787]*. Vol. 36. London: Adamson, 1789.
- Baetjer 2009.** Katharine Baetjer, ed. *Watteau, Music, and Theater*. Exh. cat. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2009.
- Baetjer 2016a.** Katharine Baetjer. "Jean Pillement: Shipwrecks and the Sublime." *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 51 (2016), pp. 96–111.
- Baetjer 2016b.** Katharine Baetjer. "The Women of the French Royal Academy." In *Vigée Le Brun*, pp. 33–45. Exh. cat. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2016.
- Baetjer and Shelley 2011.** Katharine Baetjer and Marjorie Shelley. *Pastel Portraits: Images of 18th-Century Europe*. Exh. cat. *Bulletin of The Metropolitan Museum of Art* 68, no. 4. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2011.
- Baetjer et al. 2017.** Katharine Baetjer, with Marjorie Shelley, Charlotte Hale, and Cynthia Moyer. "Benjamin Franklin, Ambassador to France: Portraits by Joseph Siffred Duplessis." *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 52 (2017), pp. 56–71.
- Bagatelle 1988.** *La Folie d'Artois*. Exh. cat. Château de Bagatelle. Paris, 1988.
- Bailey 1983.** Colin B. Bailey. "Le marquis de Véri collectionneur." *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français* (1983), pp. 67–83.
- Bailey 1988.** Colin B. Bailey, ed. *Ange-Laurent de La Live de Jully: A Facsimile Reprint of the Catalogue historique (1764) and the Catalogue raisonné des tableaux (March 5, 1770)*. New York: Acanthus Books, 1988.
- Bailey 1992.** Colin B. Bailey. *The Loves of the Gods: Mythological Painting from Watteau to David*. Exh. cat. Paris, Galeries Nationales du Grand Palais; Philadelphia Museum of Art; Fort Worth, Kimbell Art Museum. New York: Rizzoli, 1992.
- Bailey 2002.** Colin B. Bailey. *Patriotic Taste: Collecting Modern Art in Pre-Revolutionary Paris*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002.
- Bailey 2003.** Colin B. Bailey, ed. *The Age of Watteau, Chardin, and Fragonard: Masterpieces of French Genre Painting*. Exh. cat. Ottawa, National Gallery of Canada; Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art; Berlin, Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003.
- Bailey 2005.** Colin B. Bailey. "Marie-Jeanne Buzeau, Madame Boucher (1716–96)." *The Burlington Magazine* 147 (April 2005), pp. 224–34.
- Bailey 2011.** Colin B. Bailey. *Fragonard's Progress of Love at the Frick Collection*. New York: Frick Collection, 2011.

- Baillio 1982.** Joseph Baillio. *Elisabeth Louise Vigée Le Brun, 1755–1842*. Exh. cat. Fort Worth: Kimbell Art Museum, 1982.
- Baillio 1984.** Joseph Baillio. “French Rococo Painting: A Notable Exhibition in Atlanta.” *Apollo* 119 (January 1984), pp. 16–23.
- Baillio 1988.** Joseph Baillio. “Une artiste méconnue: Rose Adélaïde Ducreux.” *L’Oeil*, no. 399 (October 1988), pp. 20–27.
- Baillio 1989.** Joseph Baillio. *The Winds of Revolution*. Exh. cat. New York: Wildenstein, 1989.
- Baillio 1992.** Joseph Baillio. “Hubert Robert’s Decorations for the Château de Bagatelle.” *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 27 (1992), pp. 149–82.
- Baillio 1993.** Joseph Baillio. “Les portraits du dauphin et de la dauphine par Greuze.” *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 122 (October 1993), pp. 135–48.
- Baillio 1995.** Joseph Baillio. “Addendum to ‘Hubert Robert’s Decorations for the Château de Bagatelle.’” *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 30 (1995), p. 103.
- Baillio 1996.** Joseph Baillio. “Vie et oeuvre de Marie Victoire Lemoine (1754–1820).” *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 127 (April 1996), pp. 125–64.
- Baillio and Salmon 2015.** Joseph Baillio and Xavier Salmon, eds. *Elisabeth Louise Vigée Le Brun*. Exh. cat. Paris, Grand Palais. Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 2015.
- Baillio et al. 2016.** Joseph Baillio, Katharine Baetjer, and Paul Lang, eds. *Vigée Le Brun*. Exh. cat. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art; Ottawa, National Gallery of Canada. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2016.
- Bajou 2007.** Valérie Bajou. “Visages de Gros: A propos de quelques portraits d’artistes de l’époque révolutionnaire.” In *Jean-Baptiste Wicar et son temps, 1762–1834*, ed. Maria Teresa Caracciolo and Gennaro Toscano, pp. 409–26. Villeneuve d’Ascq: Presses Universitaires du Septentrion, 2007.
- Ballot 1914.** Marie-Juliette Ballot. *Une élève de David: La comtesse Benoist, l’Emilie de Demoustier, 1768–1826*. Paris: Plon-Nourrit, 1914.
- Barcelona 2006.** *Grandes maestros de la pintura europea de The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Nueva York: De El Greco a Cézanne*. Exh. cat. Barcelona: Museu Nacional d’Art de Catalunya, 2006.
- Bardon 1963.** Henry Bardon. “Les peintures à sujets antiques au XVIIIe siècle d’après les livrets de Salons.” *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 61 (April 1963), pp. 217–47.
- Barnaud and Sjöberg 1936.** Germaine Barnaud and Yves Sjöberg, eds. *Gros, ses amis, ses élèves*. Exh. cat. Paris: Petit Palais, 1936.
- Barras 1895–96.** Paul Barras. *Memoirs of Barras, Member of the Directorate*. 4 vols. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1895–96.
- Barthélemy 1801.** Jean Jacques Barthélemy. *Voyage en Italie de M. l’Abbé Barthélemy*. Paris: Buisson, 1801.
- Barthélémy 1999.** Sophie Barthélémy. *Dessins français XVIIe–XIXe siècles: Florilège de la collection du Musée des Beaux-Arts de Quimper*. Exh. cat. Quimper: Musée des Beaux-Arts, 1999.
- Basan & Joullain 1782.** *Catalogue des différents objets de curiosités dans les sciences et arts, qui composoient le cabinet de feu M. le Marquis de Menars*. Sale cat. Basan & Joullain, Paris, March 18–April 6, 1782.
- Beau 1968.** Marguerite Beau. *La collection des dessins d’Hubert Robert au Musée de Valence*. Lyon: Audin, 1968.
- Bedford 2011.** Christopher Bedford. “High Fidelity? Deception and Seduction, Word and Image in Boucher’s *Jupiter in the Guise of Diana Seducing Callisto*.” *Word & Image: A Journal of Verbal/Visual Enquiry* 27, no. 1 (2011), pp. 47–64.
- Belleudy 1913.** Jules Belleudy. *J.-S. Duplessis, peintre du roi, 1725–1802*. Chartres: Durand, 1913.
- Bellier de la Chavignerie 1865.** Emile Bellier de la Chavignerie. *Les artistes français du XVIIIe siècle oubliés ou dédaignés*. Paris: Jules Renouard, 1865.
- Benhamou 2009.** Reed Benhamou. *Regulating the Académie: Art, Rules and Power in Ancien Régime France*. Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2009.
- Benhamou 2015.** Reed Benhamou. *Charles-Joseph Natoire and the Académie de France in Rome*. Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2015.
- Benisovich 1958.** Michel N. Benisovich. “Carle Vernet as a Historical Painter.” *Bulletin of The Metropolitan Museum of Art* 16, no. 6 (1958), pp. 184–86.
- Bennett and Sargentson 2008.** Shelley M. Bennett and Carolyn Sargentson, eds. *French Art of the Eighteenth Century at the Huntington*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008.
- Béquille 1791.** *La béquille de Voltaire au Salon, seconde et dernière promenade . . . Paris, an III de la liberté*. Paris: Bignon, 1791.
- Beretta 2001.** Marco Beretta. *Imaging a Career in Science: The Iconography of Antoine Laurent Lavoisier*. Canton, Mass.: Science History Publications, 2001.
- Berger 1999.** Robert W. Berger. *Public Access to Art in Paris: A Documentary History from the Middle Ages to 1800*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999.
- Besnard and Wildenstein 1928.** Albert Besnard and Georges Wildenstein. *La Tour: La vie et l’oeuvre de l’artiste*. Paris: Les Beaux-Arts, 1928.
- Billecocq 1987.** André Billecocq. *La séparation amiable du prince et de la princesse de Talleyrand*. Paris: Clavreuil, 1987.
- Bindman and Weston 2011.** David Bindman and Helen Weston. “Court and Cities: Fantasies of Domination.” In *The Image of the Black in Western Art*, ed. David Bindman and Henry Louis Gates Jr., vol. 3, pt. 3, pp. 125–70. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2011.
- Biver 1933.** Paul Biver. *Histoire du château de Bellevue*. Paris: G. Enault, 1933.
- Bjurström 1982.** Per Bjurström. *French Drawings: Eighteenth Century*. Stockholm: Nationalmuseum, 1982.
- Blanc 2006.** Olivier Blanc. *Portraits de femmes: Artistes et modèles à l’époque de Marie-Antoinette*. Paris: D. Carpentier, 2006.
- Blum 1919.** André Blum. *Madame Vigée-Lebrun, peintre des grandes dames du XVIIIe siècle*. Paris: H. Piazza, 1919.
- Blumenfeld 2013a.** Carole Blumenfeld. *Une facétie de Fragonard: Les révélations d’un dessin retrouvé*. Montreuil: Editions Gourcuff-Gradenigo, 2013.
- Blumenfeld 2013b.** Carole Blumenfeld. “Une nouvelle figure de fantaisie de Fragonard.” *L’Objet d’Art*, no. 491 (June 2013), pp. 52–57.
- Bobé 1933.** Louis Bobé. *Mémoires de Charles Claude Flahaut comte de la Billarderie d’Angviller: Notes sur les Mémoires de Marmontel publiés d’après le manuscrit by Louis Bobé*. Copenhagen: Levin & Munksgaard, 1933.
- Bode 1900.** Wilhelm von Bode. *Gemäldesammlung des Herrn Rudolf Kann in Paris*. Vienna: Gesellschaft für Vervielfältigende Kunst, 1900.
- Boerlin-Brodbeck 1973.** Yvonne Boerlin-Brodbeck. “Antoine Watteau und das Theater.” PhD diss., Universität Basel, 1973.
- Bollea 1942.** Luigi Cesare Bollea. *Lorenzo Pecheux, maestro di pittura nella R. Accademia delle Belle Arti di Torino*. Turin: Vissio, 1942.
- Bolten 2007.** Jaap Bolten. *Abraham Bloemaert, c. 1565–1651: The Drawings*. 2 vols. [Netherlands]: J. Bolten, 2007.
- Bonnardet 1938.** E. Bonnardet. “Comment un oratorien vint en aide à un grand peintre.” *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 19 (1938), pp. 311–15.
- Bonnefoy de Bouyon 1787.** Louis Bonnefoy de Bouyon. *Lanlaire au Salon académique de peinture*. Paris: Marchands de Nouveautés, 1787.

- Bonnet 2012.** Marie-Josèphe Bonnet. *Liberté, égalité, exclusion: Femmes peintres en Révolution, 1770–1804*. Paris: Vendémiaire, 2012.
- Bordeaux 1976.** Jean-Luc Bordeaux. “The Epitome of the Pastoral Genre in Boucher’s Oeuvre: ‘The Fountain of Love’ and ‘The Bird Catcher’ from ‘The Noble Pastoral.’” *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 3 (1976), pp. 75–101.
- Bordeaux 1984.** Jean-Luc Bordeaux. *François Le Moyne and His Generation, 1688–1737*. Neuilly: Arthena, 1984.
- Bordeaux 1989.** *Le Port des lumières*, vol. 1, *La peinture à Bordeaux, 1750–1800*. Exh. cat. Bordeaux, Musée des Beaux-Arts. Bordeaux: Blake & Co., 1989.
- Bordes 1979.** Philippe Bordes. “Dessins perdus de David, dont un pour ‘la Mort de Socrate,’ lithographiés par Debret.” *Bulletin de la Société de l’Histoire de l’Art Français* (1979), pp. 179–84.
- Bordes 1983.** Philippe Bordes. *Le Serment du Jeu de Paume de Jacques-Louis David: Le peintre, son milieu et son temps de 1789 à 1792*. Paris: Editions de la Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1983.
- Bordes 1992.** Philippe Bordes. “Jacques-Louis David’s Anglophilia on the Eve of the French Revolution.” *The Burlington Magazine* 134 (August 1992), pp. 482–90.
- Bordes 2003.** Philippe Bordes. *Portraiture in Paris around 1800: Cooper Penrose by Jacques-Louis David*. San Diego: Timken Museum of Art, 2003.
- Bordes 2005.** Philippe Bordes. *Jacques-Louis David: Empire to Exile*. Exh. cat. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum; Williamstown, Mass., Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005.
- Bordes 2009.** Philippe Bordes. “Interpreting Portraits: Images of a Society or the Self?” In *Dialogues in Art History, from Mesopotamian to Modern: Readings for a New Century*, ed. Elizabeth Cropper, pp. 305–13. Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 2009.
- Bordes 2017.** Philippe Bordes. “Buying against the Grain: American Collections and French Neoclassical Paintings.” In *America Collects Eighteenth-Century French Painting*, pp. 101–19. Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 2017.
- Bottineau 1962.** Yves Bottineau. *L’art d’Ange-Jacques Gabriel à Fontainebleau (1735–1774)*. Paris: E. de Boccard, 1962.
- Boyd 1955.** Julian P. Boyd, ed. *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*. Vol. 12. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1955.
- Boyer 1949.** Ferdinand Boyer. *Catalogue raisonné de l’oeuvre de Charles Natoire, peintre du roi (1700–1777)*. Paris: Armand Colin, 1949.
- Boyer 1954.** Ferdinand Boyer. “Jean-Joseph de Laborde, protecteur de F.-X. Fabre et sa collection confisquée en 1794.” *Bulletin de la Société de l’Histoire de l’Art Français* (1954), pp. 214–26.
- Brejon de Lavergnée et al. 1986.** Arnauld Brejon de Lavergnée, Jacques Foucart, and Nicole Reynaud. *Catalogue sommaire illustré des peintures du Musée du Louvre et du Musée d’Orsay*, vol. 4, *Ecole française, L–Z*. Paris: Editions de la Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1986.
- Brème 2003.** Dominique Brème. *Nicolas de Largillière, 1656–1746*. Exh. cat. Paris, Musée Jacquemart-André. Paris: Culture Espaces, 2003.
- Bremer-David 2011.** Charissa Bremer-David, ed. *Paris: Life & Luxury in the Eighteenth Century*. Exh. cat. Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2011.
- Breslau 1913.** *Katalog der Historischen Ausstellung zur Jahrhundertfeier der Freiheitskriege Breslau*. Exh. cat. Breslau: Königlichen Haupt- und Residenzstadt, 1913.
- Breteuil 1986.** *Un grand collectionneur sous Louis XV: Le cabinet de Jacques-Laure de Breteuil, bailli de L’Ordre de Malte 1723–1785*. Exh. cat. Breteuil: Château de Breteuil, 1986.
- Brière 1909.** Gaston Brière. “Catalogue critique des oeuvres d’artistes français réunies à l’exposition de cent portraits de femmes du XVIIIe siècle.” *Bulletin de la Société de l’Histoire de l’Art Français* (1909), pp. 118–44.
- Brière 1911.** Gaston Brière. “Note sur des portraits de Gros, Girodet et Gérard.” *Bulletin de la Société de l’Histoire de l’Art Français* (1911), pp. 209–16.
- Brière 1924.** Gaston Brière. *Musée du Louvre: Catalogue des peintures exposées dans les galeries*, vol. 1, *École française*. Paris: Editions des Musées Nationaux, 1924.
- Brière 1945–46.** Gaston Brière. “Sur David portraitiste.” *Bulletin de la Société de l’Histoire de l’Art Français* (1945–46), pp. 168–79.
- Brookner 1956.** Anita Brookner, “Jean-Baptiste Greuze.” *The Burlington Magazine* 98 (May 1956), pp. 156–62; 98 (June 1956), pp. 192–99.
- Brookner 1967.** Anita Brookner. “J. L. David—A Sentimental Classicist.” In *Stil und Überlieferung in der Kunst des Abendlandes*, vol. 1, pp. 184–90. Berlin: G. Mann, 1967.
- Brookner 1972.** Anita Brookner. *Greuze: The Rise and Fall of an Eighteenth-Century Phenomenon*. Greenwich, Conn.: New York Graphic Society, 1972.
- Brookner 1980.** Anita Brookner. *Jacques-Louis David*. London: Chatto & Windus, 1980.
- Brugerolles et al. 2013.** Emmanuelle Brugerolles, Georges Brunel, and Camille Debrabant. *The Male Nude: Eighteenth-Century Drawings from the Paris Academy*. Exh. cat. London: The Wallace Collection, 2013.
- Brunel 1984.** Georges Brunel. “Boucher, neveu de Rameau.” In *Diderot & l’art de Boucher à David: Les Salons, 1759–1781*, ed. Marie-Catherine Sahut and Nathalie Volle, pp. 101–9. Paris: Editions des Musées Nationaux, 1984.
- Bryson 1981.** Norman Bryson. *Word and Image: French Painting of the Ancien Régime*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981.
- Bukdahl 1980–82.** Else Marie Bukdahl. *Diderot: Critique d’art*. 2 vols. Copenhagen: Rosenkilde et Bagger, 1980–82.
- Bulgari 1827.** Stamati Bulgari. *Examen moral des principaux tableaux de la Galerie du Luxembourg en 1818, et considérations sur l’état actuel de la peinture en France*. Paris, 1827.
- Bürger 1860.** W. Bürger [Théophile Thoré]. “Exposition de tableaux de l’école française ancienne tirés de collections d’amateurs.” *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 7 (September 15, 1860), pp. 333–58; 8 (November 15, 1860), pp. 228–40.
- Burrollet 1980.** Thérèse Burrollet. *Musée Cognacq-Jay*, vol. 1, *Peintures et dessins*. Paris: Le Musée, 1980.
- Burrollet 2004.** Thérèse Burrollet. *Musée Cognacq-Jay, catalogue des collections: Les peintures*. Paris: Paris Musées, 2004.
- Burroughs 1931.** Bryson Burroughs. “A Picture by Jacques Louis David.” *Bulletin of The Metropolitan Museum of Art* 26, no. 6 (1931), pp. 140–44.
- Burroughs and Wehle 1932.** Bryson Burroughs and Harry B. Wehle. “The Michael Friedsam Collection: Paintings of the XVIII and XIX Centuries.” *Bulletin of The Metropolitan Museum of Art* 27, no. 11.2 (1932), pp. 50–52.
- Burty 1860.** Philippe Burty. *Catalogue de tableaux et dessins de l’école française, principalement du XVIIIe siècle, tirés de collections d’amateurs*. Exh. cat. Paris, Galerie Martinet. Paris: Association des Artistes, 1860.
- Butel 1991.** Paul Butel. *Les dynasties bordelaises de Colbert à Chaban*. Paris: Perrin, 1991.
- Cailleux 1960.** Jean Cailleux. “Fragonard as Painter of the Colombe Sisters [L’art du dix-huitième siècle: An advertisement supplement].” *The Burlington Magazine* 102 (September 1960), pp. i–ix.
- Campan 1823.** Jeanne Louise Henriette Campan. *Memoirs of the Private Life of Marie Antoinette, Queen of France and Navarre*. 2 vols. London: H. Holburn, 1823.

- Cantinelli 1930.** Richard Cantinelli. *Jacques-Louis David, 1748–1825*. Paris: G. van Oest, 1930.
- Caroli 2003.** Flavio Caroli. *Il gran teatro del mondo: L'anima e il volto del settecento*. Exh. cat. Milan, Palazzo Reale. Milan: Skira, 2003.
- Caude et al. 2016.** Elisabeth Caude, Jérôme de La Gorce, and Béatrix Saule, eds. *Fêtes & divertissements à la cour*. Exh. cat. Château de Versailles. Paris: Gallimard, 2016.
- Caviglia-Brunel 2003.** Susanna Caviglia-Brunel. "Le voyage d'étude en Italie du nord d'un pensionnaire du roi au début du XVIII^e siècle, Charles-Joseph Natoire." *Cahiers d'Histoire de l'Art*, no. 1 (2003), pp. 109–25.
- Caviglia-Brunel 2012.** Susanna Caviglia-Brunel. *Charles-Joseph Natoire, 1700–1777*. Paris: Arthena, 2012.
- Cayeux 1985.** Jean de Cayeux. *Les Hubert Robert de la collection Veyrenc au Musée de Valence*. Valence: Le Musée, 1985.
- Cayeux 1987.** Jean de Cayeux. *Hubert Robert et les jardins*. Paris: Herscher, 1987.
- Cayeux 1988.** Jean de Cayeux. "Jeux d'eau pour une salle de bains." *L'Objet d'Art* (June 1988), pp. 63–69.
- Cayeux and Boulot 1989.** Jean de Cayeux, with the collaboration of Catherine Boulot. *Hubert Robert*. Paris: Fayard, 1989.
- CD 1980.** *Collection Deloynes: Collection de pièces sur les beaux-arts (1673–1808)*. Microfiche. 63 vols. Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, 1980.
- Chabaud 2003.** Jean-Paul Chabaud. *Joseph-Siffred Duplessis, 1725–1802*. Mazan: Etudes Comtadines, 2003.
- Chaix d'Est-Ange 1917.** Gustave Chaix d'Est-Ange. *Dictionnaire des familles françaises anciennes et notables à la fin du XIX^e siècle*. Vol. 15. Evreux: Hérissey, 1917.
- Charageat 1953.** Marguerite Charageat. "Vénus donnant un message à Mercure par Pigalle." *Revue des Arts* 3 (December 1953), pp. 217–22.
- Charageat 1954.** Madeleine Charageat. "Les souvenirs de George Sand." *Bulletin du Musée Carnavalet* 7, no. 2 (1954), pp. 3–15.
- Charrière de Sévery 1925.** W. de Charrière de Sévery. "George-François (-Francis) Grand: Premier mari de la princesse de Talleyrand, quelques lettres de lui écrites de 1802 à 1808." *Revue Historique Vaudoise* 33 (1925), pp. 1–10.
- Chartres 1869.** *Exposition Départementale Industrie-Antiquités-Beaux-Arts: Catalogue de la partie archéologique & artistique*. Exh. cat. 2d ed. Chartres: Georges Durand, 1869.
- Chaussard 1806.** Pierre Jean-Baptiste Chaussard. *Le Pausanias français: Etat des arts du dessin en France à l'ouverture du XIX^e siècle: Salon de 1806*. Paris: F. Buisson, 1806.
- Chaussard 1863–64.** Pierre Jean-Baptiste Chaussard. "Notice historique sur Louis David, peintre." *Revue Universelle des Arts* 18 (1863–64), pp. 114–28.
- Chauvin 1825.** Auguste Chauvin. *Salon de mil huit cent vingt-quatre*. Paris: Pillot, 1825.
- Cheney et al. 2000.** Liana De Girolami Cheney, Alicia Craig Faxon, and Kathleen Lucey Russo. *Self-Portraits by Women Painters*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000.
- Chénier 1872.** André Chénier. *Oeuvres en prose de André Chénier*. Ed. L. Becq de Fouquières. New ed. Paris: Charpentier, 1872.
- Chery 1791a.** Philippe Chery. *Explication et critique impartiale de toutes les peintures, sculptures, gravures, dessins, &c., exposés au Louvre d'après le décret de l'Assemblée Nationale, au mois de septembre 1791*. Paris, 1791.
- Chery 1791b.** Philippe Chery. *Lettres analytiques, critiques et philosophiques, sur les tableaux du Sallon*. Paris, 1791.
- Choullier 1883.** Ernest Choullier. "Les Trudaine." *Revue de Champagne et de Brie* 14 (1883), pp. 465–70.
- Claeys 2011.** Thierry Claeys, ed. *Dictionnaire biographique des financiers en France au XVIII^e siècle*. 2 vols. Paris: S.P.M., 2011.
- Clarke 1986.** T. H. Clarke. *The Rhinoceros from Dürer to Stubbs, 1515–1799*. London: Sotheby's Publications, 1986.
- Clément 1880.** Charles Clément. *Prud'hon: Sa vie, ses oeuvres et sa correspondance*. 3d ed. Paris: Didier, 1880.
- Clément de Ris 1856.** Louis Clément de Ris. "Le Port de Brest, par Blarenberghe." *L'Artiste* 2 (1856), p. 55.
- Clifford 2012.** Timothy Clifford, ed. *Carlo Labruzzi: The Grand Tour*. Exh. cat. London: Simon C. Dickinson Ltd., 2012.
- Cochin 1876.** Charles-Nicolas Cochin. "Essai sur la vie de Chardin." *Précis Analytique des Travaux de l'Académie des Sciences, Belles-Lettres et Arts de Rouen* 78 (1876), pp. 417–41.
- Coffinier 1983.** André Coffinier. "Conférence: Le Général Gérard, maréchal et pair de France." *Société Académique d'Archéologie, Sciences et Arts du Département de l'Oise* 133, no. 179 (December 6, 1983).
- Cognacq 1952.** *Vente aux enchères publiques après décès de Monsieur Gabriel Cognacq*. Sale cat. Galerie Charpentier, Paris, May 14, 1952.
- Cohen 2004.** Sarah R. Cohen. "Chardin's Fur: Painting, Materialism, and the Question of Animal Soul." *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 38, no. 1 (2004), pp. 19–61.
- Conisbee 1976.** Philip Conisbee. *Claude Joseph Vernet, 1714–1789*. Exh. cat. London: Greater London Council, 1976.
- Conisbee 1981.** Philip Conisbee. *Painting in Eighteenth-Century France*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1981.
- Conisbee 1987.** Philip Conisbee. "Paris, Musée du Luxembourg: Subleyras." *The Burlington Magazine* 129 (June 1987), pp. 414–17.
- Conisbee 2009.** Philip Conisbee, ed. *French Paintings of the Fifteenth through the Eighteenth Century*. Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 2009.
- Constans 1995.** Claire Constans. *Musée National du Château de Versailles: Les peintures*. 3 vols. Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1995.
- Coquery 2013.** Emmanuel Coquery. *Charles Errard, ca. 1601–1689: La noblesse du décor*. Paris: Arthena, 2013.
- Coquery 2016.** Emmanuel Coquery. "Charles Errard e la fondazione dell'Accademia." In *350 ans de création: Les artistes de l'Académie de France à Rome de Louis XIV à nos jours*, ed. Jérôme Delaplanche, pp. 29–35. Exh. cat. Milan: Officina Libraria, 2016.
- Corboz 1978.** André Corboz. *Peinture militante et architecture révolutionnaire: A propos du thème du tunnel chez Hubert Robert*. Basel: Birkhäuser, 1978.
- Cordey 1939.** Jean Cordey. *Inventaire des biens de Madame de Pompadour rédigé après son décès*. Paris: F. Lefrançois, 1939.
- Cortequoise 1990.** Bruno Cortequoise. *Mesdames de France: Les filles de Louis XV*. Paris: France Loisirs, 1990.
- Costantino 1961.** Ruth T. Costantino. *How to Know French Antiques*. New York: C. N. Potter, 1961.
- Couigny 1890.** Adolphe Couigny and Gaston Couigny, eds. *Dictionnaire des parlementaires français*. 5 vols. Paris: Bouloton, 1890.
- Coupin 1827.** Pierre Alexandre Coupin. *Essai sur J. L. David, peintre d'histoire*. Paris: Jules Renouard, 1827.
- Courajod 1874.** Louis Courajod. *Histoire de l'Ecole des Beaux-Arts au XVIII^e siècle: L'Ecole Royale des Elèves Protégés*. Nogent-le-Roi: Jacques Laget, 1874.
- Courcelles 1826.** Jean-Baptiste Pierre Jullien de Courcelles. *Histoire généalogique et héraldique des pairs de France*. Vol. 6. Paris: Courcelles, 1826.
- Coyppel 1751.** Charles Antoine Coyppel (after Anatole de Montaiglon). *Jugemens sur les principaux ouvrages exposés au Louvre, le 27 août 1751*. Amsterdam, 1751.
- Critès 1785.** Alexandre Critès [pseud. of Antoine Joseph Gorsas]. *Deuxième promenade de Critès au Sallon*. London, 1785.
- Crow 1985.** Thomas E. Crow. *Painters and Public Life in Eighteenth-Century Paris*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985.

- Crow 1994.** Thomas E. Crow. "A Male Republic: Bonds between Men in the Art and Life of Jacques-Louis David." In *Femininity and Masculinity in Eighteenth-Century Art and Culture*, ed. Gill Perry and Michael Rossington, pp. 204–18. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994.
- Crow 1995.** Thomas Crow. *Emulation: Making Artists for Revolutionary France*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995.
- Cummings 1974.** Frederick Cummings. "La peinture sous Louis XVI." In *De David à Delacroix: La peinture française de 1774 à 1830*, pp. 31–44. Exh. cat. Paris: Editions des Musées Nationaux, 1974.
- Cuzin 1987.** Jean-Pierre Cuzin. *Jean-Honoré Fragonard: Vie et oeuvre: Catalogue complet des peintures*. Fribourg: Office du Livre, 1987.
- Cuzin 1988.** Jean-Pierre Cuzin. *Jean-Honoré Fragonard: Life and Work: Complete Catalogue of the Oil Paintings*. New York: Abrams, 1988.
- Cuzin 1991.** Jean-Pierre Cuzin. "Le Déjeuner de chasse de Jean-François de Troy (1679–1752) peint pour Fontainebleau." *Revue du Louvre* 41 (March 1991), pp. 43–48.
- Cuzin 2001.** Jean-Pierre Cuzin. "Fragonard: Quelques nouveautés et quelques questions." In *Mélanges en hommage à Pierre Rosenberg: Peintures et dessins en France et en Italie XVIIe–XVIIIe siècles*, pp. 168–78. Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 2001.
- Cuzin and Rosenberg 1990.** Jean-Pierre Cuzin and Pierre Rosenberg. *J. H. Fragonard e H. Robert a Roma*. Exh. cat. Rome, Villa Medici. Rome: Palombi, 1990.
- Dacier 1910.** Emile Dacier. *Catalogues de ventes et livrets de Salons illustrés par Gabriel de Saint-Aubin*, vol. 2, *Livret du Salon de 1777*. Paris: Société de Reproduction de Dessins de Maîtres, 1910.
- Dacier 1911.** Emile Dacier. *Catalogues de ventes et livrets de Salons illustrés par Gabriel de Saint-Aubin*, vol. 3, *Livret du Salon de 1761*. Paris: Société de Reproduction de Dessins de Maîtres, 1911.
- Dacier et al. 1921–29.** Emile Dacier, Albert Vuaflart, and Jacques Hérold. *Jean de Jullienne et les gravures de Watteau au XVIIIe siècle*. 4 vols. Paris, 1921–29.
- Daintrey 1969.** Adrian Daintrey. *Painters on Painting*, vol. 1, *On Fragonard's "Le billet Doux"*. London: Cassell, 1969.
- Darras 1933.** Eugène Darras. "La famille Bergeret de l'Isle-Adam et de Frouville (Seine-et-Oise)." *Mémoires de la Société Historique et Archéologique de l'Arrondissement de Pontoise et du Vexin* 42 (1933), pp. 65–92.
- David 1880–82.** J. L. Jules David. *Le peintre Louis David, 1748–1825*. 2 vols. Paris: V. Havard, 1880–82.
- Dayot 1899.** Armand Dayot. *L'image de la femme*. Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1899.
- Dayot and Guiffrey 1907.** Armand Dayot and Jean Guiffrey. *J.-B. Siméon Chardin, avec un catalogue complet de l'oeuvre du maître*. Paris: H. Piazza, 1907.
- Dayot and Vaillat 1908.** Armand Dayot and Léandre Vaillat. *L'oeuvre de J.-B.-S. Chardin et de J.-H. Fragonard*. Paris: F. Gittler, 1908.
- Dayot et al. 1910.** Armand Dayot, C. Phillips, Léandre Vaillat, and Robert Dell. *Maîtres du XVIIIe siècle: Cent portraits de femmes des écoles anglaise et française*. Paris: Petit, 1910.
- Debrie 1991.** Christine Debrie. *Maurice-Quentin de La Tour: "Peintre de portraits au pastel," 1704–1788*. Thonon-les-Bains: L'Albaron-Société Présence du Livre, 1991.
- Debrie and Salmon 2000.** Christine Debrie and Xavier Salmon. *Maurice-Quentin de La Tour: Prince de pastellistes*. Paris: Somogy, 2000.
- Delahante 1881.** Adrien Delahante. *Une famille de finance au XVIIIe siècle*. 2 vols. 2d ed. Paris: Hetzel, 1881.
- Delécluze 1855.** Etienne Jean Delécluze. *Louis David, son école et son temps*. Paris: Didier, 1855.
- Delécluze 1983.** Etienne Jean Delécluze. *Louis David, son école et son temps*. Ed. Jean-Pierre Mouilleseaux. Paris: Macula, 1983.
- Démoris 1991.** René Démoris. *Chardin, le chair et l'objet*. Paris: A. Biro, 1991.
- Démoris 2006.** René Démoris. "Boucher, Diderot, Rousseau." In *Rethinking Boucher*, ed. Melissa Hyde and Mark Ledbury, pp. 201–28. Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2006.
- Desmarest 2008.** Bruno Desmarest. *Didier Aaron: Catalogue X*. Exh. cat. Paris: Didier Aaron, 2008.
- Desportes 1854.** Claude-François Desportes, "La vie de M. Desportes, peintre d'animaux, écrite par son fils, conseiller de l'Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture. Lue en l'assemblée du 3 août 1748." In *Mémoires inédits sur la vie et les ouvrages des membres de l'Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture . . .*, vol. 2, pp. 98–113. Paris, 1854.
- Detroit 1975.** *French Painting, 1774–1830: The Age of Revolution*. Exh. cat. Detroit Institute of Arts; New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1975.
- Dézallier d'Argenville 1755.** Antoine-Nicolas Dézallier d'Argenville. *Voyage pittoresque des environs de Paris, ou Description des maisons royales . . .* Paris: DeBure, 1755.
- Dézallier d'Argenville 1762.** Antoine-Nicolas Dézallier d'Argenville. *Abrégé de la vie des plus fameux peintres*. 4 vols. Paris: DeBure, 1762.
- Diderot 1771.** Denis Diderot. *Encyclopédie, ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers*, vol. 8, *Miroitier—Sculpture*. Paris: Briasson, 1771.
- Diderot 1957–67.** Denis Diderot. *Salons*. Ed. Jean Seznec and Jean Adhémar. 4 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957–67.
- Diderot 1975–83.** Denis Diderot. *Salons*. Ed. Jean Seznec and Jean Adhémar. 3 vols. 2d ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975–83.
- DiFederico 1983.** Frank DiFederico. *The Mosaics of Saint Peter's: Decorating the New Basilica*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1983.
- Dilke 1899a.** Emilia F.-S. Dilke. "Chardin et ses oeuvres à Potsdam et à Stockholm (premier article)." *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 22 (1899), pp. 177–90.
- Dilke 1899b.** Emilia F.-S. Dilke. *French Painters of the XVIIIth Century*. London: George Bell & Sons, 1899.
- Donovan 1993.** Arthur Donovan. *Antoine Lavoisier: Science, Administration, and Revolution*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1993.
- Dorbec 1907.** Prosper Dorbec. "David portrait-iste." *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 37 (1907), pp. 306–30.
- Doria 1929.** Arnauld Doria. *Louis Tocqué*. Paris: Les Beaux-Arts, 1929.
- Doria 1934.** Arnauld Doria. *Gabrielle Capet*. Paris: Les Beaux-Arts, 1934.
- Du Pont de Nemours 1908.** Pierre Samuel Du Pont de Nemours. *Lettres sur les Salons de 1773, 1777 et 1779*. Paris: Annales de l'Art Français, 1908.
- Dubin 2010.** Nina L. Dubin. *Futures & Ruins: Eighteenth-Century Paris and the Art of Hubert Robert*. Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2010.
- Duchesne 1909.** Henri Gaston Duchesne. *Histoire du Bois de Boulogne: Le Château de Bagatelle (1715–1908)*. Paris: J. Schemit, 1909.
- Dulaure 1787.** Jacques Antoine Dulaure. *Critique des quinze critiques du Salon, ou Notices faites pour donner une idée de ces brochures*. Paris: Gattelier, 1787.
- Duplessis 1881.** Georges Duplessis. *Catalogue de la collection de pièces sur les beaux-arts imprimées et manuscrites recueillie par Pierre-Jean Mariette, Charles-Nicolas Cochin et M. Deloynes*. Paris: Alphonse Picard, 1881.
- Dupuy-Vachey 2015.** Marie-Anne Dupuy-Vachey. "Fragonard's 'Fantasy Figures': Prelude to a New Understanding." *The Burlington Magazine* 157 (April 2015), pp. 241–47.
- Duvaux 1873.** Lazare Duvaux. *Livre-journal de Lazare Duvaux, marchand-bijoutier ordinaire du roy, 1748–1758 (1873)*. 2 vols. Paris: F. de Nobelet, 1965.

- Duveen 1953.** Denis I. Duveen. "Madame Lavoisier 1758–1836." *Chymia: Annual Studies in the History of Chemistry* 4 (1953), pp. 13–29.
- Duveen and Klickstein 1954.** Denis I. Duveen and Herbert S. Klickstein. *A Bibliography of the Works of Antoine Laurent Lavoisier*. London: Dawson and Weil, 1954.
- Eisler 1960.** Colin Eisler. "A Chardin in the Grand Manner." *Bulletin of The Metropolitan Museum of Art* 18, no. 6 (1960), pp. 202–12.
- Eisler 1966.** Colin Eisler. "Two Immortalized Landscapes—Watteau and the Recueil Jullienne." *Bulletin of The Metropolitan Museum of Art* 24, no. 5 (1966), pp. 165–76.
- Eisler 1977.** Colin Eisler. *Paintings from the Samuel H. Kress Collection*, vol. 4, *European Schools, Excluding Italian*. London: Phaidon, 1977.
- Engerand 1897.** Fernand Engerand. "Pierre Gobert: Peintre de portraits (1666–1744)." *L'Artiste* 13 (March 1897), pp. 161–74.
- Engerand 1901.** Fernand Engerand. *Inventaire des tableaux commandés et achetés par la direction des Bâtiments du Roi (1709–1792)*. Paris: E. Leroux, 1901.
- Ernst 1924.** Sergei Ernst. *The Yusupov Gallery: French School*. Leningrad: State Hermitage Museum, 1924.
- Espinchal 1912.** Joseph-Thomas Espinchal. *Journal d'émigration du comte d'Espinchal*. Ed. Ernest d'Hauterive. Paris: Perrin et Cie., 1912.
- Eudel 1885.** Paul Eudel. *L'Hôtel Drouot et la curiosité en 1883–1884*. Paris: G. Charpentier, 1885.
- Evans 1990.** Mark L. Evans. *The Royal Collection: Paintings from Windsor Castle*. Exh. cat. Cardiff, National Museum of Wales. London: Lund Humphries, 1990.
- Examen 1787.** M. C***. *Examen des critiques qui ont été publiées sur l'exposition des tableaux au Salon du Louvre en 1787*. London: Chez Prault, 1787.
- Fahy 2005.** Everett Fahy, ed. *The Wrightsman Pictures*. New York and New Haven: The Metropolitan Museum of Art and Yale University Press, 2005.
- Fahy and Watson 1973.** Everett Fahy and Francis J. B. Watson. *The Wrightsman Collection*, vol. 5, *Paintings, Drawings, Sculpture*. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1973.
- Faré 1962.** Michel Faré. *La nature morte en France: Son histoire et son évolution du XVIIIe au XXe siècle*. 2 vols. Geneva: P. Cailler, 1962.
- Faré 1976.** Michel Faré and Fabrice Faré. *La vie silencieuse en France: La nature morte au XVIIIe siècle*. Paris: Société Française du Livre, 1976.
- Faré 1995.** Fabrice Faré, ed. *Les Salons de Bachaumont*. Nogent-le-Roi: J. Laget, 1995.
- Faroult 2015.** Guillaume Faroult. *Fragonard amoureux: Galant et libertin*. Exh. cat. Paris, Musée du Luxembourg. Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 2015.
- Faroult and Voiriot 2016.** Guillaume Faroult and Catherine Voiriot, eds. *Hubert Robert, 1733–1808: Un peintre visionnaire*. Exh. cat. Paris, Musée du Louvre. Paris: Somogy, 2016.
- Félibien 1679.** André Félibien. *Relation de la feste de Versailles du 18 Juillet mil six cens soixante-huit*. Paris: L'Imprimerie Royale, 1679.
- Ferré 1972.** Jean Ferré. *Watteau*. 4 vols. Madrid: Editions Artistiques Athéna, 1972.
- Fleury and Brière 1920.** Elie Fleury and Gaston Brière. *Catalogue des pastels de M.-Q. de La Tour: Collection de Saint-Quentin et Musée du Louvre*. Paris: J.-E. Bulloz, 1920.
- Florence 1979.** *Curiosità di una reggia: Vicende della guardaroba di Palazzo Pitti*. Exh. cat. Florence: Centro Di, 1979.
- Florisoon 1948.** Michel Florisoon. *David: Exposition en l'honneur du deuxième centenaire de sa naissance*. Exh. cat. Paris, Orangerie des Tuileries. Paris: Editions des Musées Nationaux, 1948.
- Forestier 1910.** Jean Claude Nicolas Forestier. *Bagatelle et ses jardins*. Paris: Librairie Horticole, 1910.
- Fort 1999.** Bernadette Fort, ed. *Les Salons des "Mémoires secrets" 1767–1787*. Paris: Ecole Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, 1999.
- Fort 2007.** Bernadette Fort. "The Greuze Girl: The Invention of a Pictorial Paradigm." In *French Genre Painting in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Philip Conisbee, pp. 129–51. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007.
- Foulon de Vault 1901.** André Foulon de Vault. "Antoine Vestier (1740–1824), notes et renseignements." *Le Carnet Historique et Littéraire* 7 (January–February 1901), pp. 394–419.
- Foulon de Vault 1902.** André Foulon de Vault. "Un peintre de portraits au XVIIIe siècle: Guillaume Voiriot (1713–1799)." *Carnet (Ancien Carnet Historique et Littéraire)* 11 (January–March 1902), pp. 205–28.
- Frantz 1913.** Henri Frantz. "La Curiosité." *L'Art Décoratif* 29 (April 1913), pp. 199–204.
- Fredericksen and Peronnet 1998.** Burton B. Fredericksen and Benjamin Peronnet, eds. *Répertoire des tableaux vendus en France au XIXe siècle*. 2 vols. Los Angeles: Provenance Index of the Getty Information Institute, 1998.
- Fried 1980.** Michael Fried. *Absorption and Theatricality: Painting and Beholder in the Age of Diderot*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980.
- Fried 1993.** Michael Fried. "David et l'antithéâtralité." In *David contre David*, ed. Régis Michel, vol. 1, pp. 199–227. Paris: La Documentation Française, 1993.
- Fried 1996.** Michael Fried. *Manet's Modernism, or, The Face of Painting in the 1860s*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996.
- Friedley 1912.** D. Friedley. "Decorative Panels by Hubert Robert." *Bulletin of The Metropolitan Museum of Art* 7 (July 1912), pp. 130–31.
- Furcy-Raynaud 1907.** Marc Furcy-Raynaud, ed. *Correspondance de M. d'Angiviller avec Pierre*. Paris: J. Schemit, 1907.
- Gabillot 1895.** Claude Gabillot. *Hubert Robert et son temps*. Paris: Librairie de l'Art, 1895.
- Gabillot 1905–6.** Claude Gabillot. "Les Trois Drouais." *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 34 (September 1905), pp. 177–94, 34 (October 1905), pp. 288–98, 34 (November 1905), pp. 384–400; 35 (February 1906), pp. 155–74, and 35 (March 1906), pp. 246–58.
- Gaebelé 1948.** Yvonne Robert Gaebelé. *Des plages de Coromandel aux Salons du Consulat et de l'empire (Vie de la princesse de Talleyrand)*. Pondicherry: Bibliothèque Coloniale, 1948.
- Gaehgtgens 2000.** Thomas W. Gaehgtgens. "Die Gestalt der Venus im 18. Jahrhundert in Frankreich." In *Faszination Venus: Bilder einer Göttin von Cranach bis Cabanel*, ed. Ekkehard Mai, pp. 146–59. Cologne: Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, 2000.
- Galitz 2013.** Kathryn Calley Galitz. "François Gérard: Portraiture, Scandal, and the Art of Power in Napoleonic France." *Bulletin of The Metropolitan Museum of Art* 71, no. 1 (2013), pp. 4–48.
- Gardner 1962.** Elizabeth E. Gardner. "Four French Paintings from the Berwind Collection." *Bulletin of The Metropolitan Museum of Art* 20 (May 1962), pp. 265–71.
- Garnier 1836.** Etienne Barthélemy Garnier. *Discours de M. Garnier, membre de l'Académie, prononcé aux funérailles de M. Carle Vernet, le 29 novembre 1836*. Paris: Firmin Didot et Cie., 1836.
- Garnier-Pelle 1995.** Nicole Garnier-Pelle. *Chantilly, Musée Condé: Peintures du XVIIIe siècle*. Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1995.
- Gaudio 2009.** Miriam Raffaella Gaudio. *Monografia di Nicolas Lancret (1690–1743)*. Turin: Seneca, 2009.
- Gaus 1974.** Joachim Gaus. "Ingenium und ars—das Ehepaarbildnis Lavoisier von David und die Ikonographie der Museninspiration." *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch* 36 (1974), pp. 199–228.

- Gérard 1852–57.** Henri Gérard. *Oeuvre du baron François Gérard, 1789–1836*. 3 vols. Paris: Vignères, 1852–57.
- Gérard 1867.** Henri Gérard, ed. *Correspondance de François Gérard, peintre d'histoire*. Paris: Lainé et J. Havard, 1867.
- Gérard 1886.** Henri Gérard, ed. *Lettres adressées au baron François Gérard, peintre d'histoire par les artistes et les personnages célèbres de son temps*. 2 vols. 2d ed. Paris: Quantin, 1886.
- Gétreau 2011.** Florence Gétreau. *Musée Jacquemart-André. Peintures et dessins de l'école française*. Paris: Maule, 2011.
- Gilly 1965.** Friedrich Gilly. "Description de Bagatelle" (1797). Translated by Edgar Wedepohl. *L'Œil* 126 (June 1965), pp. 17–23.
- Glorieux 2009.** Guillaume Glorieux. "'M. Stiémart, peintre et bon copiste': Ébauche d'un portrait de François-Albert Stiémart (1680–1740)." In *La valeur de l'art: Exposition, marché, critique et public au XVIIIe siècle*, ed. Jesper Rasmussen, pp. 161–83. Paris: Champion, 2009.
- Goethe 1883.** Johann Wolfgang von Goethe. *Conversations de Goethe pendant les dernières années de sa vie, 1822–1832*. Ed. Johann Peter Eckermann. 2 vols. Paris: G. Charpentier, 1883.
- Goldschmidt 1934.** Ernst Goldschmidt. *Frankrigs Malerkunst*, vol. 5, *David og hans skole*. Copenhagen, 1934.
- Goncourt 1865.** Edmond de Goncourt and Jules de Goncourt. "Fragonard." *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 18 (1865), pp. 32–41.
- Goncourt 1875.** Edmond de Goncourt. *Catalogue raisonné de l'oeuvre peint, dessiné et gravé d'Antoine Watteau*. Paris: Rapilly, 1875.
- Goncourt 1876.** Edmond de Goncourt. *Catalogue raisonné de l'oeuvre peint, dessiné et gravé de P. P. Prud'hon*. Paris: Rapilly, 1876.
- Goncourt 1880–82.** Edmond de Goncourt and Jules de Goncourt. *L'art du dix-huitième siècle*. 2 vols. 3d ed. Paris: A. Quantin, 1880–82.
- Goncourt 1906.** Edmond de Goncourt and Jules de Goncourt. *L'art du dix-huitième siècle*. 3 vols. 3d ed., rev. and augm. Paris: A. Quantin, 1906.
- Gordon 2003.** Alden R. Gordon. *The Houses and Collections of the Marquis de Marigny*. Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2003.
- Gordon-Smith 2006.** Maria Gordon-Smith. *Pillement*. Kraków: IRSA, 2006.
- Gougenot 1854.** Louis Gougenot. "Jean-Baptiste Oudry" (1761). In *Mémoires inédits sur la vie et les ouvrages des membres de l'Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture*, vol. 2, pp. 365–403. Paris: J. B. Dumoulin, 1854.
- Grappe 1913.** Georges Grappe. *H. Fragonard, peintre de l'amour au XVIIIe siècle*. 2 vols. Paris: H. Piazza, 1913.
- Grasselli 2003.** Margaret Morgan Grasselli, ed. *Colorful Impressions: The Printmaking Revolution in Eighteenth-Century France*. Exh. cat. Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 2003.
- Grasselli and Rosenberg 1984.** Margaret Morgan Grasselli and Pierre Rosenberg. *Watteau, 1684–1721*. Exh. cat. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art; Paris, Grand Palais; Berlin, Schloss Charlottenburg. Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1984.
- Grate 1979.** Pontus Grate. "Nattier and the Goddess of Eternal Youth." *Nationalmuseum Bulletin, Stockholm* 3, no. 3 (1979), pp. 149–56.
- Grimaux 1888.** Edouard Grimaux. *Lavoisier, 1743–1794*. Paris: F. Alcan, 1888.
- Grosier 1779.** Jean-Baptiste Gabriel Alexandre Grosier. *Coup d'oeil sur les ouvrages de peinture, sculpture et gravure, de Messieurs de l'Académie Royale, exposés au Sallon de cette année*. Geneva, 1779.
- Guérin 1715.** Nicolas Guérin. *Description de l'Académie Royale des Arts de Peinture et de Sculpture*. Paris: Jacques Collombat, 1715.
- Guffey 2001.** Elizabeth E. Guffey. *Drawing an Elusive Line: The Art of Pierre-Paul Prud'hon*. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2001.
- Guicharnaud 1999.** Hélène Guicharnaud. "Un collectionneur parisien, ami de Greuze et de Pigalle, l'Abbé Louis Gougenot (1724–1767)." *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 134 (July–August 1999), pp. 1–74.
- Guiffrey 1873.** Jules Joseph Guiffrey. *Table générale des artistes ayant exposé au Salons du XVIIe siècle*. Paris: J. Baur, 1873.
- Guiffrey 1877.** Jules Joseph Guiffrey. *Les Caffiéri, sculpteurs et fondeurs-ciseleurs: Etude sur la statuaire et sur l'art du bronze en France au XVIIIe et au XIXe siècle*. Paris: Morgand et Fatout, 1877.
- Guiffrey 1924.** Jean Guiffrey. *L'oeuvre de Pierre-Paul Prud'hon*. Paris: A. Colin, 1924.
- Gutiérrez and Lozano 1999.** Lucinda Gutiérrez and Luis-Martín Lozano, eds. *Arte de las academias: Francia y México, siglos XVII–XIX*. Exh. cat. Mexico City: Antiguo Colegio de San Ildefonso, 1999.
- Hagood 2016.** John Hagood, comp. *Documenting the Salon: Paris Salon Catalogs, 1673–1945*. Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art Library, 2016.
- Hannestad 1976.** Lise Hannestad. *The Followers of the Paris Painter*. Copenhagen: Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, 1976.
- Harris and Nochlin 1976.** Ann Sutherland Harris and Linda Nochlin. *Women Artists, 1550–1950*. Exh. cat. Los Angeles County Museum of Art; Austin, University Art Museum, University of Texas; Pittsburgh, Carnegie Institute; Brooklyn Museum. New York: Knopf, 1976.
- Harrison 1986.** Jefferson C. Harrison. *French Paintings from the Chrysler Museum*. Exh. cat. Norfolk, Va.: Chrysler Museum, 1986.
- Hautecoeur 1914.** Louis Hautecoeur. *Madame Vigée-Lebrun: Etude critique, illustrée de vingt-quatre planches hors texte*. Paris: H. Laurens, 1914.
- Hautecoeur 1954.** Louis Hautecoeur. *Louis David*. Paris: La Table Ronde, 1954.
- Hébert 1766.** Hébert. *Dictionnaire pittoresque et historique*. 2 vols. Paris: Claude Hérisant, 1766.
- Hédé-Haüy 1893.** A. Hédé-Haüy. *Les illustrations des contes de La Fontaine, bibliographie, iconographie*. Paris: Rouquette, 1893.
- Heim et al. 1989.** Jean-François Heim, Claire Béraud, and Philippe Heim. *Les salons de peinture de la Révolution française, 1789–1799*. Paris: C.A.C. Edition, 1989.
- Heinich 1993.** Nathalie Heinich. *Du peintre à l'artiste: Artisans et académiciens à l'âge classique*. Paris: Editions de Minuit, 1993.
- Helm 1915.** William Henry Helm. *Vigée-Lebrun, 1755–1842: Her Life, Works, and Friendships*. London: Hutchinson, 1915.
- Henriot 1926.** Gabriel Henriot. *Collection David Weill*, vol. 1, *Peintures*. Paris: Braun, 1926.
- Herbert 1972.** Robert L. Herbert. *David, Voltaire, 'Brutus' and the French Revolution: An Essay in Art and Politics*. New York: Viking Press, 1972.
- Hill 1904.** Constance Hill. *Juniper Hall: A Rendezvous of Certain Illustrious Personages during the French Revolution, Including Alexandre d'Arblay and Fanny Burney*. London: J. Lane, 1904.
- Hinton 2006.** Jack Hinton. *In Pursuit of Genius: Jean-Antoine Houdon and the Sculpted Portraits of Benjamin Franklin*. Exh. cat. Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 2006.
- Hofmann 1989.** Werner Hofmann, ed. *Europa 1789: Aufklärung, Verklärung, Verfall*. Exh. cat. Hamburger Kunsthalle. Cologne: DuMont Buchverlag, 1989.
- Hohenzollern 1992.** Johann Georg Prinz von Hohenzollern, ed. *Friedrich der Große: Sammler und Mäzen*. Exh. cat. Munich, Kunsthalle der Hypo-Kulturstiftung. Munich: Hirmer, 1992.
- Hollander 2002.** Anne Hollander. *Fabric of Vision: Dress and Drapery in Painting*. Exh. cat. London: National Gallery, 2002.

- Holma 1940.** Klaus Holma. *David, son évolution et son style*. Paris: Sorlot, 1940.
- Holmes 1991.** Mary Tavenor Holmes. *Nicolas Lancret, 1690–1743*. Exh. cat. New York, The Frick Collection; Fort Worth, Kimbell Art Museum. New York: Abrams, 1991.
- Hourticq 1925.** Louis Hourticq. *Le paysage français de Poussin à Corot*. Exh. cat. Paris, Petit Palais. Paris: Editions de la Gazette des Beaux-Arts, 1925.
- Howe 1945.** Winifred E. Howe. *A History of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, vol. 2, 1905–1941. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1945.
- Hunter 1988.** Donna Marie Hunter. “Second Nature: Portraits by J.-L. David, 1769–1792.” PhD diss., Harvard University, 1988.
- Hunter-Stiebel 2000.** Penelope Hunter-Stiebel, ed. *Stroganoff: The Palace and Collections of a Russian Noble Family*. Exh. cat. Portland, Ore.: Portland Art Museum, 2000.
- Hyde 2006.** Melissa Hyde. *Making Up the Rococo: François Boucher and His Critics*. Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2006.
- Ingamells 1989.** John Ingamells. *The Wallace Collection: Catalogue of Pictures*, vol. 3, *French before 1915*. London: Trustees of The Wallace Collection, 1989.
- Ingersoll-Smousse 1926.** Florence Ingersoll-Smousse. *Joseph Vernet, peintre de marine, 1714–1789*. 2 vols. Paris: Bignou, 1926.
- Ingersoll-Smousse 1928.** Florence Ingersoll-Smousse. *Pater*. Paris: Les Beaux-Arts, 1928.
- Jackall 2017.** Yuriko Jackall, ed. *Fragonard: The Fantasy Figures*. Exh. cat. Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 2017.
- Jacomy 1994.** Bruno Jacomy. “Le Laboratoire de Lavoisier.” *Revue du Musée des Arts et Métiers*, no. 6 (March 1994), pp. 17–22.
- Jacquemart 1871.** Jules-Ferdinand Jacquemart. *Etchings of Pictures in the Metropolitan Museum, New York*. London, 1871.
- Jal 1824.** Augustin Jal. *L’artiste et le philosophe: Entretiens critiques sur le Salon de 1824*. Paris: Ponthieu, 1824.
- Jal 1872.** Augustin Jal. *Dictionnaire critique de biographie et d’histoire: Errata et supplément*. 2d ed. Paris: H. Pion, 1872.
- James 1872.** Henry James. “Art: The Dutch and Flemish Pictures in New York.” *The Atlantic Monthly* 29 (June 1872), pp. 757–63.
- James-Sarazin 2016.** Ariane James-Sarazin, with the collaboration of Jean-Yves Sarazin. *Hyacinthe Rigaud, 1659–1743*. 2 vols. Dijon: Editions Faton, 2016.
- Janson 1978.** H. W. Janson, comp. *Catalogues of the Paris Salon, 1673 to 1881*. 60 vols. New York: Garland Publishing, 1978.
- Jean-Richard 1971.** Pierrette Jean-Richard. “Expositions, Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins: Boucher, gravures et dessins.” *Revue du Louvre et des Musées de France* 21 (1971), pp. 195–200.
- Jean-Richard 1978.** Pierrette Jean-Richard. *L’oeuvre gravé de François Boucher dans la collection Edmond de Rothschild*. Paris: Editions des Musées Nationaux, 1978.
- Jones 2002.** Colin Jones. *Madame de Pompadour: Images of a Mistress*. Exh. cat. London, National Gallery. London: National Gallery Company, 2002.
- Joulié 2013.** Françoise Joulié. *François Boucher: Fragments d’une vision du monde*. Exh. cat. Holte, Denmark, GI Holtegaard. Paris: Somogy, 2013.
- Joulié and Méjanès 2003.** Françoise Joulié and Jean-François Méjanès. *François Boucher, hier et aujourd’hui*. Exh. cat. Paris, Musée du Louvre. Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 2003.
- Jouve 2003.** Claudine Lebrun Jouve. *Nicolas-Antoine Taunay (1755–1830)*. Paris: Arthena, 2003.
- Jugement 1785.** *Jugement d’un musicien sur le salon de peinture de 1785*. Amsterdam: Quillau, 1785.
- Jullien 1874.** Adolphe Jullien. *Histoire du théâtre de Madame de Pompadour dit théâtre des petits cabinets*. Paris: J. Baur, 1874.
- Kahng and Roland Michel 2002.** Eik Kahng and Marianne Roland Michel, eds., *Anne Vallayer-Coster: Painter to the Court of Marie-Antoinette*. Exh. cat. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art; Dallas Museum of Art; New York, The Frick Collection. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002.
- Kann 1907.** *Catalogue of the Rodolphe Kann Collection: Pictures*. 2 vols. Paris, 1907.
- Kanter 1984–85.** Laurence B. Kanter. “*Andromache and Astyanax* by Pierre-Paul Prud’hon and Charles Boulanger de Boisfremont.” *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 19–20 (1984–85), pp. 143–50.
- Kisluk-Grosheide and Munger 2010.** Daniëlle Kisluk-Grosheide and Jeffrey Munger. *The Wrightsman Galleries for French Decorative Arts*. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2010.
- Kisluk-Grosheide et al. 2013.** Daniëlle Kisluk-Grosheide, Deborah L. Krohn, and Ulrich Leben, eds. *Salvaging the Past: Georges Hoentschel and French Decorative Arts from The Metropolitan Museum of Art*. Exh. cat. New York, Bard Graduate Center. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013.
- Kohle 1993.** Hubertus Kohle. “La modernité du passé: David, la peinture d’histoire et la théorie néo-classique.” In *David contre David*, ed. Régis Michel, vol. 2, pp. 1093–1113. Paris: La Documentation Française, 1993.
- Kostenevich 1976.** Albert Kostenevich. *Western European Painting of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries / The Hermitage*. Leningrad: Aurora Art Publishers, 1976.
- Kraay 1966.** Colin M. Kraay. *Greek Coins*. New York: Abrams, 1966.
- Kultzen 1985.** Rolf Kultzen. “Ein Bildnis des Papstes Lambertini in München.” In *Schöndruck, Widerdruck: Schriften-Fest für Michael Meier zum 20. Dezember 1985*, pp. 54–65. Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1985.
- La Font de Saint-Yenne 2001.** Etienne de La Font de Saint-Yenne. *Oeuvre critique*. Ed. Etienne Jollet. Paris: Ecole Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, 2001.
- La Fontaine 1926.** Jean de La Fontaine. *Contes: Trente-huit gravures de Boucher, Pater, Lancret, Eisen, Vluhghels, Le Clerc, Le Mesle et Lorrain composant la Suite de Larmessin*. Paris: Editions du Trianon, 1926.
- La Live de July 1764.** Ange Laurent de La Live de July. *Catalogue historique du cabinet de peinture et sculpture française de M. de Lalive*. Paris: Le Prieur, 1764.
- Labbes 1779.** Monsieur des Labbes. *Le miracle de nos jours; conversation écrite et recueillie par un sourd et muet et la bonne lunette*. Paris, 1779.
- Laing 1986.** Alastair Laing. “Boucher et la pastorale peinte.” *Revue de l’Art* 73, no. 1 (1986), pp. 55–64.
- Laing 2003.** Alastair Laing. *The Drawings of François Boucher*. Exh. cat. New York, The Frick Collection; Fort Worth, Kimbell Art Museum. New York: American Federation of Arts, 2003.
- Laing 2016.** Alastair Laing. “Artist in a Garret: The Young Boucher in Rome.” In *French Art of the Eighteenth Century: The Michael L. Rosenberg Lecture Series at the Dallas Museum of Art*, ed. Heather MacDonald, pp. 95–107. Dallas: Dallas Museum of Art, 2016.
- Lajer-Burcharth 1999.** Ewa Lajer-Burcharth. *Necklines: The Art of Jacques-Louis David after the Terror*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999.
- Lajer-Burcharth 2009.** Ewa Lajer-Burcharth. “Image Matters: The Case of Boucher.” In *Dialogues in Art History, from Mesopotamian to Modern: Readings for a New Century*, ed. Elizabeth Cropper, pp. 277–303. Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 2009.
- Lamers and Rosenberg 1995.** Petra Lamers and Pierre Rosenberg. *Il viaggio nel Sud dell’Abbé de Saint-Non / Il “Voyage pittoresque à Naples et en Sicile”: La genesis, i disegni preparatori, le incisioni*. Naples: Electa, 1995.
- Landon 1808.** Charles Paul Landon. *Annales du Musée et de l’Ecole Moderne des Beaux-Arts: Salon de 1808*. 2 vols. Paris: Landon, 1808.

- Landon 1824.** Charles Paul Landon. *Salon de 1824*. Paris: C. Ballard, 1824.
- Lapauze 1924.** Henry Lapauze. *Histoire de l'Académie de France à Rome*. 2 vols. Paris: Librairie Plon, 1924.
- Laperlier 1867.** *Collection de M. Laperlier, tableaux & dessins de l'école française du XVIIIe siècle et de l'école moderne*. Sale cat. Hôtel Drouot, Paris, April 11–13, 1867.
- Lastic and Jacky 2010.** Georges de Lastic and Pierre Jacky. *Desportes*. 2 vols. Saint-Rémy-en-l'Éau: Editions Monelle Hayot, 2010.
- Latreille 1973.** Alain Latreille. "François Gérard (1770–1837): Catalogue raisonné des portraits peints par le baron François Gérard." PhD diss., Ecole du Louvre, Paris, 1973.
- Laugier 1753.** Marc Antoine Laugier. *Jugement d'un amateur sur l'exposition des tableaux: Lettre à M. le Marquis de V****. Paris, 1753.
- Laveissière 1997.** Sylvain Laveissière. *Prud'hon, ou Le rêve du bonheur*. Exh. cat. Paris, Grand Palais. Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1997.
- Laveissière 1998.** Sylvain Laveissière. *Pierre-Paul Prud'hon*. Exh. cat. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1998.
- Laveissière 2012.** Sylvain Laveissière, ed. *Laurent Pécheux, 1729–1821: Un peintre français dans l'Italie des Lumières*. Exh. cat. Dole, Musée des Beaux-Arts; Chambéry, Musée des Beaux-Arts. Milan: Silvana, 2012.
- Le Blanc 1753.** Jean Bernard Le Blanc. *Observations sur les ouvrages de MM. de l'Académie de peinture et de sculpture, exposés au Sallon du Louvre, en l'année 1753*. Paris, 1753.
- Le Breton 1989.** Joachim Le Breton. *Rapports à l'Empereur sur le progrès des sciences, des lettres et des arts depuis 1789*, vol. 5, *Beaux-arts*. Paris: Belin, 1989.
- Lecoy de La Marche 1874.** Albert Lecoy de La Marche. *L'Académie de France à Rome*. Paris: Librairie Académique, 1874.
- Ledbury 2000.** Mark Ledbury. *Sedaine, Greuze and the Boundaries of Genre*. Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2000.
- Ledbury 2003.** Mark Ledbury. "Boucher and Theater." In *Rethinking Boucher*, ed. Melissa Hyde and Mark Ledbury, pp. 133–60. Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2003.
- Ledbury 2007.** Mark Ledbury. "Greuze in Limbo: Being 'Betwixt and Between.'" In *French Genre Painting in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Philip Conisbee, pp. 179–99. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007.
- Lee 1977.** Rensselaer W. Lee. *Names on Trees: Ariosto into Art*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977.
- Lefébure 1779.** Louis François Henri Lefébure. *Janot, au Salon; ou le proverbe*. Paris: Hardouin, 1779.
- Lefébure 1787.** Louis François Henri Lefébure. *Encore un coup de patte, pour le dernier, ou dialogue sur le Salon de 1787, première partie*. Paris, 1787.
- Lefébure 1789.** Louis François Henri Lefébure. *Vérités agréables, ou Le Salon vu en beau*. Paris: Knapen & Fils, 1789.
- Lefrançois 1994.** Thierry Lefrançois. *Charles Coyvel, peintre du roi (1694–1752)*. Paris: Arthena, 1994.
- Lejeune 1864.** Théodore Lejeune. *Guide théorique et pratique de l'amateur de tableaux*, 2 vols. 3d ed. Paris: Gide, 1864.
- Lemoine-Isabeau 1961.** Claire Lemoine-Isabeau. "Les peintures de Charles Eisen." *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 58 (October 1961), pp. 223–35.
- Lenoir 1787.** Alexandre Lenoir. *L'ombre de Rubens au Sallon, ou L'école des peintres, dialogue critique*. Athens, 1787.
- Lenormant 1847.** Charles Lenormant. *François Gérard, peintre d'histoire: Essai de biographie et de critique*. 2d ed. Paris: A. René, 1847.
- Leribault 2001.** Christophe Leribault. "Jean-François de Troy et l'Histoire d'Esther." In *Le retour d'Esther: Les fastes retrouvés du Château de La Roche-Guyon*, ed. Christian Olivereau and Isabelle Williame, pp. 27–37. Paris: Creaphis, 2001.
- Leribault 2002.** Christophe Leribault. *Jean-François de Troy (1679–1752)*. Paris: Arthena, 2002.
- Leribault 2016.** Christophe Leribault. "Provisseur ou ambassadeur? Jean-François de Troy, directeur de l'Académie de France à Rome (1738–1752)." In *L'Académie de France à Rome: Le Palais Mancini, un foyer artistique dans l'Europe des Lumières (1725–1792)*, ed. Marc Bayard et al., pp. 183–90. Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2016.
- Lesuire 1777.** Robert Martin Lesuire. *Jugement d'une demoiselle de quatorze ans, sur le Sallon de 1777*. Paris: Quillau, 1777.
- Lesuire 1779.** Robert Martin Lesuire. *Le mort vivant au Sallon de 1779*. Paris: Quillau, 1779.
- Lesur and Aaron 2009.** Nicolas Lesur and Olivier Aaron. *Jean-Baptiste Marie Pierre, 1714–1789: Premier peintre du roi*. Paris: Arthena, 2009.
- Levey 1977.** Michael Levey. "Jean-Baptiste Greuze (1725–1805)." *Master Drawings* 15, no. 3 (1977), pp. 280–82.
- Lichtenstein and Michel 2006–15.** Jacqueline Lichtenstein and Christian Michel, eds. *Les Conférences de l'Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture, 1648–1793*. 6 vols. Paris: Ecole Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, 2006–15.
- Linsky 1984.** *The Jack and Belle Linsky Collection in The Metropolitan Museum of Art*. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1984.
- Livrets 1869–72.** *Collection des livrets des anciens expositions depuis 1673 jusqu'en 1800*. 42 vols. Paris: Liepmanssohn et Dufour, 1869–72.
- Livrets 1872.** *Livrets des Expositions de l'Académie de Saint-Luc à Paris pendant les Années 1751, 1752, 1753, 1756, 1762, 1764 et 1774*. Paris: Baur et Détaillé, 1872.
- Locquin 1912.** Jean Locquin. *Catalogue raisonné de l'oeuvre de Jean-Baptiste Oudry, peintre du roi (1686–1755)*. Paris: H. Champion, 1912.
- Loisel-Legrand 1982.** Catherine Loisel-Legrand. *Autour de David et Delacroix: Dessins français du XIXe siècle*. Exh. cat. Besançon: Musée des Beaux-Arts et d'Archéologie, 1982.
- London 1905.** *Eleventh Annual Exhibition on Behalf of the Artists' General Benevolent Institution*. Exh. cat. London: Thomas Agnew & Sons Ltd, 1905.
- London 1932.** *Exhibition of French Art, 1200–1900*. Exh. cat. London, Royal Academy of Arts. London: Burlington House, 1932.
- London 1933.** *Commemorative Catalogue of the Exhibition of French Art, 1200–1900*. London: Oxford University Press, 1933.
- London 1972.** *The Age of Neo-Classicism*. Exh. cat. London, Royal Academy of Arts and Victoria and Albert Museum. London: Arts Council of Great Britain, 1972.
- London 1988.** *Treasures of Italian Art*. Exh. cat. London: Walpole Gallery, 1988.
- London 1989a.** *A Selection of French Paintings, 1700–1840*. Exh. cat. London: Matthiesen Fine Art, 1989.
- London 1989b.** *Towards a New Taste: Summer Exhibition of Old Master Paintings*. Exh. cat. London: Heim Gallery, 1989.
- London 2007.** *Citizens and Kings: Portraits in the Age of Revolution, 1760–1830*. Exh. cat. London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2007.
- Los Angeles 1990.** *Masterpiece in Focus: Soap Bubbles by Jean-Siméon Chardin*. Essay by Philip Conisbee. Exh. cat. Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1990.
- Los Angeles 2010.** *Eye for the Sensual: Selections from the Resnick Collection*. Exh. cat. Los Angeles County Museum of Art. Stuttgart: Dr. Cantz'sche Druckerei, 2010.
- Los Llanos 1992.** José-Luis de Los Llanos. *Fragonard et le dessin français au XVIIIe siècle dans les collections du Petit Palais*. Exh. cat. Paris, Musée du Petit Palais. Paris: Paris Musées, 1992.
- Louvre 1929.** *La peinture au Musée du Louvre*, vol. 1, *Ecole française*. Paris: L'Illustration, 1929.

- Lüdke 1999.** Dietmar Lüdke, ed. *Jean Siméon Chardin, 1699–1779: Werk, Herkunft, Wirkung*. Exh. cat. Karlsruhe, Staatliche Kunsthalle. Ostfildern-Ruit: Hatje Cantz Verlag, 1999.
- Lukehart 2009.** Peter M. Lukehart, ed. *The Accademia Seminars: The Accademia di San Luca in Rome, c. 1590–1635*. Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 2009.
- Lundberg 1957.** Gunnar W. Lundberg. *Roslin: Liv och verk*. 3 vols. Malmö: Allhems Förlag, 1957.
- Lyon 1958.** Georgette Lyon. *Joseph Ducreux (1735–1802), premier peintre de Marie-Antoinette: Sa vie, son oeuvre*. Paris: La Nef de Paris, 1958.
- MacColl 1924.** D. S. MacColl. "Wallace Collection Notes: A Miscellany: I La Cascade, Attributed to Watteau." *The Burlington Magazine* 44 (March 1924), pp. 136–38.
- Macsoy 2016.** Tomas Macsoy. "An XVIIIth Century Pedagogic Turn: Vleughels and the Refashioning of the French Roman Journey." In *L'Académie de France à Rome: Le Palais Mancini, un foyer artistique dans l'Europe des Lumières (1725–1792)*, ed. Marc Bayard et al., pp. 165–82. Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2016.
- Mahiet 1929.** Mahiet, ed. "Les anciens hotels Bergeret de Frouville et de La Haye, rue Béranger." *La Cité: Bulletin de la Société Histoire et Archéologique des IVe et IIIe Arrondissements de Paris* 28 (1929), pp. 233–76.
- Maillet-Chassagne 2001.** Monique Maillet-Chassagne. *Une dynastie de peintres lillois: Les Van Blarenbergh*. Paris: Bernard Giovanangeli, 2001.
- Maillet-Chassagne and Château-Thierry 2004.** Monique Maillet-Chassagne and Irène de Château-Thierry. *Catalogue raisonné des oeuvres des Van Blarenbergh (1680–1826)*. Lille: Soprepart, 2004.
- Malgouyres 2000.** Philippe Malgouyres. *Peintres françaises du XVIIe siècle: La collection du Musée des Beaux-Arts de Rouen*. Paris: Somogy, 2000.
- Mandel 1972.** Gabriele Mandel. *L'opera completa di Fragonard*. Milan: Rizzoli, 1972.
- Manne and Ménétrier 1869.** E. D. de Manne and Charles Ménétrier. *Galerie historique des comédiens de la troupe de Nicolet*. Lyon: N. Scheuring, 1869.
- Mannings 2000.** David Mannings. *Sir Joshua Reynolds: A Complete Catalogue of His Paintings*. 2 vols. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000.
- Marandel 1991–92.** J. Patrice Marandel. "Natoire aux appartements de Louis XV à Fontainebleau." *Antologia di Belle Arti*, nos. 39–42 (1991–92), pp. 129–34.
- Marandel 2002.** J. Patrice Marandel. *French Oil Sketches from the Los Angeles County Museum of Art*. Los Angeles: The Ahmanson Foundation, 2002.
- Marandet 2013.** François Marandet. "On the Provenance of Louis Tocqué's Sketch of Jean Marc Nattier." *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 48 (2013), pp. 199–203.
- Mariette 1851–60.** Pierre Jean Mariette. *Abécédario et autres notes inédites de cet amateur sur les arts et les artistes*. 5 vols. Paris: J.-B. Dumoulin, 1851–60.
- Marraud 2009.** Mathieu Marraud. *De la Ville à l'Etat: La bourgeoisie parisienne, XVIIe–XVIIIe siècle*. Paris: Albin Michel, 2009.
- Martigny 2006.** *The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York: Chefs-d'oeuvre de la peinture européenne*. Exh. cat. Martigny: Fondation Pierre Gianadda, 2006.
- Martin 1908.** Jean Martin. *Oeuvre de J.-B. Greuze: Catalogue raisonné*. Paris: G. Rapilly, 1908.
- Martin and Masson 1905.** Jean Martin and Charles Masson. *Catalogue raisonné de l'oeuvre peint et dessiné de Jean-Baptiste Greuze [supplément to C. Mauclair, Jean-Baptiste Greuze]*. Paris: H. Piazza, 1905.
- Martin-Méry 1958.** Gilberte Martin-Méry. *Paris et les ateliers provinciaux au XVIIIe siècle*. Exh. cat. Bordeaux: Delmas, 1958.
- Mathon de La Cour 1763.** Charles Joseph Mathon de La Cour. *Lettres à Madame** sur les peintures, les sculptures et les gravures, exposées au Salon du Louvre en 1763*. Paris: Guillaume Desprez, 1763.
- Mathon de La Cour 1765.** Charles Joseph Mathon de La Cour. *Lettres à Monsieur*** sur les peintures, les sculptures et les gravures, exposées au Salon du Louvre en 1765*. Paris: d'Houry, 1765.
- Mauclair 1905.** Camille Mauclair. *Jean-Baptiste Greuze*. Paris: H. Piazza, 1905.
- Maugras 1890.** Gaston Maugras. *Les demoiselles de Verrières*. Paris: C. Lévy, 1890.
- Maurois 1948.** André Maurois. *J.-L. David*. Paris: Editions du Dimanche, 1948.
- May 2005.** Gita May. *Elisabeth Vigée Le Brun: The Odyssey of an Artist in an Age of Revolution*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005.
- Mazzocca 1981.** Fernando Mazzocca. "G. B. Sommariva o il borghese mecenate: Il 'cabinet' neoclassico di Parigi, la galleria romantica di Trezzano." In *Itinerari: Contributi alla storia dell'arte in memoria di Maria Luisa Ferrari*, ed. Antonio Boschetto, vol. 2, pp. 145–293. Florence: S.P.E.S., 1981.
- McClellan 1994.** Andrew McClellan. *Inventing the Louvre: Art, Politics, and the Origins of the Modern Museum in Eighteenth-Century Paris*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- McCormick 1993.** John McCormick. *Popular Theatres of Nineteenth-Century France*. London: Routledge, 1993.
- McPherson 1985.** Heather McPherson. "Jean-Baptiste Greuze's Italian Sojourn, 1755–57." *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture* 14 (1985), pp. 93–107.
- McWilliam 1991.** Neil McWilliam. *A Bibliography of Salon Criticism in Paris from the July Monarchy to the Second Republic, 1831–1851*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
- McWilliam et al. 1991.** Neil McWilliam, Vera Schuster, and Richard Wrigley. *A Bibliography of Salon Criticism in Paris from the Ancien Régime to the Restoration, 1699–1827*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
- Meudre de Lapouyade 1928.** Maurice Meudre de Lapouyade. "Une visite à l'exposition d'iconographie bordelaise." *Revue Philomathique de Bordeaux et du Sud-Ouest* (April–June 1928), pp. 49–59.
- Meaume 1877.** Edouard Meaume. *Sébastien Le Clerc et son oeuvre*. Paris: Baur, 1877.
- Méjanès 2006.** Jean-François Méjanès, ed. *Les Van Blarenbergh du XVIIIe siècle*. Exh. cat. Paris, Musée du Louvre. Ghent: Snoeck, 2006.
- Méjanès and Vilain 1973.** Jean-François Méjanès and Jacques Vilain. *Pierre-Charles Trémolières: Cholet, 1703–Paris, 1739*. Exh. cat. Musée de Cholet. Paris: Les Presses Artistiques, 1973.
- Mélanges Rosenberg 2001.** *Mélanges en hommage à Pierre Rosenberg: Peintures et dessins en France et en Italie XVIIe–XVIIIe siècles*. Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 2001.
- Mele 2010.** Flora Mele. *Le théâtre de Charles-Simon Favart: Histoire et inventaire des manuscrits*. Paris: Champion, 2010.
- Merle du Bourg 2012.** Alexis Merle du Bourg. *Jean François de Troy (1679–1752): The Story of Esther*. Exh. cat. Paris: Galerie Eric Coatalem, 2012.
- Merlin 1787.** *Merlin au Salon en 1787*. Rome, 1787.
- Michel 2008.** Christian Michel. *Le "célèbre Watteau"*. Geneva: Droz, 2008.
- Michel 2012.** Christian Michel. *L'Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture (1648–1793)*. Geneva: Librairie Droz, 2012.
- Michel and Rosenberg 1987.** Olivier Michel and Pierre Rosenberg. *Subleyras, 1699–1749*. Exh. cat. Paris, Musée du Luxembourg;

- Rome, Académie de France. Paris: Editions de la Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1987.
- Michel-Lévy 1919.** *Catalogue des tableaux anciens par F. Boucher, Brauwer, Chardin . . . composant la collection H. Michel-Lévy.* Sale cat. Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, May 12–13, 1919.
- Miel 1817–18.** E. F. A. M. Miel. *Essai sur les beaux-arts, et particulièrement sur le Salon de 1817.* Paris: Pélicier, 1817–18.
- Miette de Villars 1850.** Miette de Villars. *Mémoires de David, peintre et député à la Convention.* Paris, 1850.
- Milam 2006.** Jennifer D. Milam. *Fragonard's Playful Paintings: Visual Games in Rococo Art.* Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006.
- Milan 1872.** *Guida all'Esposizione d'arte antica nel Palazzo di Brera.* Exh. cat. Milan: Pinacoteca di Brera, 1872.
- Milan 1910.** *Mostri di ritratti del settecento.* Exh. cat. Milan, Palazzo della Permanente. Milan: Società per le Belle Arti ed Esposizioni Permanenti, 1910.
- MMA 1905.** *Catalogue of the Paintings in The Metropolitan Museum of Art.* New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1905.
- MMA 1960.** "Ninetieth Annual Report of the Trustees for the Fiscal Year 1959–1960." *Bulletin of The Metropolitan Museum of Art* 19, no. 2 (1960), pp. 26–76.
- MMA 1986.** "The Jack and Belle Linsky Collection in The Metropolitan Museum of Art: Addenda to the Catalogue." *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 21 (1986), pp. 153–84.
- MMA 1994.** "Recent Acquisitions, A Selection: 1993–1994." *Bulletin of The Metropolitan Museum of Art* 52, no. 2 (1994).
- Montaignon 1875–92.** Anatole de Montaignon. *Procès-verbaux de l'Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture, 1648–1793.* 10 vols. Paris: Libraires de la Société, 1875–92.
- Montaignon 1883.** Anatole de Montaignon. *Procès-verbaux de l'Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture, 1648–1793,* vol. 5, 1726–1744. Paris: Libraires de la Société, 1883.
- Montaignon 1888.** Anatole de Montaignon. *Procès-verbaux de l'Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture, 1648–1793,* vol. 8, 1769–1779. Paris: Libraires de la Société, 1888.
- Montaignon 1899.** Anatole de Montaignon. *Correspondance des directeurs de l'Académie de France à Rome 9: 1733–1741.* Paris: Charavay, 1899.
- Montfaucon 1722–24.** Bernard de Montfaucon. *L'antiquité expliquée et représentée en figures.* 5 vols. 2d ed. Paris, 1722–24.
- Morellet 1794.** André Morellet. *Mémoire pour les citoyennes Trudaine veuve Micault, Micault veuve Trudaine et le citoyen vivant Micault-Courbeton fils.* Paris: Maret, 1794.
- Morenes 1897.** Ramón de Morenes. "Retrato de Doña María Luisa de Parma, reina de España (obra de Mengs)." *Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Excursiones* 5 (September 1897), pp. 135–38.
- Morselli and Vodret 2005.** Raffaella Morselli and Rossella Vodret, eds. *Ritratto di una collezione: Pannini e la Galleria del cardinale Silvio Valenti Gonzaga.* Exh. cat. Mantua, Palazzo Te. Milan: Skira, 2005.
- Moschini 1842.** Giannantonio Moschini. *La chiesa e il seminario di Sta. Maria della Salute in Venezia.* Venice: Giuseppe Antonelli, 1842.
- Moulin 1999.** Hélène Moulin. *Hubert Robert (1733–1808) et Saint-Petersbourg: Les commandes de la famille impériale et des princes russes entre 1773 et 1802.* Exh. cat. Musée de Valence. Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1999.
- Moureau 1992.** François Moureau. *De Gherardi à Watteau: Présence d'Arlequin sous Louis XIV.* Paris: Klincksieck, 1992.
- Moureau and Grasselli 1987.** François Moureau and Margaret Morgan Grasselli, eds. *Antoine Watteau (1684–1721): Le peintre, son temps et sa légende.* Paris: Champion-Slatkine, 1987.
- Munhall 1976.** Edgar Munhall. *Jean-Baptiste Greuze, 1725–1805.* Exh. cat. Hartford, Wadsworth Atheneum; San Francisco, California Palace of the Legion of Honor; Dijon, Musée des Beaux-Arts. Hartford: Wadsworth Atheneum, 1976.
- Munhall 2002.** Edgar Munhall. *Greuze the Draftsman.* Exh. cat. New York, The Frick Collection; Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum. London: Merrell, 2002.
- Nanteuil 1985.** Luc de Nanteuil. *Jacques-Louis David.* New York: Abrams, 1985.
- Nash 1978.** Steven A. Nash. "David, Socrates and Caravaggism: A Source for David's 'Death of Socrates.'" *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 91 (May–June 1978), pp. 202–6.
- Naumann 1981.** Otto Naumann. *Frans van Mieris the Elder (1635–1681).* 2 vols. Doornspijk: Davaco, 1981.
- Nemilova 1986.** Inna S. Nemilova. *French Painting: Eighteenth Century.* The Hermitage, Catalogue of Western European Painting. Florence: Giunti Barbèra Martello, 1986.
- Néto 2001.** Isabelle Néto. *Musée Cognacq-Jay, catalogue des collections: Le mobilier.* Paris: Paris Musées, 2001.
- New York 1919.** *Exhibition of Notable Paintings by Hubert Robert (1733–1808).* Exh. cat. New York: E. Gimpel & Wildenstein, 1919.
- New York 1986.** *François Boucher, 1703–1770.* Exh. cat. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art; Detroit Institute of Arts; Paris, Galeries Nationales du Grand Palais. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1986.
- New York 1987.** *François Boucher: His Circle and Influence.* Exh. cat. New York: Stair Sainty Matthiesen, 1987.
- New York 1992.** *Masterworks from the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lille.* Exh. cat. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1992.
- Nikolai Mikhailovich 1906.** *Portraits russes des XVIIIe et XIXe siècles.* Vol. 2. Saint Petersburg, 1906; reprint: Moscow: Tri Veka Istorii, 2000.
- Nolhac 1905.** Pierre de Nolhac. *J.-M. Nattier, peintre de la cour de Louis XV.* Paris: Goupil, 1905.
- Nolhac 1908.** Pierre de Nolhac. *Madame Vigée-Le Brun, peintre de la reine Marie-Antoinette, 1755–1842.* Paris: Goupil, 1908.
- Nolhac 1912.** Pierre de Nolhac. *Madame Vigée-Le Brun, peintre de Marie-Antoinette.* 2d ed. Paris: Goupil, 1912.
- Normand 1892.** Charles Normand. *J. B. Greuze.* Paris: Librairie de l'Art, 1892.
- Normand 1901.** Charles Normand. *J.-B. Siméon Chardin.* Paris: Librairie de l'Art, 1901.
- Notice 1824.** *Notice sur la vie et les ouvrages de M. J.-L. David.* Paris: Dondey-Dupré, 1824.
- Oberhuber and Jacoby 1980.** Konrad Oberhuber and Beverly Schreiber Jacoby, eds. *French Drawings from a Private Collection: Louis XIII to Louis XVI.* Exh. cat. Cambridge, Mass.: Fogg Art Museum, 1980.
- Oberreuter-Kronabel 1986.** Gabriele Oberreuter-Kronabel. *Der Tod des Philosophen: Zum Sinngehalt eines Sterbebildtypus der französischen Malerei in der zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts.* Munich: W. Fink, 1986.
- O'Brien 2006.** David O'Brien. *After the Revolution: Antoine-Jean Gros, Painting and Propaganda under Napoleon.* University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006.
- Observations 1775.** *Observations sur les ouvrages exposés au Sallon du Louvre, ou Lettre à M. le comte de ***.* Paris: Didot, 1775.
- Observations 1783a.** *Observations ou reflexions sur l'exposition de peintures, sculptures, dessins et gravures de mm. de l'Académie Royale en 1783. Tirées du Mercure de France no. 38.* S.l., 1783.
- Observations 1783b.** *Observations sur les ouvrages de peinture et de sculpture 1783. Tirées de l'Année Littéraire.* S.l., 1783.
- Observations 1787.** *Observations critiques sur les tableaux du Sallon de l'année 1787: Deuxième suite du discours sur la peinture.* Paris: Marchands de Nouveautés, 1787.
- Observations 1789.** *Observations critiques sur les tableaux du Sallon de l'année 1789.* Paris: Marchands de Nouveautés, 1789.

- Ogée 2000.** Frédéric Ogée. "Chardin's Time: Reflections on the Tercentenary Exhibition and Twenty Years of Scholarship." *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 33, no. 3 (2000), pp. 431–50.
- Oppenheimer 1996a.** Margaret A. Oppenheimer. "Nisa Villers, née Lemoine (1774–1821)." *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 127 (April 1996), pp. 165–80.
- Oppenheimer 1996b.** Margaret A. Oppenheimer. "Three Newly Identified Paintings by Marie-Guillemine Benoist." *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 31 (1996), pp. 143–50.
- Oppenheimer 1996c.** Margaret A. Oppenheimer. "Women Artists in Paris, 1791–1814." PhD diss., Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, 1996.
- Oppenheimer 2005.** Margaret A. Oppenheimer. *The French Portrait: Revolution to Restoration*. Exh. cat. Northampton, Mass.: Smith College Museum of Art, 2005.
- Oppenheimer 2007.** Margaret A. Oppenheimer. "'The Charming Spectacle of a Cadaver': Anatomical and Life Study by Women Artists in Paris, 1775–1815." *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide* 6, no. 1 (2007), pp. 1–26.
- Opperman 1977.** Hal N. Opperman. *Jean-Baptiste Oudry*. 2 vols. New York: Garland, 1977.
- Opperman 1982.** Hal N. Opperman. *J.-B. Oudry, 1686–1755*. Exh. cat. Paris, Grand Palais. Paris: Editions de la Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1982.
- Orieux 1970.** Jean Orieux. *Talleyrand, ou Le sphinx incompris*. Paris: Flammarion, 1970.
- Oswald 1926.** John Clyde Oswald. *Benjamin Franklin in Oil and Bronze*. New York: W. E. Rudge, 1926.
- Paillet 1785.** A. J. Paillet. *Catalogue des tableaux des trois écoles, miniatures, bronzes, marbres et autres objets précieux du cabinet de feu M. le Marquis de Véri*. Sale cat. Hôtel de Bullion, Paris, December 12, 1785.
- Panard 1781.** *Panard au Sallon*. Paris: Belin, 1781.
- Parfait 1767.** François Parfait and Claude Parfait. *Dictionnaire des théâtres de Paris*. 7 vols. Paris: Rozet, 1767.
- Paris 1808.** *Explication des ouvrages de peinture, sculpture, architecture et gravure, des artistes vivans, exposés au Musée Napoléon, le 14 Octobre 1808*. Exh. cat. Paris: Dubray, 1808.
- Paris 1848.** *Explication des ouvrages de peinture, sculpture et architecture exposées à la Galerie Bonne-Nouvelle, au profit de la caisse des secours et pensions de l'Association*. 3d ed. Paris: Vinchon, 1848.
- Paris 1874.** *Explication des ouvrages de peinture exposés au profit de la colonisation de l'Algérie*. Exh. cat. Paris, Palais de la Présidence du Corps Législatif. Paris: J. Claye, 1874.
- Paris 1883a.** *L'art au XVIIIe siècle*. Exh. cat. Paris: Galerie Georges Petit, 1883.
- Paris 1883b.** *Catalogue de l'exposition de portraits du siècle (1783–1883)*. Exh. cat. Paris, Ecole des Beaux-Arts. Paris: Société Philanthropique, 1883.
- Paris 1892.** *Cents chefs-d'oeuvre des écoles françaises et étrangères*. Exh. cat. Paris: Galerie Georges Petit, 1892.
- Paris 1894.** *Catalogue de l'exposition de Marie-Antoinette et son temps*. Exh. cat. Paris: Galerie Sedelmeyer, 1894.
- Paris 1897.** *Catalogue de l'exposition des portraits de femmes et d'enfants*. Exh. cat. Paris, Ecole des Beaux-Arts. Paris: Société Philanthropique, 1897.
- Paris 1907.** *Exposition Chardin et Fragonard*. Exh. cat. Paris: Galerie Georges Petit, 1907.
- Paris 1908.** *Exposition de cent pastels du XVIIIe siècle par Latour, Perronneau, Nattier . . .* Exh. cat. Paris: Galerie Georges Petit, 1908.
- Paris 1909a.** *Catalogue des portraits de femmes sous les trois Républiques*. Exh. cat. Paris, Palais de Bagatelle. 2d ed. Paris: Moreau Frères, 1909.
- Paris 1909b.** *Exposition de cent portraits de femmes des écoles anglaise et française du XVIIIe siècle*. Exh. cat. Paris: Musée du Jeu de Paume, 1909.
- Paris 1913.** *Exposition David et ses élèves*. Exh. cat. Paris, Palais des Beaux-Arts. Paris: Georges Petit, 1913.
- Paris 1922.** *Exposition P.-P. Prud'hon*. Exh. cat. Paris, Palais des Beaux-Arts. Paris: Georges Petit, 1922.
- Paris 1926.** *Exposition des femmes peintres du XVIIIe siècle*. Exh. cat. Paris, Hôtel des Négociants. Paris: P. Frazier, 1926.
- Paris 1928.** *Exposition N. de Largillierre*. Exh. cat. Paris, Petit Palais. Paris: Editions de la Gazette des Beaux-Arts, 1928.
- Paris 1933.** *Exposition Hubert Robert à l'occasion du deuxième centenaire de sa naissance*. Exh. cat. Paris: Musée de l'Orangerie, 1933.
- Paris 1934.** *Le siècle de Louis XV, vu par les artistes*. Exh. cat. Paris: Galerie des Beaux-Arts, 1934.
- Paris 1937.** *Chefs d'oeuvre de l'art français*, vol. 1, *Peintures*. Exh. cat. Paris, Palais National des Arts. Paris: Edition des Musées Nationaux, 1937.
- Paris 1946.** *Chefs-d'oeuvres des collections françaises retrouvés en Allemagne par la Commission de Récupération Artistique*. Exh. cat. Paris: Orangerie des Tuileries, 1946.
- Paris 1956.** *Le cabinet de l'amateur*. Exh. cat. Paris, Musée de l'Orangerie. Paris: Editions des Musées Nationaux, 1956.
- Paris 1960.** *Louis XIV, faste et décors*. Exh. cat. Paris: Musée des Arts Décoratifs, 1960.
- Paris 1973.** *Musée Nissim de Camondo*. Paris: Union Centrale des Arts Décoratifs, 1973.
- Paris 1974.** *De David à Delacroix: La peinture française de 1774 à 1830*. Exh. cat. Paris, Grand Palais. Paris: Editions des Musées Nationaux, 1974.
- Paris 1986.** *François Boucher, 1703–1770*. Exh. cat. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art; Detroit Institute of Arts; Paris, Galeries Nationales du Grand Palais. Paris: Editions de la Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1986.
- Paris 2003.** *Joseph Vernet, 1714–1789: Views of France's Ports*. Exh. cat. Paris: Musée National de la Marine, 2003.
- Paris 2006.** *Portraits publics, portraits privés, 1770–1830*. Exh. cat. Paris, Grand Palais. Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 2006.
- Paris 2010.** Xavier Paris. *Carle Vernet, peintre de père en fils*. Paris: Arthena, 2010.
- Paris 2015.** *Hommage à la Galerie Cailleux*. Exh. cat. Paris: Galerie Eric Coatalem, 2015.
- Parker 1966.** James Parker. "French Eighteenth-Century Furniture Depicted on Canvas." *Bulletin of The Metropolitan Museum of Art* 24, no. 5 (1966), pp. 177–92.
- Parker and Mathey 1957.** K. T. Parker and Jacques Mathey. *Antoine Watteau: Catalogue complet de son oeuvre dessiné*. 2 vols. Paris: F. de Nobele, 1957.
- Pascal 1928.** Georges Pascal. *Largillierre*. Paris: Les Beaux-Arts, 1928.
- Pasqualoni 1786.** Pietro Pasqualoni. "Vita dell'insigne Pittore Pietro Subleyras . . . composto nel 1764." *Giornale delle Belle Arti* 20–22 (May–June 1786), pp. 156–76.
- Passez 1973.** Anne-Marie Passez. *Adélaïde Labille-Guiard, 1749–1803: Biographie et catalogue raisonné de son oeuvre*. Paris: Arts et Métiers Graphiques, 1973.
- Passez 1989.** Anne-Marie Passez. *Antoine Vestier, 1740–1824*. Paris: Bibliothèque des Arts, 1989.
- Pauli 1913.** Gustav Pauli. "David im Petit Palais." *Kunst und Künstler* 11 (August 1913), pp. 540–50.
- Peintre anglais 1785.** *Le peintre anglais au salon de peintures, exposées au Louvre en l'année 1785*. Paris, 1785.
- Percival 1999.** Melissa Percival. *The Appearance of Character: Physiognomy and Facial Expression in Eighteenth-Century France*. Leeds: W. S. Maney, 1999.
- Percival 2001.** Melissa Percival. "The Expressive Heads of Elisabeth Vigée Le Brun." *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 138 (November 2001), pp. 203–16.

- Percival 2012.** Melissa Percival. *Fragonard and the Fantasy Figure: Painting the Imagination*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2012.
- Pernety 1757.** Antoine Joseph Pernety. *Dictionnaire portatif de peinture, sculpture et gravure*. Paris: Libraire Bauche, 1757.
- Perreau 2004.** Stéphan Perreau. *Hyacinthe Rigaud, 1659–1743: Le peintre des rois*. Montpellier: Presses du Languedoc, 2004.
- Perreau 2010.** Stéphan Perreau. “Hyacinthe Rigaud le peintre des rois: Le portrait du comte d’Evreux,” November 11, 2010, at <http://hyacinthe-rigaud.over-blog.com/article-portrait-du-comte-d-evreux-60756307.html>.
- Perreau 2013.** Stéphan Perreau. *Hyacinthe Rigaud (1659–1743): Catalogue concis de l’oeuvre*. Sète: Nouvelles Presses du Languedoc, 2013.
- Petrucchi 2010.** Francesco Petrucci. *Pittura di ritratto a Roma: Il Settecento*. 3 vols. Rome: Andreina & Valneo Budai, 2010.
- Piasa 2006.** *Importants tableaux anciens*. Sale cat. Piasa, Paris, December 13, 2006.
- Pieńkos 1987.** Andrzej Pieńkos. “‘L’Oiseleur’ et les trois autres ‘Tableaux dans le costume italien.’ Quelques remarques sur l’oeuvre de jeunesse de Jean-Baptiste Greuze.” *Bulletin du Musée National de Varsovie* 28, nos. 1–2 (1987), pp. 1–13.
- Pillet 1824.** Fabien Pillet. *Une matinée au Salon, ou Les peintres de l’école passés en revue*. Paris: Delaunay, 1824.
- Pinault Sørenson 1994.** Madeleine Pinault Sørenson. “Madame Lavoisier, dessinatrice et peintre.” *Revue du Musée des Arts et Métiers*, no. 6 (March 1994), pp. 23–25.
- Plessis-Bellièrre 1897.** *Collection de Mme la Marquise du Plessis-Bellièrre*. Sale cat. Hôtel Drouot, Paris, May 10–11, 1897.
- Poirier 1994.** Jean-Pierre Poirier. “Le couple Lavoisier sur l’oeil de David.” *Revue du Musée des Arts et Métiers*, no. 6 (March 1994), pp. 26–29.
- Poirier 1996.** Jean-Pierre Poirier. *Lavoisier: Chemist, Biologist, Economist*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996.
- Poirier 2002.** Jean-Pierre Poirier. *Histoire des femmes de science en France du Moyen Age à la Révolution*. Paris: Pygmalion, 2002.
- Poirier 2004.** Jean-Pierre Poirier. *La science et l’amour: Madame Lavoisier*. Paris: Pygmalion, 2004.
- Pomeroy 2012.** Jordana Pomeroy, ed. *Royalists to Romantics: Women Artists from the Louvre, Versailles, and Other French National Collections*. Exh. cat. Washington, D.C.: National Museum of Women in the Arts, 2012.
- Populaire 1985.** Michèle Populaire. “La peinture décorative: Piat Joseph Sauvage.” In *Autour du Néo-classicisme en Belgique: 1770–1830*, ed. Denis Coeckelberghs and Pierre Loze, pp. 266–71. Brussels: Musée Communal des Beaux-Arts d’Ixelles, 1985.
- Portalis 1889.** Roger Portalis. *Honoré Fragonard, sa vie et son oeuvre*. 2 vols. Paris: J. Rothschild, 1889.
- Portalis 1901–2.** Roger Portalis. “Adélaïde Labille-Guiard (1749–1803).” *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 26 (1901), pp. 353–67, 477–94; 27 (1902), pp. 100–118, 325–47.
- Portalis 1902.** Roger Portalis. *Adélaïde Labille-Guiard (1749–1803)*. Paris: Georges Petit, 1902.
- Posner 1982.** Donald Posner. “The Swinging Women of Watteau and Fragonard.” *Art Bulletin* 64, no. 1 (1982), pp. 75–88.
- Posner 1984.** Donald Posner. *Antoine Watteau*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1984.
- Posner 1996.** Donald Posner. “The ‘Duchesse de Velours’ and Her Daughter: A Masterpiece by Nattier and Its Historical Context.” *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 31 (1996), pp. 131–41.
- Pougens 1834.** Charles de Pougens. *Mémoires et souvenirs*. Paris: H. Fournier, 1834.
- Poulet and Scherf 1992.** Anne L. Poulet and Guilhem Scherf. *Clodion, 1738–1814*. Exh. cat. Paris, Musée du Louvre. Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1992.
- Pujoux 1787.** Jean-Baptiste Pujoux. *Les grandes prophéties du Grand Nostradamus sur le grand Salon de peinture de l’an de grâce 1787*. Provence, 1787.
- Quatremère de Quincy 1837.** Quatremère de Quincy. *Suite du recueil de notices historiques: Lues dans les séances publiques de l’Académie Royale des Beaux-Arts à l’Institut*. Paris: A. Le Clerc, 1837.
- Radet 1779.** Jean-Baptiste Radet. *Ah! Ah! Encore une critique du Sallon! Voyons ce qu’elle chante*. Paris: Libraires qui Vendent les Nouveautés, 1779.
- Radisich 1998.** Paula Radisich. *Hubert Robert: Painted Spaces of the Enlightenment*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Radisich 2013.** Paula Radisich. *Pastiche, Fashion, and Galanterie in Chardin’s Genre Subjects*. Lanham, Md.: University of Delaware Press, 2013.
- Ramade and Eidelberg 2004.** Patrick Ramade and Martin Eidelberg, eds. *Watteau et la fête galante*. Exh. cat. Valenciennes, Musée des Beaux-Arts. Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 2004.
- Rand 1997.** Richard Rand, ed. *Intimate Encounters: Love and Domesticity in Eighteenth-Century France*. Exh. cat. Hanover, N.H., Hood Museum of Art. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997.
- Randall 1979.** Lillian M. C. Randall, ed. *The Diary of George A. Lucas, an American Art Agent in Paris, 1857–1909*. 2 vols. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979.
- Réau 1920.** Louis Réau. “Greuze et la Russie.” *L’Art et les Artistes*, no. 1 (1920), pp. 273–86.
- Réau 1931.** Louis Réau. “Jean-Baptiste Defernex, sculpteur du duc d’Orléans.” *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 5 (1931), pp. 349–65.
- Recueil Jullienne 1735.** *L’oeuvre d’Antoine Watteau . . . gravé d’après les tableaux et des-seins originaux . . . par les soins de M. de Jullienne*. 2 vols. Paris, 1735.
- Recueil Jullienne 2010.** *Antoine Watteau et l’art de l’estampe: Recueils Jullienne*, at <http://technologies.c2rmf.fr/exhibitions/watteau>.
- Remy 1765.** *Catalogue de tableaux de differens bons maîtres des trois écoles . . . après le décès de M. le marquis de Villette, père*. Sale cat. Pierre Remy, Paris, April 8, 1765.
- Remy 1767.** Pierre Remy. *Catalogue raisonné des tableaux, desseins & estampes . . . de M. de Jullienne*. Paris: Chez Vente, 1767.
- Renou 1783.** Antoine Renou. *L’impartialité au Sallon*. Paris: Marchands de Nouveautés, 1783.
- Renouvier 1863.** Jules Renouvier. *Histoire de l’art pendant la Révolution . . . suivi d’une étude du même sur J.-B. Greuze*. Ed. Anatole de Montaiglon. Paris: Renouard, 1863; reprint, Geneva: Slatkine, 1996.
- Répertoire 1947.** *Répertoire des biens spoliés en France durant la guerre, 1939–1945*, vol. 2, *Tableaux, tapisseries, et sculptures*. Berlin, 1947.
- Restellini 2000.** Marc Restellini, ed. *From Fra Angelico to Bonnard: Masterpieces from the Rau Collection*. Exh. cat. Paris, Musée du Luxembourg. Milan: Skira, 2000.
- Reuter 2002.** Astrid Reuter. *Marie-Guilhelmine Benoist: Gestaltungsräume einer Künstlerin um 1800*. Berlin: Lukas, 2002.
- Revue 1802.** *Revue du Salon de l’an X, ou Examen critique de tous les tableaux qui ont été exposés au muséum*. Paris: Surose, 1802.
- Reynolds 1905.** Sir Joshua Reynolds. “The Twelfth Discourse . . . December 10, 1784.” in *Discourses Delivered to the Students of the Royal Academy*. Ed. Roger Fry. London: Seeley & Co., 1905.
- Rice 1997.** Louise Rice. *The Altars and Altarpieces of New St. Peter’s: Outfitting the Basilica, 1621–1666*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- Richter 1965.** Gisela M. A. Richter. *The Portraits of the Greeks*. 3 vols. London: Phaidon, 1965.

- Rigaud 1919.** Hyacinthe Rigaud. *Le livre de raison du peintre Hyacinthe Rigaud, 1681–1743*. Ed. J. Roman. Paris: H. Laurens, 1919.
- Roberts 1905.** William Roberts. “The Cronier Sale.” *Athenaeum*, no. 4076 (December 9, 1905), pp. 807–8.
- Roberts 1907.** William Roberts. *Pictures in the Collection of J. Pierpont Morgan at Princes Gate & Dover House*, vol. 2, *Dutch & Flemish, French, Italian, Spanish*. London, 1907.
- Robin 1787.** Jean-Baptiste Claude Robin. *L’ami des artistes au Salon*. Paris: Esclapart, 1787.
- Roethlisberger and Loche 2008.** Marcel Roethlisberger and Renée Loche. *Liotard: Catalogue, sources et correspondance*. 2 vols. Doornspijk: Davaco, 2008.
- Roettgen 1999–2003.** Steffi Roettgen. *Anton Raphael Mengs, 1728–1779*. 2 vols. Munich: Hirmer, 1999–2003.
- Roland Michel 1970.** Marianne Roland Michel. *Anne Vallayer-Coster, 1744–1818*. Paris: C.I.L., 1970.
- Roland Michel 1984a.** Marianne Roland Michel. *Lajoüe et l’art rocaille*. Paris: Arthena, 1984.
- Roland Michel 1984b.** Marianne Roland Michel. *Watteau: An Artist of the Eighteenth Century*. New York: Alpine Fine Arts, 1984.
- Roland Michel 1994.** Marianne Roland Michel. *Chardin*. Paris: Hazen, 1994; English ed., New York: Abrams, 1996.
- Rome 1959.** *Il Settecento a Roma*. Exh. cat. Rome, Palazzo delle Esposizioni. Rome: De Luca, 1959.
- Ros de Barbero 2005.** Almudena Ros de Barbero. “Laurent Pécheux: Pintor Francés, retratista de María Luisa de Parma, princesa de Asturias.” In *El arte foráneo en España: Presencia e influencia*, ed. Miguel Cabañas Bravo, pp. 407–16. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2005.
- Rosenberg 1979a.** Pierre Rosenberg. *Chardin, 1699–1779*. Exh. cat. Paris, Galeries Nationales du Grand Palais. Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1979.
- Rosenberg 1979b.** Pierre Rosenberg. *Chardin, 1699–1779*. Exh. cat. Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1979.
- Rosenberg 1983.** Pierre Rosenberg. *L’opera completa di Chardin*. Milan: Rizzoli, 1983.
- Rosenberg 1984.** Pierre Rosenberg, ed. *Vies anciennes de Watteau*. Paris: Hermann, 1984.
- Rosenberg 1987.** Pierre Rosenberg. *Fragonard*. Exh. cat. Paris, Galeries Nationales du Grand Palais. Paris: Editions de la Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1987.
- Rosenberg 1988.** Pierre Rosenberg. *Fragonard*. Exh. cat. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1988.
- Rosenberg 1989.** Pierre Rosenberg. *Tout l’oeuvre peint de Fragonard*. Paris: Flammarion, 1989.
- Rosenberg 1999.** Pierre Rosenberg, ed. *Chardin*. Exh. cat. Paris, Galeries Nationales du Grand Palais. Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1999.
- Rosenberg 2000.** Pierre Rosenberg, ed. *Chardin*. Exh. cat. London and New York: Royal Academy of Arts and The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2000.
- Rosenberg 2016.** Pierre Rosenberg. “Le peintre Subleyras, pensionnaire au Palais Mancini.” In *L’Académie de France à Rome: Le Palais Mancini, un foyer artistique dans l’Europe des Lumières (1725–1792)*, ed. Marc Bayard et al., pp. 295–305. Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2016.
- Rosenberg and Brejon de Lavergnée 1986.** Pierre Rosenberg and Barbara Brejon de Lavergnée, eds. *Saint-Non, Fragonard: Panopticon italiano: Un diario di viaggio ritrovato, 1759–1761*. Rome: Elefante, 1986.
- Rosenberg and Prat 1996.** Pierre Rosenberg and Louis-Antoine Prat. *Antoine Watteau, 1684–1721: Catalogue raisonné des dessins*. 3 vols. Milan: Leonardo Arte, 1996.
- Rosenberg and Prat 2002.** Pierre Rosenberg and Louis-Antoine Prat. *Jacques-Louis David, 1748–1825: Catalogue raisonné des dessins*. 2 vols. Milan: Leonardo Arte, 2002.
- Rosenberg and Prat 2016.** Pierre Rosenberg and Louis-Antoine Prat, eds. *De David à Delacroix*, vol. 1, *Du tableau au dessin*. Paris: Société du Salon du Dessin, 2016.
- Rosenberg and van de Sandt 1983.** Pierre Rosenberg and Udolpho van de Sandt. *Pierre Peyron, 1744–1814*. Neuilly-sur-Seine: Arthena, 1983.
- Rosenblum 1967.** Robert Rosenblum. *Transformations in Late Eighteenth Century Art*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967.
- Rosenblum 1977.** Robert Rosenblum. “The Greuze Exhibition at Hartford and Elsewhere.” *The Burlington Magazine* 119 (February 1977), pp. 145–49.
- Rosenfeld 1981.** Myra Nan Rosenfeld. *Largillierre and the Eighteenth-Century Portrait*. Exh. cat. Montreal: Musée des Beaux-Arts, 1981.
- Rou 1857.** Jean Rou. *Mémoires inédits et opuscules de Jean Rou (1638–1711)*. Ed. Francis Waddington. 2 vols. Paris: Agence Centrale de la Société, 1857.
- Rousseau 1956.** Theodore Rousseau Jr. “New Accessions of Paintings.” *Bulletin of The Metropolitan Museum of Art* 14, no. 8 (1956), pp. 198–204.
- Roussinova 2015.** Roussina Roussinova. “The Art of Pleasing the Eye: Portraits by Nicolas de Largillierre and Spectatorship with Taste for Colour in the Early Eighteenth Century.” PhD diss., Stockholm University, 2015.
- Roux 1934.** Marcel Roux. *Inventaire du fonds français: Graveurs du XVIIIe siècle*, vol. 3, *Bizemont-Prunel (Comte de)—Cars (Laurent)*. Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1934.
- Roux 1940.** Marcel Roux. *Inventaire du fonds français: Graveurs du XVIIIe siècle*, vol. 4, *Cathelin—Cochin Père (Charles-Nicolas)*. Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1940.
- Roux 1949.** Marcel Roux. *Inventaire du fonds français: Graveurs du XVIIIe siècle*, vol. 6, *Damontot—Denon*. Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1949.
- Sadler 2014.** Graham Sadler. *The Rameau Compendium*. Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer, 2014.
- Sahut 1977.** Marie-Catherine Sahut. *Carle Vanloo: Premier peintre du roi (Nice, 1705–Paris, 1765)*. Exh. cat. Nice, Musée Chéret; Clermont-Ferrand, Musée Bargoin; Nancy, Musée des Beaux-Arts. Nice: Musée Chéret, 1977.
- Sahut and Volle 1984.** Marie-Catherine Sahut and Nathalie Volle, eds. *Diderot & l’art de Boucher à David: Les Salons, 1759–1781*. Exh. cat. Paris, Hôtel de la Monnaie. Paris: Editions des Musées Nationaux, 1984.
- Salmon 1962.** Alphonse Salmon. “Le ‘Socrate’ de David et le ‘Phédon’ de Platon.” *Revue Belge de Philologie et d’Histoire* 40 (1962), pp. 90–111.
- Salmon 1999.** Xavier Salmon. *Jean-Marc Nattier, 1685–1766*. Exh. cat. Musée National des Châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon. Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1999.
- Salmon 2002.** Xavier Salmon, ed. *Madame de Pompadour et les arts*. Exh. cat. Versailles, Musée National des Châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon; Munich, Kunsthalle der Hypo-Kulturstiftung; London, National Gallery. Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 2002.
- Salmon 2004.** Xavier Salmon. *Le voleur d’âmes: Maurice Quentin de La Tour*. Exh. cat. Musée National des Châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon. Versailles: Artlys, 2004.
- Salmon 2014.** Xavier Salmon. *Peintre des rois, roi des peintres: François Gérard, 1770–1837: Portraitiste*. Exh. cat. Château de Fontainebleau. Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 2014.
- Salmon 2018.** Xavier Salmon. *Pastels du Musée du Louvre: XVIIe–XVIIIe siècles*. Paris: Hazan, 2018.
- Salmon and Hohenzollern 2002.** Xavier Salmon and Johann Georg Prinz von Hohenzollern, eds. *Madame de Pompadour:*

- L'art et l'amour*. Exh. cat. Versailles, Musée National des Châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon; Munich, Kunsthalle der Hypo-Kulturstiftung; London, National Gallery. Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 2002.
- Salomons 1914.** Vera Salomons. *Charles Eisen: Eighteenth-Century Book Illustrator and Engraver*. London: Bumpus, 1914.
- Salon 1777.** *Lettres pittoresques, à l'occasion des tableaux exposés au Sallon, en 1777*. Paris: Gueffier, 1777.
- Santoleri 2014.** Carol Santoleri. "Honoré de Balzac and Natoire's *The Expulsion from Paradise*." *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 49 (2014), pp. 193–99.
- Sass 1966.** Else Kai Sass. "Nattier-Tocqué et vice-versa." In *Opuscula in Honorem C. Hermarck 27.12.1966*, pp. 181–206. Stockholm: Nationalmuseum, 1966.
- Sauerländer 1965.** Willibald Sauerländer. "Pathosfiguren im oeuvre des Jean-Baptiste Greuze." In *Walter Friedlaender zum 90. Geburtstag*, ed. Georg Kauffmann and Willibald Sauerländer, pp. 146–50. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1965.
- Saunier 1904.** Charles Saunier. *Louis David, biographie critique illustrée de vingt-quatre reproductions hors texte*. Paris, 1904.
- Saunier 1913.** Charles Saunier. "David et son école au Palais des Beaux-Arts de la Ville de Paris." *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 9 (1913), pp. 371–90.
- Schaeper 1995.** Thomas J. Schaeper. *France and America in the Revolutionary Era: The Life of Jacques-Donatien Leray de Chaumont, 1725–1803*. Providence: Berghahn Books, 1995.
- Schama 1989.** Simon Schama. *Citizens: A Chronicle of the French Revolution*. New York: Knopf, 1989.
- Schieder 2006.** Martin Schieder. "Between *Grâce* and *Volupté*: Boucher and Religious Painting." In *Rethinking Boucher*, ed. Melissa Hyde and Mark Ledbury, pp. 61–87. Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2006.
- Schnapper 1974.** Antoine Schnapper. "La peinture française sous la Revolution: 1789–1800." In *De David à Delacroix: La peinture française de 1774 à 1830*, pp. 101–17. Exh. cat. Paris: Editions des Musées Nationaux, 1974.
- Schnapper 1980.** Antoine Schnapper. *David: Témoin de son temps*. Fribourg: Office du Livre, 1980.
- Schnapper 1982.** Antoine Schnapper. *David*. New York: Alpine Fine Arts Collection, 1982.
- Schnapper and Sérullaz 1989.** Antoine Schnapper and Arlette Sérullaz. *Jacques-Louis David, 1748–1825*. Exh. cat. Paris, Musée du Louvre; Musée National de Versailles. Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1989.
- Schwab-Pourbaix 2008.** Clotilde Schwab-Pourbaix. "Marie-Eléonore Godefroid et ses portraits conservés au Musée National des Châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon." *Revue des Musées de France, Revue du Louvre* 17 (December 2008), pp. 63–71.
- Scott 1973.** Barbara Scott. "La Live de Jolly: Pioneer of Neo-Classicism." *Apollo* 97, no. 131 (1973), pp. 72–77.
- Seifert 1999.** Oliver Seifert, ed. *Chardin*. Exh. cat. Düsseldorf, Kunsthalle. Cologne: DuMont, 1999.
- Seigneur 1863–64.** Jean du Seigneur. "Appendice à la notice de P. Chausard sur L. David." *Revue Universelle des Arts* 18 (1863–64), pp. 359–69.
- Sellers 1962.** Charles Coleman Sellers. *Benjamin Franklin in Portraiture*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1962.
- Sérullaz 2005.** Arlette Sérullaz. *Gérard, Girodet, Gros: David's Studio*. Exh. cat. Paris, Musée du Louvre. Milan: 5 Continents, 2005.
- Seznec 1944.** Jean Seznec. "Racine et Prud'hon." *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 26 (1944), pp. 349–64.
- Seznec 1957.** Jean Seznec. *Essais sur Diderot et l'antiquité*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957.
- Shelley 2005.** Marjorie Shelley. "Pastelists at Work: Two Portraits at the Metropolitan Museum by Maurice Quentin de La Tour and Jean Baptiste Perronneau." *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 40 (2005), pp. 105–19.
- Sheriff 1987.** Mary D. Sheriff. "Invention, Resemblance, and Fragonard's *Portraits de Fantaisie*." *Art Bulletin* 69, no. 1 (1987), pp. 77–87.
- Sheriff 1997.** Mary D. Sheriff. "Lemoine, Marie-Victoire." In *Dictionary of Women Artists*, ed. Delia Gaze, vol. 2, pp. 836–39. London: Fitzroy Dearborn, 1997.
- Siegfried 2015.** Susan L. Siegfried. "The Visual Culture of Fashion and the Classical Ideal in Post-Revolutionary France." *Art Bulletin* 97, no. 1 (2015), pp. 77–99.
- Silvestre de Sacy 1953.** Jacques Silvestre de Sacy. *Le comte d'Angiviller, dernier directeur général des Bâtiments du Roi*. Paris: Plon, 1953.
- Slatkin 1971.** Regina Shoolman Slatkin. "Two Early Drawings by François Boucher." *Master Drawings* 9 (Winter 1971), pp. 399–403, 477–48.
- Slatkin 1976.** Regina Shoolman Slatkin. "Abraham Bloemaert and François Boucher: Affinity and Relationship." *Master Drawings* 14 (Autumn 1976), pp. 247–60, 317–31.
- Slayman 1970.** James Hugus Slayman. "The Drawings of Pierre-Paul Prud'hon: A Critical Study." PhD diss., University of Wisconsin, 1970.
- Smith 1837.** John Smith. *A Catalogue Raisonné of the Works of the Most Eminent Dutch, Flemish, and French Painters*, vol. 8, *Nicholas Poussin, Claude Lorraine, and Jean Baptist Greuze*. London: Smith and Son, 1837.
- Smith 1982.** David R. Smith. "Rembrandt's Early Double Portraits and the Dutch Conversation Piece." *Art Bulletin* 64 (June 1982), pp. 259–88.
- Sotheby's 1989.** *Les vues de Sagan*. Sale cat. Sotheby's, Monaco, March 4, 1989.
- Soubeyran and Vilain 1975.** François Soubeyran and Jacques Vilain. "Gabriel Bouquier, critique du Salon de 1775." *Revue du Louvre* 95, no. 2 (1975), pp. 95–104.
- Souchal 1967.** François Souchal. *Les Slodtz, sculpteurs et décorateurs du Roi (1685–1764)*. Paris: É. de Boccard, 1967.
- Spear 1982.** Richard E. Spear. *Domenichino*. 2 vols. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982.
- Sprinson de Jesús 2008.** Mary Sprinson de Jesús. "Adélaïde Labille-Guiard's Pastel Studies of the Mesdames de France." *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 43 (2008), pp. 157–72.
- Stein and Holmes 1999.** Perrin Stein and Mary Tavener Holmes. *Eighteenth-Century French Drawings in New York Collections*. Exh. cat. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1999.
- Stendhal 1932.** Stendhal. *Mélanges d'art: Salon de 1824 des beaux-arts*. Ed. Henri Martineau. Paris: Le Divan, 1932.
- Sterling 1950.** Charles Sterling. "Sur un prétend chef-d'oeuvre de David." *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français* (1950), pp. 118–30.
- Sterling 1951.** Charles Sterling. "A Fine 'David' Reattributed." *Bulletin of The Metropolitan Museum of Art* 9, no. 5 (1951), pp. 121–32.
- Sterling 1955.** Charles Sterling. *The Metropolitan Museum of Art: A Catalogue of French Paintings, vol. 1, XV–XVIII Centuries*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1955.
- Sterling 1964.** Charles Sterling. *Portrait of a Man (The Warrior): Jean Honoré Fragonard*. Exh. cat. Williamstown, Mass.: Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, 1964.
- Stroganov 1800.** Aleksandr Sergeevich Stroganov. *Catalogue raisonné des tableaux qui composent la collection du Comte A. de Stroganoff*. Saint Petersburg: Imprimerie Impériale, 1800.
- Stryienski 1911.** Casimir Stryienski. *Mesdames de France, filles de Louis XV*. 4th ed. Paris: Emile-Paul, 1911.

- Sueur 1974.** Jean-Claude Sueur. *Le portraitiste Antoine Vestier (1740–1824)*. Neuilly-sur-Seine: J.-C. Sueur, 1974.
- Suite 1808.** *Suite de l'exposition de tableaux en 1808*. S.l., 1808.
- Sweeney 1956.** John L. Sweeney, ed. *The Painter's Eye: Notes and Essays on the Pictorial Arts*. London: R. Hart-Davis, 1956.
- Tarare 1787.** *Tarare au Sallon de peinture*. Paris: Marchands de Nouveautés, 1787.
- Taylor 1995.** *Le baron Taylor, l'association des artistes et l'exposition du Bazar Bonne-Nouvelle en 1846*. Paris: Fondation Taylor, 1995.
- Temperini 1996.** Renaud Temperini. *French Painting of the Ancien Régime*. Houston: The Sarah Campbell Blaffer Foundation, 1996.
- Temple 1902.** Alfred George Temple. *Catalogue of the Exhibition of a Selection of Works by French and English Painters of the Eighteenth Century*. Exh. cat. London, Guildhall Art Gallery. London: Blades, East & Blades, 1902.
- Thiéry 1787.** Luc Vincent Thiéry. *Guide des amateurs et des étrangers voyageurs à Paris*. 2 vols. Paris: Hardouin & Gattey, 1787.
- Thoisson 1903.** Eugène Thoisson. "Recherches sur les artistes se rattachant au Gatinais: Pierre Gobert." In *Mémoire lu à la réunion des Sociétés des Beaux-Arts des Départements*, pp. 98–137. Paris, 1903.
- Thomé 1826.** Aimé Thomé. *Vie de David, premier peintre de Napoléon*. Paris: Marchands de Nouveautés, 1826.
- Thompson 1982.** James Thompson. "A Study by Greuze for Broken Eggs." *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 17 (1982), pp. 47–48.
- Thompson 1989–90.** James Thompson. "Jean-Baptiste Greuze." *Bulletin of The Metropolitan Museum of Art* 47, no. 3 (1989–90), pp. 1–52.
- Tillerot 2010.** Isabelle Tillerot. *Jean de Jullienne et les collectionneurs de son temps: Un regard singulier sur le tableau*. Paris: Editions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, 2010.
- Tillerot 2011.** Isabelle Tillerot. "Engraving Watteau in the Eighteenth Century: Order and Display in the *Recueil Jullienne*." *Getty Research Journal*, no. 3 (2011), pp. 33–52.
- Tourneux 1880.** Maurice Tourneux, ed. *Correspondance littéraire, philosophique et critique par Grimm, Diderot, Raynal, Meister, etc.* Vol. 12. Paris: Garnier frères, 1880.
- Tourneux 1896.** Maurice Tourneux. "Jean-Baptiste Perronneau (deuxième article)." *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 15 (1896), pp. 131–46.
- Tourneux 1897.** Maurice Tourneux. "L'exposition des portraits de femmes et d'enfants à l'Ecole des Beaux-Arts." *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 17 (1897), pp. 445–60.
- Tours 1999.** *Balzac et la peinture*. Exh. cat. Tours, Musée de Beaux-Arts. Tours: Farrago, 1999.
- Tripier Le Franc 1880.** Justin Tripier Le Franc. *Histoire de la vie et de la mort du baron Gros le grand peintre*. Paris: Jules Martin, 1880.
- Truchot 1879.** Pierre Truchot. *Les instruments de Lavoisier: Relation d'une visite à La Canière (Puy-de-Dôme), où se trouvent réunis les appareils ayant servi à Lavoisier*. Paris: Gauthier-Villars, 1879.
- Trumble 1891.** Alfred Trumble. "From Day to Day." *The Collector* 3, no. 2 (November 15, 1891), pp. 17–22.
- Vaillat and Ratouis de Limay 1909.** Léandre Vaillat and Paul Ratouis de Limay. *J.-B. Perronneau (1715–1783): Sa vie et son oeuvre*. Paris: F. Gittler, 1909.
- Vaillat and Ratouis de Limay 1923.** Léandre Vaillat and Paul Ratouis de Limay. *J.-B. Perronneau (1715–1783): Sa vie et son oeuvre*. 2d ed., rev. and augm. Paris: G. Van Oest, 1923.
- Valence 1999.** *Hubert Robert (1733–1808) et Saint-Petersbourg*. Exh. cat. Musée de Valence. Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1999.
- Valory 1854.** Chevalier de Valory. "Jean-François de Troy." In *Mémoires inédits sur la vie et les ouvrages des membres de l'Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture*, vol. 2, pp. 255–88. Paris: J. B. Dumoulin, 1854.
- Vauxcelles 1917.** Louis Vauxcelles. "Art ancien: Un chef-d'oeuvre de Fragonard retrouvé." *Le Carnet des Artistes*, no. 2 (February 15, 1917), pp. 9–11.
- Verdi 1971.** Richard Verdi. "Poussin's *Eudamidas*: Eighteenth-Century Criticism and Copies." *The Burlington Magazine* 113 (September 1971), pp. 513–24.
- Vérité 1781.** *La Vérité, critique des tableaux exposés au Sallon du Louvre en 1781*. Florence and Paris, 1781.
- Verlet 1982.** Pierre Verlet. *The Savonnerie: Its History, The Waddesdon Collection*. Fribourg: Office du Livre, 1982.
- Versailles 1993.** *Versailles et les tables royales en Europe, XVIIème–XIXème siècles*. Exh. cat. Musée National des Châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon. Paris: Editions de la Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1993.
- Vidal 1995.** Mary Vidal. "David among the Moderns: Art, Science, and the Lavoisiers." *Journal of the History of Ideas* 56, no. 4 (1995), pp. 595–623.
- Vidal 2003.** Mary Vidal. "The 'Other Atelier': Jacques-Louis David's Female Students." In *Women, Art, and the Politics of Identity in Eighteenth-Century Europe*, ed. Melissa Hyde and Jennifer Milam, pp. 237–62. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003.
- Viel 1995.** Claude Viel. "Le salon et le laboratoire de Lavoisier à l'Arsenal, cénacle où s'élabora la nouvelle chimie." *Revue d'Histoire de la Pharmacie* 42 (1995), pp. 255–66.
- Vigarello 1988.** Georges Vigarello. *Concepts of Cleanliness: Changing Attitudes in France since the Middle Ages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.
- Vigée Le Brun 1835–37.** Elisabeth Louise Vigée Le Brun. *Souvenirs de Madame Louise-Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun*. 3 vols. Paris: Fournier, 1835–37.
- Vita 1786.** "Vita di Pietro Subleyras." *Memorie per le Belle Arti* 2 (February 1786), pp. 25–36.
- Vitet 1861.** Louis Vitet. *L'Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture, étude historique*. Paris: Michel Lévy Frères, 1861.
- Vitry and Nicolle 1912.** Paul Vitry and Marcel Nicolle. *Collection Jacques Doucet, deuxième partie, Catalogue des sculptures & tableaux du XVIIIe siècle*. Paris: Imprimerie Georges Petit, 1912.
- Vittet 2014.** Jean Vittet. *Les Gobelins au siècle des Lumières: Un âge d'or de la manufacture royale*. Exh. cat. Paris, Galerie des Gobelins. Paris: Swan, 2014.
- Vivant Denon 1999.** Dominique Vivant Denon. *Vivant Denon, directeur des musées sous le consulat et l'empire: Correspondance (1802–1815)*. Ed. Marie-Anne Dupuy et al. 2 vols. Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1999.
- Vogtherr 2011.** Christoph Martin Vogtherr, ed. *Stiftung Preussische Schlösser und Gärten Berlin-Brandenburg, Französische Gemälde I: Watteau, Pater, Lancret, Lajoüe*. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2011.
- Vogtherr and Tonkovich 2011.** Christoph Martin Vogtherr and Jennifer Tonkovich. *Jean de Jullienne: Collector & Connoisseur*. Exh. cat. London: The Wallace Collection, 2011.
- Voiriot 2004.** Catherine Voiriot. "Guillaume Voiriot (1712–1799), portraitiste de l'Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture." *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français* (2004), pp. 111–57.
- Voltaire 1820.** Voltaire. *Pieces inédite de Voltaire*. Ed. Jean-Corneille Jacobsen. Paris: Didot, 1820.
- Voss 1953.** Hermann Voss. "François Boucher's Early Development." *The Burlington Magazine* 95 (March 1953), pp. 80–93.
- Wallace Collection 1928.** *Wallace Collection Catalogues: Pictures and Drawings*. 15th ed. London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1928.
- Wallace Collection 1968.** *Wallace Collection Catalogues: Pictures and Drawings*. 16th ed. London: Trustees of The Wallace Collection, 1968.

- Waresquiel 2003.** Emmanuel de Waresquiel. *Talleyrand, le prince immobile*. Paris: Fayard, 2003.
- Waresquiel 2005.** Emmanuel de Waresquiel. *Talleyrand, ou Le miroir trompeur*. Exh. cat. Autun, Musée Rolin. Paris: Somogy, 2005.
- Wark 1961.** Robert R. Wark. *French Decorative Art in the Huntington Collection*. San Marino, Calif.: Huntington Library, 1961.
- Warner 1986.** Michael Warner. "Franklin and the Letters of the Republic." *Representations*, no. 16 (Autumn 1986), pp. 110–30.
- Waterhouse 1967.** Ellis Waterhouse. *The James A. de Rothschild Collection at Waddesdon Manor: Paintings*. Fribourg: Office du Livre, 1967.
- Watson 1966–70.** Francis J. B. Watson. *The Wrightsman Collection*. 3 vols. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1966–70.
- Wehle 1935.** Harry B. Wehle. "Le Mezzetin by Antoine Watteau." *Bulletin of The Metropolitan Museum of Art* 30, no. 1 (1935), pp. 12–18.
- Weimar 2005.** *From Callot to Greuze: French Drawings from Weimar*. Exh. cat. Weimar, Stiftung Weimarer Klassik und Kunstsammlungen; New York, The Frick Collection; Paris, Musée Jacquemart-André. Berlin: G + H, 2005.
- Wildenstein 1924a.** Georges Wildenstein. *Lancret*. Paris: Les Beaux-Arts, 1924.
- Wildenstein 1924b.** Georges Wildenstein, ed. *Le Salon de 1725: Compte rendu par le Mercure de France de l'exposition faite au Salon Carré du Louvre par l'Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture en 1725*. Paris: Les Beaux-Arts, 1924.
- Wildenstein 1933.** Georges Wildenstein. *Chardin*. Paris: Les Beaux-Arts, 1933.
- Wildenstein 1959a.** Georges Wildenstein. "L'Abbé de Saint-Non: Artiste et mécène." *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 54 (November 1959), pp. 225–37.
- Wildenstein 1959b.** Georges Wildenstein. "Le décor de la vie de Chardin d'après ses tableaux." *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 53 (February 1959), pp. 97–106.
- Wildenstein 1960.** Georges Wildenstein. *The Paintings of Fragonard, Complete Edition*. London: Phaidon, 1960.
- Wildenstein 1961.** Georges Wildenstein. "Un amateur de Boucher et de Fragonard, Jacques-Onésyme Bergeret (1715–1785)." *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 58 (July–August 1961), pp. 39–84.
- Wildenstein 1963.** Georges Wildenstein. *Chardin*. Zurich: Manesse, 1963.
- Wildenstein 1969.** Georges Wildenstein. *Chardin*. Translated by Stuart Gilbert. Rev. and enl. ed. by Daniel Wildenstein. Greenwich, Conn.: New York Graphic Society, 1969.
- Wildenstein 1973.** Daniel Wildenstein and Guy Wildenstein, eds. *Documents complémentaires au catalogue de l'oeuvre de Louis David*. Paris: Fondation Wildenstein, 1973.
- Williams 1937.** Hermann W. Williams Jr. "A Concert Champêtre by Pater." *Bulletin of The Metropolitan Museum of Art* 32, no. 6 (1937), pp. 148–51.
- Williams 1938.** Hermann W. Williams Jr. "Portrait of a Lady with a Dog by Fragonard." *Bulletin of The Metropolitan Museum of Art* 33, no. 1 (1938), pp. 14–16.
- Williams 1978.** Eunice Williams. *Drawings by Fragonard in North American Collections*. Exh. cat. Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1978.
- Wind 1940–42.** Edgar Wind. "The Sources of David's *Horaces*." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 4, nos. 3–4 (1940–42), pp. 124–38.
- Wind 1943.** Edgar Wind. "A Lost Article on David by Reynolds." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 6 (1943), pp. 223–24.
- Wintermute 1989.** Alan Wintermute, ed. *1789: French Art during the Revolution*. Exh. cat. New York: Colnaghi, 1989.
- Wintermute 1990.** Alan Wintermute, ed. *Claude to Corot: The Development of Landscape Painting in France*. Exh. cat. New York, Colnaghi. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1990.
- Wintermute 1996.** Alan Wintermute. *The French Portrait, 1550–1850*. Exh. cat. New York: Colnaghi, 1996.
- Worsdale 1978.** Derrick Worsdale. "French Clocks at Palazzo Pitti." *The Connoisseur* 197 (January 1978), pp. 36–43.
- Wrangel and Troubnikov 1909.** Nikolaj Wrangel and Aleksandr Troubnikov. "Les tableaux de la collection du comte G. Stroganoff à Rome." *Starye Gody* (March 1909), pp. 115–38.
- Wrigley 1993.** Richard Wrigley. *The Origins of French Art Criticism from the Ancien Régime to the Restoration*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993.
- Wurth Harris 1979.** Mary Ann Wurth Harris. "The Abbé de Saint-Non and His Pastel Copy of a Painting by Fragonard." *Apollo* 110 (July 1979), pp. 57–61.
- Yokohama 1989.** *Treasures from The Metropolitan Museum of Art: French Art from the Middle Ages to the Twentieth Century*. Exh. cat. Yokohama Museum of Art. Tokyo: Yomiuri Shinbunsha, 1989.
- Yriarte 1903.** Charles Yriarte. "Mémoires de Bagatelle I." *Revue de Paris* 4 (July–August 1903), pp. 1–39.
- Yusupov 1839.** *Musée du Prince Youssouppoff: Contenant les tableaux, marbres, ivoires et porcelaines qui se trouvent dans l'hôtel de son excellence à Saint Pétersbourg*. Saint Petersburg: Pluchard, 1839.
- Zafran 1983.** Eric M. Zafran. *The Rococo Age: French Masterpieces of the Eighteenth Century*. Exh. cat. Atlanta: High Museum of Art, 1983.
- Zoltowska 1974.** Maria Evelina Zoltowska. "La première critique d'art écrite par un Polonais: Lettre d'un étranger sur le salon de 1787 de Stanislas Kostka Potocki." *Dix-Huitième Siècle*, no. 6 (1974), pp. 325–41.

Photograph Credits

A Summary History of the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture in Paris, with Notes on the Salon

Courtesy of Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris: fig. 2

Image © Metropolitan Museum of Art: figs. 1, 4

© RMN-Grand Palais / Art Resource, NY.

Photo: Adrien Didierjean: fig. 3

Catalogue

Courtesy of The Albertina Museum, Vienna: figs. 4.2, 61.4

© Besançon, Musée des Beaux-Arts et d'Archéologie. Photo Pierre Guenet: figs. 87.2, 125.2, 126.3

Courtesy of Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris: figs. 1.1–3, 8.2, 11.4, 22/23.7–18, 27.1–2, 36.2–3, 38.4, 40.1, 53.1, 58.1, 62.2–3, 69.1, 70.4, 71.1, 89.2–3, 99.1, 106.1, 124.2

Courtesy of Bowes Museum, Barnard Castle: fig. 90.5

bpk Bildagentur / Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen, Berlin / Dietmar Katz / Art Resource, NY: fig. 106.6

Photograph courtesy of Bukowski Auktioner AB: fig. 84.1

Photograph courtesy of Christie's, New York: figs. 14.1, 24.2, 100.2

Courtesy of Chrysler Museum of Art, Norfolk, Virginia: fig. 46.1

Image courtesy of the Clark Art Institute, Williamstown, Massachusetts, USA: figs. 22/23.1–2

Courtesy of Detroit Institute of Arts, USA / Bridgeman Images: fig. 83.2

Courtesy of Didier Aaron, Inc., New York: figs. 39.2, 73.3

© Direction des Musées et du Patrimoine / François Jay: fig. 73.1

By Permission of Dulwich Picture Gallery, London: fig. 8.3

Image courtesy Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco: fig. 106.3

© The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge: fig. 29.4

© Fondation Custodia, Collection Frits Lugt, Paris: fig. 38.3

Courtesy of Frick Art & Historical Center, Pittsburgh: fig. 110.3

Courtesy of Galerie Canesso, Paris: fig. 114.1

Courtesy of Galerie Eric Coatalem, Paris: fig. 106.8

Photograph courtesy of Galerie Hubert Duchemin: fig. 80.3

Courtesy of Galleria Nazionale, Parma, Palazzo Della Pilotta: figs. 77.1–2

© F. Galletti–Musée d'Art et d'Archéologie de Cluny: fig. 120.1

Digital image courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program: figs. 10.4, 19.3, 26.1

Photography by Mitro Hood: fig. 78.1

© Courtesy of the Huntington Art Collections, San Marino, California. Photography © 2015 Fredrik Nilsen: fig. 12.2

INBA National Institute of Fine Arts: fig. 118.1

© Laurianne Kieffer–Musée de La Cour d'Or–Metz Métropole: fig. 63.1

Image courtesy of Klassik Stiftung Weimar. Photo: Renno: fig. 17.1

Courtesy of Kunstbibliothek, Berlin: fig. 56/57.1

© Gaëtan Luci / Archives and Library Service: fig. 2.3

© MAD, Paris / Jean Tholance: figs. 14.2, 22/23.6

Image © Metropolitan Museum of Art: frontispiece, cats. 1–126, figs. 3.1, 5.2, 10.1, 10.3, 11.1, 11.5, 12.1, 13.1, 14.3, 17.2, 24.1, 24.3, 32.2, 33.3, 35.1, 37.4, 38.1, 38.5–6, 40.4, 40.6, 44.1–3, 48.1, 49.1, 54.1–2, 59.3, 60.1, 61.1, 66.1, 67.1, 71.2, 80.4, 81.1, 85.2, 89.1, 92.1–2, 103.1, 106.4, 106.9, 106.12, 110.1, 110.4–5, 115.1, 118.2, 120.2, 120.4–5, 122.2, 124.1, 126.1

Image © Metropolitan Museum of Art, photo by Heather Johnson: figs. 2.1, 28.1, 40.5, 51.4, 74.1, 108.1–2

Photo: The Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, Brian Merrett: fig. 67.2

Courtesy of The Morgan Library & Museum, New York: fig. 10.2

© Musée Carnavalet / Roger-Viollet: figs. 31.2, 63.2, 64.3, 121.1

© Musée Cognacq-Jay / Roger-Viollet: figs. 83.1, 84.2

Collection Musée d'Art et d'Histoire de Cholet. Photo: Mathilde Richard-Ville de Cholet: figs. 19.2, 37.1–2

© Musée de la Chasse et de la Nature, Paris–Sylvie Durand: figs. 7.3, 32.1

© Musée de la Vie Romantique / Roger-Viollet: fig. 71.4

© Musée des Arts et Métiers-Cnam, Paris. Photo: P. Faligot: fig. 107.3

© Musée des Beaux-Arts de Brest Métropole: fig. 112.2

© Musée des Beaux-Arts, Ville de Bordeaux. Photo: F. Deval: fig. 31.1

© Musée du Louvre, Dist. RMN-Grand Palais / Art Resource, NY: fig. 63.3

© Musée du Louvre, Dist. RMN-Grand Palais / Martine Beck-Coppola / Art Resource, NY: figs. 96.1, 112.1, 120.3

© Musée du Louvre, Dist. RMN-Grand Palais / Thierry Le Mage / Art Resource, NY: fig. 106.10

© Musée du Louvre, Dist. RMN-Grand Palais / Pierre Philibert / Art Resource, NY: fig. 90.4
Courtesy of Musée Jacquemart-André, Paris: fig. 64.1

© Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid: figs. 6.2, 77.4–5

Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid / Scala / Art Resource, NY: fig. 29.1

- Photo © Museum Associates / LACMA: fig. 33.1
- Photograph © 2019 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: figs. 62.1, 64.2
- Courtesy of Museum of Fine Arts, Houston: fig. 65.3
- Courtesy of Museumslandschaft Hessen Kassel: fig. 4.1
- Courtesy of Nancy, Musée des Beaux-Arts Cliché Ville de Nancy: fig. 100.1
- Photo: www.NapoliUnderground.org: fig. 94.1
- Courtesy of National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne: fig. 72.2
- Courtesy National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.: figs. 17.3, 33.2, 40.2, 41.1
- Photo: © Nationalmuseum, Stockholm: figs. 15.1, 37.3, 86.1
- © National Portrait Gallery, London: fig. 122.1
- © National Trust Images: fig. 2.2
- Courtesy of New York Public Library: fig. 59.2
- Image courtesy of The Norton Simon Foundation: fig. 29.5
- © Luisa Oliveira / Direção-Geral do Património Cultural / Arquivo de Documentação Fotográfica (DGPC/ADF): fig. 81.2
- Orléans, Musée des Beaux-Arts © Christophe Camus: fig. 38.2
- Orléans, Musée des Beaux-Arts © François Lauginie: fig. 116.1
- Courtesy of Palazzo Te, Mantua: fig. 8.1
- Courtesy of Palazzo Pitti, Florence, Galleria Palatina: fig. 77.3
- Courtesy of Stéphan Perreau: fig. 4.4
- © Petit Palais / Roger-Viollet: fig. 85.1
- Courtesy of the Philadelphia Museum of Art: figs. 61.2–3
- Imaging Department © President and Fellows of Harvard College: figs. 50.1, 55.1–2
- Courtesy of The Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow: figs. 42.1, 79.2
- Remagen, Arp Museum Bahnhof Rolandseck / Collection Rau for UNICEF. Photo: Peter Schälchli, Zurich: fig. 25.1
- Courtesy of Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam: fig. 61.2
- © RMN-Grand Palais / Art Resource, NY: figs. 7.2, 124.3, 110.2
- © RMN-Grand Palais / Art Resource, NY. Photo: Jean-Gilles Berizzi: figs. 22/23.3, 124.4
- © RMN-Grand Palais / Art Resource, NY. Photo: Jean-Gilles Berizzi | Thierry Le Mage: fig. 9.1
- © RMN-Grand Palais / Art Resource, NY. Photo: Gérard Blot: figs. 5.1, 30.1, 72.1, 80.2, 107.1
- © RMN-Grand Palais / Art Resource, NY. Photo: Martine Beck-Coppola: fig. 28.2
- © RMN-Grand Palais / Art Resource, NY. Photo: Christophe Fouin: fig. 111.2
- © RMN-Grand Palais / Art Resource, NY. Photo: Thierry Le Mage: figs. 39.1, 93.1, 123.1
- © RMN-Grand Palais / Art Resource, NY. Photo: Thierry Le Mage. Rothschild Collection: fig. 11.3
- © RMN-Grand Palais / Art Resource, NY. Photo: Hervé Lewandowski: fig. 113.1
- © RMN-Grand Palais / Art Resource, NY. Photo: René-Gabriel Ojéda: figs. 30.4, 34.1, 59.1, 65.2, 70.3, 106.11
- © RMN-Grand Palais / Art Resource, NY. Photo: Jean Popovitch: fig. 65.1
- © RMN-Grand Palais / Art Resource, NY. Photo: Tony Querrec: fig. 96.2
- © RMN-Grand Palais / Art Resource, NY. Photo: Mathieu Rabeau: fig. 29.6
- © RMN-Grand Palais / Art Resource, NY. Photo: Franck Raux: figs. 51.1, 51.3, 78.2, 80.1, 126.2
- © RMN-Grand Palais / Art Resource, NY. Photo: Jean Schormanns: fig. 90.1
- © RMN-Grand Palais / Art Resource, NY. Photo: Michel Urtado: figs. 6.1, 51.2, 87.1, 90.2–3, 91.1, 98.1
- © Roma, Sovrintendenza Capitolina ai Beni Culturali. Photo by Zeno Colantoni: fig. 106.2
- © Royal Academy of Arts, London: fig. 53.2
- Royal Collection Trust / © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2018: figs. 29.2–3, 62.4, 107.4
- The Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts, The Academy Council. Photo: Frida Gregersen: figs. 30.2–3
- Image courtesy Saint Louis Art Museum: fig. 78.3
- Image courtesy of Sarah Campbell Blaffer Foundation, Houston: fig. 40.3
- Courtesy of Schloss Sanssouci, Potsdam. Photo: Wolfgang Pfau: fig. 28.3
- © SIK-ISEA, Zurich (Philipp Hitz). Photo by Jean Michel Liotard: fig. 70.2
- Photograph courtesy of Sotheby's: figs. 26.2, 70.1, 71.3, 124.5
- Photograph © The State Hermitage Museum. Photo by Pavel Demidov: fig. 22/23.4
- Photograph © The State Hermitage Museum. Photo by Alexander Koksharov, Leonard Kheifets, Vladimir Terebenin: figs. 79.1, 125.1
- © Toulouse, Musée des Augustins. Photo: Daniel Martin: fig. 123.2
- © Toulouse, Musée des Augustins. Photo: STC Mairie de Toulouse: fig. 122.3
- © The Trustees of the British Museum: figs. 4.3, 106.5
- Photo Vatican Museums: fig. 106.7
- © Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond. Photo: Katherine Wetzel: fig. 8.4
- Photo: Waddesdon Image Library, Mike Fear: fig. 7.1
- © The Wallace Collection, London: figs. 22/23.5, 42.2
- The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore: fig. 45.1

This publication is made possible in part by The BIN Charitable Foundation, Inc.

Published by The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
Mark Polizzotti, Publisher and Editor in Chief
Gwen Roginsky, Associate Publisher and General Manager of Publications
Peter Antony, Chief Production Manager
Michael Sittenfeld, Senior Managing Editor

Designed by Rita Jules, Miko McGinty Inc.
Edited by Philomena Mariani
Production coordination by Rachel High and Sophia Bruneau
Image acquisitions and permissions by Jenn Sherman

Photographs of works in The Metropolitan Museum of Art's collection are by Juan Trujillo, Imaging Department, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, unless otherwise noted. Additional photograph credits are on p. 406.

Typeset in Equity by Tina Henderson
Short-run digital edition printed by Trifolio, Verona, Italy

Front cover: [cat. 115](#); frontispiece: [cat. 11](#); p. 6: [cat. 126](#); p. 8: [cat. 32](#); p. 10: [cat. 61](#); p. 12: [cat. 87](#); p. 14: [cat. 106](#); p. 28: [cat. 84](#); p. 30: [cat. 110](#); pp. 32–33: [cat. 107](#); p. 388: [cat. 24](#); back cover: [cat. 7](#)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art endeavors to respect copyright in a manner consistent with its nonprofit educational mission. If you believe any material has been included in this publication improperly, please contact the Publications and Editorial Department.

Copyright © 2020 1st revised edition by The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

Copyright © 2019 by The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying, recording, or any information storage and retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art
1000 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10028
metmuseum.org

Short-run digital edition distributed by Yale University Press,
New Haven and London
yalebooks.com/art
yalebooks.co.uk

Cataloging-in-Publication Data is available from the Library of Congress.
ISBN: 978-1-58839-661-7

Online edition to read, search, or download:
www.metmuseum.org/art/metpublications/French_Paintings_in_The_Metropolitan_Museum_of_Art

Additions and Corrections

1st Revised Edition, 2020

Page 19: the name Académie française in the introductory essay has been corrected.

Page 36: information about sitters in [cat. 1](#) and related portraits has been corrected.

Page 37: ex coll. for [cat. 1](#) has been corrected; information about the sitter in [cat. 2](#) has been corrected.

Page 60: a name in [cat. 9](#) has been corrected.

Page 61: a reference to the painter's travels in [cat. 9](#) was corrected.

Page 82: the sitter's birth date and place in [cat. 16](#) have been added.

Page 84: more information about the sitter's death in [cat. 17](#) has been added.

Page 87: a reference to the painting's original owner in [cat. 17](#) has been corrected

Page 106: information about the father of the sitter in [cat. 24](#) has been updated.

Page 110: information about the painting's first owner in [cat. 27](#) has been corrected.

Page 122: information about one of the painting's owners in [cat. 30](#) has been corrected.

Page 158: information about one of the painting's owners in [cat. 41](#) has been corrected.

Page 161: information about one of the painting's owners in [cat. 42](#) has been corrected.

Page 182: the birth year of the artist has been corrected.

Page 189: the birth year of the artist has been corrected.

Page 194: the title of the painting in [cat. 58](#) has been corrected after new information was made available in 2019.

Page 196: the names of the sitter and owners of the painting in [cat. 58](#) have been corrected after new information was made available in 2019.

Page 200: the birth date of the person who commissioned the painting in [cat. 60](#) has been corrected.

Page 205: the date of death of one of the painting's owners in [cat. 61](#) has been corrected.

Page 230: information about the ownership of the painting in [cat. 70](#) has been corrected.

Page 258: the birth year of the sitter in the painting in [cat. 80](#) has been corrected.

Page 259: the age of the sitter in the painting in [cat. 80](#) has been corrected.

Page 314: the title of the grandfather of the commissioner of the painting in [cat. 106](#) has been corrected.

Page 315: dates in note 25 of [cat. 106](#) have been corrected.

Page 333: the title of the father of the sitter in the painting in [cat. 111](#) has been corrected.

Page 370: information about the sitter and the painting in [cat. 123](#) has been corrected.

Page 372: information about the ownership of the painting in [cat. 123](#) has been corrected.

Page 373: information about the artist's sister has been corrected; information about the sitter of the painting in [cat. 124](#) has been corrected, also on [page 375](#).



ISBN 978-1-58839-661-7



9 781588 396617

PRINTED IN ITALY