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# Peregrinations of a *Lit à la Duchesse en Impériale* by Georges Jacob

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Since the reopening of the Metropolitan Museum's Wrightsman Galleries for French Decorative Arts, a magnificent tester bed has occupied a prominent position in one of the period rooms. This space has now been transformed into a late eighteenth-century bedchamber, with *boiserie* from the Hôtel de Lauzun, Paris (Figures 1–4).<sup>1</sup> The bed, whose headboard is designed to be placed along the wall and which is surmounted by a full-size canopy, or *ciel*, that is suspended from the ceiling rather than supported on columns, is known as a *lit à la duchesse*.<sup>2</sup> Since the rectangular tester (canopy) of this particular bed is fitted with an interior dome, it is called in French a *lit à la duchesse en impériale*.<sup>3</sup>

The carved, painted, and gilded frame of the Metropolitan's bed is composed of a headboard and two half posts at the foot that are connected by rails. Displaying splendid carving, the headboard is surmounted by a gilded urn filled with naturalistic flowers (Figure 2). Floral garlands tied with a rippling ribbon to the ring-shaped handles of the vase are draped over the top rail. The frieze below is carved in the center with interlaced wreaths of berried ivy and flowers fastened with a ribbon, with acanthus scrolls at either side. Two fluted pilasters, each crowned by an Ionic capital, flank this headboard and are topped by finials in the shape of remarkably realistic pinecones. The molded rails are decorated with husk motifs, and the two round and partly fluted posts are placed above short top-shaped and spirally fluted feet at the foot of the bed. The posts have vase-shaped finials resting on Corinthian volutes, which form the capitals. The tester is fitted with an elliptical dome. The exterior cornice of the dome, carved with acanthus leaves, rope, and guilloche motifs, is surmounted on three sides with voluptuous rose wreaths, tied ribbon bows, and crossed branches of oak and laurel leaves. At the foot, these leaf sprays are combined with poppies, traditional symbols of sleep and thus fitting imagery for the decoration of a bed (Figure 3).<sup>4</sup> The triangular corners sur-

rounding the dome are decorated on the inside with quivers of arrows and sprays of myrtle and laurel leaves (Figure 4).

The Museum's *lit à la duchesse* displays remarkable similarities to another bedstead, sold from the collection of an American society figure, Mrs. Harrison Williams, later Comtesse Mona Bismarck (1897–1983) (Figures 5, 6).<sup>5</sup> The frames of the two beds particularly resemble each other in the carving of their headboards and in their use of short columnar posts and low rails. The Bismarck bed is believed to have been commissioned by Frédéric III, prince de Salm-Kyrbourg (1745–1794), in the 1780s, about the time he constructed a magnificent residence, the Hôtel de Salm, along the left bank of the Seine. Its architect, Pierre Rousseau (1751–1810), also oversaw the interior decoration, employing such well-known artists as the sculptors Philippe-Laurent Roland (1746–1816) and Jean-Guillaume Moitte (1746–1810).<sup>6</sup> The splendid mansion, which today houses the Musée de la Légion d'Honneur, was finally ready in 1788. A drawing for the prince's bedroom attributed to Pierre Rousseau shows an alcove with a magnificent *lit à la duchesse*, which is very possibly the Bismarck bed (Figure 7).<sup>7</sup> According to the 1795 inventory drawn up after the prince de Salm-Kyrbourg's death by guillotine during the Reign of Terror, the walls of his bedchamber were lined with blue taffeta, which was also used for the bed hangings, seat furniture, and curtains in the room.<sup>8</sup>

Unlike the prince de Salm-Kyrbourg's bed, the New York *lit à la duchesse* was originally furnished with tapestry hangings. It entered the Metropolitan Museum's collections in 1923 as a gift of the financier Kingdon Gould (1887–1945), who donated the imposing piece of furniture in memory of his late mother, Edith Kingdon Gould (1864–1921). At that time Gould wrote to the Museum's president, Robert W. de Forest (1848–1931), that he had always understood that it once belonged to Marie-Antoinette.<sup>9</sup> Since the bed had been part of the famous collection of the tenth Duke of Hamilton—which included among its treasures various pieces that had been in the possession of the unfortunate French queen—a royal provenance was certainly not

1. Georges Jacob (French, 1739–1814). Domed tester bed (*lit à la duchesse en impériale*), ca. 1782–83. Carved and gilded walnut, pine, and lindenwood; iron, modern silk damask; dome lined with tapestry of silk and wool woven at the Beauvais Manufacture; headboard 79 x 73 ½ in. (200.7 x 186.7 cm), d. of bedstead 86 ¾ in. (220.4 cm), tester 84 ½ x 96 ¾ in. (214.6 x 245.7 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Kingdon Gould, in memory of his mother, Edith Kingdon Gould, 1923 (23.235)







inconceivable.<sup>10</sup> In his recommendation to accept this generous gift, the curator Joseph Breck (1885–1933) toned down the alleged provenance, however, and stated that the bed “was undoubtedly made for some great personage.” No date or name of a furniture maker was given at the time, nor did Breck say anything about the manufacture of the “exquisite” tapestry hangings.<sup>11</sup> Given the fact that the Museum’s holdings were not rich in furniture of the Louis XVI period

in 1923, the bed was certainly a welcome addition to the collection.<sup>12</sup>

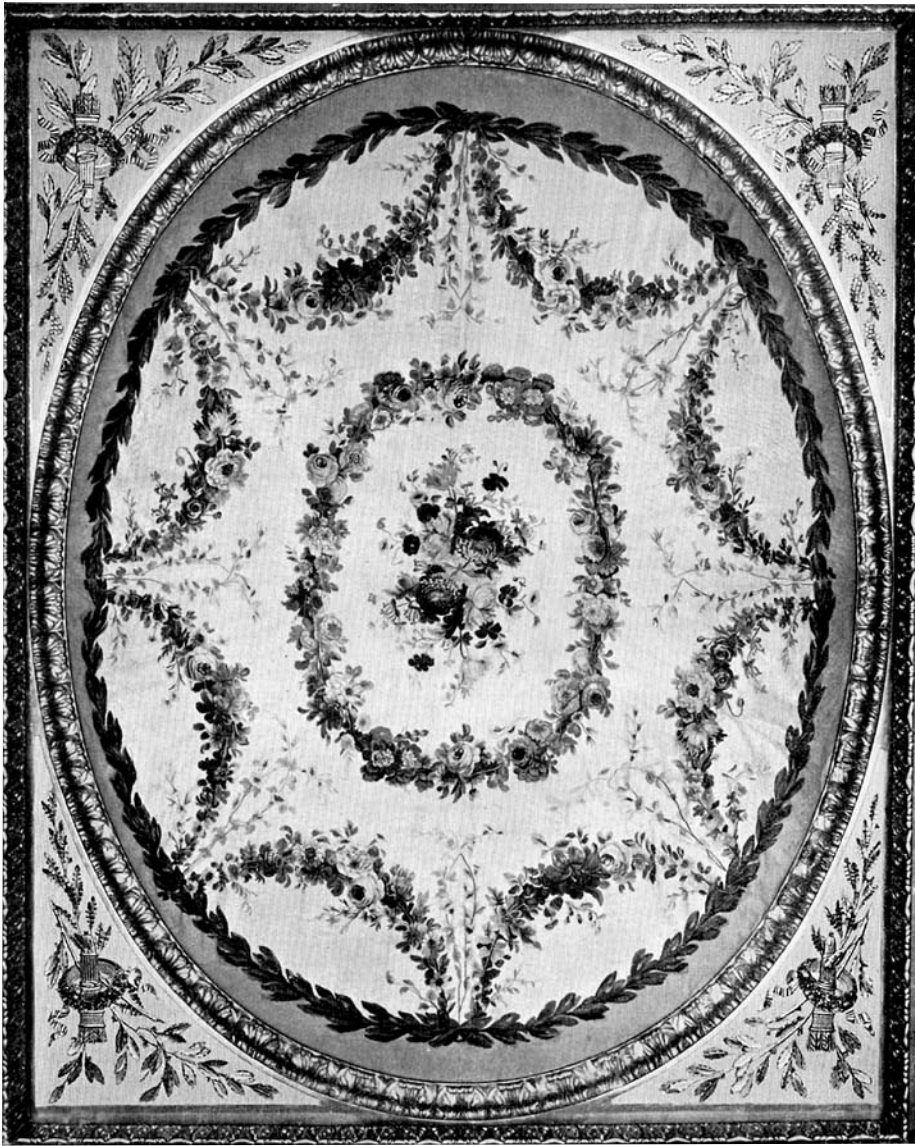
Shortly after its acquisition, the bed was put on display in the Pierpont Morgan Wing (Figure 8), where the French decorative arts galleries were housed at the time, and became the subject of a note in the Museum’s *Bulletin* of 1924. In this piece, written by the assistant curator Preston Remington (d. 1958), the bed was dated about 1780.<sup>13</sup> When the *lit à la*

2. Detail of the headboard of the tester bed shown in Figure 1



3. Cornice detail of the tester bed shown in Figure 1





4. Interior of the dome of the tester bed shown in Figure 1

*duchesse* was transferred with the rest of the European decorative-arts collections to newly renovated galleries in a different part of the Museum (Figure 9), Remington described it as “an impressive canopied state bed of the Louis XVI period.” He also mentioned the signature of Georges Jacob (1739–1814), one of the most successful *menuisiers*, or joiners, of the Ancien Régime whose career straddled the French Revolution.<sup>14</sup> Calling him “a cabinetmaker whose signature is synonymous with the highest standards of eighteenth-century French craftsmanship,” Remington remarked that the “beautiful gilt carving is enhanced by the delicate colors of the Beauvais tapestry hangings.”<sup>15</sup> This rare piece remained on view until the 1960s, when the French decorative arts galleries were expanded and underwent further changes with the support of Mr. and Mrs. Charles Wrightsman. During these alterations the bed was dismantled and put in storage, where it was to remain for nearly half a century. The *lit à la duchesse* was not forgotten, however, and

was included in several publications. In 1966, for instance, Pierre Verlet wrote that the tapestry hangings were woven about 1780–90 at the Beauvais manufactory (established north of Paris in 1664).<sup>16</sup> Verlet identified them as being in the style of Henri Salembier (ca. 1753–1820) or Jean-Baptiste Huet (1745–1811)—an opinion later echoed by Edith Appleton Standen, who also noted that some of the textile elements did not belong to the same set as the others.<sup>17</sup> The conservation treatment of the gilded bed frame and tester was a major project undertaken during the recent renovation of the Wrightsman Galleries.<sup>18</sup> The tapestries, deemed too fragile to be reused, were replaced with modern silk damask hangings before the bed’s triumphant reinstallation in the fall of 2007.

A variety of sources document the history of the *lit à la duchesse*, which was fashionable in France for most of the eighteenth century. Examples with flat canopies appear to have been more numerous than those *à l’imperiale*. In his *Dictionnaire du tapissier* (1878–80), Jules Deville even claimed that the beds with domed testers listed in the inventories of the Garde Meuble de la Couronne (the warehouse for French royal furniture) were always destined for use by the king or by princes of the blood.<sup>19</sup> Indeed, in 1718 the young Louis XV received a domed *lit à la duchesse* hung with yellow damask, enriched with silver galloon and embroidery; the official bedrooms of Marie-Antoinette, at the château of Fontainebleau, and of Louis XVI, at the château of Versailles, were furnished with similar domed state beds.<sup>20</sup> Consisting of frames decorated with elaborate gilt-wood carving and hung with sumptuous textiles, these royal pieces were surely as magnificent as they were costly.<sup>21</sup>

Without the supporting columns (and hence without curtains at the foot end), the *lit à la duchesse* has greater openness than a four-poster bed, making it particularly suitable for placement in a formal or ceremonial bedchamber, part of the so-called *appartement de parade* found at the court or in the homes of members of the upper aristocracy. Such state rooms served as official chambers suitable to receive the king and other important guests.<sup>22</sup> In rooms where guests would be admitted to pay official calls or congratulatory visits to its owner, the state bed functioned as more than a comfortable piece of furniture for reposing or sleeping,<sup>23</sup> forming an ostentatious setting for established rituals. The practice of receiving in bed, unusual to us today, was an established social convention by the eighteenth century. Reporting the latest court gossip, the witty correspondent Marie de Rabutin-Chantal, marquise de Sévigné (1626–1696), for instance, shared the news with her daughter on April 6, 1680, that a new beauty, Mlle de Fontanges, had managed to pique the interest of Louis XIV. As a result she had “been made a Duchess with a 20,000-écus-a-year pension; she accepted congratulations yesterday, lying on her

bed. The King paid her an official visit."<sup>24</sup> In the course of the eighteenth century, men used such state bedchambers less often to receive their guests than did women, who continued the custom longer. According to the architect and theorist Jacques-François Blondel (1705–1774), the "*chambre de parade* [formal bedchamber] was inhabited by preference by the mistress of the house when she is indisposed; she receives ceremonial visits and uses it for her *toilette* for special distinction. . . ."<sup>25</sup> During her sojourn in Paris, Elizabeth, Duchess of Northumberland (1716–1776), commented in her diary on the wedding of the duc de Chartres (the future Philippe-Égalité) to Louise-Marie-Adélaïde, Mlle de Penthievre, in 1769. According to the diarist, on the day following the marriage the new duchesse de Chartres "received all the Company lying down upon a Bed," to which the author added, "this it seems is the Etiquette, & in my opinion a very odd one."<sup>26</sup>

The use of formal beds such as the *lit à la duchesse* is well documented, then, but what is the particular history of the Metropolitan's bed? One clue is the barely legible stamp of Georges Jacob on the base of its headboard. Serving a royal and international aristocratic clientele and working in a refined Neoclassical style, Jacob is known to have made a number of spectacular state beds such as the one for Duke Karl August von Zweibrücken in 1781–82.<sup>27</sup> The bed that was formerly in the collection of Comtesse Mona Bismarck (see Figures 5, 6) also very likely comes from his atelier, but that question requires further research.

Until 1791 Jacob's workshop produced only seat furniture, bed frames, and a few console tables. This range would expand, however, after the Revolution, when, once the medieval guild system had been abolished, the *menuisiers* could also work with veneers and make case furniture, traditionally the specialty of the *ébénistes*, or cabinetmakers. They also started to produce gilt-bronze mounts, originally the exclusive domain of the metalworkers, the *fondeurs-ciseleurs* (caster-chasers), and *ciseleurs-doreurs* (chaser-gilders). As a joiner, Jacob would have been responsible for providing and cutting the wood, here a combination of walnut, pine, and linden, and for carving only the simplest of moldings. The execution of the flowers, foliated branches, and other exquisitely carved details that embellish the tester, decorate the frame, and crown the headboard was left to an unknown but obviously very talented sculptor. A specialized craftsman, the gilder, prepared the various wooden parts before applying the gold leaf on preparatory layers of gesso and bole (pulverized clay providing a warm reddish color to the gold). In this case the craftsman used water-gilding, which could be burnished to achieve a highly glossy surface but could also be left matte to create subtle areas of contrast. Like the identity of the sculptor, the names of the gilder and the upholsterer (the latter responsible for

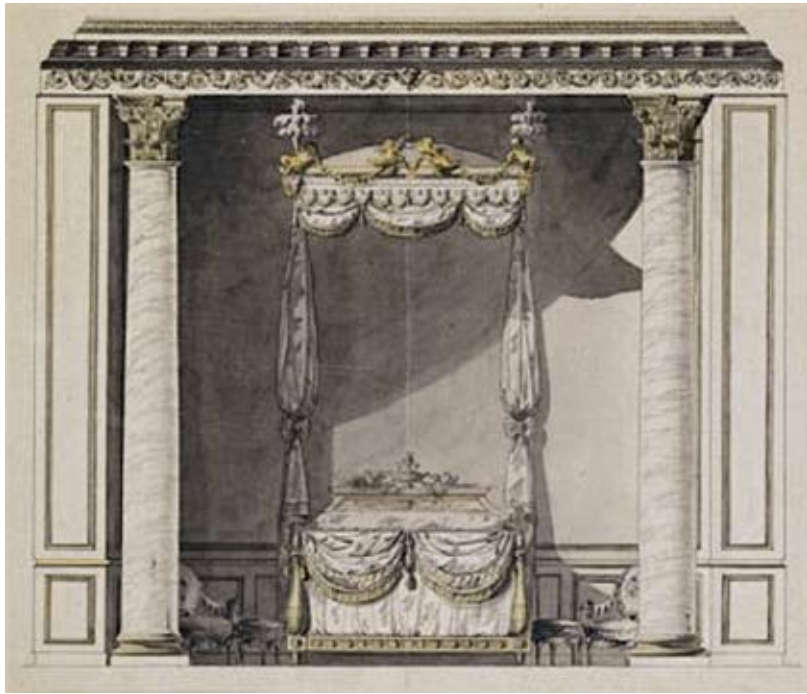


5. Attributed to Georges Jacob. Bed with half tester, ca. 1788. Carved and gilded wood, hung with modern silk, 72 1/2 x 91 3/8 x 68 1/2 in. (184 x 232 x 174 cm). Current location unknown. Photograph courtesy of Sotheby's, Monaco



6. Detail of the headboard of the tester bed shown in Figure 5





7. Attributed to Pierre Rousseau (French, 1751–1810). *Bedchamber of Prince de Salm-Kyrbourg*, ca. 1788. Wash and watercolor, 9 $\frac{7}{8}$  x 11 $\frac{3}{8}$  in. (25 x 29 cm). Musée de la Légion d'Honneur, Paris

the original bedding, the under-upholstery, and the attachment of the textiles) remain unknown. In fact, many facets of the history of this late eighteenth-century bed were until recently a mystery. The decision to use this important piece as the focal point in the de Launay Room was the catalyst, however, not only for a major conservation campaign but for new research as well.<sup>28</sup>

Given the stylistic characteristics of its frame and the design of its original tapestry hangings, both firmly adhering

to a Neoclassical vocabulary, the Museum's bed had justifiably been dated to the 1780s by Preston Remington. The off-white tapestry weavings with strings of laurel leaves, floral swags, and arabesques were identified as products of the Beauvais workshops (Figure 10), and this attribution has been supported and confirmed by recent research. Enjoying royal protection, the manufactory was run as a private enterprise and was known for its low-warp tapestries commissioned by French and foreign clients alike. Specializing in fine sets of narrative and decorative hangings woven after designs by Jean I Berain (1637–1711), Jean-Baptiste Oudry (1686–1755), and François Boucher (1703–1770), among other artists, the workshops also produced matching tapestry covers for seat furniture, which came increasingly into fashion during the eighteenth century.<sup>29</sup> Fortunately, a detailed account book listing the orders executed in the Beauvais workshops during the 1780s has been preserved.<sup>30</sup> Sets of tapestries, upholstery for chairs and settees, and window valances make up most of the orders, but only two complete sets of bed hangings were woven in the period between 1776 and 1790, indicating how rare tapestry beds must have been.<sup>31</sup> The first commission, for which the weavers were paid between August 1782 and November 1783, was ordered en suite with a set of wall hangings “à dessein plein arabesque à effet de draperie bleu” (with large arabesque design and blue draperies). This *garniture* consisted of a counterpane, a bolster, three lower valances, six upper valances, two side curtains, the lining for a dome, a back panel, and a headboard cover.<sup>32</sup> In addition, matching upholstery was woven for two *bergères* and eight armchairs.<sup>33</sup> In 1785 the weavers started on a second set of bed



8. Domed tester bed shown in Figure 1 installed in the Morgan Wing at the Metropolitan Museum in 1924

9. Domed tester bed shown in Figure 1 installed in the French Decorative Arts Galleries at the Metropolitan Museum in 1954





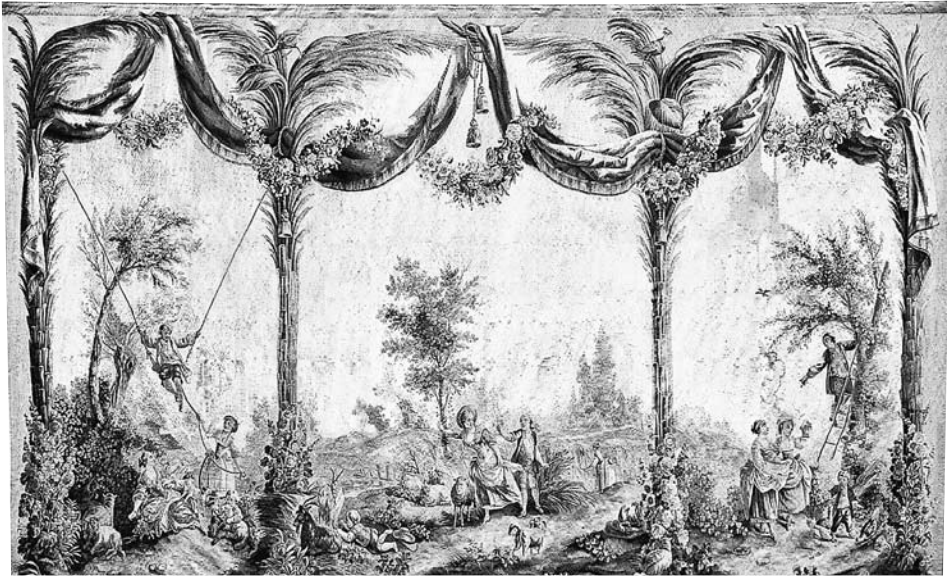


10. Jean-Baptiste Huet (French, 1745–1811), designer. Coverlet (left) and head cloth (right) belonging to the domed tester bed shown in Figure 1. Woven at Beauvais, 1782–83, under the direction of Menou (French, fl. 1780–93). Silk and wool; coverlet 7 ft. 1 in. x 5 ft. 5 in. (2.2 x 1.5 m), head cloth 8 ft. 3 $\frac{5}{8}$  in. x 6 ft. (2.5 x 1.8 m). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Kingdon Gould, in memory of his mother, Edith Kingdon Gould, 1923 (23.235b, c)

hangings, comprising the same elements as the first set but including four (rather than two) side curtains and seven (instead of six) upper valances. The decoration was described not only as Russian draperies but also as arabesque design.<sup>34</sup> Unfortunately, neither entry indicates who commissioned the hangings, but in view of the two linings for a dome, it is evident that both sets were intended for domed tester beds.

Ultrafashionable during the Neoclassical era, arabesques and grotesques (the latter also including human figures) were lighthearted and fanciful types of decoration composed of small, loosely connected motifs. Derived from classical Roman surface decoration, this type of ornament was first revived during the Renaissance and became especially well known after Raphael used it for the embellishment of the Vatican Loggia in 1518–19.<sup>35</sup> It was considered to be “an inexhaustible source to decorate the interior and exterior of modern buildings, furniture, and even clothes in a beautiful style,” according to the painter Charles-Louis

Clérisseau (1721–1820) in 1779.<sup>36</sup> In the following year Jean-Baptiste Huet supplied the Beauvais manufactory with designs for a series of ten hangings recorded as Pastorals with Blue Draperies and Arabesques, one of which, *The Swing, the Harvest, and Cherry Picking*, is in the Metropolitan’s collection (Figure 11).<sup>37</sup> Whereas the bucolic figural scenes of the Pastorals with Blue Draperies and Arabesques clearly qualify as pastorals, the arabesque or grotesque aspect of *The Swing, the Harvest, and Cherry Picking* and others in the series is less obvious. Perhaps the whimsical palm trees festooned with draperies and garlands of flowers could be interpreted as such. Other tapestries of a more patently arabesque design, complete with blue draperies near the top, were also created in the Beauvais workshops, however, and may likewise have been based on designs by Huet.<sup>38</sup> It is possible, then, that the earlier set of bed hangings recorded in the Beauvais account book was commissioned en suite with tapestries of a more clearly arabesque design, and that Huet provided the compositions for both. The back panel



11. Jean-Baptiste Huet, designer. *The Swing, the Harvest, and Cherry Picking*. Tapestry from a set of ten Pastorals with Blue Draperies and Arabesques. Designed ca. 1780 and woven at Beauvais, 1782–90, under the direction of Menou. Wool and silk, 11 ft. 8 $\frac{1}{8}$  in. x 19 ft. 3 $\frac{1}{8}$  in. (3.6 x 5.9 m). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Mrs. Byron C. Foy, 1953 (53.211)

for the Museum's *lit à la duchesse* (see Figure 10) has a design similar to those of the overtly arabesque tapestries, lending support to a link between the bed and the earlier Beauvais commission (further evidence for this link will be discussed later). In fact, in 1795 citizen Menou, who had served as the director of the Beauvais manufactory from 1780 to 1793, offered up for sale to the Commission d'Agriculture et des Arts a series of paintings that had been used for the weaving of tapestries—including designs for a complete so-called *lit à la duchesse* painted by Huet with flowers and draperies and valued at 2,400 *livres*.<sup>39</sup>

As for the second set of bed hangings woven at the Beauvais manufactory, one can only wonder what Russian draperies may have looked like. Russian themes were clearly in demand; thirteen sets of tapestries, the so-called Russian Entertainments, were woven at Beauvais between 1769 and 1793. Displaying charming rural scenes that have little to do with Russia per se, these hangings were based on compositions by the painter Jean-Baptiste Le Prince (1734–1781), who had traveled extensively in northern Europe and worked for Catherine the Great in Saint Petersburg between 1758 and 1762.<sup>40</sup>

Very few tapestry beds are known from contemporary descriptions, suggesting that only a limited number were ever created. Of the three examples documented, two were draped with Gobelins, not Beauvais, tapestries, and do not clearly correspond to the Metropolitan's bed. According to the 1779 inventory of the Palais de Bourbon, the alcove in the bedchamber or pink room of Bathilde d'Orléans (1750–

1822), duchesse de Bourbon and a cousin of the king, was hung during the winter with Gobelins tapestries.<sup>41</sup> With medallions containing scenes after François Boucher's *The Story of Psyche*, and richly embellished with floral garlands against a crimson damask patterned ground, these highly decorative tapestries were woven about 1770 in the workshop directed by Jacques Neilson (1714–1788).<sup>42</sup> The elaborately carved and gilded bed, described as a bed with a triple dome that incorporated the monogram of the duchess on its headboard, was furnished with matching tapestry hangings and crimson damask curtains.<sup>43</sup> The large number of chairs in the room included a set of twelve armchairs and two *bergères* mounted with similar tapestry covers.<sup>44</sup> To judge from the surviving hangings, now in the Louvre, Paris,<sup>45</sup> the overall effect must have been colorful and sumptuous, similar to that of the tapestry room originally from Croome Court, Worcestershire, now installed in the Metropolitan Museum.<sup>46</sup>

On December 20, 1786, the wealthy court banker and noted collector Nicolas Beaujon (1718–1786) is said to have died in the *chambre de parade* of his Parisian residence, the Hôtel d'Évreux, in a large bed with dome hung with Gobelins tapestries.<sup>47</sup> Placed in an alcove lined with hangings depicting the story of Rinaldo and Armida, which were woven at the Gobelins workshops after designs by the painter Simon Vouet (1590–1649), the tapestries of the bed itself were decorated with bouquets of flowers and palms.<sup>48</sup> According to the baronne d'Oberkirch (1754–1803), who visited the Hôtel d'Évreux in June 1782 with the comtesse du Nord, Grand Duchess Maria Feodorovna of Russia (1759–1828), Beaujon was a Croesus, envied by all, who nevertheless led a rather painful existence.<sup>49</sup> The banker entertained in grand style, organizing lavish dinner parties, but because of his failing health, he hardly ate anything himself. Nor could he enjoy the company of his guests but was forced to stay in bed, where he lay awake because of his ailments. His lady friends would surround him trying to soothe him with their songs, stories, and gossip. For this reason they were known as the *berceuses de M. de Beaujon* (literally, Mr. Beaujon's cradle rockers).<sup>50</sup> Following Beaujon's death, the treasures from his magnificent home were sold at auction. The artist Élisabeth Louise Vigée-Le Brun (1755–1842), who painted a portrait of Beaujon, wrote in her *Memoirs* that “no private person, indeed, lived in the midst of so much luxury. Everything was costly and exquisite.”<sup>51</sup> Neither the Gobelins tapestries nor the bed were included in the sale, and it is not known what happened to the furnishings of Beaujon's bedchamber.<sup>52</sup>

A third tapestry bed was listed in the 1791 inventory of the Hôtel de Belle-Isle, Paris, drawn up following the death of its owner, Renaud-César-Louis de Choiseul-Chevigny (1735–1791), second duc de Praslin. Evidence points



toward an identification of the Metropolitan's *lit à la duchesse* with this bed. According to the 1791 inventory, the duchesse de Praslin's large room, the so-called summer room, was furnished with four new Beauvais tapestry panels that depicted subjects from Greek history. The bed was also hung with modern Beauvais tapestries showing garlands of flowers, arabesque designs, and draperies on a white ground. The inventory listing gives us a detailed description of the bed:

A large *lit à la duchesse* of which the frame has a headboard with pilasters at the four corners richly carved and gilded, the cornices of the tester decorated with wreaths of flowers and branches also richly carved and gilded, the whole piece furnished with double valances [i.e., inner and outer] and lining of the dome, a large cover for the headboard, and double valance [possibly lower valances], bolster and counterpane of modern Beauvais tapestry with garlands of flowers, arabesque designs and draperies against a white ground, furnished with two large curtains of five widths each by three and a half *aunes* [ca. 412.6 cm] high and two side curtains each of one width of green *quinze seize* [ribbed silk fabric also known as *gros de Tour*] with a short gold fringe all around, with cords and tassels also in fake gold, estimated at 6,000 *livres*.<sup>53</sup>

This entry clearly describes a domed tester bed with elaborate carvings of floral wreaths and branches on the headboard and tester, very much like the one now in the Metropolitan Museum. It was hung with tapestries that, despite some inconsistencies (for example, no back panel is listed and the *bonnes graces*, or side curtains, in the inventory were of green ribbed silk instead of tapestry), appear to have been very similar to those recorded in the Beauvais ledgers of 1782.<sup>54</sup> For that reason it is very tempting to assume that both the Beauvais commission for the set of bed hangings as well as the description of the duchesse de Praslin's bed in the 1791 inventory refer to the New York *lit à la duchesse en impériale*.

According to the 1791 Hôtel de Belle-Isle inventory, the room also included two large commodes and two corner cabinets veneered with ebony and mounted with red Chinese lacquer and gilt bronze. The latter, today at the Château de Versailles, have been attributed to Bernard II van Risenburgh or his son Bernard III and dated about 1765 (Figure 12).<sup>55</sup> With their fluting, rosettes, urn-shaped mounts, and egg-and-dart molding, they are in the so-called Grecian manner, an early expression of the Neoclassical style. The severe classical appearance of the cabinets, nearly two decades earlier in date than the bed, may have been considered suitable to the room's Beauvais tapestries, also



12. Attributed to Bernard II van Risenburgh (French, after 1696–ca. 1765) or his son Bernard III (French, d. 1800). Corner cupboard (*encoignure*), one of a pair, ca. 1765. Oak veneered with ebony and ebonized pearwood, red and gold Chinese lacquer, gilt-bronze mounts, veined white marble top, 36¼ x 32⅞ x 21⅛ in. (92 x 83.6 x 53.5 cm). Château de Versailles

described in the inventory, depicting subjects from Greek history.<sup>56</sup> These tapestries may be identifiable with a set representing stories from Homer's *Iliad* that was woven after designs by Jean-Baptiste Deshayes (1729–1765).<sup>57</sup> The room's seat furniture consisted of two large settees and six *fauteuils à chassis*, of carved and gilded wood covered with new Aubusson tapestries depicting animal scenes, and twelve additional *fauteuils en cabriolets*, upholstered with floral Beauvais tapestry covers.<sup>58</sup> The room boasted two gilt-bronze mantel clocks, the larger one with a movement by Le Paute<sup>59</sup> and the other fitted with a musical movement by Baillon.<sup>60</sup> In addition there were two small oval tables decorated with colorful floral marquetry, as well as a gueridon, or candlestand, mounted with a porcelain plaque and a gilt-bronze candelabrum.<sup>61</sup>

In 1791, the date of the inventory, the duchesse de Praslin was Guyonne-Marguerite de Durfort de Lorge (1737–1806), married to Renaud-César-Louis de Choiseul-Chevigny since 1754. As a young man, her husband had been in the retinue of the Dauphin and later served as ambassador to Hungary and Naples. Characterized as “a good-tempered polite man without pretensions” by Francis Seymour Conway, second Marquess of Hertford (1743–1822), he became the second duc de Praslin upon the death of his father in 1785.<sup>62</sup> His father, César-Gabriel, comte de Choiseul-Chevigny (1712–1785), elevated to the rank of duke in 1762, had enjoyed a distinguished military career before turning to political service (Figure 13).<sup>63</sup> Following in the footsteps of a distant cousin, the more famous Étienne-François de Choiseul-Stainville (1719–1785), he was appointed ambassador to Vienna in 1758 and served from 1761 to 1766 as foreign



13. Alexandre Roslin (Swedish, 1718–1793). *César-Gabriel de Choiseul-Chevigny, duc de Praslin* (1712–1785), second half of 18th century. Oil on canvas, 51 1/8 x 37 3/4 in. (130 x 96 cm). National Museum Stockholm

minister of France. In 1763 the statesman, described as cold and disagreeable, signed the Treaty of Paris, which ended the Seven Years War and dealt France disastrous losses.<sup>64</sup> Coincidentally, a briefcase of red morocco leather embroidered with the arms of the duc de Praslin and a banderole with the words “Ministère des Affaires Étrangères,” most likely made for the occasion of the Treaty of Paris, is in the Metropolitan Museum’s collections (Figures 14, 15).<sup>65</sup> The duc de Praslin became minister of the navy in 1766, but in 1770, when his cousin fell from favor and was banished to his estate Chanteloup, near Tours, the duke was dismissed as well.

In 1764 the duke purchased the famous Château de Vaux-le-Vicomte, and the following year he acquired, by exchange with the king, a new Parisian residence, the Hôtel de Belle-Isle. Constructed in 1722 between the rue de Bourbon (now rue de Lille) and the quai d’Orsay, this mansion was considered to be among the most beautifully situ-

ated in Paris.<sup>66</sup> Its garden terrace facing the Seine offered views of the Tuileries and Louvre palaces across the river.<sup>67</sup> The interior decoration of the house under the ownership of the ducs de Praslin was no less magnificent and included a monumental staircase and splendidly paneled rooms. Several carved panels showing arabesque motifs in a refined Neoclassical style, originally in the *grand cabinet* of the Hôtel de Belle-Isle, came to the Metropolitan Museum in 1907 as part of the Hoentschel Collection (Figure 16).<sup>68</sup> This residence also had an *appartement de parade*, which included a formal reception room, the *pièce du dais*, so called because it was furnished with a crimson damask canopy (*dais*), below which a bust of the king was placed. This room gave access to the *chambre de parade*,<sup>69</sup> the formal bedchamber, which was furnished with Gobelins hangings depicting theatrical scenes, according to the 1785 inventory drawn up following the death of the first duke.<sup>70</sup> Not surprisingly, given Blondel’s statement (cited above) that the lady of the house would receive ceremonial visits and prepare her toilette for special occasions in such a room, this bedchamber had been used by the first duchesse de Praslin, née Anne-Marie de Champagne-la-Suze (1713–1783). Horace Walpole (1717–1797), a member of Parliament, novelist, and prolific letter writer, called her “jolly, red-faced, looking very vulgar, and being very attentive and civil,” in 1765.<sup>71</sup> Her husband, César-Gabriel, was a bibliophile who also acquired important paintings and splendid furnishings. It is possible, given the 1782–83 date of the Beauvais bed hangings, that he had commissioned them as well, late in life.<sup>72</sup> The bed and its tapestry hangings could equally have been ordered by his oldest son, who, as was customary in France, lived with his wife in an apartment in the same house as his parents.<sup>73</sup> He continued to add to his father’s art collection, making it one of the most admired in the city. Luc-Vincent Thiéry lauded the collection in his *Guide des amateurs et des étrangers* of 1787: “The collection of the duc de Praslin, which is combined with that of

14. Briefcase. Made in Turkey for the French market, 1763. With a lock stamped by Paris goldsmith Jacques Lourdière (French, master 1746–after 1768). Dark red morocco leather embroidered with gold thread and silk, gold lock, lined with green silk; 17 3/4 x 13 1/8 x 2 1/2 in. (45 x 33.3 x 6.3 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Mrs. Charles Wrightsman, 2001 (2001.653)

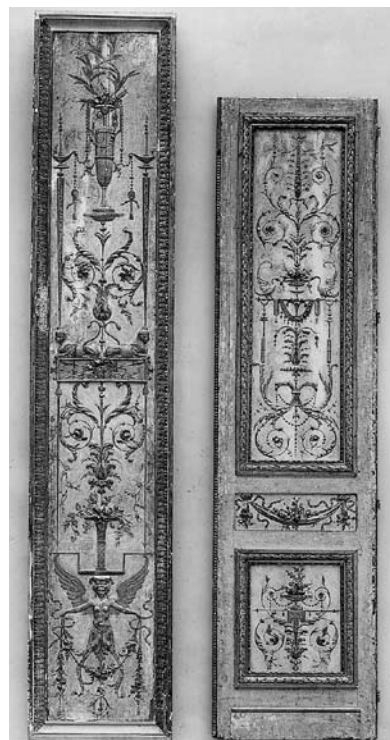
15. Back of the briefcase shown in Figure 14. Embroidered with the arms of César-Gabriel de Choiseul-Chevigny, duc de Praslin, within an oval shield surrounded by the collar of the Order of the Saint-Esprit. The banderole above has the words “Ministère des Affaires Étrangères.”





his father, is too well known in all of Europe to need special praise. It includes the most precious collection of paintings of all the schools but especially of the Flemish school of which it brings together the most distinguished objects.... Independently of the paintings one finds a choice of the most beautiful Boulle furniture, bronzes and porcelains, as well as marbles and other objects of whatever curiosity."<sup>74</sup> Élisabeth Louise Vigée-Le Brun recalled seeing the collection when she was young: "We used also to pay visits to private collections.... The Duke of Praslin and the Marquis de Lévis had rich collections of the great masters of every school.... As soon as I set foot inside one of these rich galleries I could be truly compared to a bee, so many were the bits of knowledge and useful remembrances that I gathered for my art while intoxicating myself with delight in the contemplation of the great masters."<sup>75</sup>

The paintings from the Hôtel de Belle-Isle, largely Dutch and Flemish and also comprising French and Italian works, were sold at auction in 1793 during the turmoil of the French Revolution. A number of these masterworks—including Rembrandt's *Holy Family*, now in the Louvre, Paris, and Nicolas Lancret's *Country Dance*, in the Wallace Collection, London—have since enriched public institutions.<sup>76</sup> Among the furniture offered for sale were various pieces decorated with marquetry of tortoiseshell and brass, a technique perfected by André-Charles Boulle (1642–1732), cabinetmaker to Louis XIV. Some of these pieces may have been made in Boulle's workshop, such as a sarcophagus-shaped commode with gilt-bronze corner mounts in the form of winged female figures, a repetition of the model that was first delivered to the king's bedchamber at the Grand Trianon in 1708–9 (Figure 17).<sup>77</sup> Others are likely to date to the second half of the eighteenth century, when some of Boulle's pieces were copied and existing marquetry of tortoiseshell and brass was reused to make new furniture. Not included in the sale, however, were the Gobelins and Beauvais tapestries, and certain pieces of furniture such as the tapestry-hung bed—all of which probably remained with members of the family who lived outside Paris from 1792 on.<sup>78</sup> In fact, early in the nineteenth century, the duchess was forced to sell first one part of the house in the rue de Bourbon and then the rest.<sup>79</sup> Once the family fortune was restored, in 1803, Antoine-César, third duc de Praslin (1756–1808), a supporter of Napoleon and a member of the Senate, bought and furnished a new Parisian residence, the former Hôtel d'Harcourt in the rue de Grenelle.<sup>80</sup> The inventory drawn up following his death does not include the *lit à la duchesse*,<sup>81</sup> nor did it appear in the auction of his possessions that took place in 1808.<sup>82</sup> It is not clear what happened to the tapestry bed during the first French Republic, the Napoleonic Empire, and most of the Bourbon restoration. On July 12, 1830, however, just days before the abdication of Charles X, which was to mark the end of the



16. Panel and door panel formerly in the *grand cabinet* of the Hôtel de Belle-Isle, Paris, France, ca. 1770–80. Carved, painted, and gilded oak; 130 x 33½ in. (330.2 x 85 cm) and 148 x 28¾ in. (375.9 x 72.1 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1906 (07.225.463b, e)

Bourbon reign, the bed surfaced again. According to an invoice of the Grand Bazar, a bed of gilt wood with valance, bolster, and counterpane, together with a settee, ten armchairs, and a screen covered with Gobelins tapestry, was sold for 1,820 francs to a M. Quinet.<sup>83</sup> Located at 359, rue Saint-Honoré, Paris, the Grand Bazar advertised on its letterhead the storage and sale (*depôt et vente*) of furniture and all furnishings, art objects, and curiosities. J. E. Quinet (d. 1830), who described himself as the businessman or legal adviser (*homme d'affaires*) to the tenth Duke of Hamilton, acquired the bed for his employer, as is borne

17. Workshop of André-Charles Boulle (French, 1642–1732). Commode, ca. 1710–20. Walnut veneered with ebony, marquetry of engraved brass on tortoiseshell, gilt-bronze mounts, green antique marble top; 34½ x 50½ x 24¾ in. (87.6 x 128.3 x 62.9 cm). A commode of this model was in the collection of the ducs de Praslin and was sold at auction in 1793. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Jack and Belle Linsky Collection, 1982 (1982.60.82)



18. Designed by Jacopo Barozzi da Vignola (Italian, 1507–1573); top attributed to Giovanni Mynardo (Italian, ca. 1525–1582); piers carved by Guglielmo della Porta (Italian, d. 1577). Table. Rome, ca. 1568–73. Formerly at Hamilton Palace, Lanarkshire, Scotland. Marbles of different colors, semiprecious stones, Egyptian alabaster; 37½ x 149¼ x 66¼ in. (95.3 x 379.1 x 168.3 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1958 (58.57.a–d)



19. Jean-Henri Riesener (French, 1734–1806). Secretary (*secrétaire à abattant*) made for Marie-Antoinette, 1783. Formerly at Hamilton Palace, Lanarkshire, Scotland. Oak veneered with ebony and Japanese lacquer; interior veneered with tulipwood, amaranth, holly, and ebonized holly; gilt-bronze mounts; red velvet; marble top; 57 x 43 x 16 in. (144.8 x 109.2 x 40.6 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of William K. Vanderbilt, 1920 (20.155.11)

out by another invoice.<sup>84</sup> The bill of the crater and packer Chenue, at 28, rue Croix-des-Petits-Champs, Paris, also supports an identification with the Museum's bed. Dated July 15, 1830, and addressed to "Monseigneur Le Duc d'Hamilton," the Chenue bill charged the duke for the making of "a crate for the gilt-wood frame of a bed consisting of two headboards; two valances; three large sculpted parts belonging to the tester; and the tester, inside which [were] fourteen pieces of tapestry hangings, back panel, counterpane and bolster, two silk curtains."<sup>85</sup>

Alexander Hamilton Douglas, tenth Duke of Hamilton and seventh Duke of Brandon (1767–1852), is said to have had a predilection "towards sumptuous building and art collecting. . . . [M]oreover, he had a very high opinion of his importance. He firmly believed that as the descendant of the regent of Arran he was the true heir to the throne of Scotland."<sup>86</sup> It is therefore fitting that the tenth duke was in the process of transforming the largely early eighteenth-century family seat in South Lanarkshire, Scotland, into a veritable palace. He even commissioned designs by Charles Percier (1764–1838) and Pierre Fontaine (1762–1853), the authors of the *Recueil de décorations intérieures* of 1812 who had been employed by Napoleon and Josephine.<sup>87</sup> None of these designs were ever executed, however, because ultimately the London designer and cabinetmaker Robert Hume (active 1808–40) took control of the palace's interior decoration. To furnish Hamilton Palace in style, the duke collected on a grand scale, acquiring marble columns, vases, classical busts, and tabletops in Italy through various agents and dealers.<sup>88</sup> A marvelous example of his taste for splendor and colored marbles was the purchase of the



so-called Farnese table, now in the Metropolitan Museum (Figure 18).<sup>89</sup> Commissioned by Cardinal Alessandro Farnese (1520–1589) and dating to about 1568–73, the *pietre dure* top has been attributed to Giovanni Mynardo after designs by Jacopo Barozzi da Vignola.<sup>90</sup> Described as a “magnificent large and massive antique Pietre Dure altar table inlaid with various precious stones, marble and oriental slabs,” this extraordinary piece stood in the dining saloon of the palace.<sup>91</sup> The duke also bought furnishings at various sales in Britain. Through the intermediary of Hume, an imposing pair of Boulle armoires, today in the Louvre, was acquired at the 1823 sale at Fonthill Abbey, the large country residence built in Gothic Revival style for William Beckford (1760–1844), the duke’s father-in-law.<sup>92</sup> Important French furniture from the choice collection of George Watson Taylor (1770–1841) at Erlestoke Park, in Wiltshire—such as the black lacquer commode and secretary made by Jean-Henri Riesener for Marie-Antoinette in 1783—was bought in 1832 (Figure 19).<sup>93</sup> As described above, additional pieces of French furniture, including the tapestry bed, were purchased in Paris through J. E. Quinet.

As a result of all these purchases, the state rooms in the palace housed many examples of eighteenth-century art as well as an impressive collection of paintings and sculptures. Gustav Waagen, who visited Hamilton Palace in 1851, described his experience in his *Treasures of Art in Great Britain*:

The Duke, since deceased, was an ardent lover of all styles of art, and his wealth and long life, and frequent sojourns in different countries in Europe, enabled him to gather together treasures of art of every different kind. . . . As the Duke combined in equal measure a love of art with a love of splendour, and was an especial lover of beautiful and rare marbles, the whole ameublement was on a scale of costliness, with a more numerous display of tables and cabinets of the richest Florentine mosaic than I had seen in any other palace. As a full crimson predominated in the carpets, a deep brown in the woods of the furniture, and a black Irish marble, as deep in colour as the nero antico, in the specimens of marble, the general effect was that of the most massive and truly princely splendour; at the same time somewhat gloomy, I might almost say Spanish, in character.<sup>94</sup>

It is apparent from the Hamilton Palace inventory dating to 1835–42 that the bed, although acquired in 1830, was not yet properly installed in the state rooms, also called tapestry rooms.<sup>95</sup> The inventory recorded only part of a Louis XIV [*sic*] bed in tapestry in the drawing room. Furthermore,



20. Domed tester bed in situ at Hamilton Palace, Lanarkshire, Scotland, 1882. This photograph shows how the bed was framed within a decorative molding and indicates that it originally had wheels underneath, now missing. Photograph: Hamilton Palace sale 1882, lot 1912

a parcel containing three uncut pieces of plain yellow silk for lining the tapestry curtains, as well as two green curtains of silk belonging to the tapestry bed and fourteen pieces of tapestry for a bed, were listed as being locked up over the scullery in the kitchen court. To the last entry was added “in Work Girls hands,” probably indicating that some sewing or repair work needed to be done on the textiles.<sup>96</sup> Moreover, an unsigned and undated list titled “Articles supposed to be required in New State Rooms” mentions “extra Tapestry for deepening out Valens of Bed.”<sup>97</sup> Clearly the bed hangings were not in a perfect state or complete at this point, which explains why nineteenth-century replacements and additions such as parts of the valence were necessary.<sup>98</sup>

The situation had evidently changed by 1852, when, according to the new inventory, the bed occupied a prominent position in the new state bedroom, as seen in a later photograph (Figure 20). Described as “A magnificent Carved and gilt French Bedstead with massive Dome top & D° [ditto] Corners gilt inside and out, the Furniture of the finest Gobelin Tapestry belonged to Louis XIV,” it was furnished with “a fine Down Feather Bed, Bolster and 2 large D°

Pillows in white Cases, a deep bordered best Horse Hair Mattress in stripe Linen Case, a D° D° best wool Mattress in white base, a D° D° straw Palliass [*sic*], 2 pair large best English Blankets, [and] a D° rich Marseilles Counterpane."<sup>99</sup>

The walls of the state bedroom were hung with two large tapestries of the Gerusalemme Liberata series. Originally composed of fifteen hangings, the set had been woven in Rome for Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni (1667–1740) between 1732 and 1739 and may have been acquired by the tenth duke during the years he spent in Italy. About half the tapestries ended up at Hamilton Palace, where they were used to decorate the new state rooms.<sup>100</sup> Three tapestry overdoor panels depicting fruit and flowers had been woven for the state bedchamber at the French Aubusson manufactory in 1840.<sup>101</sup> A large carpet with the arms of France, fleurs-de-lis, flowers, and fruit, in the manner of the Savonnerie rugs created for the Grand Galerie of the Louvre during the reign of Louis XIV, was also specially ordered from Aubusson for the room.<sup>102</sup> Sixteen gilt-wood armchairs covered with "Gobelin Tapestry" with an alleged Versailles provenance and a "large size carved & gilt frame Sofa with 2 conversation [*sic*] ends, stuffed and covered with the rich silk Brocade same as the Curtains" were among the seat furniture.<sup>103</sup> The pair of Boulle-work pedestals "to contain Night Chambers much enriched with chased and gilt metal mouldings and ornaments," with verde-antique marble Ionic columns on top, were presumably placed on either side of the bed.<sup>104</sup> The surface decoration of the two chests of drawers with circular ends in the room consisted also of tortoiseshell and brass marquetry.

The 1876 inventory indicates that the contents of the state bedchamber appear to have changed only slightly after the death of the tenth duke in 1852. At the time of the 1876 inventory, Hamilton Palace had been inherited by his grandson, William Hamilton Douglas, the twelfth duke (1845–1895). The "carved Gilt Bedstead style of Louis XIV with Canopy, Curtains and Cover of Gobelin Tapestry, lined with Gold coloured silk" was still the main piece of furniture in the room. The number of tapestry-covered armchairs was reduced to twelve, possibly to make place for a Boulle-work writing table that was added, along with a pair of mahogany bed steps.<sup>105</sup> The twelfth duke, who was described in a contemporary journal as a "good-hearted, free-handed, horse-loving Scotchman, wholly without guile, no better educated and no worse than the average man who has travelled round the world with his eyes open," did not use the palace much.<sup>106</sup> The vast mineral wealth of the area surrounding Hamilton Palace, bringing the "encroachment of numerous mills and factories with their tall chimneys pouring fourth their fumes of smoke and noxious vapors," may have made it an increasingly unsuitable seat for a country nobleman.<sup>107</sup> As the author of the journal article noted, "Becoming con-

scious of the absurdity of leaving a priceless collection of art-treasures shut up in a palace which was rarely visited either by his friends or the public, and thinking more of their pecuniary than of their artistic value, he determined to brave the obloquy of selling them."<sup>108</sup>

The duke's decision to sell his grandfather's famed library, part of which had been formed by William Beckford, as well as the illustrious art collections resulted in a highly anticipated auction in 1882. Conducted by Christie's in London, the sale was characterized in *The Times* as follows: "To-day begins a struggle which will be memorable in history. The battlefield will be Messrs. Christie's auction rooms; the weapons will be heavy cheques and hundred-pound notes; the objects fought for will be *objets d'art*. The Hamilton Palace Sale, over which connoisseurs have gloated in imagination for months past, and which has preoccupied society for all this week, begins this afternoon. . . ."<sup>109</sup> The auction unfolded over seventeen days, and the total sum realized when the bidding ended was an astonishing £397,539, making it one of the most notable sales of the century.<sup>110</sup>

The *lit à la duchesse* was among the "high end" pieces of splendid French furniture sold. Illustrated in the catalogue, it was described as lot 1912: "A Louis XVI. Bedstead, richly carved and gilt, with a vase of flowers at the head, the back stuffed and covered with a panel of gobelins tapestry, with lofty canopy lined with tapestry, and with double valences and back of the same, with garlands and wreaths of flowers and foliage, and tapestry bolster covers; and a pair of yellow silk curtains." According to the priced catalogue published after the sale, the bed and its coverlet, sold as a separate lot, were both purchased by E. Radley, who was a regular bidder at the auction.<sup>111</sup> He bought mainly porcelains and small *objets de vertu*. The bed and the cover, for which he paid £1,155 and £357, respectively, were among Radley's most extravagant acquisitions. Edward Radley was listed in the London Commercial Directory for 1884 as an upholsterer, cabinetmaker, and importer of works of art, located at 16 Old Bond Street.<sup>112</sup> He had apparently taken over from the firm of Charles Annoot & Co., which had previously been established at the same address. What happened next with the bed is not entirely clear. Radley must have sold it to the dealers Lowengard frères in Paris at some point, unless he had acted on their behalf at the Hamilton Palace sale, because in 1893–94, MM. Lowengard were listed as the proprietors.<sup>113</sup> These dealers of fine French furniture and tapestries in Paris not only enjoyed a profitable business relationship with Joel Duveen (1843–1908) but also became related to him by marriage. Esther Duveen (1870–1949), Joel's oldest daughter, married one of the Lowengard heirs, Jacques-Jules, in 1891.<sup>114</sup> The bed may have been among the goods totaling £40,000 that Duveen bought from the Lowengards for his various clients both in Europe and





21. Edith Kingdon Gould. Photograph: Falk, New York



22. Bedroom of Edith Kingdon Gould. Undated photograph in the Moss Collection (Kathrens 2002, p. 154)

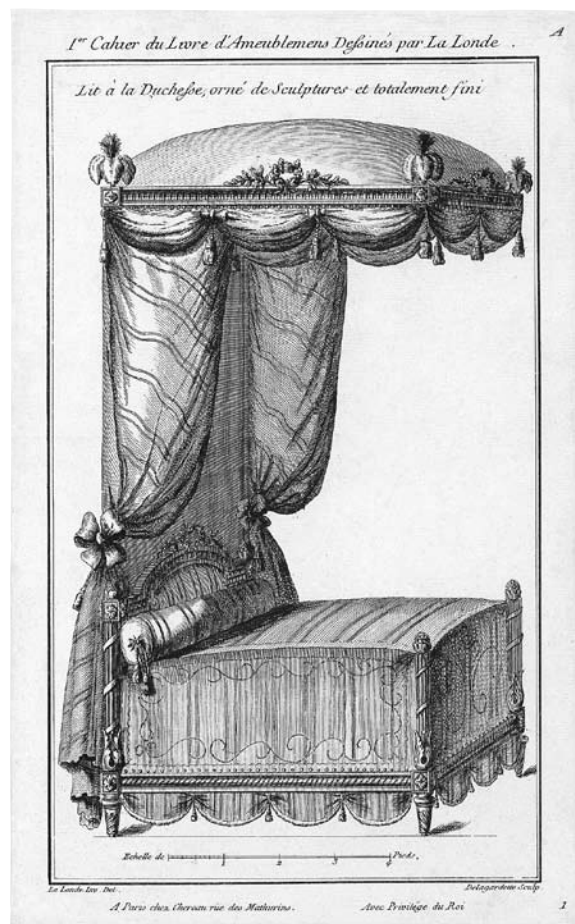
America.<sup>115</sup> In September 1897 the “Finest L[ouis] XVI Bed Carved wood & Gilt adorned with Beauvais Tapestry Ex Hamilton Paris [sic]” was sold to George J. Gould for \$3,300 and shipped to New York.<sup>116</sup>

Gould (1864–1923) was the oldest son of the financier and railroad tycoon Jay Gould (1836–1892), whose fortune he inherited. He was a railroad executive as well, and one of the most important clients of Duveen Brothers during the first decade of the twentieth century. Interested in the theater, Gould courted an actress, Edith M. Kingdon (1864–1921), a member of Augustin Daly’s company. After earlier rumors of a wedding in Paris,<sup>117</sup> and despite public criticism, the couple married at Lyndhurst, the Gould family estate in Irvington-on-Hudson, in September 1886.<sup>118</sup> While not a major beauty, the bride was deemed quite pretty. According to a contemporary account, her olive complexion, gray eyes, dark hair, sharp and clean-cut features, and at times puckering mouth made her quite captivating (Figure 21).<sup>119</sup> Having abandoned her acting career, Mrs. Gould returned to the stage only in rare private theatricals after her marriage.<sup>120</sup> Instead, she led a busy social life and raised a growing family. When the house at 857 Fifth Avenue and Sixty-seventh Street, which the Goulds had called home

since 1892, was no longer adequate for their household staff and seven children, they decided to tear the residence down and replace it with a more spacious one. In 1906–8 the architect Horace Trumbauer (1868–1938) built a grand new limestone mansion for the Goulds, its facade displaying a combination of French Neoclassical elements and Italian palazzo fenestration.<sup>121</sup> Although the Gould house was demolished in about 1961 to make space for an apartment building, interior photographs reveal that the rooms had decorative details culled from various historic styles. Whereas Mr. Gould reposed in French Renaissance-style surroundings, Mrs. Gould’s paneled bedchamber was furnished in a manner considered more feminine, with a distinct Louis XVI flavor (Figure 22).<sup>122</sup> The *lit à la duchesse*, placed on a cushioned platform, was complemented, just as it had been in the Hôtel de Belle-Isle and at Hamilton Palace, by tapestry-covered seat furniture.

Edith Gould died unexpectedly after collapsing on the golf course of the family’s country estate, Georgian Court, in Lakewood, New Jersey, in 1921.<sup>123</sup> Although heart disease appears to have been the cause of death, the doctors allegedly discovered that “her body was completely encased in rubber from neck to ankle in a pathetic attempt to regain her

23. Richard de Lalonde (French, active 1780–90). *Lit à la duchesse*. Etching and engraving from *1<sup>er</sup> Cahier du livre d'ameublement*, in *Oeuvres diverses* (Paris, n.d.), vol. 2. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1933 (33.49.2)



once-famous figure.”<sup>124</sup> A few months later the widower secretly married his longtime and much younger mistress, the actress Guinevere Jeanne Sinclair, with whom, it turned out, he had already fathered three children.<sup>125</sup> This union was not to last much longer than a year, since George J. Gould died of pneumonia on the French Riviera in May 1923.<sup>126</sup> Given the complex situation of the various heirs, it is perhaps not remarkable that Kingdon Gould, the firstborn son, wrote to the Metropolitan’s president, Robert de Forest, regarding Edith Gould’s eighteenth-century bed: “I have recently purchased it from my Mother’s estate, in order that it might not come into the hands of strangers and should like to present it to the Metropolitan Museum out of respect for her memory.”<sup>127</sup> Duveen Brothers was involved with the shipping and delivery of the bed to the Museum in October 1923.<sup>128</sup> Only later was it discovered that not all the tapestry parts had been transferred. The two side curtains, still present when the bed was at Hamilton Palace but absent in Mrs. Gould’s bedroom, were never received by the Museum. It was recently disclosed why these elements were lost. In 1950 one Dorothy Cox from the London branch of Duveen Brothers wrote to the New York office about two panels of either Beauvais or Aubusson tapestry with a label affixed bearing the Gould name. She was hoping to gain informa-

tion as well as advice as to what should be done with them.<sup>129</sup> In reply it was explained that these panels of Beauvais tapestry belonged to the so-called Marie-Antoinette Bed formerly in the Hamilton Palace collection. “We bought this bed and sold it nearly forty years ago to George Jay Gould, whose family presented it to the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York after the death of Mrs. Gould. The panels must have been detached from the bed when it was prepared for shipment, presumably because they are not vital to it. Clearly they have little or no value separate from the bed. We suggest that you obtain permission to send them to us.”<sup>130</sup> Although permission was granted, it is not clear when they were shipped and where they ultimately found a home.<sup>131</sup>

After a century and a half of use, the state of the tapestry hangings was far from pristine, and placing the bed on permanent display in the Museum’s galleries did not improve their condition. In 1928 Preston Remington wrote to his colleague Joseph Breck regarding the possibility of having them washed by Mitchell Samuels of P. W. French, Inc., in New York: “The hangings, as you know, were very dirty when the bed came to us and are still more so now, so that a great deal of their charm is totally lost, especially in the instance of the dossier and the spread.”<sup>132</sup> With the hangings cleaned and their coloring consequently enhanced, the bed remained on exhibition until the early 1960s.<sup>133</sup> After many decades in storage, the faded and worn textiles were too fragile to be reused in the recent reinstallation of the bed. Given the fact that the set of tapestries was incomplete and that no workshop today is able to produce hangings of a quality comparable to those woven at Beauvais, it was not feasible to have them copied. In accordance with the eighteenth-century custom of changing hangings and upholstery according to the season, with tapestries reserved for the colder time of the year and substituted by lighter fabrics during the warmer months, it was decided to furnish the Metropolitan’s bed with a permanent set of silk damask “summer” hangings. Only the tapestry lining the inside of the dome was left exposed as a reminder of its former appearance (see Figure 4).<sup>134</sup> In order to have the new textile harmonize with the carved decoration of the bed, a Neoclassical pattern consisting of baskets of flowers and garlands was chosen in blue and cream. This color combination was current in the eighteenth century, as illustrated by numerous examples of French silks in the Museum’s collection.<sup>135</sup> Since tapestry bed hangings, unlike those of a less heavy material, were not draped, the question arose of how to shape the new valances and curtains. The drawing of the *lit à la duchesse* at the Hôtel de Salm, just up the road from the Hôtel de Belle-Isle, offered a solution to the dilemma (see Figure 7). The arrangement depicted there, with the valance gathered in three loops at the short end of





24. Duclos and Bosse, after Sigmund Freudenberger (Swiss, 1745–1801). *Le coucher*. Etching and engraving from *Monument of Costume* (1775). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1933 (33.56.28)

25. Bed steps (*marchepied de lit*). France, late 18th century. Carved, painted, and gilded wood, later velvet upholstery; 17½ x 21½ x 19 in. (44.5 x 54.6 x 48.3 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of David L. and Leon J. Dalva, 2008 (2008.116)



the tester and the double swagging of the coverlet hanging down over the foot, was followed for the Museum's state bed. The rendering was also instructive for the creation of the trimming, consisting of fringe, cords, tassels, and bows to tie back the side curtains. In addition, it was decided to restore the proper height of the bedding, reaching up to the capitals of the columns at the foot of the bed. (According to the 1791 inventory of the Hôtel de Belle-Isle, the bed was furnished with three mattresses, one filled with horsehair, and a featherbed.)<sup>136</sup> This resulted in a boxlike appearance typical of eighteenth-century beds, apparent not only in the drawing of the prince de Salm-Kyrbourg's bed but also in a number of designs by artists such as Pierre Ranson (1736–1786) and Richard de Lalonde (Figure 23). Inventory descriptions reveal that the use of three or four mattresses stuffed with straw, hair, or wool was not uncommon.<sup>137</sup> The presence of numerous mattresses on the bed of Grace Dalrymple Elliott (d. 1823) even helped to save the life of the marquis de Chanssenets, who sought refuge at her Parisian home during the Reign of Terror.<sup>138</sup>

The piled-up bedding created a considerable height, and as a result, step stools or bed steps were necessary in order to ascend safely into bed, as seen in contemporary illustrations (Figure 24).<sup>139</sup> The observations of an English traveler

who visited Paris in August 1782 suggest that high beds were not customary in England: "Beds are raised to a very inconvenient height, so that even the longest legs must use a chair; one must literally climb into bed, not that the beds themselves are so remarkably high, but they are so loaded: just under you, there is a mattress, then a thin feather bed, then another mattress, and at the very bottom, a coarse litter or sack stuffed with straw."<sup>140</sup>

The Metropolitan recently received a gift of a pair of bed steps, which will be installed with the bed once they are reupholstered with the same blue and white silk damask used for the new hangings (Figure 25). Thus, it will soon be possible for visitors to the Wrightsman Galleries to imagine how the duchesse de Praslin mounted her *lit à la duchesse en impériale* to receive her guests.

#### ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

During the research on the history of this bed, numerous colleagues have offered valuable assistance. I would like to express my heartfelt gratitude to Christian Baulez, Charissa Bremer-David, Godfrey Evans, Patrick Leperlier, Charlotte Vignon, Jean Vittet, and Melinda Watt for sharing information or offering helpful suggestions.

## NOTES

Translations from the French are by the author unless otherwise stated.

1. The original provenance of the Neoclassical *boiserie* is not known. During the nineteenth century it was installed in the Hôtel de Lauzun on the Île Saint-Louis, Paris. The gallery where it is now on view formerly housed the Museum's unsurpassed collection of Sèvres-mounted furniture.
2. The term, according to Henry Havard (1887–90, vol. 2, pp. 236–37), was introduced toward the late seventeenth century, when the name first appears in contemporary inventories. It is thought, however, that this type of bed already existed during the Middle Ages but was then known as a *lit à plein ciel*. See Reyniès 1987, vol. 1, p. 256.
3. Havard 1887–90, vol. 2, p. 236, vol. 3, p. 428; Reyniès 1987, vol. 1, p. 256.
4. Beds played an important role in the life cycle of man as the place where relationships were consummated and births and deaths occurred, and the choice of the plant imagery and other motifs should be examined in this light. The quiver with its arrows, for instance, generally the attribute of the hunter or of the gods and goddesses of war, could here be interpreted as a symbol of love, given that Cupid is nearly always depicted with his bow, quiver, and arrows. More openly symbolizing love are the roses, generally associated with the goddess Aphrodite, and the aromatic myrtle. In classical antiquity, roses and myrtle were used together for bridal wreaths. The flowers, ranging here from buds to blooms past their prime, may in addition symbolize the passage of time. As such, they could serve as a subtle reminder of *vanitas*, warning that even the most beautiful bloom will eventually wilt and die.
5. Sale, Sotheby's, Monaco, November 30–December 2, 1986, lot 794. The bed was part of the contents of Mona Bismarck's Paris residence on the avenue de New York. Its present whereabouts are not known. Another related bed, sporting two headboards for use in an alcove or niche and therefore without tester, was shown in 2009 at the European Fine Art Fair (TEFAF) in Maastricht by Pelham Galleries of Paris and London. It is thought to have belonged to Marie-Madeleine Guimard (1743–1816), a dancer first at the Comédie Française and subsequently at the Paris Opéra who was famous for her many love affairs. It was supposedly at her Paris hôtel in the Chaussée d'Antin, which was designed for her by the architect Claude-Nicolas Ledoux (1736–1806). See Moonan 2009.
6. *Rue de Lille* 1983, pp. 170–72.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 168, 172.
8. The inventory is quoted in the catalogue of the Bismarck sale in 1986 (see note 5 above).
9. Kingdon Gould to Robert de Forest, September 11, 1923, MMA Archives.
10. Excellent examples are the black lacquer secretary and commode made by Jean-Henri Riesener in 1783 for use of the queen in her *grand cabinet intérieur* at Versailles, now in the MMA (20.155.11, .12). See Kisluk-Grosheide, Koeppe, and Rieder 2006, pp. 198–201, nos. 82, 83. See also the related commode and secretary with trelliswork and pictorial marquetry by Riesener dating to about 1783–85 but later altered by him, today in the Frick Collection (Dell 1992, pp. 71–91).
11. Recommendation of Joseph Breck to the Trustees, November 19, 1923, MMA Archives. See also Remington 1924, pp. 6, 8. Some thirty years earlier the canopy lining had already been correctly identified as Beauvais tapestry, but this reference was apparently not yet known; see Champeaux 1893–94, vol. 6, pl. 523.
12. In a letter addressed to Kingdon Gould, April 13, 1925 (MMA Archives), Joseph Breck wrote: "I wonder if you have seen the Louis XVI bed in its new location in [Gallery] I 10? The room is a little empty now as we have very little furniture of the Louis XVI period; nevertheless I think the bed looks very well."
13. Remington 1924, p. 6. The maker was apparently not yet identified, nor was the origin of the tapestries known at this time.
14. For information on Georges Jacob, see Lefuel 1923 and Pallot 1993, pp. 194–95.
15. Remington 1954, pp. 67, 74 (ill.).
16. Pierre Verlet (1966, pp. 64, 144, 146–47, pl. 99) identified the tapestry as Beauvais and called its design as "being in the taste of Salembier or Huet."
17. Edith Standen later noted (1985, vol. 2, pp. 564–67, no. 84) that the spiral forms of the back panel were close to the prints of Salembier. She also observed that the valance panel, seen at the narrow end of the canopy, did not belong to the same set as the rest of the hangings and that the two side panels of the valance were nineteenth-century copies. Further replacements, such as the sides of the coverlet dating to the nineteenth century, were mentioned, and the silk side curtains were said to be modern.
18. The frame was treated in the Museum's Sherman Fairchild Center for Objects Conservation by Stephanie Massaux under the supervision of Pascale Patris and Mechthild Baumeister. Carole Halle replaced some of the missing carvings. Nancy Britton was responsible for the treatment of the original upholstered elements, and Clarissa DeMuzio created the new damask hangings.
19. Deville 1878–80, vol. 1, p. 204.
20. Havard 1887–90, vol. 2, p. 236, vol. 3, p. 428.
21. *Ibid.*, vol. 3, pp. 428–29. The bed of Louis XVI was estimated in 1792 at 84,942 *livres*, and the one of Marie-Antoinette used during the summer months was valued at 131,820 *livres*.
22. See Ratzki-Kraatz 1986, p. 81.
23. The French architect and theorist Le Camus de Mézières (1721–1789) even stated that "the bedchamber that completes the state apartment will often serve only for show" (Le Camus de Mézières 1992, p. 113).
24. Mossiker 1983, p. 285.
25. Blondel 1752–56, vol. 1, p. 33, quoted by Ziskin 1999, pp. 25, 167–68n55.
26. Entry dated April 4, 1769, in Greig 1926, p. 90.
27. This bed is in the Residenz in Munich. See Langer 1995, pp. 194–97, no. 47.
28. I am grateful to the Museum's Grants Committee for awarding me a travel grant in 2006, making it possible to do part of this research in Edinburgh.
29. Weigert 1962, pp. 123–34. The manufactory was temporarily closed in 1793, and when it reopened after the Revolution under the direction of the State, the workshops produced upholstery covers almost exclusively.
30. Manufacture Nationale de Beauvais, "Prix des ouvrages et compte des ouvriers, années 1776–1790," Archives Mobilier National, Paris, B 171.
31. *Ibid.*, order no. 31, fol. 167, and order no. 246, fol. 259. See also Coural and Gastinel-Coural 1992, p. 57.
32. Archives Mobilier National, Paris, B 171, order no. 31, fol. 167: "le lit complet contenant la carré de la courtépointe, le traversin, les bouts dudit, 3 soubassement, 6 pentes, 2 bonnes graces, l'impérial et les courbes dud. ainsy que le dossier et le champtourné."
33. *Ibid.*, fols. 167v, 168, 168v, 169.



34. Ibid., order no. 246, fols. 257v, 258, 258v, 259.
35. Fleming and Honour 1977, pp. 29–30, 354–55. The terminology appears to have been loosely used at times.
36. Hauteceur 1912, p. 46: “Les arabesques sont une source inépuisable pour décorer dans un beau style l’intérieur et l’extérieur des bâtiments modernes, des meubles et même des habits.”
37. See Standen 1985, vol. 2, pp. 557–63, no. 83.
38. Several tapestries of this arabesque design and seat furniture with matching tapestry covers are illustrated in Verlet 1966, pp. 57–58.
39. Archives Nationales, Paris, O<sup>2</sup> 858. Coural and Gastinel-Coural 1992, pp. 63, 65n41: “tableaux d’un lit Complet dit à la duchesse peint par huet avec fleurs et Draperies.”
40. Some of the figures appear to sport Russian costumes. One tapestry of this set, *The Repast*, is in the Museum’s collection (48.139). See Standen 1985, vol. 2, pp. 550–56, no. 82. See also Weigert 1962, p. 133.
41. During the warmer months the walls of the room were lined with hangings of *chiné* taffeta and the bed was replaced by a different one that was hung with *chiné* taffeta as well. The upholstery of the seat furniture was changed to the same material. See Verlet 1966, pp. 277–80.
42. Magny 1987, pp. 50–52.
43. This *lit à triple impériale* was further said to be of a new type (*genre neuf*). See Thiéry 1787, vol. 2, p. 601.
44. Verlet 1966, p. 279.
45. Four wall panels, the bedspread, the *fond de lit*, and another small piece are in the Musée du Louvre, Paris. Upholstery for six armchairs is in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. Standen 1985, vol. 1, p. 397.
46. Verlet 1966, pp. 64–65, fig. 39–40. For information about the Croome Court Tapestry Room, see Peck et al. 1996, pp. 156–67.
47. “un grand lit en dôme tendu de tapisseries des Gobelins.” Havard 1887–90, vol. 3, p. 435. In 1773 Beaujon acquired the Hôtel d’Évreux, the former Paris residence of Madame de Pompadour (now the Élysée Palace), where he created a gallery to display his impressive collection of paintings. Coural 1994, pp. 31, 34.
48. Coural 1994, p. 34. See also Thiéry 1787, vol. 1, p. 83: “La pièce suivante forme une chambre à coucher, donnant aussi sur le jardin, décorée de trois belles tapisseries des Gobelins, représentant le sommeil de Renaud, son départ, & Angélique & Médor. Quatre palmiers, ornés [*sic*] de draperies & de roses, supportent un riche couronnement au-dessus du lit.”
49. Henriette-Louise de Waldner de Freundstein, known since her marriage to Charles Siegfried, Baron d’Oberkirch, as Baronne d’Oberkirch, was a childhood friend of Maria Feodorovna, born Princess Sophie-Marie Dorothea Auguste Louise of Württemberg, whom she accompanied during her visit to Paris in 1782. Burkard 1982, p. 211. “La vie de ce financier est, à ce qu’on assure, des plus singulières. Il était malade, et il lui était défendu de manger autre chose qu’une sorte de brouet au lait sans sucre. Il donnait des dîners dignes de Comus, il voyait manger ses convives, il sentait l’odeur des mets, et il ne touchait à rien. Il était entouré des plus jolies femmes de Paris, qui le traitaient tout à fait sans conséquence; elles le lutinaient et l’agaçaient sans cesse. La moindre galanterie lui était défendue, les émotions lui étaient interdites. Le soir sa maison était pleine d’une joyeuse compagnie, le souper était étincelant, les mots et les bouchons se croisaient. Pendant ce temps, le propriétaire, ce Crésus envié de tous, était condamné à se mettre au lit, où il ne dormait pas à cause de ses souffrances. Ces dames se relevaient autour de lui, et l’une après l’autre le berçaient de leurs chansons, de leurs histoires, de leurs propos. De là le nom de *berceuses* de M. de Beaujon, qu’on leur donna fort généreusement.”
50. A similar account is given by the artist Élisabeth Louise Vigée-Le Brun ([1926], pp. 180–83).
51. Ibid., p. 181.
52. P. Remy & C. F. Julliot, fils, Hôtel d’Évreux, Paris, sale, April 25, 1787, and following days. The *Moses and Aaron before Pharaoh: An Allegory of the Dinteville Family* (now MMA 50.70), by an unknown Netherlandish or French painter, was part of the Beaujon collection and included in the sale as lot 16 as a picture by Jean Holbein (Coural and Gastinel-Coural 1995, pp. 44–45). Four months before his death, Beaujon sold the house to Louis XVI for 1,100,000 *livres*. Included in the price were the sculptures and vases in the gardens, the bookcases in the gallery, and all the mirrors, paneling and overdoors in the various rooms, but no other furniture or furnishings (Coural 1994, p. 43).
53. Archives Nationales, Paris, “Minutier central des notaries,” étude LVIII, liasse 574 bis: “Grande chambre de la duchesse de Praslin, dite chambre d’été No. 331: Un grand lit à la duchesse dont la couchette a un dossier avec pilastres aux quatre angles richement sculptés dorés, avec son ciel à cornice ornée de couronnes de fleurs et branchages aussi richement sculptés et dorés, le tout garni de doubles pentes et calottes à l’impériale, grand dossier de fond et double cantonnière, chevet et grande courtépointe de tapisserie de Beauvais moderne à fond blanc à guirlandes de fleurs, desseins d’arabesques et de draperies et garni d’une grande housse composée de deux grands rideaux de cinq lés chacun sur trois aunes et demie de haut et de deux bonnes graces d’un lés chacune en quinze seize vert uni avec un petit molet d’or au pourtour, cordons et glands aussi en or, le tout faux, prisé 6.000 livres.” I am grateful to Christian Baulez and Patrick Leperlier for bringing this inventory to my attention.
54. The wall hangings of arabesque design and blue draperies woven at the Beauvais manufactory at the same time were not listed in the summer room in 1791; other tapestries with subjects of Greek history were lining the walls, according to the inventory description. The matching covers for the seat furniture, also recorded in the Beauvais ledgers as being part of the same 1782–83 commission, were not present in the room, either.
55. Archives Nationales, Paris, “Minutier central des notaries,” étude LVIII, liasse 574 bis, no. 328. I am indebted to Christian Baulez for pointing these corner cabinets out to me. See also Arizzoli-Cléméntel 2002, vol. 2, pp. 78–79, no. 22.
56. Archives Nationales, Paris, “Minutier central des notaries,” étude LVIII, liasse 574 bis, no. 333: “quatre grands panneaux de tapisserie de Beauvais neuve représentant sujets de l’histoire grecque comprenant en tout vingt et une aunes quarrés, prisés ensemble 2.000 livres.”
57. This suggestion was made by Thomas Campbell, now director of the MMA, to whom I am grateful. Examples of tapestries belonging to this set are in the Philadelphia Museum of Art.
58. Archives Nationales, Paris, “Minutier central des notaries,” étude LVIII, liasse 574 bis, no. 335: “deux grands canapés et six fauteuils de fond en bois sculpté doré, avec dossiers et sièges à chassis, garnies de crin couverts de tapisserie neuve d’Aubusson à grands cartouches sujets d’animaux, six fauteuils à cabriolets, six autres pareils à coussins aussi en bois sculpté et doré couverts en tapisserie de Beauvais à cartouches de fleurs, prisé le tout ensemble avec les housses des dits sièges en toile 1.000 livres.”
59. Ibid., no. 329. Various clockmakers by this name, members of the same family, were active in Paris. See Augarde 1996, pp. 350–53.
60. Archives Nationales, Paris, “Minutier central des notaries,” étude LVIII, liasse 574 bis, no. 330. A number of clockmakers by the

- name of Baillon were active in eighteenth-century France. See Augarde 1996, pp. 67, 272–73.
61. Archives Nationales, Paris, “Minutier central des notaries,” étude LVIII, liasse 574 bis, no. 337.
  62. Francis Seymour Conway to Horace Walpole, April 10, 1765, in Lewis et al. 1974, p. 531.
  63. See Maurepas and Boulant 1996, pp. 238–42, where the date of his elevation is incorrectly given as 1766. See also Seréville and Saint Simon [1976], p. 299.
  64. At this time, for instance, Canada and all the North American territories east of the Mississippi River were lost to Great Britain.
  65. Watson 1970, pp. 270–75, no. 73.
  66. The *hôtel* was built for the Comte Louis-Charles-Auguste Fouquet de Belle-Isle (1684–1761)—hence the name of the residence. De Belle-Isle enjoyed a successful military career and was a grandson of Nicolas Fouquet. See *Rue de Lille* 1983, pp. 71–75.
  67. Le Rouge 1771, vol. 2, pp. 144; Thiéry 1787, vol. 2, pp. 591–92.
  68. This *boiserie* was originally thought to have come from the Pavillon de Marsan at the Palais des Tuileries, Paris. See Pératé and Brière 1908, pp. 38–40, pls. 131–33. A photograph of the doors in situ of the Hôtel de Belle-Isle was published in *Rue de Lille* 1983, p. 75.
  69. *Rue de Lille* 1983, p. 73.
  70. This inventory in the Archives Nationales, Paris, is barely legible owing to extensive damage, and I am relying for that reason on the text of *Rue de Lille* 1983, pp. 73–74.
  71. Horace Walpole to John Chute, October 3, 1765, in Lewis et al. 1973, p. 114.
  72. His book collection was said to comprise 845 volumes. See *Rue de Lille* 1983, p. 74. Toward the end of the duke’s life, in 1780, the sculptor Jean-Antoine Houdon (1741–1828) made a plaster bust, now in the Musée du Louvre, Paris. See Scherf 2006, pp. 44–47, no. 6.
  73. The British traveler Arthur Young commented (1950, p. 263) on this custom: “Some of the hotels in Paris are immense in size, from a circumstance which would give me a good opinion of the people, if nothing else did, which is the great mixture of families. When the eldest son marries, he brings his wife home to the house of his father, where there is an apartment provided to them.”
  74. Thiéry 1787, vol. 2, pp. 591–92: “Le Cabinet de M. le Duc de Praslin, qui réunit celui de M. le Duc de Praslin son père, est trop connu dans toute l’Europe, pour avoir besoin d’un éloge particulier. Il renferme la collection la plus précieuse de tableaux de toutes les Écoles, mais notamment de l’École Flamande, dont il rassemble les objets les plus distingués.” Horace Walpole visited the collector on October 10, 1775. He wrote in his journal: “With Dean Marlay to Hôtel de Praslin. Two rooms of French and Flemish pictures. 2 Claudes, one fine. Several Girardons, Teniers, Rembrandts, Ostades, Wouwermans. 2 small Domenichinos on black marble, fine. Glorious view from Grand Cabinet” (Lewis and Smith 1939, p. 353).
  75. Vigée-Le Brun [1926], p. 23.
  76. Augarde 1983, pp. 34–44.
  77. Sale, Alexandre Joseph Paillet, Paris, February 18–28, 1793, lot 240. The commode was described as “une superbe Comode [sic] figurant un sarcophage; elle est en marquetterie première partie, par le célèbre Boulle & l’on peut dire son chef-d’oeuvre dans ce genre de meuble, où il a surpassé tous les Artistes de son tems [sic].”
  78. The country house in Auteuil became the primary residence of the family during the Revolution; see Leben 1991, pp. 100–101.
  79. *Rue de Lille* 1983, p. 74.
  80. Leben 1991, p. 101.
  81. Archives Nationales, Paris, M.C. LVIII/638.
  82. Sale, Alexandre Joseph Paillet, Paris, May 9, 1808, and May 19–20, 1808. Although there are two auction catalogues, they pertain to the same Choiseul-Praslin sale. Originally planned for May 9–10, 1808, it actually took place May 19–20, 1808. Included as lot 48 was the marble bust of Voltaire by Houdon.
  83. National Register of Archives for Scotland, Edinburgh (hereafter NRAS) 2177, bundle 498: “lit en bois doré avec pente, traversin, couvrepied” and a “canapé, 10 fauteuils et un écran couvert en tapisserie des gobelin.” I am grateful to Geoffrey Evans for his assistance with the Hamilton Palace Archives.
  84. See Tait 1983, p. 394n6.
  85. NRAS 2177, bundle 498: “une caisse d’un Bois de lit doré composé des deux Dossiers, les 2 pentes, 3 grandes parties sculptées qui dependent du Baldaquin, le Baldaquin dans l’Intérieur se trouve 14 pièces tapisserie des draperies, fond de lit, courtépointe et traversin, 2 rideaux en soi.”
  86. Henry Avray Tipping, “A Brief History of Hamilton Palace,” in Hamilton Palace sale 1919, p. 4.
  87. See Tait 1983.
  88. See *ibid.*, pp. 396, 399.
  89. Hamilton Palace sale 1919, lot 333.
  90. See Kisluk-Grosheide, Koeppe, and Rieder 2006, pp. 23–25, no. 7. Koeppe and Giusti 2008, pp. 120–22, no. 10.
  91. Hamilton Palace inventory, 1852, NRAS 2177, vol. 1228, p. 98.
  92. Freyberger 1981, pp. 402–3.
  93. See Kisluk-Grosheide, Koeppe, and Rieder 2006, pp. 198–201, nos. 82, 83.
  94. Waagen 1854, vol. 3, p. 295.
  95. Hamilton Palace inventory, 1835–42, NRAS 2177, vol. 1223, p. 164.
  96. *Ibid.*, pp. 170–71.
  97. NRAS 2177, bundle 665.
  98. As listed by Standen 1985, vol. 2, p. 566. See also note 16 above.
  99. Hamilton Palace inventory, 1852, NRAS 2177, vol. 1228, p. 111. The bed and bedding were valued at £100, the same estimate as the Farnese table received that year, whereas the black lacquer secretary made by Riesener for Marie-Antoinette was appraised at £25 (*ibid.*, pp. 98, 116).
  100. Four of the tapestries are now in the MMA (92.1.14–.17). See Standen 1982 and Standen 1985, vol. 2, pp. 776–85, no. 143.
  101. Letter from Feuillet Dumus, a representative of the Aubusson manufactory, to the tenth Duke of Hamilton, Paris, December 8, 1840 (NRAS 332/C4/841/1), mentioning the “Trois Panneaux dessus de porte en Tapisserie, fleurs, fruits, sont en bonne voie, malgré qu’ils soyent très difficile d’exécution, ces panneaux sont très beaux.”
  102. *Ibid.* The letter mentions the “beau Tapis Louis XIV” and repeats the duke’s instructions for its design. A sketch for this carpet is included in NRAS 2177, bundle 665. This and similar rugs were sold at the Hamilton Palace sale in 1919, lots 299, 303, 310.
  103. Hamilton Palace inventory, 1852, NRAS 2177, vol. 1228, p. 111. This settee was sold at the Hamilton Palace sale in 1882, lot 1910.
  104. Hamilton Palace inventory, 1852, NRAS 2177, vol. 1228, p. 111.
  105. *Inventory of the Furniture, Pictures, Articles of Vertu etc. at Hamilton Palace*, 1876, pp. 22–23; CD-ROM of the original kept in Hamilton Town House Library.
  106. “The Hamilton Sale,” *The Critic*, July 1, 1882, p. 176.
  107. “Minor Old World Facts,” *New York Times*, February 25, 1882, 1, p. 4.
  108. “The Hamilton Sale,” *The Critic*, July 1, 1882, p. 176.
  109. Report in *The Times*, June 17, 1882, p. 11, cols. 3–4. Quoted by Rieder 2002, p. 89.
  110. “Fact and Rumor,” *Christian Union* 26, no. 8 (August 24, 1982), p. 156.



111. Hamilton Palace collection 1882, p. 218, lots 1911, 1912.
112. *The Post Office London Directory for 1884* (London, [1883]), vol. 1, p. 1203.
113. The canopy of the bed is illustrated and said to belong to MM. Lowengard by Champeaux 1893–94, vol. 6, pl. 523.
114. Secrest 2004, pp. 22, 28, 36–37.
115. *Ibid.*, p. 28.
116. Duveen Archives, box 50, sales book no. 3, August 1897–June 1899, p. 7. I am indebted to Charlotte Vignon for this and other information from the Duveen archives. The bed was illustrated in Ricci 1913, pp. 198–99. According to the caption this state bed was also “from the Hamilton Palace sale . . . having also belonged to MM. Lowengard and Duveen Brothers, now at New York, George J. Gould Collection.”
117. “Has Not Married Miss Kingdon,” *New York Times*, July 26, 1886, p. 8.
118. “George Gould Is Married,” *New York Times*, September 15, 1886, p. 1.
119. “Jay Gould, Railroad Tycoon, Visits the City of Ottawa; a Millionaire’s Appearance; ‘The Boy’ George and His Bonny Bride,” *Daily Local News* (Ottawa, Canada), October 15, 1886, p. 2.
120. “Mrs. Gould to Re-Appear in a One-Act Play,” *New York Times*, January 12, 1908, p. X2; “Mrs. Gould Turns Actress for a Day,” *New York Times*, January 22, 1908, p. 7.
121. Kathrens 2002, pp. 148–55; Kathrens 2005, pp. 190–98.
122. The following is listed in the undated inventory, “Catalogue of Pictures and Objects of Art at the Residence of George Gould, Esq. in Fifth Avenue & Sixty-Seventh Street, New York City,” p. 57, Getty Research Institute, Malibu, Duveen 960015, box 459, series II. H, folder 3 (probably done in 1914, when the inventory of the Gould’s country house, Georgian Court, Lakewood, New Jersey, was also drawn up): “A Louis XVI bedstead, richly carved and gilt, with a vase of flowers at the head, the back stuffed and covered with a panel of Gobelins Tapestry, with lofty canopy lined with Tapestry, and with double valances and back of the same, with garlands and wreaths of flowers and foliage, and tapestry bolster covers, and with a pair of yellow silk curtains.” This is the same description that was given in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale catalogue. I am grateful to Charissa Bremer-David for sharing this inventory information with me.
123. “Mrs. George J. Gould Dies Playing Golf,” *New York Times*, November 14, 1921, pp. 1, 6.
124. Kathrens 2002, p. 150.
125. “Gould Gone for Good to Live in England; Bride Wed in Tears,” *New York Times*, July 15, 1922, p. 1.
126. “George Gould Will Leaves \$30,000,000,” *New York Times*, June 5, 1923, p. 1.
127. Kingdon Gould to Robert de Forest, September 11, 1923, MMA Archives.
128. P. P., Duveen Brothers, to Henry F. Davidson, registrar at the Museum, October 31, 1923 (Duveen Archives, box 335, reel 190, folder 9), lists the individual parts of the bed.
129. Dorothy Cox to New York office of Duveen Brothers, July 11, 1950, Duveen Archives, box 291, folder 6, Tapestries III, c. 1925–1954.
130. B. S. Boggis, New York office of Duveen Brothers, to Dorothy Cox, London, July 14, 1950, Duveen Archives, box 291, folder 6, Tapestries III, c. 1925–1954.
131. London office of Duveen Brothers to the New York office, August 4, 1950, regarding the approval for shipping of the tapestry panels that had been granted; E. Fowles, New York office, to London, August 14, 1950, regarding the shipping of the tapestry panels (Duveen Archives, box 291, folder 6, Tapestries III, c. 1925–1954).
132. Preston Remington to Joseph Breck, December 19, 1928, MMA Archives.
133. Preston Remington to Kingdon Gould, April 17, 1929, mentions that the hangings of the bed had recently been cleaned. A letter of June 7, 1963, from Stephan Boudin of the decorating firm Jansen, Paris, regarding new curtains for the bed reveals that there must have been some thought of reusing the bed in the French Galleries, which were then being changed and expanded with the generous support of Mr. and Mrs. Charles Wrightsman. Both letters (the former is a copy) are in the European Sculpture and Decorative Arts Department archives.
134. The loose tapestry parts, such as the coverlet, head cloth, and valances, are stored in the MMA’s Antonio Ratti Center, whereas the fitted tapestry elements were left on the headboard and rails and covered over with the new silk damask.
135. This damask was machine-woven for the Museum in England by Richard Humphries at Warners and ordered through John Buscemi of Belfry Historic Consultants, LLC, in Lynn, Massachusetts.
136. Archives Nationales, Paris, “Minutier central des notaires,” étude LVIII, liasse 574 bis, no. 332.
137. Louis XVI had as many as six wool mattresses on his bed at the Château de Saint-Cloud, whereas Marie-Antoinette had only four, according to the 1789 inventory of Saint-Cloud (Archives Nationales, Paris, O<sup>1</sup>, 3428, fols. 115, 149). For the Museum’s bed the desired height was achieved by ordering two mattresses, one filled with horsehair and the other with wool, both covered with blue and white ticking, as well as a feather bed. The weight of this bedding is supported on a modern table support placed inside the eighteenth-century frame so as not to stress the gilded rails.
138. In her journal Mrs. Dalrymple Elliott (1859, p. 90) described how they hid the aristocrat from guards searching her house between the mattresses on her bed: “We accordingly pulled two of the mattresses out further than the others, and made a space next to the wall, and put him in.”
139. These bed steps were often upholstered in the same material as the bed. According to the 1789 inventory of Saint-Cloud, for instance, Louis XVI’s bedroom was furnished with a *lit à la turque à deux dossiers* with hangings of *gros de Naples broché*, which was also used for the bed steps (*marche pied à deux degrés*) in the room. Marie-Antoinette had a *lit à la Polonoise* in her bedroom with hangings of *pékin peint*. The two-step bed stool was covered in the same fabric (Archives Nationales, Paris, O<sup>1</sup>, 3428, fols. 113–16, 146–51).
140. English traveler of the Cullum de Hardwick family from Suffolk, quoted in Pardailhé-Galabrun 1991, p. 78.

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