

A Grand Tableau

Charles Le Brun's Portrait of the Jabach Family



The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin

Summer 2017



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Stephan Wolohojian · Melinda Watt · Michael Gallagher



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1000 Fifth Avenue

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Foreword

This *Bulletin* examines in depth one of the most important, intriguing, and simply spectacular old master paintings acquired by The Met in the last quarter century: Charles Le Brun's portrait of the German banker Everhard Jabach and his family. In doing so, it also honors the person who made this and so many other major acquisitions by The Met possible, Jayne Wrightsman, whose legacy as one of our greatest patrons is capped with remarkable flourish by this monumental painting.

Working together, the three authors of this *Bulletin*—Stephan Wolohojian, Curator in the Department of European Paintings; Melinda Watt, Curator in the Department of European Sculpture and Decorative Arts and Supervising Curator, the Antonio Ratti Textile Center; and Michael Gallagher, Sherman Fairchild Conservator in Charge of Paintings Conservation—tease out the many secrets bound up in Le Brun's canvas and its extraordinary sitter, who was one of the greatest art collectors of seventeenth-century Europe. Beyond the history of the painting itself, there is also the fascinating story of how a work of this importance remained in relative obscurity in an English country house for more than 180 years; was then offered to The Met as a private sale in 2014; and then received an export license, making its purchase possible.

Had Mrs. Wrightsman not intervened, The Met would almost certainly not have been able to acquire this landmark picture. But then, Mrs. Wrightsman and her late husband, Charles, had long grown accustomed to making the impossible possible, in particular the purchase of many defining masterpieces in The Met collection. These include—to note just a handful of the more than forty paintings acquired through their generosity—Vermeer's haunting *Study of a Young Woman* (given to the Museum in 1979); Rubens's incomparable portrait of himself with his wife and son (donated in 1981); Lorenzo Lotto's unique *Venus and Cupid* (purchased with funds provided by Mrs. Wrightsman); Guercino's extraordinary *Samson Captured by the Philistines* (donated in 1984); and Jacques Louis David's magisterial portrait of the great French scientist Antoine Laurent Lavoisier and his wife, Marie Anne Pierrette Paulze (acquired with funds they provided in 1977).

Just two years before she provided the funds for Le Brun's portrait of the Jabachs, Mrs. Wrightsman had stepped forward to ensure that François Gérard's portrait of the great statesman Charles Maurice de Talleyrand would find a place at The Met among what is now unquestionably the greatest collection of French Neoclassical paintings outside the Louvre. Seven of the ten paintings in the gallery where it now hangs were acquired by The Met thanks to Mrs. Wrightsman, after whom the gallery, fittingly, is named. As for the Le Brun, Mrs. Wrightsman followed all the stages of its conservation; took a keen interest in the search for a period-appropriate frame; and rejoiced in its prominent installation in the gallery devoted to French seventeenth-century painting. To her, this *Bulletin* is dedicated.

DANIEL H. WEISS
President,
The Metropolitan Museum of Art



A Grand Tableau

Charles Le Brun's Portrait of the Jabach Family

STEPHAN WOLOHOJIAN

FEW THINGS ARE more exciting than the rediscovery of a lost work of art, from the masterpiece revealed beneath layers of restorations to the treasure uncovered in an attic or unearthed by archaeological excavation. Sometimes a work of art even hides in plain sight, as was the case with Charles Le Brun's monumental *Everhard Jabach (1618–1695) and His Family* (fig. 1), the most ambitious nonroyal family portrait painted in seventeenth-century France. It is difficult to fathom how a picture of this size, importance, and superlative quality—a landmark of Western portraiture—could have hung in a British house, essentially unnoticed, for more than a century. The portrait was long thought destroyed, known only from photographs taken before World War II. We can imagine the utter astonishment of Keith Christiansen, the Museum's John Pope-Hennessy Chairman of European Paintings, when he was shown the painting in a storeroom outside London in 2013 and then offered it for purchase by The Met.¹ This essay provides an introduction to Le Brun's remarkable portrait—which is as much a reflection of the advancing status of the artist as it is of the emerging role of the bourgeois collector—and an account of its eventful history.

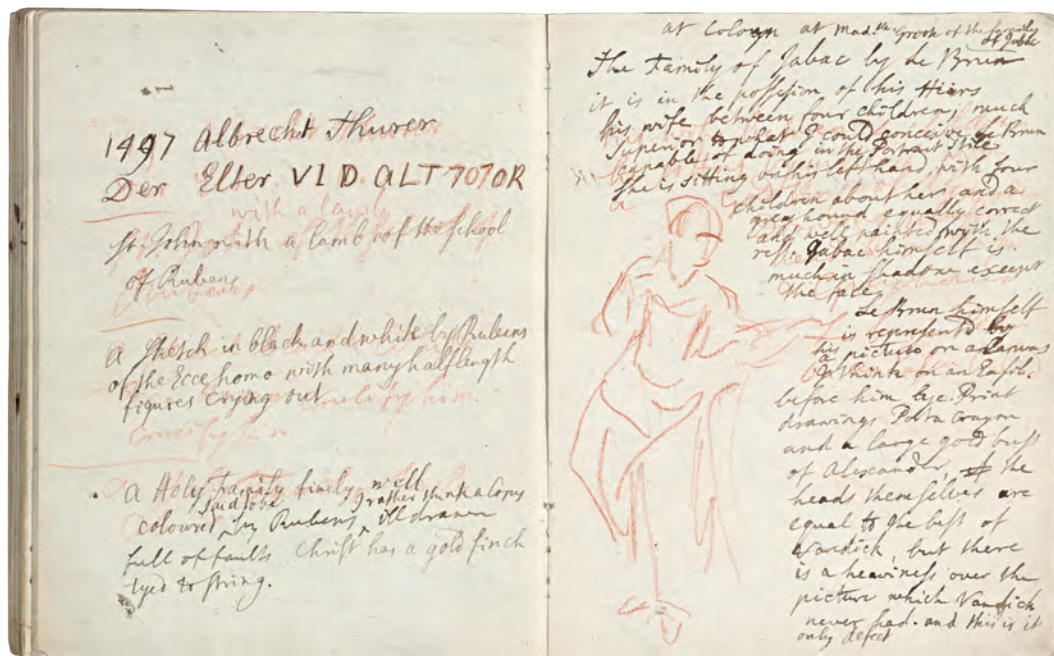
A Complicated History

Le Brun's portrait of the Jabach family was widely celebrated and well known among cognoscenti at the end of the eighteenth century. In 1774 the great German writer Johann Wolfgang von Goethe visited the Jabach house on the Sternengasse, in Cologne. Recalling the visit years later in his autobiography, Goethe recorded his delight in seeing that the house and its garden had been preserved exactly as he imagined they had appeared in Jabach's day. He wrote evocatively of escaping into "harmony with those past times" in a place where nothing was new, nothing contemporary, except for the visitors passing through. In some of the most suggestive lines ever penned about the ability of portraiture to arrest the passage of time, Goethe expanded on the overwhelming aesthetic experience of gazing upon the enormous picture hanging above the fireplace: "The former wealthy owner of this dwelling sat depicted there with his wife, surrounded by his children, all alive, fresh and vivid, as if painted yesterday, indeed today,

1. CHARLES LE BRUN (French, 1619–1690), *Everhard Jabach (1618–1695) and His Family*, ca. 1660. Oil on canvas, 110¼ × 129⅞ in. (280 × 328 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Purchase, Mrs. Charles Wrightsman Gift, in honor of Keith Christiansen, 2014 (2014.250)







2. SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS (British, 1723–1792), travel notebook, 1781. Fondation Custodia/Collection Frits Lugt, Paris (6169)

and yet they had all passed away. Even these fresh round-cheeked children had grown old, and without this artistic representation not a memory of them would have remained. I find it difficult to describe my response to these impressions, so overwhelmed was I by them.”²

The painting was in the same spot fifteen years later when, barely three weeks after the fall of the Bastille, in 1789, Louis Joseph, Prince of Condé, found himself in Cologne staring at a very large painting—a “très grand tableau”—of the renowned businessman and his family, who had lived in Paris, where the painting had been executed a century earlier. Ruminating in his diary at the end of the day, the prince, clearly impressed by what he saw, mused that he had never quite understood what that family had been all about.³

It is interesting that the memory of the Jabachs still resonated to a Frenchman so many years after Everhard Jabach and his family had lived in France. Likened by some to the Rothschilds—German bankers and avid collectors who settled in Paris in the nineteenth century—Jabach amassed a fortune and one of the most notable art collections of his day in France, but after his death much of it was sold, and following the death of his wife, in 1701, the remaining contents of his household were shipped to Cologne.⁴ The account of the Prince of Condé is the last written record of someone seeing the portrait over the fireplace in the Jabach house in Cologne.

In 1792 the painting was acquired by Henry Hope, a Boston-born Scotsman whose father had established himself in Rotterdam.⁵ Hope built a Neoclassical villa, Welgelegen—admired by Thomas Jefferson when he visited the Netherlands with John Adams—and dispatched scouts throughout Europe to fill it with distinguished works of art. Hope’s residency in his much-admired house was short lived. Fearing that the unrest in revolutionary France would spread north, in 1794 he fled to England, taking nearly four hundred paintings with him, and installed himself in a palatial residence on Cavendish Square in London. Hope died a bachelor in 1811. Lot 90 in the Christie’s



3. On display in Olantigh House, Kent, 1969

sale of his estate is a painting described as “The Family of Iabac, the Sculptor,” which sold to George Watson Taylor, “a flamboyant and fabulously wealthy Jamaican plantation owner,” for £48.6.⁶

Here the history of the *Jabach Family* becomes complicated almost to the point of being unimaginable. After the painting left Cologne, it was replaced in the first decade of the nineteenth century by a copy with only imperceptible differences from the original (see fig. 47 and the essay by Michael Gallagher on pages 37–46). It turns out that Jabach had commissioned two portraits of his family and shipped one of the copies back to his native city. During a brief visit to Cologne in 1781, Sir Joshua Reynolds drew some of the figures in a sketchbook, making a note that the picture was “at Mad. de Groote of the family of Jabac” (fig. 2). That house, on the Glockengasse, had belonged to Jabach’s brother-in-law, Heinrich de Groote, and the painting is recorded there as early as 1694.⁷ Reynolds was unaware that there were two pictures of the Jabachs only blocks apart in Cologne, and

when the “de Groote” painting replaced the one at Sternengasse as a noted attraction in the city, the existence of the canvas purchased by Hope was all but forgotten.

In Cologne, the family’s portrait continued to be sought out and admired along with the other treasures in the Jabach house. However, in 1836 it was purchased for the newly established Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum in Berlin, becoming a defining work in its collection of French paintings and a benchmark in the history of Western portraiture.⁸ During World War II the large canvas was stored, along with many of Berlin’s art treasures, in a flak tower in Friedrichshain, in the eastern part of the city, for protection. In May 1945 many of the objects in the tower were either incinerated or presumed destroyed in a fire, Le Brun’s great painting among them. The loss was lamented as recently as 2010, when Michael Fried, the eminent critic and art historian, wrote that “If the *Jabach Family* had not been destroyed, it would doubtless be a frequent term of comparison with Velázquez’s *Las Meninas*.”⁹

At the time Fried was writing, the existence of Le Brun’s masterpiece in England was all but forgotten. In 1832 it had been acquired by John Samuel Wanley Sawbridge Erle-Drax, a Victorian-era M.P. who was building a colossal manor (with a large picture gallery) called Olantigh, in Kent. After a fire damaged much of Olantigh in the early twentieth century, the house was rebuilt, although on a smaller scale, and was eventually sold with much of its chattels in 1935 to the family of the present residents. No longer the extravagance it had been earlier, Olantigh was nonetheless featured in *Country Life*, the widely circulated British periodical, in 1969. A photograph of the hall shows the painting—with the top of the canvas folded over behind the frame, presumably to accommodate the more modest interior—behind a large spray of gladioli, where it passed unnoticed by the many readers who flipped through the magazine’s pages (fig. 3), including Anthony Blunt, Surveyor of the Queen’s Pictures and Britain’s preeminent scholar of seventeenth-century French art.



4. PHILIPPE DE CHAMPAIGNE (French, 1602–1674), *Jean-Baptiste Colbert* (1619–1683), 1655. Oil on canvas, 36¼ × 28½ in. (92.1 × 72.4 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Gift of The Wildenstein Foundation Inc., 1951 (51.34)

Fortunately, Le Brun’s “grand tableau” was never lost; the astonishing story of its appearance on the art market in 2013 and subsequent acquisition are told by Keith Christiansen in a series of blog posts published on The Met’s website (see note 1). Moreover, following a painstaking conservation campaign from 2014 to 2016 (see Michael Gallagher’s essay on pages 37–46, this remarkable painting is just as alluring and captivating today as it was more than two centuries ago. Visitors to The Met can now experience the arresting likenesses of the Jabachs, as Goethe once did, and expand upon the Prince of Condé’s musings about this once-illustrious family.

The Patron

Everhard Jabach IV (1618–1695) was born in Cologne, son of one of that city’s most affluent merchants and bankers of the same name. In ways that resonate with the contemporary notion of globalism, young Everhard was very much a citizen of the world. He became a naturalized Frenchman after moving to Paris in 1638, but he maintained ties with his native city. He is recorded witnessing documents and returning to marry in Cologne, and he never abandoned his family’s stately house on the Sternengasse. Jabach’s father, as head of one of Europe’s most successful leather and fur-trading businesses, had forged close relationships with economic centers from the Low Countries to Poland,¹⁰ and under his son’s leadership the family business extended its economic reach to nearly every corner of continental Europe. Young Everhard particularly benefited from economic developments in France, especially under Louis XIV’s influential finance minister, Jean-Baptiste Colbert (fig. 4), who in 1664 established him as one of the first directors of the French East India Company (*Compagnie Française pour le Commerce des Indes Orientales*). Colbert also installed Jabach as director of the *Manufacture Royale d’Aubusson* tapestry workshop and, in 1667, as director of a

large tannery in the town of Corbeil that made buff coats and other military leather for much of France.¹¹

Born more than twenty years after his parents had married, Everhard IV was the last of six children. By the time of his birth, his father had already returned from his early banking and business career in Antwerp to focus on establishing himself as one of the most powerful citizens of Cologne. With his fortune secure, he amplified and embellished his house, known as the Jabacher Hof, and filled it with a rich collection of art and sumptuous furnishings. Centuries later, Dürer's remarkable panels from the *Jabach Altarpiece* were still in the private chapel on the main floor (fig. 5).¹²

Young Everhard was just eighteen when his father died. Within months of taking the reins of the family business, the heir to this sizable fortune set off on a trip across Northern Europe, beginning in Flanders and the Netherlands. He is recorded with the painter Daniël Mijtens; stopped in Dordrecht to see a purported Leonardo; and then went to Amsterdam, where he saw paintings attributed to Dürer, Holbein, and Raphael. Traveling on to London, the ambitious youth quickly gained knowledge of the great art collections assembled by Charles I. He also came to know the artists who worked for the court and the noble families surrounding it. Arguably the greatest among the painters were Peter Paul Rubens and Anthony van Dyck, while one of the most celebrated collectors of the age, Thomas Howard, 2nd Earl of Arundel (1585–1646), ranked among the courtiers.

Having carefully rebuilt his family's position at court following its fall under Elizabeth I, Arundel had become a distinguished diplomat and statesman. As a young man he had traveled to Flanders and met Rubens, who later described him as "one of the evangelists of our art" and emulated him in his own collecting ambitions.¹³ Admired in his own day as the "chief favourer of the arts in England,"¹⁴ Arundel also became renowned as a master of the Grand Tour. Upon traveling to Italy, he developed a taste for Italian paintings, drawings, and antiquities and built a sizable collection of them in addition to ancient inscriptions, the first of any significance to be amassed in England.¹⁵ Jabach clearly admired his worldliness and refined taste and must have recognized how Arundel used his collection adroitly to secure his social standing at court. The carefully considered installation of his treasures at Arundel House, on London's Strand, must also have deeply affected the curious and impressionable young businessman.

But what may have attracted Jabach's attention most were the portraits by Rubens, Van Dyck, and other artists in Arundel's gallery that so perceptively captured the worldliness of their respective subjects. Like the sculptures, inscriptions, gems, and other extraordinary objects testifying to Arundel's discernment and erudition, these likenesses, as Jabach understood, confirmed the earl's "exceptional" status: what prompted Horace Walpole to



5. ALBRECHT DÜRER (German, 1471–1528), *Piper and Drummer*, from the *Jabach Altarpiece*, ca. 1503–4. Oil on panel, 37¾ × 21¼ in. (96 × 54 cm). Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne

call him the father of “vertu” (virtue) in England. This intention is clear in the enormous portraits of the Arundels by Mijtens (see fig. 17), who exploited the ostentatious display of paintings and sculptures behind the sitters as a means of confirming their virtue and nobility. Most of all, however, Jabach must have admired the friendships Arundel had established with the artists he patronized.

By the fall of his first year in London, Jabach himself had sat for a portrait by Van Dyck, and a friendship had developed between them. According to the seventeenth-century critic and artist biographer Roger de Piles, Van Dyck painted three likenesses of Jabach, two of which survive.¹⁶ The earliest shows him dressed in a silk cassock, unmistakably amused by his encounter with the celebrated painter, who by then was arguably the greatest portraitist of the day (see fig. 33).¹⁷ One can easily imagine their conversations, which were recorded later by de Piles. (These exchanges, incidentally, remain the only detailed eyewitness accounts of the artist’s working practice.) Jabach recalled how Van Dyck had endeavored early in his career to perfect his manner of painting quickly, and how at the height of his powers the artist kept strict appointments with his sitters, working on several portraits a day with extraordinary speed. According to Jabach, one of the artist’s preferred methods was to have his sitter assume a pose he had thought out beforehand, which he would then continue to refine in his studio.¹⁸ Jabach’s statement about the artist’s painting practice is especially resonant considering Van Dyck’s second portrait of him, where we see Jabach, with a landscape visible behind him, wearing a jacket with a fashionable slit sleeve and leaning against a column (fig. 6). The ambitious youth must have reminded Van Dyck



6. ANTHONY VAN DYCK (Flemish, 1599–1641), *Everhard Jabach*, 1637. Oil on canvas, 44 ½ × 36 in. (113 × 91.5 cm). The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg



7. VAN DYCK, *Self-Portrait*, ca. 1622–23. Oil on canvas, 45 7/8 × 36 3/4 in. (116.5 × 93.5 cm). The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg



8. PETER PAUL RUBENS (Flemish, 1577–1640), *Crucifixion of Saint Peter*, ca. 1637–40 (installed 1642). Oil on canvas, 10 ft. 2 in. × 67 in. (309.9 × 170.2 cm). High Cathedral of Saint Peter, Cologne

9. HANS HOLBEIN THE YOUNGER (German, 1497/98–1543), *Study for the Family Portrait of Thomas More*, ca. 1527. Pen and brush in black ink on top of chalk, 15 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 20 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. (38.9 × 52.4 cm). Kupferstichkabinett, Öffentliche Kunstsammlung, Basel

of himself on his first visit to England, as the composition essentially repeats that of the artist's *Self-Portrait* from about 1622–23, when he was roughly the same age (fig. 7). Jabach prized this “double” portrait—in which Van Dyck essentially laid the image of his young subject over his own—as tangible confirmation of the intimate bond between painter and patron. A century later, the legendary tastemaker and connoisseur Pierre Crozat (1665–1740) proclaimed his own admiration of Jabach and Van Dyck by hanging this renowned portrait prominently over a door in his refined Parisian house.¹⁹

While Jabach was sitting for his portrait by Van Dyck, he was also making arrangements to have Rubens paint a large canvas for the high altar of Saint Peter's, the Jabach family's parish church in Cologne. The project revived a commission Jabach's father had initiated a decade earlier, possibly from Rubens, but that seems never to have gotten off the ground. Until the age of twelve, Rubens had also lived on the Sternengasse, where the Jabachs resided, and he was confirmed at Saint Peter's.²⁰ The fathers of both the elderly artist and the young patron were buried there, giving the commission for the altarpiece special urgency.

Working from London, he charged the painter George Geldorp (1580/95–1665), a fellow Cologne native who was active in that city, to be his agent. Geldorp soon found himself at the center of spirited negotiations between the church's parish priest, who advised Everhard to focus on subjects that would both please his mother and “satisfy [his] piety and [his] sense of beauty,” and Rubens, who was keen on choosing the subject himself, insisting that he wanted to paint something “*extraordinair*.”²¹ The result—a harrowingly moving vision of the crucified Peter, Rubens's patron saint—is a masterpiece among the artist's late religious paintings (fig. 8). When the



10. MICHEL LASNE (French, 1590–1667), *Everhard Jabach*, 1652. Engraving; plate, 13 × 9½ in. (33.2 × 24.2 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Gift of Gillian and Robert Berg, 2015 (2015.262)

11. CARAVAGGIO (Michelangelo Merisi; Italian, 1571–1610), *Death of the Virgin*, ca. 1601–6. Oil on canvas, 12 ft. 1¼ in. × 8 ft. ½ in. (369 × 245 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris

12. MICHELANGELO BUONARROTI (Italian, 1475–1564), *Head of a Woman*, after 1520. Red chalk, 12⅞ × 9½ in. (31.5 × 24.1 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris (12299)

canvas was installed above the high altar of the church in 1642, its young patron could take pride in having erected the first Baroque altarpiece in his native city.

These early experiences and encounters in London had a lasting impact on Jabach's collecting interests. Later inventories of his holdings record nearly a dozen paintings by Van Dyck and some of Rubens's finest landscapes, in addition to nearly a hundred drawings attributed to Rubens.²² Perhaps the artist Jabach responded to most while he was in England, however, was the German-born Hans Holbein the Younger. Here, again, Arundel—who harbored what he described as a “foolish curiosity” for Holbein—was a key player.²³ Arundel had amassed the most remarkable collection ever assembled of Holbein's work, some of which he had installed in a special room devoted to the artist at Arundel House.²⁴ The Metropolitan Museum's portrait of Erasmus of Rotterdam (1975.I.138) was one of several images of the great humanist that Arundel owned. Another portrait of him, now in the Louvre, still has the Jabach seal with the family motto, *Vivit post funera virtus*, or “Virtue Lives beyond Death,” firmly stamped in wax on the reverse. The same motto is printed at the bottom of Michel Lasne's engraved portrait of Jabach from 1652, which also extolls the “nobility” of its confident subject.

In hindsight, it would seem plausible that Jabach would have seen and greatly admired another work by Holbein in the Arundel collection: a large portrait of Sir Thomas More—the celebrated statesman, author of *Utopia*, and the artist's protector in England—surrounded by his family. Although the painting, noteworthy for both its subject and its enormous size, no longer survives, preparatory drawings (fig. 9) and



a full-scale copy show a composition that anticipates by a century the autonomous group portraits of the seventeenth-century Dutch masters and, we can now see, the remarkable portrait of the Jabach family.²⁵ The memory of this extraordinary painting of a family posing with their pets in a richly furnished room must have seared itself into Jabach's mind. Oddly, when the Arundel collection was later dispersed, Jabach seems to have secured the picture not for himself but for his young nephews, Franz and Bernard Albert von Imstenraet. And while Jabach is often cited as having acquired large numbers of objects from the Arundel sale, no lots have been directly linked to him; his nephews were among the chief buyers, but Jabach himself must have bought directly from Arundel's widow.

While Jabach embraced the world of commerce, his interest in art led him to amass one of the finest and largest collections in Europe.²⁶ Among the paintings Jabach acquired from the dispersal of the English royal collections following the beheading of Charles I, known as the Commonwealth Sale, were Leonardo da Vinci's *Saint John the Baptist*, five canvases by Titian (his *Fête Champêtre*, *Entombment*, and *Man with a Glove* among them), Correggio's *Allegory of Virtue*, Guido Reni's *Labors of Hercules*, and Caravaggio's *Death of the Virgin* (fig. 11). Various agents, including Hendrick Uylenburgh, Rembrandt's fabled dealer, were regularly charged with executing the negotiations for prized acquisitions throughout Europe. Jabach was particularly interested in drawings, and his collection brought together masterworks by Dürer, Altdorfer, Michelangelo, Raphael, and Rubens. He mounted many of these on firm paper and gave them wide shell-gold mounts. Notably, the twenty-nine drawings by Michelangelo identified among Jabach's holdings constitute the majority of the works attributed to that artist now in the Louvre (fig. 12).²⁷

When Jabach arrived in Paris in 1638, Charles Le Brun was just beginning his career as an independent artist, working on, among other things, a project to celebrate the birth of Louis XIV. Born the son of a modest sculptor only months after Jabach, Le Brun was poised at the start of a remarkable career that would see him become the preeminent artist of seventeenth-century France: a meteoric rise owing as much to his ability to navigate the complexities of court life, with its powerful ministers and cultural patrons, as to his considerable talents on paper and canvas.²⁸ Le Brun was ably guided early on in both spheres. His mother came from a family of writing tutors who had served Louis XIII, Louis XIV, and their ministers, and over the decades his astutely executed commissions for powerful members of the court—Richelieu, Mazarin, and Colbert, chief among them—reveal an artist with a keen ability to shape their image and a willingness to accommodate their desires. Under the protection of Chancellor Pierre Séguier (fig. 13), Le Brun traveled to Rome in 1642 to draw inspiration from that city's ancient past and train with France's leading painter, Nicolas Poussin. The Metropolitan Museum's *Sacrifice of Polyxena*, with its studied interest in classical elements, was certainly painted for an erudite French patron after Le Brun's return (fig. 14).²⁹

The reputation Le Brun garnered from his paintings was eventually matched by the acclaim for his exceptional administrative abilities, and in time his hand would guide the direction of French design in almost every medium. Appointed director of the Gobelins Manufactory, he transformed that workshop into an enterprise producing not just tapestries but furniture and works of art for royal houses throughout Europe. He also had a key voice in the training of young artists after he took control in 1648 (with Colbert's help) of the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture and helped found the Académie de France in Rome in 1666. It was his appointment as *premier peintre du*



13. LE BRUN, *Equestrian Portrait of Pierre Séguier* (1588–1672), *Chancellor of France*, ca. 1660. Oil on canvas, 9 ft. 8 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. \times 11 ft. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (295 \times 357 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris



14. LE BRUN, *Sacrifice of Polyxena*, 1647. Oil on canvas, 67 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 51 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. (171 × 131 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Purchase, 2012 Benefit Fund, and Bequest of Grace Wilkes and Fletcher Fund, by exchange, 2013 (2013.183)

roi (First Painter to the King) in 1664, however, that led ultimately to his greatest achievement: the grand court setting that he created for Louis XIV at Versailles.

At the Academy, Le Brun presented several seminal lectures on physiognomy in response to Descartes's *Passions of the Soul* (1649), in which the renowned philosopher and mathematician entered the age-old debate on the nature of human emotions.³⁰ Le Brun addressed such topics as the relationship between facial features and personality, comparing human likenesses to those of animals. He supported his ideas, which influenced generations of artists and theorists, with printed reproductions of his drawings, such as the sheet of engravings by Sébastien Leclerc I in The Met's collection (fig. 15).

As Le Brun was rising through the ranks of his profession, Jabach's first decades in Paris are far more difficult to track. He lived relatively modestly as a merchant banker in the commercial area of the rue Saint-Denis, establishing his business but also developing friendships with art dealers and artists, such as Jean Valdor (1616–1670) and the sculptor François Girardon (1628–1715). Although direct traces of commissions resulting from those relationships are lost, we know that Jabach was a witness at their weddings and godfather to their children. In 1659 Jabach abandoned his old

Parisian house for a new residence on the rue Neuve-Saint-Médéric more suitable for his collections and his growing household. He seems to have commissioned the young up-and-coming architect Pierre Bullet (1639–1716) to design a palatial setting that would be a home for his family and offices for his business. Germain Brice's early guide to Paris relays that all the talented architects of the day were invited to submit designs for the dwelling and that every feature of the house was among the most beautiful to be found in the city.³¹ The Hôtel Jabach, as the residence was called, was well known into the eighteenth century and was used as a site for theatrical productions, including some by Voltaire. It was later annexed as an exhibition space by artists associated with the Académie de Saint-Luc. Unfortunately, nothing of the house survives; its former site is now occupied by the colorful glass and steel complex of the Centre Pompidou.

As his house in Paris was being built, the German banker may also have turned to another friend, Jacques Bruand, *architecte du roi* (Architect to the King), to draft a scheme for another grand, classically proportioned residence, which we know from a volume of engravings by architect Jean Marot that remains a key (if sometimes unreliable) source of information on Parisian buildings during this period (fig. 16). It is unclear, for example, which residence the plans for the “maison de Monsieur Jabba” represent, whether that house was actually built, or if these were simply ideas put on paper, but the concept offers an aperture into Jabach's predilection for imposing architectural schemes and underscores his close association with prominent artists and architects (in 1657, Jabach was godfather to Bruand's daughter and three years later to his son, christened Everhard).³²



15. SÉBASTIEN LECLERC I (French, 1637–1714) after Le Brun, from *Sentimens des plus Habiles Peintres sur la Pratique de la Peinture et Sculpture, mis en Tables de Preceptes, avec Plusieurs discours Accademiques* (Paris: La Veuve Mabre-Cramoisy, 1696). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Rogers Fund, 1968 (68.513.6)

Jabach became a naturalized French citizen in 1647 but returned to his native city a year later to marry Anna Maria de Groote (1624–1701), daughter of Cologne’s *Bürgermeister*. Their union formed a bridge between the two cities. Their first daughter, Anna Maria, who appears on the far right of Le Brun’s portrait, was born in Paris in 1650.³³ Her younger sister, Hélène, and brother Everhard V were born and baptized in Cologne in 1654 and 1656, respectively. The baby seen in the portrait, Heinrich, was born in Paris around Christmastime in 1659 and was baptized there at the beginning of the following year. That is when the family must have come together for Le Brun to paint their remarkable portrait: his “très grand tableau.”³⁴

The Portrait

Le Brun’s portrait presents the Jabach family to us as if the large green curtain at the top left of the canvas has just been pulled back. Father, mother, and children are gathered together in what might be one of the richly appointed rooms of their new Parisian residence. The colored, geometrically patterned marble floor, the grand columns, the fluted pilasters resting on a carved socle: all could easily be the elevation of one of the rooms represented in Bruand’s plan, which also shows a gridded floor, pilasters, and niches (fig. 16). As much a picture of *things* as it is a portrait of people, Le Brun’s painting conveys the tactility and weight of each surface and effect, from the folds of the textiles and shine of the whippet’s coat to the silkiness of the children’s hair and the luxurious pile of the carpet.

Much as Mijtens had presented the Arundels in their gallery of paintings and sculptures in his large portraits of them from earlier in the century (fig. 17), this depiction



17. DANIËL MIJTENS (Dutch, ca. 1590–1647/48), *Thomas Howard, 14th Earl of Arundel and Lady Arundel*, ca. 1618. Oil on canvas, each 81½ × 50 in. (207 × 127 cm). National Portrait Gallery, London

constellations of the southern skies: Cancer, Leo, and Virgo. This large globe, most likely Dutch in origin, may be by Willem Jansz Blaeu, a pioneering cartographer whose maps were key to the Dutch East India trade and who set the standard for cartography in France before French globe making took off following the founding of the Académie des Sciences by Louis XIV and Colbert. Such globes were expensive objects, reflecting the latest scientific discoveries, and were enthusiastically pursued by collectors (fig. 19). Below the globe is a book whose open pages are illegible, but there is a Bible nearby and, propped against it, a well-thumbed edition of Sebastiano Serlio's treatise on architecture (published in Paris the previous century) opened to a page in his section on geometry (fig. 20).³⁸ A *porte crayon* (an instrument for holding chalk) rests on the marble base next to the Bible along with three colors of chalk. The latter alludes to the contemporary fashion for drawing *aux trois crayons*, a technique in which white, black, and sanguine chalks are used to build up form. The lively study for the infant Heinrich, the only extant preparatory drawing for this complex portrait, reveals Le Brun's remarkable skill in this technique (fig. 21). The rolled sheets of different colored papers below, one of which invites a tantalizing glimpse of a figure drawn in red chalk on its curled page, remind us again of Jabach's special interest in drawings. A shiny straightedge is straddled by brass dividers that rest against a marble head, presumably a bearded philosopher. A golden bust of Minerva, goddess of wisdom and the arts, anchors the pile of scholarly effects from her perch on the pedestal above.³⁹

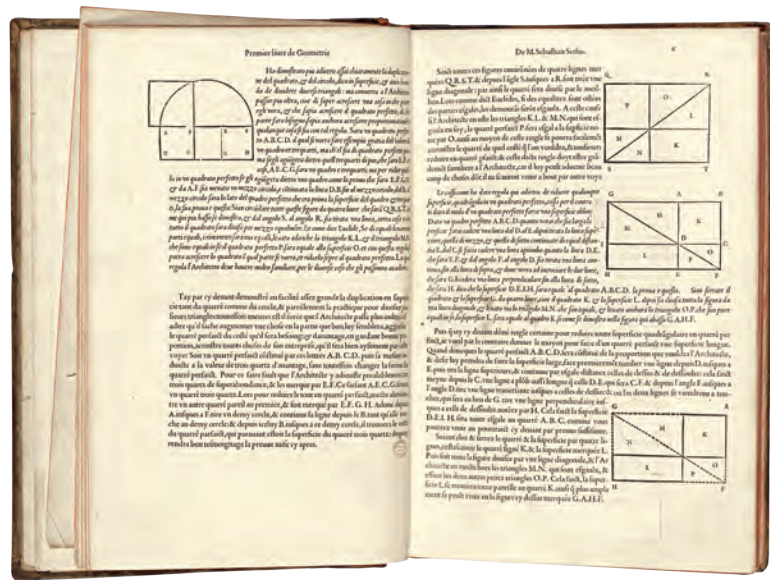
In addition to referencing Jabach's erudition and awareness of the latest intellectual and cultural developments, the large canvas is a record of the actual paintings and



18. ROBERT NANTEUIL (French, 1623–1678), *Cardinal Jules Mazarin Seated within the Gallery of His Palace*, 1659. Engraving; sheet, 18¾ × 26⅜ in. (47.5 × 67.1 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Gift of Lev Tsitrin, 2000 (2000.4.16.90)



19. WILLEM JANSZ BLAEU (Dutch, 1571–1638), *Celestial Globe*, after 1621. Paper, brass, oak, and stained light-colored wood, Diam. of globe 13⅜ in. (34 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Purchase, Friends of European Sculpture and Decorative Arts Gifts, 1990 (1990.84)



20. SEBASTIANO SERLIO (Italian, 1475–1554), *Il primo libro d'architettura* (Paris, 1545). Printed book with woodblock illustrations. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1937 (37.56.2[1–2])



21. LE BRUN, *Study for Heinrich*, 1660. Black chalk, heightened with pastel, on gray-beige paper, 15 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 11 $\frac{5}{8}$ (40.2 × 29.5 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris (28871, recto)

other works of art in Jabach's collection. Considering the vogue for landscape paintings in mid-seventeenth-century Paris, it is unsurprising to find two—one oval, the other rectangular—on the back wall, both hung in Louis XIII-style frames. They may represent contrasting moods of nature: a brooding storm in the oval above, and a calm settling over the open field in the painting below.⁴⁰ A gilded bronze sculpture by Antonio Susini of a lion attacking a horse (fig. 22), based on the ancient marble on the Capitoline in Rome, rests on an elegant bracket affixed to the pilaster. Another bronze cast of an equally celebrated ancient relief, *The Borghese Dancers*—a plaster of which was made for Louis XIII in 1641—is reflected in the mirror next to Jabach. The cast depicted may well be the one made by François Anguier about 1642 and now in the Wallace Collection, London (fig. 23).

The mirror is arguably the most exceptional object in this rarefied assemblage. In fact, it is hard to understand how its prominence went essentially unmentioned in early descriptions of the painting. If this is an actual looking glass, the sheer cost of such a large-scale version would have made it a rarity in most Parisian households before the end of the seventeenth century.⁴¹ Although grand wall mirrors were produced as trophy items by the Manufacture Royale de Glaces de Miroirs, whose crowning achievement was the dazzling Hall of Mirrors at Versailles, unveiled in 1682, such large examples were made only in later decades. The mirror's exceptional size, equaling that of the impressive paintings next to it, may be why Reynolds mistook the ebony-framed object for a painting placed upon an easel.⁴²

Yet the mirror does far more in activating the working spaces of the picture than any flat, planar object. In an optical tour de force, Le Brun decided to depict his own image reflected in it, extending the boundaries of the portrait both visually and thematically. We glimpse him seated at his easel, palette in hand, in the act of painting, almost as if to suggest that what is being revealed by the lifting of the opulent green curtain is not a portrait of a celebrated family but the artist's own self-evident skill and agency in the crafting of their image. The reflection reminds the beholder that the painter was sitting outside the picture plane in the very space he or she now occupies. The complexity of this scene, with its continuum of reflecting, observing, and making, immediately brings to mind Velázquez's masterpiece *Las Meninas*, painted just a few years earlier, in which the artist presented himself looking out at his subjects, the Spanish royal couple—who may be reflected in the centrally placed mirror against the back wall—as he works on his large canvas (fig. 24). The possibility that Le Brun's portrait might somehow have been influenced by *Las Meninas* is unquestionably alluring, but to date there is no evidence



22. ANTONIO SUSINI (Italian, active 1572–1624) or GIOVANNI FRANCESCO SUSINI (Italian, 1585–1653), after models by Giambologna (Netherlandish, 1529–1608), *Lion Attacking a Horse*, first quarter of the 17th century. Bronze, 9½ × 11 in. (24.1 × 27.9 cm). The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles (94.SB.11.1)

that either Le Brun or his patron had seen that remarkable painting, which at the time was in the Real Alcázar, the royal palace in Madrid.

The paintings that Jabach had almost certainly seen, and thus were more likely to have influenced his ideas about this commission, were the large-scale group portraits by Van Dyck, with their sumptuous surfaces and masterful effects, and Holbein's imposing portrait of the More family at home, which had been a trophy in the Holbein room at Arundel House. Jabach's memories of what he saw in his early years in London were still fresh. In a letter to Colbert from 1668 he wrote of the paintings "that I saw in England thirty-three years ago, which I found very beautiful at the time."⁴³ Jabach and Van Dyck may well have analyzed *The More Family* together. In the years when the young German was in London, Van Dyck was working on an ambitious portrait of the Arundel family in an interior, no doubt based on their celebrated Holbein.⁴⁴ In retrospect, it is clear that Le Brun's portrait is likewise modeled

on Northern painting in a way that could only have been brought about by a tight collaboration between an artist eager to please his knowledgeable patron and a patron keen to collaborate with an esteemed artist.

The essential "non-Frenchness" of Le Brun's portrait was never lost on its viewers. Writing the first monographic study on the artist, in 1889, Henry Jouin concluded that "Rubens did not compose finer large portraits, and, observing the character of the Jabachs themselves, one would be tempted to mistake Le Brun's painting for the work of a Flemish painter."⁴⁵ The close relationship between artist and patron was also commented on by Le Brun's first biographer, Claude Nivelon, who writes that Le Brun "was united both by friendship and shared interests [d'amitié et d'inclination] with



23. PROBABLY HENRI PERLAN (French, 1597–1656), cast by François Anguier (French, 1604–1669), *The Borghese Dancers*, probably 1642. Bronze, 26¼ × 79 in. (66.6 × 200.8 cm). The Wallace Collection, London



24. DIEGO RODRÍGUEZ DE SILVA Y VELÁZQUEZ (Spanish, 1599–1660), *Las Meninas*, 1656–57. Oil on canvas, 10 ft. 5¼ in. × 9 ft. 5⅞ in. (318 × 276 cm). Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid

monsieur Jabach . . . who wished to retain [the artist] for a salary of twenty *pistoles* per day to paint whatever he wished.” Although this arrangement was likely never pursued, Nivelon mentions that the artist “painted the whole family of this friend—a work about sixteen *pieds* wide—which is something very beautiful and grand.”⁴⁶ Le Brun cultivated many of his patrons for the determining roles they could play in advancing his career, but his relationship with Jabach appears to have been predicated on friendship as much as the cultural and political collateral it could bring. The two portraits he brought together in the left side of the painting—Jabach’s and his own self-portrait reflected in the mirror—build upon a tradition of double portraits celebrating artistic friendships that dates to the Renaissance, such as Raphael’s famous *Self-Portrait with a Friend*, which Le Brun himself inventoried among the works in Louis XIV’s collection in 1683 (fig. 25).

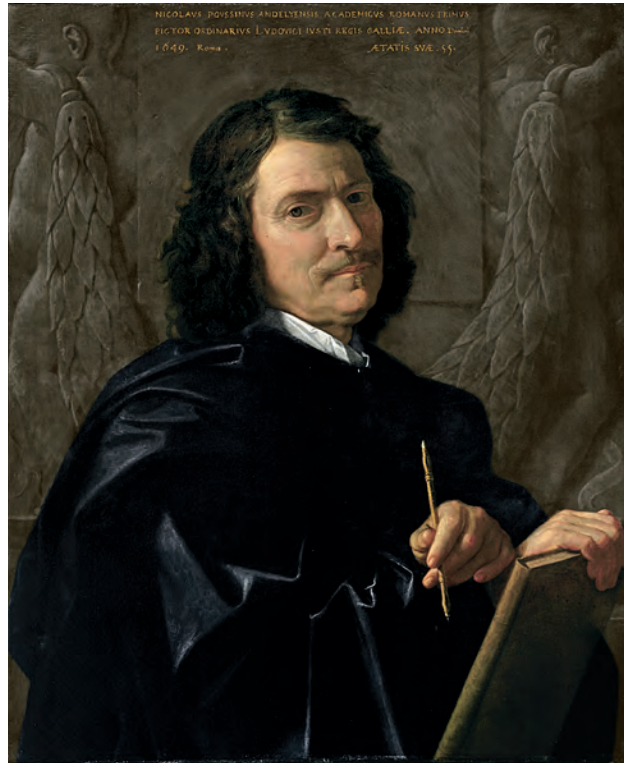
Le Brun’s inclusion of his self-portrait speaks to his friendship with Jabach and reflects on Jabach’s relationships with other artists during his youth, but it can also be seen in relation to the ascendant status of the artist in seventeenth-century France. By placing his image within the frame of the mirror—a surrogate for the frame of an actual painting—Le Brun, it could be argued, was going one step further and inserting his self-portrait into the gallery of his patron collector. The idea that an image of an artist would be considered a subject worthy of inclusion in such a collection merits special discussion in the context of a remarkable self-portrait by Poussin executed for his friend and patron Jean Pointel in 1649 (fig. 26). Like Le Brun’s image in the Jabach portrait, Poussin holds an instrument of his craft: in this case a loaded chalk

holder instead of a palette. Although we do not know what prompted the making of that portrait, quite a bit has come down to us about Poussin's other self-portrait, which he painted a year later in response to a request from another friend and patron, Paul Fréart de Chantelou. Chantelou had asked for a portrait of his friend to hang among the other works in his collection, but not necessarily a self-portrait. This is a subtle but important distinction, because it reveals that Chantelou considered *any* portrait of the painter worthy of being hung in a gallery alongside the other works in his collection. Rather than sit for another artist, Poussin's response to the request was to work from a mirror and paint a likeness of himself to offer his friend.⁴⁷

We might read Le Brun's self-portrait in this light, as another trophy squeezed in among the paintings, drawings, books, and other trappings in this gallery. But, as Velázquez did in *Las Meninas*, Le Brun also chose to show himself at work, here displaying his palette covered with randomly laid mounds of paint and confronting what appears to be a canvas for a single portrait on his easel as he assesses the grand family group before us. Curiously, by including this image of himself at work, Le Brun turns a room in the collector's house into the studio where the painting was made, again echoing Velázquez, who in *Las Meninas* chose to depict himself at work in the large gallery of the prince's apartment in the Real Alcázar. It should be noted that family portraits were seldom included among the rare and aesthetically important works in a cabinet gallery; one on the scale of the Jabach family portrait would have been unique. There are, however, examples of Dutch and Flemish pictures in which a painter, either real or mythical, is shown set up to work, such as Willem van Haecht's *Apelles Painting*



25. RAPHAEL (Raffaello Sanzio or Santi) (Italian, 1483–1520), *Self-Portrait with a Friend*, 1518–20. Oil on canvas, 39 × 32 5/8 in. (99 × 83 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris



26. NICOLAS POUSSIN (French, 1594–1665), *Self-Portrait*, 1649. Oil on canvas, 30 3/4 × 25 5/8 in. (78 × 65 cm). Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin



27. WILLEM VAN HAECHT (Flemish, 1593–1637), *Apelles Painting Campaspe*, ca. 1630. Oil on panel, 41¼ × 58½ in. (104.9 × 148.7 cm). Mauritshuis, The Hague

Campaspe, from a few decades earlier, in which the painter is shown making a portrait in a gallery (fig. 27). Le Brun's decision to situate himself in this way could be read as an attempt to align the creative act of painting with the other scientific, religious, and intellectual pursuits represented in the objects surrounding Minerva, at once ennobling the artist and art itself.

An etching by Abraham Bosse, Le Brun's interlocutor at the time but later a rival, explores the ascendant profession of painting in this moment (fig. 28). The print shows an elegantly dressed painter seated at his easel, on which there is a portrait. A large painting visible behind him, illuminated by a ray of light, shows a pope, a prelate, and princes paying homage to Minerva, who is enthroned above an arrangement of paintings, palettes, brushes, and other tools of the artist's trade. A young man in the foreground, meanwhile, holds a print depicting a poverty-stricken artist—in other words, the inverse of the scene in the painting—as a man in a large plumed hat addresses the spectator with the words inscribed below the scene, extolling the talents of the “noble painter,” who “is so highly regarded / For his admirable portraits / That each person thinks brings them to life.”

By setting the worldly Everhard Jabach and his family within the layered framework of a gallery portrait, Le Brun confirmed their elevated status through the capital of their collection. But his painting also served to elevate the rank of the artist, who in this case allows us to witness his masterful skill through the presence of himself at work. Shortly after completing this monumental image, Le Brun had his own rank affirmed by a patent of nobility, followed by his appointment as First Painter to Louis XIV in 1664.

The Sale

About the time Jabach was sitting confidently for his family portrait, he began negotiations for the sale of parts of his collection. On April 20, 1662, he received the sizable sum of 330,000 *livres* “as payment for paintings, busts, [and] bronzes” from the French crown. The most important single transaction of art in seventeenth-

28. ABRAHAM BOSSE (French, 1602/4–1676), *The Noble Artist Painting Louis XIII*, ca. 1642. Etching; sheet (trimmed), 9 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 12 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. (25 × 32.1 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Bequest of Phyllis Massar, 2011 (2012.136.16)



century France, the sale included a hundred or so paintings. From the Italian school alone there were works by Leonardo, Titian, Veronese, Correggio, Guido Reni, and many others. It is unclear what motivated either the sale or the purchase, but recent research reveals an intricate web of entanglements involving Le Brun and indicating that these masterpieces were originally destined for Cardinal Mazarin, Jabach's great collecting rival. Following Mazarin's death, in 1661, and Colbert's intervention, the paintings were acquired instead by Louis XIV, thus forming the nucleus of the royal collection and, after the Revolution, that of the Louvre.

Even after the sale Jabach's collection was still held in high esteem. Paul Fréart de Chantelou's famous chronicle of Gian Lorenzo Bernini's visit to France, in 1665, records that artist's frustration at being unable to see Jabach's celebrated holdings. Chantelou wrote that Le Brun—once derided by a detractor as painting like a Flemish artist—prevented the visit from happening because he was afraid that the great Italian master would see that Le Brun had lifted his ideas from the drawings in Jabach's collection. And Jabach's inventory was indeed impressive. There were 5,542 drawings and another lot of 101 paintings (sold to Louis XIV in 1671) and an additional 4,515 drawings inventoried at his death. Ascribed to such renowned artists as Raphael, Michelangelo, and Rubens, these drawings would pass into the hands of some of the greatest connoisseurs of successive generations.⁴⁸

Everhard Jabach died in early March 1695. A valuation of the contents of his house and its remaining collections listed 688 paintings, including works by the artists he had admired from early on—Holbein, Rubens, and Le Brun—but also many copies. Toward the end of the long list of objects is "La famille" by Le Brun—The Met's great portrait—which is given by far the highest valuation. Jabach's elder son, who lived in Cologne, did not share his father's passion for art, however, and his collection was slowly dispersed. At his mother's death, in 1701, he ordered the remaining contents of the grand house in Paris to be packed and shipped to Cologne. Included in that shipment was the large portrait of this German family that Le Brun had completed in Paris forty years earlier.



Dressing for the Picture

The Jabach Family at Home in Paris

MELINDA WATT

FABRICS CONSTITUTE about one-third of the painted surface of Charles Le Brun's monumental portrait of Everhard Jabach and his family, from the luxurious drapery and carpet to the clothes worn by his wife and children. If we subscribe to the tenet that nothing appears in a painting "by accident," this remarkable allocation of space merits serious consideration.⁴⁹ Indeed, while the textiles and dress depicted in the portrait reinforce one of the picture's most innovative compositional aspects, namely, the relative informality of the family's pose, they also add to our understanding of Jabach and Le Brun as patron and artist, respectively, and raise interesting questions as to which of these items can be read as depictions of real garments and furnishings and which represent some measure of artistic license or set dressing.

Textiles and dress have long functioned in portraits as markers of wealth, social status, identity, and taste, whether actual possessions or, instead, enhancements that reveal the sitters' aspirations. The fabrics in this picture thus serve the same function as the works of art dispersed throughout the composition, contributing to our sense that Everhard Jabach was a successful banker, a sophisticated collector, and a serious intellect, and that his family was accustomed to a fine style of living. For an artist, fabrics also provided an opportunity to display his or her skill in convincingly conveying the different textures, colors, and weights of furnishings and fashions.

Most of the fabrics in the portrait appear to be silk. Although it is nearly impossible to be certain about the origins of monochrome silks, we can propose attributions for some of the patterned textiles based on context and history. Interestingly, when taken together, these textiles do not represent the most elaborate or expensive items that a wealthy resident of mid-seventeenth-century Paris could procure. The choices reflect, instead, what at the time was a new trend toward lightweight textiles and informal fashions as well as the increasing influence of Eastern dress on Western European taste.

The first decade of the seventeenth century had witnessed the rise of the English and Dutch East India Companies at the expense of the Portuguese, who had been trading in the Far East for close to a century. The French East India Company, a consolidation of earlier French trading companies, was founded in 1664, and Jabach was appointed a director. As such, he would certainly have been knowledgeable about the

most desirable commodities of the global market. In addition to France's ventures in international commerce, this was also a seminal period for domestic French luxury trades. Under the direction of Jean-Baptiste Colbert, Louis XIV's influential Comptroller-General of Finances, French textile production of all types was consolidated and encouraged in an effort to redress the regional balance of trade. In particular, France's relationship with the Italian peninsula, a traditional supplier of high-quality needle laces and woven silk fabrics, underwent a permanent shift not only from the standpoint of economics and import substitution (producing domestically what had previously been imported) but, more important, of artistic leadership. During the 1660s, Charles Le Brun, as *premier peintre du roi* and an appointee of Colbert's, was increasingly at the center of the production of luxury decorative arts in France. Le Brun and Jabach were thus among the most thoroughly knowledgeable patrons and creators of the arts in Paris during the later seventeenth century, and the Jabach family portrait was made as both men approached the heights of their power and influence.

As several scholars have observed, Le Brun's portrait of the Jabach family can be divided into two parts.⁵⁰ On the left is the family patriarch, Everhard, and the accoutrements of his intellectual life, and on the right is the domestic sphere, occupied by his wife and children. If we read the painting (and the textiles) from left to right, Le Brun opens with the theatrical gesture of an artfully draped deep green curtain, trimmed with gold metal thread fringe and nominally controlled by gold cords ending in large bell-shaped tassels. The curtain appears to be made of a monochrome woven silk damask, a deceptively simple textile whose pattern is created solely by the contrast between two weave structures, one shiny and one matte. In such a textile, the warp and weft threads are the same shade of green, so the design we see—stylized tulips and carnations on interlaced, curving stems with voluptuous paisley-shaped leaves—is created by the different ways light is reflected by the two textures. Silk damasks were most commonly associated with Italian manufacturers during this period and were exported to Northern Europe in large quantities. A fragment of damask in The Met's collection whose pattern has been attributed to the weaving centers of both Lucca and Genoa bears a design similar to that of the curtain in the painting (fig. 29).⁵¹ Le Brun reveals his understanding of this particular kind of silk by carefully rendering the shifting tones of the damask weave—light becomes dark, dark becomes light—to simulate the effect of light hitting the folds of the fabric.

Underneath the curtain, Jabach sits comfortably enveloped in a padded black robe lined with what appears to be a blue changeable (or shot) silk. The robe is worn over a white linen shirt, a pair of breeches, and stockings held up with a ribbon garter under his knee. The shape of the robe suggests that it was based on Japanese garments that had made their way to Northern Europe beginning in the early seventeenth century



29. Woven silk damask, Italian (probably Lucca or Genoa), second half 17th century, 19 3/4 × 22 1/4 in. (50.2 × 56.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Rogers Fund, 1909 (09.50.1348)



30. Man's informal gown (*japonsche rock*), Japanese for the Dutch trade, ca. 1725–75. Silk, resist dyed and painted, silk lining and filling, L. 68 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (175 cm). Centraal Museum, Utrecht, The Netherlands (8141)



31. NICOLAS BONNART (1637–1717), “Homme en robe de Chambre,” from *Recueil des modes de la cour de France*, 1676. Hand-colored engraving; sheet, 14 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 9 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (36.5 × 23.8 cm). Los Angeles County Museum of Art (M.2002.57.43)

and gained favor as luxurious informal wear for both men and women. Such robes were among the diplomatic gifts that formed part of complex trade negotiations between representatives of the Dutch East India Company (V.O.C.) and the Japanese court, which at the time held complete control over that country's trading rights.

Silk robes of varying quality were presented as gifts to Dutch traders according to rank. They then filtered down through the hierarchy until a portion of them reached Amsterdam, where they were often sold on the open market.⁵² Although very few, if any, seventeenth-century garments have survived, an eighteenth-century example gives an idea of both the appeal of a Japanese patterned silk and the padded garment's voluminous appearance (fig. 30). Archival sources hint at the desirability of these garments among Europe's fashionable elite. In 1634 the Earl of Arundel's son wrote from Amsterdam to say that he had “just undone myself with buying an Indian warme gown.”⁵³ This quotation suggests how Westerners often conflated the various sources of Eastern commodities. The young man may well have purchased a Japanese silk gown that arrived in Amsterdam aboard a V.O.C. ship traveling from Japan via the company's headquarters in Batavia, in what was then known as the East Indies (now Jakarta, Indonesia). These Eastern gowns and their European imitations went by a variety of names: in the Netherlands they were *japonsche rock* (Japanese robes) or simply *Japon*; the English called them Indian gowns, whether imported or made domestically; and in France they were often known as *Indiennes*. The Jabach portrait was painted a little more than a decade before regular fashion journalism appeared in France.⁵⁴ By the time the plate in figure 31 was published, in 1676, the *robe de chambre* was de rigueur for at-home wear. The caption identifies this as an Armenian robe, likely referring not to its origins but to the traders who brought goods such as painted and printed striped Indian cottons to France via the port of Marseilles. Because of the relative scarcity of actual Japanese robes, European silk and Indian cotton versions were made to meet the demand.

Jabach's own robe is black, not brightly colored or patterned. That he either acquired a plain black robe or had one made was perhaps intended to emphasize his scholarly character. The tradition of wearing black robes as a signifier of intellectual vocation was already well established, and with the burgeoning of both genre pictures and secular bourgeois portraits, fashionable clothes made of good-quality black textiles deployed in this manner “offer[ed] a fantasy of class, intellect and materialism.”⁵⁵

While Everhard's ensemble suggests a glance to the Far East, that worn by his wife, Anna Maria de Groote, makes subtle reference to the couple's hometown of Cologne, in particular the hem of her skirt, which is trimmed with black lace over a warm gray fabric. The term "lace" in the seventeenth century had a number of meanings and did not refer exclusively to the white linen fabric we think of today; it could be black, for example, or colored or metallic (silver or gold). The wearing of white linen lace by both men and women is well documented in seventeenth-century portraits and by extant examples, but black silk lace, which was particularly fashionable in Spain and the Netherlands, is not as well studied. Very little survives, owing to the corrosive effects of black textile dyes, and discreet but luxurious combinations of black silk lace and black textiles, while evident in portraiture, are challenging to decipher because of the subtlety of the tone-on-tone appearance. The practice of accenting garments in black silk bobbin lace is, however, documented in a group of rare extant garments from Cologne, now housed in the Hessisches Landesmuseum, Darmstadt.⁵⁶ The scalloped lace ornamenting a man's cassock from this group (fig. 32) is similar in design and scale to the trim that appears on the hem of Anna Maria de Groote's skirt. In fact, Everhard Jabach himself wore a similar garment with a matching cloak in his 1636 portrait by Anthony van Dyck (fig. 33), reflecting what was a recent French fashion for monochrome ensembles trimmed simply with silk lace.⁵⁷ Unfortunately, there are no lower garments preserved in the Cologne group, and we can only speculate about the duration of this trend and whether Anna Maria de Groote deliberately wore an old-fashioned style.

Anna Maria's bodice does conform to the contemporary fashion for a low, wide décolletage, in this case softened by a fine linen or silk scarf loosely twisted at the neckline. This scarf appears in the place of decorative white linen lace trim, which was still very much in fashion. Anna Maria's plain silk bodice, open in the center front and secured with matching ribbon or self-fabric ties, has more in common with the conventions of contemporary portraiture than with the surviving evidence for actual garments of the period, although this is admittedly scant. More elaborate versions of bodices that are fitted but not stiffened, with the center front closures pulling the fabric tight across the torso, appear in portraits by Sir Peter Lely. His portrait of the English princess Henriette Anne (fig. 34), who was raised at the French court, was painted within a few years of the Jabach picture and shows the plain ties replaced by jeweled buttons. The elimination of patterned textiles and decorative lace in painted representations of dress reveals a continued effort to create a sense of effortlessness or timelessness in female por-



32. Man's cassock (jacket), ca. 1640–45. Silk satin with black lace, max. L. 26 in. (66 cm). Hessisches Landesmuseum, Darmstadt (KG 78:7)



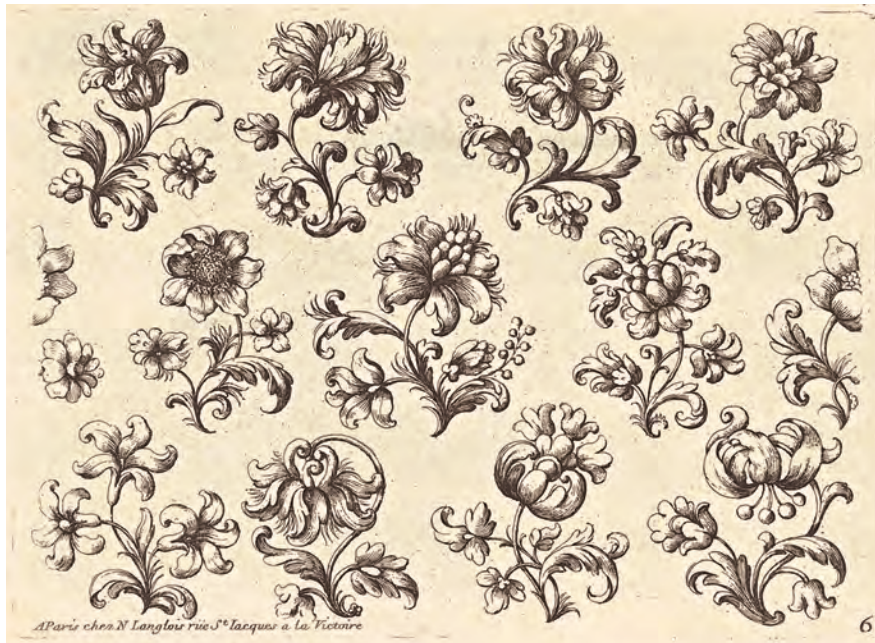
33. VAN DYCK, *Everhard Jabach*, 1636. Oil on canvas, 41¾ × 33¼ in. (106.1 × 84.6 cm). Private collection



34. SIR PETER LELY (Pieter van der Faes) (British, 1618–1680), *Princess Henriette Anne, later Duchess of Orléans* (1644–1670), ca. 1660. Oil on canvas, 30 × 25 in. (76.2 × 63.5 cm). National Portrait Gallery, London (NPG 6028)

traiture.⁵⁸ The invention of the trope is credited to Van Dyck, and the style—right down to sumptuous yet simple pearl accessories—persisted into the 1680s, most notably in the work of Lely and his contemporaries. The few surviving bodices from this period are of the formal variety, however, stiffened with boning and decorated with ribbons or lace, so the incidence of actual unstructured bodices of this type is hard to determine.

For viewers with an affinity for textiles, young Anna Maria Jabach's glowing silk satin dress and the vividly colored, thick wool carpet on which she and her dog stand provide a pleasing array of pattern and texture in the lower right corner of the portrait. The contrast between these two textiles, perhaps more than any other passage in the painting, gave Le Brun an opportunity to showcase his exceptional skill in depicting different materials and how they reflect light.⁵⁹ The dress, it bears noting, was not the artist's invention; its silhouette and details, such as the sheer white apron and long leading strings, were typical of young girls' attire and can be seen in numerous portraits. The textile, which has flowers on curving stems that suggest cuttings strewn across the fabric, alternating in shape and direction from one row to the next, is an interpretation of a Persian or Indian woven-silk design of a type that had a long fashionable life in Europe between about 1620 and 1680. The design can be seen in an engraving by Paul Androuet Ducerceau published in Paris by Nicolas Langlois, one of six by the artist in The Met's collection illustrating such fanciful flowers (fig. 35). A group of similar engravings by Ducerceau (likewise published in Paris by Langlois) has additional captions explaining that they were designs for textiles—specifically, woven silks and embroideries with flowers “à la Persienne”—made in the silk-weaving center of Tours.⁶⁰ As noted above, the 1660s in France was a crucial decade in the



35. PAUL ANDROUET DUCERCEAU (1623–1710), plate 6 from a *Series of Small Flower Motifs* (Paris: Nicolas Langlois, ca. 1670–85). Etching, plate $5\frac{3}{4} \times 7\frac{7}{8}$ in. (14.5 × 20 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1951 (51.540.15[81])

development of the textile industries, and while Lyons, in the south, became the undisputed center of luxury silk weaving and embroidery in the eighteenth century, the city of Tours, which is closer to Paris (and thus to many consumers of expensive silks), was still superior to Lyons at that time. So while floral silks of this type are often attributed to Italian weavers, the material of young Anna Maria's dress could very well have been of French manufacture.

The glossy shine of the dress suggests that the fabric is a silk satin, in which case the floral pattern could have been woven several different ways. One relatively fast technique employs alternating stripes of color in the weft of the satin foundation that, when brought to the surface, form the flowers and leaves. Upon close examination of the painting, it would appear that Anna Maria's gown was made in this way, using a green weft throughout for the slender stems and leaves and weft stripes of poppy red and soft pink for the color of the flower petals, similar to a fragment of silk satin in The Met's collection (fig. 36).

Covering the low platform under Anna Maria's and her dog's feet is a brilliant wool pile carpet, a nearly ubiquitous furnishing in depictions of seventeenth-century bourgeois and upper-class interiors. Possibly the most striking features of Le Brun's evocation of the carpet are the extraordinary textures he managed to convey, especially the thick, almost individualized tufts of knotted wool and the long wavy fringes. As Walter B. Denny, former senior scholar at The Met, has pointed out, what we are seeing is a representation of a new carpet—probably of the Ushak type, from Anatolia—as opposed to one that has had its pile compressed and worn thin and its fringes lost through years of use.⁶¹ Carpets from this region of the Ottoman Empire had been imported to Western Europe in increasing quantities from at least the fifteenth century, reaching an apex in terms of their cachet among the elite during the seventeenth century. The carpet in the Jabach portrait, perhaps based on an actual example, has a border of floral palmettes alternating with curving leaves on a green background. It is edged with an outer guard



36. Woven floral silk satin, French or Italian, 1660–80. Overall, $13\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ in. (34.9 × 14 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Rogers Fund, 1909 (09.50.1176)



37. Carpet with landscapes, French, ca. 1673–81. Savonnerie Manufactory Royale (established 1663), after designs by Le Brun. Knotted and cut wool pile (Ghiordes knot), overall 353 × 128 in. (896.6 × 325.1 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Charles Wrightsman, 1976 (1976.155.114)

border of off-white with small, geometricized flowers and has a relatively simple main field with a red background. A comparison of these features with those of a Star Ushak carpet in The Met's collection (fig. 38) suggests that Le Brun simplified the central field by eliminating the star-shaped medallions, which could not have been shown completely in the given space, and by creating a slightly more elegant floral border. In addition, he most likely exaggerated the length of the fringes for decorative effect. That Le Brun was deft enough to alter or completely invent a carpet design is borne out by the fact that, beginning in the mid-1660s, he oversaw an ambitious scheme to produce "a rich carpet, in the Turkish or Persian manner" for the Savonnerie manu-

factory, part of Louis XIV's grandiose project to complete the decorations of the Grand Galerie of the Louvre.⁶² The project resulted in ninety-three carpets woven between 1668 and 1688. The surviving examples, three of which are in The Met's collection (fig. 37), attest to Le Brun's brilliance in adapting the Eastern technique of pile carpet weaving to a French design aesthetic.⁶³

The imported carpet, the contentment of Jabach dressed in his at-home robe, and the liveliness of the family grouping itself all combine to conjure a sense of familiarity and immediacy: or, as Goethe wrote when he saw this picture in 1774, the quality of its being "fresh and vivid, as if painted yesterday, even today."⁶⁴ The textiles and dress no doubt contribute to our appreciation of the portrait's vitality and to its enduring charm.



38. Detail of Star Ushak carpet, West Central Turkey, 17th century. Wool (warp, weft, and pile), 121 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 71 in. (309.2 × 180.3 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; The James F. Ballard Collection, Gift of James F. Ballard, 1922 (22.100.110)



Pulling Back the Curtain

Conservation Treatment, Painting Technique, and Questions Raised

MICHAEL GALLAGHER

FOR THE CONSERVATOR, the excitement surrounding the acquisition of a great work of art is occasionally tempered by the challenges inherent in the conservation intervention required. Although an initial examination of the work prior to its acquisition often provides some insight into what lies ahead, it is the intimate experience of beginning the conservation process that fully reveals the extent of those challenges and sets the rules of engagement. Admittedly, this can provide its own satisfaction, since only then does the conservator begin to explore how the painting was “put together” and what the material realities of its construction reveal about the generation of the work and the artistic preoccupations of its maker.

Conservation

The physical condition of Charles Le Brun’s masterful portrait of Everhard Jabach and his family is excellent, but prior to conservation treatment, undertaken at The Metropolitan Museum of Art between 2014 and 2015, a number of factors greatly affected its overall appearance. The most immediately disturbing of these was the severe horizontal distortion of the support along the top of the painting.⁶⁵ The original canvas was constructed from five pieces of fabric: a large central rectangle; two vertical bands, one each at the left- and right-hand sides; and two horizontal bands, one at top and bottom, both of which run the full width of the composition (fig. 39). This construction is entirely original, although X-radiography (discussed in greater detail below) suggests that the peripheral bands were possibly added as work progressed rather than planned from the outset.

The painting has a double glue-paste lining, that is, two canvases adhered to the back of the original to provide additional support and rigidity. To date, no information has emerged as to when the painting was double lined. There is an inscription on the reverse referring to when the painting changed hands (in 1816 and 1832), but it appears that the lining is much later in date. The inscription was most likely on the reverse of the original canvas and was simply transcribed onto the lining to avoid losing the information altogether.



39. Painting before treatment, showing position of canvas seams

Until 2012 the entire area of the painting above the upper horizontal seam—about eighteen inches—had been folded back, and tacks had been hammered directly through the paint surface to secure the picture to a smaller stretcher. We have no documentation of when this rather brutal intervention took place. For the greater part of the nineteenth century the picture was displayed in Olantigh Towers in Kent, England, a grand residence gutted by fire in 1903 and subsequently rebuilt and renamed Olantigh House to reflect its more modest scale. Le Brun's great portrait survived the fire, thankfully, but it seems likely that its reinstallation into the smaller house a few years later was what necessitated the folding back of the canvas in order to reduce its height. A photograph of the painting installed in Olantigh House, published in *Country Life* in August 1969, shows that even reduced in size the portrait only just fit between the picture and chair rails (see fig. 3). Regardless of the wisdom or ethics of folding back the top, we can be grateful that this portion of the composition was not cut away and discarded.

In 2013, before the portrait was offered to The Met for purchase, the canvas was detached from the reduced stretcher, the surface provisionally flattened out, and a strip lining attached with a wax-resin adhesive (i.e., strips of canvas adhered around the original perimeter). The whole picture was then restretched over a new stretcher (fig. 40). This was an expedient method of permitting the whole composition to be seen, but it also clearly revealed the disfiguring distortions caused by the folding back



40. Reverse of painting before recent treatment



41. Detail of Michael Gallagher cleaning the surface

and tacking, which essentially bisected the uppermost part of the composition.

The painting's appearance was further compromised by a thick coating of extremely discolored varnish. Dating most likely from the end of the nineteenth century, the varnish had oxidized to such an extent that both the original color balance and the tonal values of the painting were entirely distorted, rendering the composition flat and lifeless and camouflaging Le Brun's consistently assured and bravura paint handling.

Initial conservation treatment involved the removal of discolored varnish and old retouching, which had been applied to cover minor paint losses located, with the exception of a few scratches, at the edges and along the seams (fig. 41). Given the painting's generally excellent condition and Le Brun's robust painting technique (i.e., he used few glazes and generally worked wet-in-wet), this cleaning procedure was relatively straightforward (fig. 42). Addressing the painting's structural issues was a more involved and lengthy process. Careful examination confirmed that the adhesion between the original support and the two additional canvases of the double lining is excellent. The removal and replacement of the lining fabrics and adhesive in order to tackle the distortions caused by the folding back of the upper part of the composition thus appeared unnecessarily invasive, and so a more localized intervention was devised.

The painting was laid facedown on a specially constructed low platform and the stretcher detached and lifted away. The provisional strip lining applied in 2012 and the associated wax adhesive were then removed. After the bulk of the wax was scraped away, remnants were removed in sections by the gradual and systematic application of a solvent gel. Copious amounts of wax had also been applied along the fold, where the canvas had been turned back, in order to try to stabilize this area; this wax was removed in the same manner. The

next step was to reduce the distortions, a time-consuming and repetitive procedure owing to the extreme stiffness of the lined support. Carried out over several weeks, this treatment involved the use of moisture, heat, stretching, and pressure to relax and reduce the distortions and bring the support back into plane.

A new linen strip lining was subsequently adhered to the perimeter, and the painting was reattached to its stretcher. Small pieces of new canvas were set into the tack holes made when the top was folded back, and losses in the paint layer were filled. Following cleaning and structural work, but before commencing the retouching, an initial brush coat of varnish was applied to act as an isolating layer between the original



42. Removing discolored varnish from Anna Maria's face and Heinrich's foot

painting and the retouching. More important, this application of varnish also began the process of saturating the surface, which is crucial to the optical effects of a painting from this period in terms of revealing and enhancing the color and tonal range of the composition (fig. 43). After a first phase of retouching, a second brush varnish was applied. Retouching was then completed, followed by two thin spray applications of varnish to create a saturated but quietly elegant surface appropriate for a paint layer that has aged and changed.

The aim of retouching or “inpainting” is to suppress damage that otherwise would be distracting or that would diminish the quality of a painting, reducing it to a scarred artifact rather than a work of art (fig. 44). There are many approaches to this important stage in the conservation process and just as many philosophies supporting them. They all share, however, the desire to respect the artist's work and original intentions and the goal of limiting the intervention to an effective minimum. Retouching should also be as stable as possible and—crucially—reversible, so that it can be removed easily and safely at any time in the future. Once the painting was again in plane and free of the distorting effects of the old oxidized varnish, the extraordinarily assured facture of this theatrical representation of privileged family life could once again take center stage.



43. After cleaning, structural work, and initial varnishing and filling but prior to retouching



44. Retouching paint losses

Painting Technique

Such a monumental and complicated composition required careful planning. Drawing was central to Le Brun's approach, and the existence of the highly finished colored chalk rendering of Jabach's infant son, Heinrich (see fig. 21), suggests that similarly detailed preparatory portraits of the other family members must have been executed and used to lay out some form of detailed preliminary underdrawing. That it has not been possible to confirm this with infrared reflectography—an imaging technique

that reveals the presence of carbon-based preparatory drawing beneath existing paint layers—suggests that a medium other than black chalk or paint must have been used.

Overall, the buildup of paint layers is relatively simple and logical. In contrast to the opulence of the scene depicted, there is a rational modesty to the handling of paint throughout the picture, but one that is underpinned by an astonishing command of tonal values. This latter quality, so easily overlooked, is what places the figures and objects in space and in relation to one another with an authority that permits the highly orchestrated fiction to read as reality.

The painting appears to adhere to the three-step process that was the foundation of the French academic approach to painting: the sketching in of a carefully planned



45. Detail of carpet

composition (*ébaucher*); the gradual buildup of forms through the application of more opaque color (*empâter*); and the addition of finishing touches (*finir* or *retoucher*).⁶⁶ It is easy to imagine how in lesser hands this regimen could result in the competent but rather soulless productions frequently associated with an artist's workshop. In the Jabach family portrait, however, it would seem that Le Brun's full participation ensured that nothing falls below concert pitch.

Although there are some significant pentimenti in the painting (discussed below), and overlaps and corrections of contour are not infrequent, they are generally minor: an inevitable part of the piecemeal nature of constructing such a complex and large-scale work. In the drapery, midtones were blocked in and modeled through the application of darker and lighter tones executed with quietly fluid brushwork, frequently worked wet-in-wet to blend and soften forms. Final, discrete strokes of highlight and shadow were employed to keep the forms crisp and fresh. They impart an appealing dry clarity to the paint surface that prevents Le Brun's bravura execution from ever appearing slick or overtly self-conscious. The same pragmatic construction was used in the faces, although here, building on careful, direct observation, the more thickly applied cream and rosy tints in Jabach's wife and children were blended to create marvelously luminous, pearly complexions (see details on pages 28 and 36).

Two particularly striking areas merit special attention: Anna Maria's dress and the opulent carpet on which she stands. The dress was first laid in with silvery gray tones; the reflective shimmer of silk was then suggested by using long, zigzagging brushstrokes of bold white highlight. The floral pattern was simply applied on top, and the swiftly executed motifs, predominantly in red and pink, were distorted slightly to conform to the pattern of folds dictated by the gray underlayer. A few deft touches of paler red and pink completed the illusion of a richly patterned fabric. The carpet is a



46. Detail of H  l  ne's skirt

miracle of close observation and painterly execution (fig. 45). Simple, flat midtones establish the pattern, but the considered placement of higher-key hues of red, green, blue, and white, stippled on in fine and broad strokes, is what so effectively suggests the thick pile catching the light. Similarly, the luxuriant fringe, which appears almost to spill out of the painting, reveals the brush control of a master draftsman and Le Brun's assured discipline in placing tonal values, through which he dazzles the eye in his re-creation of the abundant, twisting strands.

Inevitably, the darker areas of the composition, such as the shadowed background and Jabach's black banyan, have dropped in tone and lost some of their original variation and clarity. Similarly, the copper green in the great damask curtain, which dominates the top left corner of the composition, has oxidized, resulting in a much more muted and less spatially assertive appearance. Another significant color change is the faded red lake in the bodice worn by Jabach's younger daughter, H  l  ne. The houndstooth pattern applied to her skirt, executed throughout with the pigment

azurite, is curiously much more intense in hue at the top, just above the canvas join (fig. 46). The explanation for this may be linked to the ground preparation, described below in relation to findings gleaned from X-radiography.

One Portrait, Two Versions

One of the more intriguing aspects of Le Brun's portrait is its relationship to a second version formerly in the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum, Berlin, but destroyed in May 1945. Comparison between The Met's painting and a high-quality black-and-white photograph of the Berlin work, derived from a surviving glass negative (fig. 47), confirms that the two paintings are uncannily similar but also reveals intriguing differences.

It should be noted from the outset that there is always the danger of misinterpreting visual data drawn from such radically dissimilar sources. A black-and-white photograph, especially of a large-scale work like Le Brun's portrait, will potentially exaggerate contrasts, with a consequent hardening of contours and transitions. Nevertheless, by comparing key features, such as the portrait heads, and examining subtleties of expression, it is impossible not to discern a certain derivative simplification in the faces of the Berlin version. Family resemblances aside, there is, for example, a disconcerting uniformity to the construction of the eyes of Jabach's wife and children and their respective gazes. There is also an insistent quality to the depiction of locks of hair and folds of drapery that suggests the repetition of a less accomplished hand.

Aside from subjective assessments of quality, there are specific details that are not the same in the two paintings. The Berlin version shows the statue of Minerva almost in profile and placed far closer to the reflection of the artist in the mirror. Additional books are stacked around the socle, and Serlio's architectural treatise is placed at a different angle (fig. 48). The large curtain on the left is conspicuously draped over



47. Berlin version

Minerva, but it appears to lack the damask pattern seen in the New York painting as well as much of its decorative fringe. Furthermore, on the right side of the composition in the Berlin version, the cushion on which baby Heinrich is placed rises up behind his left shoulder.

What is most striking is that each of these different features or placements is found in The Met's version as a pentimento, underlying the present composition. This can be discerned by the naked eye in many cases and has been confirmed with infrared and X-ray imaging. The normal logic would be to see this as evidence that the lost Berlin portrait was the primary version and The Met's painting followed, repeating all the compositional details of the first and with changes added at a later stage. However, given the provenance of the two paintings and the evident superiority of the New York version, a different scenario seems more likely. It is probable that the paintings were worked on simultaneously and that the Berlin version repeated the first iteration of the composition. Le Brun then appears to have made the significant revisions in the New York version, which were not carried across to the Berlin one. What cannot be established with any certainty is why. It could be that the primary version naturally received more attention from the artist (and perhaps the patron) and that it was deemed unnecessary to transfer these refinements to the second version, which was destined for Jabach's brother-in-law. Some of the changes between the two are not particularly significant, such as the modest rethinking of overlaps and contours, but the alterations to the left side are more radical. Moving the bust of Minerva to the left gives the reflection of the artist—and, consequently, his actual participation—far more prominence, while the bust itself, angled toward the onlooker and free of the books around its socle, appears as a greater signifier of Jabach's lofty ideals. Interestingly, Minerva



48. Detail of superimposition of Berlin version over New York version (50% opacity)

lacks the highly characteristic and skillfully executed depiction of material surface that is evident in the other objects: the dry, matte surface of the leaves of the book or the roll of drawing paper; the low, translucent sheen of the marble bust lying on the floor; or the metallic glint of the adjacent dividers. Instead, the broadly described highlights and shadows of Minerva are oddly generic and defy accurate identification (see Stephan Wolohojian's discussion of Minerva in note 39). Perhaps this serves to underline the bust's presence as a symbol of the principal sitter's intellectual pursuits rather than as a record of an actual possession.

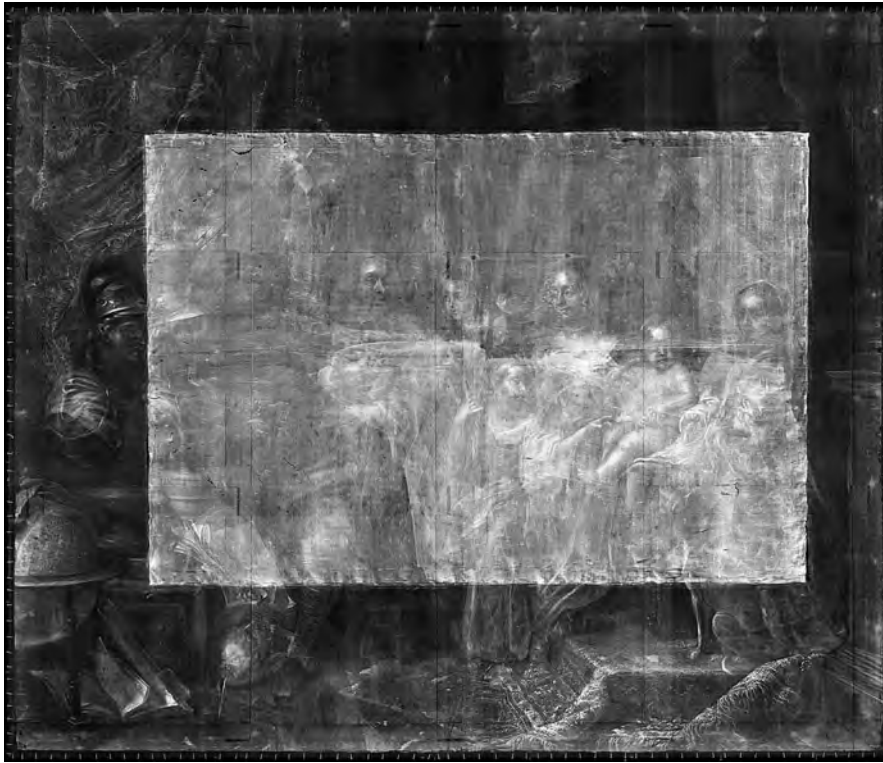
Conversely, there are a number of changes in the New York version that seem to be absent from the Berlin painting. The black veil worn by Jabach's wife initially covered her left shoulder, while the angle of the base of the pillar, at the far right edge of the composition, was corrected. Even with the naked eye it is evident that the marble floor tiles in the New York painting were initially oriented so that the vertical join in the square tile, directly below the reflection of Le Brun, ran almost perpendicular to the bottom of the painting. This perspectival scheme effectively

placed the viewer in the artist's position as he recorded the scene. At a later stage this orientation was changed; the viewer was repositioned over to the far right, beyond Jabach's elder daughter, Anna Maria, and the tile joins were shifted to run at an angle from the right toward her father and his heir.

Careful examination of the photograph of the Berlin painting, which also places the onlooker in the same far-right position, reveals no evidence of a different initial orientation of the tiles or the other minor changes to the veil and pillar base. The possibility remains, however, that these pentimenti could have been less apparent or were even suppressed by retouching.

Questions Raised by X-radiography

Perhaps the most intriguing aspect of the painting from a technical point of view was revealed by X-radiography. Initially undertaken to clarify the pentimenti, the X-ray also showed that the ground preparation in the central portion of the composite canvas support is different from that of the perimeter horizontal and vertical strips. In fact, the central portion was actually stretched over a smaller strainer, the marks of the diagonal bracing bars revealed by the varying thickness of the ground preparation. Paint samples from this central area indicate that the pinkish ground is composed principally of lead white. In contrast, the perimeter canvas strips are covered in a red ground composed mainly of iron oxide.⁶⁷ The contrasting radiopacity of the predominant pigments in these layers results in their markedly different appearance in the X-radiograph (fig. 49). Cross sections seem to indicate that the red ground was



49. X-radiograph (presence of stretcher digitally reduced for clarity)

applied after the canvas strips had been attached to the central portion, as there is a slight overlap of the different-colored grounds at the join.

Establishing a logical or even plausible sequence to account for this technical anomaly is confounding. Did Le Brun and his patron originally conceive of the portrait as something less grand? That would seem unlikely, since cropping the present composition along the lines of the canvas joins does not result in a convincing initial arrangement; the three-quarter-length figures seem truncated, and the composition appears oddly congested on the right side. There are intriguing forms in the X-radiograph in the central section that do not bear any relationship to the final painting, in particular a horizontal mass that occupies almost two-thirds of the lower half. Perhaps a very different grouping or even subject was envisaged? There is also the possibility that there is paint on the reverse of the central portion that is distorting analysis, but it seems highly unlikely that Le Brun would have resorted to reusing a canvas for such a key patron and for such a luxury item.

Curiously, the Berlin version also seems to have been constructed from five pieces of canvas. The practical sense behind this construction is elusive. It could be argued that multiple seams would impart more strength to such a large support than one horizontal one, but this rationale is undermined, for example, by Le Brun's own portrait of Chancellor Séguier, which is larger and has only one horizontal seam (see fig. 13). Also, the position of the seams and the dimensions and proportions of the central portion of canvas in the Berlin version are evidently different, so the idea that the artist and his assistants may have begun two identical smaller canvases and then enlarged them as work progressed seems impossible. Sadly, the tragic loss of the Berlin version prevents us from making these crucial comparisons or undertaking technical analysis, further amplifying the ramifications of its destruction.

1. For an account of the acquisition, see Keith Christiansen, "The Jabach Portrait: Reflections on an Extraordinary Acquisition," April 7, 2015; <http://www.metmuseum.org/blogs/now-at-the-met/2015/jabach-reflections-on-an-extraordinary-acquisition> (accessed June 29, 2017).
2. Cited in W.D. Robson-Scott, *The Younger Goethe and the Visual Arts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), pp. 72–73.
3. "Le vendredi 7 ... l'on nous fit entrer dans une maison, où nous trouvâmes un très grand tableau de Le Brun représentant la famille des Jabach; jamais on ne put m'expliquer ce que c'était que cette famille." [Louis Joseph de Bourbon] Prince de Condé and [Charles Anne Auguste] Comte de Ribes, *Journal d'émigration du Prince de Condé, 1789–1795* (Paris: Georges Servant, Éditeur, 1924), p. 19.
4. Cecil Gould, *Bernini in France: An Episode in Seventeenth-Century History* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1982), p. 62.
5. The provenance, worked out in full by Gretchen Wold, can be found in The Met's online collection catalogue (2014.250).
6. Christie's, London, *Henry Hope, Esq.: Deceased*, June 27–29, 1816, lot 90. For Watson Taylor, see under his name in *Legacies of British Slave-Ownership* (University College London); <http://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/-1221895888> (accessed June 21, 2017).
7. Wilhelm Baumeister, "Zur Geschichte des Lebrunschen Jabachbildes," *Wallraf-Richartz Jahrbuch* 3–4 (1926–27), pp. 216–18.
8. The painting was acquired by the museum's director, Gustav Friedrich Waagen, in 1836. See Peter Paul Trippen, *Jabach: Die "Fugger-Familie" des Westens; Neue Forschungsergebnisse* (Cologne: Kölner Verlagsanst., 1938), p. 64.
9. Michael Fried, *The Moment of Caravaggio*, Bollingen Series XXXV: 51 (Princeton, N.J., and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2010), p. 30.
10. For a good overview of Everhard III, see Rita Wagner, "Kölner Kunstsammler und Global Player von der Sternengasse nach Paris—Die Familie Jabach," in *Köln in unheiligen Zeiten: Die Stadt im Dreißigjährigen Krieg; Begleitband zur Ausstellung des Kölnischen Stadtmuseums vom 14. Juni bis 5. Oktober 2014*, by Stefan Lewejohann et al., exh. cat. (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 2014), pp. 117–25.
11. For an overview of the Compagnie des Indes Orientales, see Brigitte Nicolas, *Au bonheur des Indes Orientales: Musée de la Compagnie des Indes* (Quimper: Palantines, 2014). For Jabach and the Aubusson workshop, see Cyprien Pérathon, "Evrard Jabach, Directeur de la Manufacture royale de tapisseries d'Aubusson," *Réunion des Sociétés des Beaux-Arts des départements* 21, pt. 2 (1897), pp. 1063–78; and Christine Raimbault, "Evrard Jabach (1618–1695), directeur de la Manufacture royale des tapisseries d'Aubusson," in *La tapisserie hier et aujourd'hui: Actes du colloque Ecole du Louvre et Mobilier national et Manufactures nationales des Gobelins, de Beauvais et de la Savonnerie, 18 et 19 juin 2007*, edited by Arnaud Brejon de Lavergnée and Jean Vittet (Paris: École du Louvre, 2011), pp. 65–78.
12. There is no information on the original location, commission, or form of these panels. See Joachim Jacoby, "A Note on Dürer's So-called Jabach Altarpiece," *Bibliothèque d'humanisme et renaissance* 63, no. 1 (2001), pp. 47–62.
13. Quoted in David Howarth, *Lord Arundel and His Circle* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1985), p. 2.
14. From a letter by Petruccio Ubaldini to the Secretary of the Grand Duke of Florence, March 20, 1587, as quoted in *ibid.*, pp. 2, 224 n. 6.
15. For an introduction to the antiquities, see Michael Vickers, *The Arundel and Pomfret Marbles in Oxford*, Ashmolean Handbooks (Oxford: Ashmolean Museum, 2006).
16. [Roger] de Piles, *Cours de peinture par principes* (Paris: Jacques Estienne, 1708), pp. 231–33.
17. Susan J. Barnes et al., *Van Dyck: A Complete Catalogue of the Paintings* (New Haven: Yale University Press, for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2004), p. 537.
18. de Piles, *Cours de peinture par principes*, pp. 291–93.
19. In what seems to have become a norm, Jabach sent copies of these portraits back to Cologne; a workshop replica of the first portrait in the Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne, was destroyed during World War II.
20. On Rubens and his project in Cologne, see Willibald Sauerländer, *The Catholic Rubens: Saints and Martyrs* (2011; Los Angeles: The Getty Research Institute, 2014), pp. 216–32. The Jabach family moved to the Sternengasse in 1615.
21. For Geldorp's negotiations between the parish priest and Rubens, see *ibid.*, p. 223.
22. Louis XIV's acquisition of 1671 included some fifty sheets, and there were an equal number in Jabach's collection at his death. Many of Jabach's drawings were works by other artists that were retouched by the great master. See, for instance, Blaise Ducos et al., *Un Allemand à la cour de Louis XIV: De Dürer à Van Dyck, la collection nordique d'Everhard Jabach*, exh. cat. (Paris: Musée du Louvre, 2013), pp. 160–75, nos. 46–52.
23. See [Fritz] Grossmann, "Holbein, Flemish Paintings and Everhard Jabach," *The Burlington Magazine* 93, no. 574 (January 1951), pp. 16–25.
24. Letter from Arundel to Sir Dudley Carleton, September 17, 1619, in Mary F. S. Hervey, *The Life, Correspondence and Collections of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, "Father of Vertu in England"* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1921), p. 162.
25. For the *More Family*, see Christian Müller in Müller et al., *Hans Holbein the Younger: The Basel Years 1515–1532*, exh. cat. (Basel: Kunstmuseum Basel; Munich: Prestel, 2006), pp. 370–74, no. 120. The study for the painting that the artist sent to Erasmus shows one of More's daughters leaning over to her father (Kupferstichkabinett, Basel, 1662.31). Arundel also owned some of Holbein's color chalk studies for the various sitters.
26. See, especially, Antoine Schnapper, *Curieux du grand siècle: Collections et collectionneurs dans la France du XVIIe siècle*, vol. 2, *Oeuvres d'art*, 2nd ed., edited by Mickaël Szanto and Sophie Mouquin (1994; Paris: Flammarion, 2005), pp. 267–82. For Jabach's holdings of Northern drawings, see Ducos et al., *Un Allemand à la cour de Louis XIV*.
27. On the complicated nature of this transaction and Le Brun's involvement in it, see Antoine Schnapper, "Encore Jabach, Mazarin, Louis XIV, mais non Fouquet," *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français*, 1989–90, pp. 75–76; and Schnapper, *Curieux du grand siècle*, pp. 273–75.
28. For an excellent study of the artist's life leading to his appointment as First Painter of Louis XIV, see Bénédicte Gady, *L'ascension de Charles Le Brun: Liens sociaux et production artistique* (Paris: Éditions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, 2010).
29. See Stephan Wolohojian in *Charles Le Brun (1619–1690)*, by Bénédicte Gady et al., exh. cat. (Lens: Musée du Louvre–Lens; Paris: Lienart Éditions, 2016), pp. 166–67, no. 58.
30. See Jennifer Montagu, *The Expression of the Passions: The Origin and Influence of Charles Le Brun's "Conférence sur l'expression générale et particulière"* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994). The physiognomy lecture is lost, known only through a summary by Nivelon and others, but the 250 physiognomic sketches and drawings at the Louvre show that this was a major interest of the artist.
31. Germain Brice, *Description de la ville de Paris et de tout ce qu'elle contient de plus remarquable*, concordance by Pierre Codet (Geneva: Droz Librairie; Paris: Librairie Minard, 1971), facsimile section p. 181 (original p. 66 from the 1752 edition).
32. Patrik Reuterswärd, "A French Project for a Castle at Richmond," *The Burlington Magazine* 104, no. 717 (December 1962), p. 535. Reuterswärd suggests that the scheme may have been for a palace in Cologne and that the design possibly inspired the elevation for a castle designed by his younger brother, Libéral.
33. Trippen, *Jabach: Die "Fugger-Familie" des Westens* remains the main source.
34. The birth of a fifth child, Anna Catharina, who was baptized in Paris on April 8, 1661, gives us a terminus for the dating of the portrait.
35. See Joëlle Garcia, *Les représentations gravées du cardinal Mazarin au XVIIe siècle*, Corpus iconographique de l'histoire du livre (1995; [Paris]: Klincksieck, 2000), p. 95, no. 37. Nanteuil most likely engraved only the head; the other elements were probably done by the Antwerp engraver Pierre van Schuppen, who arrived in Paris in 1655.
36. Mario Praz, *Conversation Pieces: A Survey of the Informal Group Portrait in Europe and America* (University Park, Pa., and London: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1971), p. 63.
37. On the painting, see Baumeister, "Zur Geschichte des Lebrunschen Jabachbildes," pp. 211–21. The most recent overview of Jabach in Cologne is Wagner, "Kölner Kunstsammler und Global Player von der Sternengasse nach Paris—Die Familie Jabach," pp. 117–25.
38. The diagrams in the margin of the page are actually an amalgamation drawn from several pages of the printed volume.
39. The bust's odd finish, neither metal nor stone, gives the figure a strange presence. It is tempting to read it in relation to Boissard's emblem illustration for the motto assumed by the Jabachs, which includes not only the phoenix (present on their coat of arms) but also a helmeted figure of Minerva. Alison Adams, ed. and annot., *Jean Jacques Boissard's "Emblematum liber. Emblemes latins"* Metz: A. Faber, 1588: A Facsimile Edition Using Glasgow University Library SM Add 415, Imago figurata editions 5 (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2005), facsimile p. 19r.
40. A suggestion made by Keith Christiansen, who connects them with

- well-known landscape pairs such as Poussin's two canvases from 1651 for the French banker and silk merchant Jean Pointel.
41. For a general history of mirrors, see Sabine Melchior-Bonnet, *The Mirror: A History* (1994; New York: Routledge, 2001), esp. pp. 21–34.
 42. “Le Brun himself is represented by his picture on a canvas I think on an easel.” Sir Joshua Reynolds, notebook entry, 1781, fol. 89r (Collection Frits Lugt, Fondation Custodia, Paris, MS 6169). This misunderstanding is repeated in a traveling notebook associated with his manuscript “A Journey to Flanders and Holland” (British Library, London, Egerton MS 2165, fol. 172r); originally transcribed in Edmond Malone, ed. and annot., *The Works of Sir Joshua Reynolds* . . . , 2 vols. (London: T. Cadell, Jun. and W. Davies, 1797), vol. 2, p. 113. For Reynolds's travel record and associated notebooks, see Sir Joshua Reynolds, *A Journey to Flanders and Holland*, edited by Harry Mount (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 139–40, 181 n. 749.
 43. Letter of September 16, 1668, Bibliothèque Nationale, Mélanges Colbert 148 bis, f 699, cited in Schnapper, *Curieux du grand siècle*, p. 267: “tableaux que j'ay v[ue]s en Angleterre et trouvés alors fort beaux, il y a trente-trois ans.” Paul Fréart de Chantelou, *Journal du voyage du Cavalier Bernin en France*, edited and annotated by Ludovic Lalanne and Jean Paul Guibbert ([Paris]: Pandora Éditions, 1981), p. 94.
 44. Hadrien J. Rambach, “Van Dyck's Project for a Family Portrait of Lord Arundel,” *The British Art Journal* 14, no. 2 (Autumn 2013), pp. 21–34.
 45. Henry Jouin, *Charles Le Brun et les arts sous Louis XIV: Le premier peintre sa vie, son oeuvre, ses écrits, ses contemporains, son influence d'après le manuscrit de Nivelon et de nombreuses pièces inédites par M. Henry Jouin* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1889), p. 308; translation by the author.
 46. Claude Nivelon, *Vie de Charles Le Brun et description détaillée de ses ouvrages*, edited by Lorenzo Pericolo (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 2004), p. 240; translation by the author.
 47. Many of the points about the emergence of the autonomous image and authorial awareness on the part of artists are drawn from the complex analyses of Victor I. Stoichita, *The Self-Aware Image: An Insight into Early Modern Meta-Painting*, Cambridge Studies in New Art History and Criticism (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997).
 48. For a riveting account of this complex transaction, see Mickaël Szanto, “L'affaire Jabach, Charles Le Brun et les tableaux de Louis XIV,” *Revue de l'art*, no. 192 (2016), pp. 9–21. For the sum, see *ibid.*, p. 9; translation by the author. For the inventory, see Bernadette Py, *Everhard Jabach collectionneur (1618–1695): Les dessins de l'inventaire de 1695* (Paris: Éditions de la Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 2001).
 49. See, for example, Andrew Graham-Dixon, “Drapery and the Secret History of Painting,” *Christie's: News and Views*, March 15, 2016; <http://www.christies.com/features/Drapery-and-the-secret-history-of-painting-7152-1.aspx> (accessed June 21, 2017); and Marieke de Winkel, “The Artist as Couturier: The ‘Portrayal’ of Clothing in the Golden Age,” in *Dutch Portraits: The Age of Rembrandt and Frans Hals*, by Rudi Ekkart et al., exh. cat. (The Hague: Royal Picture Gallery Mauritshuis; London: The National Gallery; Zwolle: Waanders Publishers, 2007), p. 65.
 50. See Keith Christiansen's entry for the painting in The Met's online collection catalogue (2014.250).
 51. See Annalisa Galizia, with Giovanni Pozzi, *I riti e le stoffe: Vesti liturgiche e apparati processionali nel Canton Ticino dal XV al XIX secolo*, exh. cat. (Rancate: Pinacoteca cantonale Giovanni Züst; Lugano: Fidia Edizioni d'Arte, 2002), p. 57.
 52. Joyce Denney in *Interwoven Globe: The Worldwide Textile Trade, 1500–1800*, by Amelia Peck et al., exh. cat. (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2013), p. 261, no. 96; Martha Hollander, “Vermeer's Robe: Costume, Commerce, and Fantasy in the Early Modern Netherlands,” *Dutch Crossing: Journal of Low Countries Studies* 35, no. 2 (July 2011), pp. 180–81.
 53. Hervey, *Life, Correspondence and Collections of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel*, p. 443, quoted in Melinda Watt, “‘Whims and Fancies’: Europeans Respond to Textiles from the East,” in *Interwoven Globe*, p. 94.
 54. The *Mercure galant* first appeared in 1672, edited by Jean Donneau de Visé (1638–1710). See Kathryn Norberg and Sandra Rosenbaum, *Fashion Prints in the Age of Louis XIV: Interpreting the Art of Elegance* (Lubbock, Texas: Texas Tech University Press, 2014).
 55. Hollander, “Vermeer's Robe,” p. 177.
 56. See Johannes Pietsch et al., *Kölner Patrizier- und Bürgerkleidung des 17. Jahrhunderts: Die Kostümsammlung Hüpsch im Hessischen Landesmuseum Darmstadt*, Riggisberg Bericht 15 (Riggisberg: Abegg-Stiftung, 2008).
 57. See Ducos et al., *Un Allemand à la cour de Louis XIV*, pp. 174–75, no. 53; and Karen Stolleis, “Patrician and Bourgeois Costumes in Cologne from the 17th Century: The Costume Collection of the Hessisches Landesmuseum Darmstadt,” in Pietsch et al., *Kölner Patrizier- und Bürgerkleidung des 17. Jahrhunderts*, p. 27.
 58. See Emilie E. S. Gordenker, “The Rhetoric of Dress in Seventeenth-Century Dutch and Flemish Portraiture,” *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 57 (1999), pp. 87–104, esp. pp. 93–97; and Diana de Marly, “The Establishment of Roman Dress in Seventeenth-Century Portraiture,” *The Burlington Magazine* 117, no. 868 (July 1975), pp. 442–51, esp. pp. 450–51.
 59. Michael Gallagher, “The Conservation Continues: Revealing Jabach's Daughter Anna Maria,” August 27, 2014; <http://www.metmuseum.org/blogs/now-at-the-met/2014/revealing-anna-maria> (accessed June 21, 2017).
 60. See Peter Thornton, *Baroque and Rococo Silks* (London: Faber and Faber, 1965), pp. 103, 153–54, pl. 13A and B; and Roger-Armand Weigert, *Inventaire du fonds français: Graveurs du XVIIe siècle*, Bibliothèque Nationale, Département des Estampes (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1939), vol. 1, p. 35.
 61. Walter Denny to Keith Christiansen, email communications September 11 and 12, 2013, Department of European Paintings object file, and comments communicated to Melinda Watt by Keith Christiansen, on the subject of the age of the carpet and the likelihood of Le Brun's inventiveness.
 62. “... un riche tapis de pied, à la manière turquesse ou perse.” Nivelon, *Vie de Charles Le Brun et description détaillée de ses ouvrages*, quoted in Wolf Burchard, “Savonnerie Reviewed: Charles Le Brun and the ‘Grand Tapis de Pied d'Ouvrage à la Turque’ Woven for the Grande Galerie at the Louvre,” *Furniture History* 48 (2012), p. 15.
 63. The accession numbers of the Metropolitan Museum carpets are 52.118, 58.75.129, and 1976.155.114.
 64. Cited in Robson-Scott, *The Younger Goethe and the Visual Arts*, pp. 72–73.
 65. For a chronicle of the conservation of the painting, see Technical Notes in The Met's online collection catalogue (2014.250).
 66. Ann Massing, “From Books of Secrets to Encyclopedias: Painting Techniques in France between 1600 and 1800,” in *Historical Painting Techniques, Materials, and Studio Practice: Preprints of a Symposium, University of Leiden, the Netherlands, 26–29 June 1995*, edited by Arie Wallert, Erma Hermens, and Marja Peek ([Los Angeles]: The Getty Conservation Institute, 1995), p. 20–29.
 67. Analysis was undertaken by Federico Carò and Silvia A. Centeno of the Department of Scientific Research, The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Microscopic samples removed under high magnification from the different paint passages were mounted as cross sections in Technovit® resin, and Raman spectra were recorded in the different layers with a Renishaw System 1000 spectrometer using a 785 nm laser. The laser beam was focused on the samples using the ×50 lens of the microscope attached to the spectrometer. Powers in the order of 0.5–2 mW were used, with an accumulation time of 10–40 seconds. Identification of the materials was done by comparing the spectra of the unknown with those of reference compounds and published data (I. M. Bell, R. J. H. Clark, and P. Gibbs, “Raman Spectroscopic Library of Natural and Synthetic Pigments [pre-≈ 1850 AD],” *Spectrochimica Acta A* 53 V [1997], pp. 2159–79; D. L. A. de Faria, S. Venâncio Silva, and M. T. de Oliveira, “Raman Microspectroscopy of Some Iron Oxides and Oxyhydroxides,” *Journal of Raman Spectroscopy* 28 [1997], pp. 873–78; Lucia Burgio and Robin J. H. Clark, “Library of FT-Raman Spectra of Pigments, Minerals, Pigment Media and Varnishes, and Supplement to Existing Library of Raman Spectra of Pigments with Visible Excitation,” *Spectrochimica Acta A* 57 [2001], pp. 1491–1521; Silvia A. Centeno, “Identification of Artistic Materials in Paintings and Drawings by Raman Spectroscopy: Some Challenges and Future Outlook,” *Journal of Raman Spectroscopy* 47 [2016], pp. 9–15). After ion milling, the paint cross sections were carbon coated prior to SEM-EDS analysis. Analyses were performed with an FE-SEM Zeiss Sigma HD, equipped with an Oxford Instrument X-MaxN 80 SDD detector. Backscattered electron (BSE) images, energy-dispersive spectrometry (EDS) analysis, and X-ray mapping were carried out with an accelerating voltage of 20kV in high vacuum.

