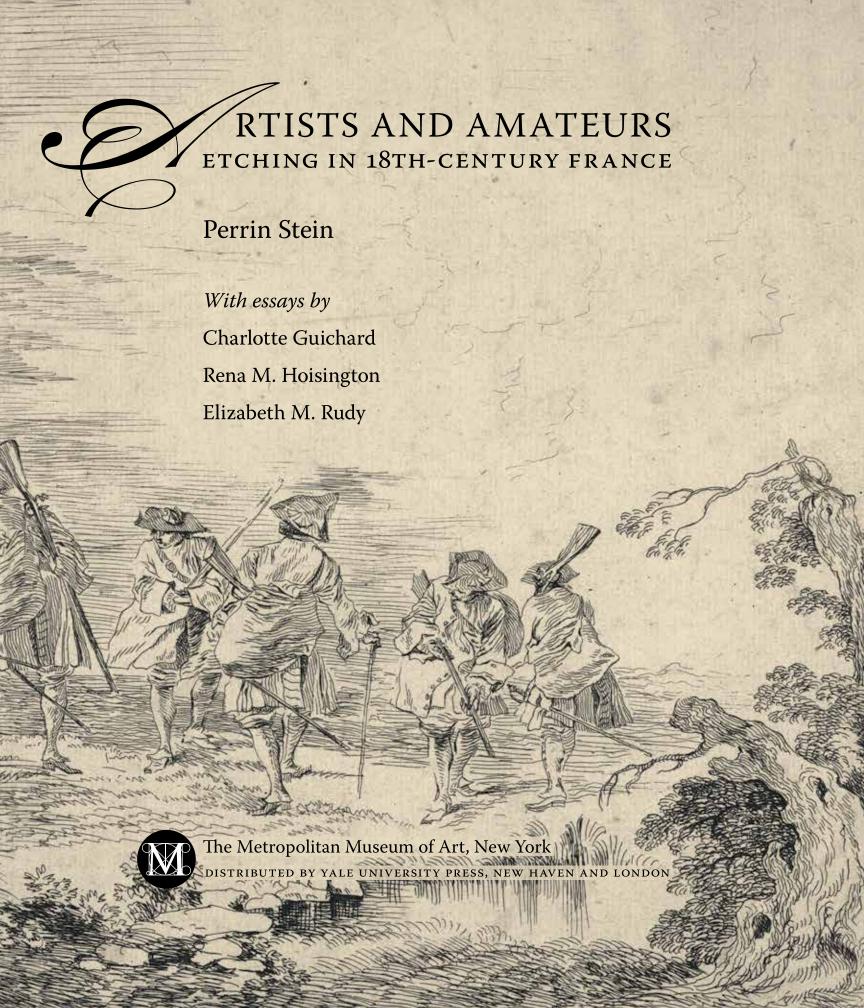






ARTISTS AND AMATEURS





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DIRECTOR'S FOREWORD

The vast holdings of the Metropolitan Museum's Department of Drawings and Prints include many acclaimed highlights of the European graphic arts tradition, but also a wealth of lesser-known areas ripe for exploration. With this exhibition and its accompanying publication, Perrin Stein, Curator in the department and a specialist in French Old Master drawings and prints, turns our attention to one such area: etchings made in eighteenth-century France by artists (painters, sculptors, and architects) as well as *amateurs*, a term used at the time to describe an elite class of art collectors and connoisseurs who believed that artistic practice was an essential component of study, collecting, and criticism.

Unlike professional printmakers, who developed ever more advanced techniques to appeal to a mass market, the artists and *amateurs* who experimented with etching did so, for the most part, in a private context of friendship and privilege. This fertile atmosphere of experimentation and collaboration, unique to this place and moment in time, has never before been the primary focus of a major museum exhibition. The artists who displayed the greatest facility and inventiveness with the etching needle include the most famous painters of the period—Antoine Watteau, François Boucher, and Jean Honoré Fragonard—but also other practitioners who for many will be welcome discoveries.

As they integrate printmaking into the larger developments and themes of eighteenth-century French art, the authors of *Artists and Amateurs* have produced a valuable general introduction to the subject, exploring who made etchings in eighteenth-century France, why they did so, and how their activities and interests influenced (and were influenced by) the evolution of style, collecting, and social interaction around art.

It is a testament to the assiduous collecting practices of American museums that it has been possible to assemble this exhibition solely with American loans. Works from the Metropolitan Museum have

been supplemented by superb etchings and drawings from sixteen public and private collections, including especially generous contributions from the Art Institute of Chicago and the Philadelphia Museum of Art. It is also worth noting that this is an area of collecting that remains vibrant, and a large number of these prints were acquired in recent years and decades.

In a museum that organizes exhibitions both large and small, *Artists and Amateurs* offers the visitor the chance to look closely at exquisite objects—some made with care, others with notable spontaneity—that were originally intended for a select audience who enjoyed the delectation of small, hand-held works of art. Occasionally made to be sold, but more often produced as gifts or homages, these etchings offer fresh insight into the world of art in late ancien régime France. We are most grateful to The Schiff Foundation for supporting the exhibition and to Karen B. Cohen for making possible this catalogue.

Thomas P. Campbell, Director The Metropolitan Museum of Art

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This book is immeasurably richer for the contributions of my coauthors, Charlotte Guichard, Rena M. Hoisington, and Elizabeth M. Rudy. Not only do their essays bring considerable insight to their subjects, from the outset their thoughts, observations, and input helped shape the structure of the book and selection of works. I learned from each of them and enjoyed the process immensely.

Never far from our thoughts, and always generous with their time and advice, were Victor I. Carlson and John W. Ittmann, who together organized the ground-breaking exhibition *Regency to Empire: French Print-making 1715–1814* (1984–85). Their catalogue opened our eyes to the wonders and variety of eighteenth-century printmaking, and their scholarship, along with the entries written by their contributing authors, forms the basis of all we have done here. Their taste and appreciation for this material, moreover, can be felt in their sage acquisitions, which helped build many of the fine collections at American museums that we have drawn upon for this exhibition and publication.

One of the great benefits of working at the Metropolitan Museum is the professional support and enthusiasm of my colleagues. In particular, the leadership of George R. Goldner, Drue Heinz Chairman of the Department of Drawings and Prints, has fostered a vibrant series of exhibitions and a broad and sustained acquisitions program, of which this show is a beneficiary. I am grateful also for the assistance and advice of other members of the department past and present: Colta Ives, Nadine Orenstein, Constance McPhee, Samantha Rippner, Stijn Alsteens, Catherine Jenkins, Linda Wolk-Simon, David del Gaizo, Ricky Luna, Freyda Spira, Mary Zuber, Kit Basquin, Elizabeth Zanis, John Byck, and Brittany McKinney. I am fortunate, too, for the help of my talented colleagues in Paper Conservation: Marjorie Shelley, Sherman Fairchild Conservator in Charge, Rachel Mustalish, and Angela Campbell. Allison Bosch in the Registrar's Office ably arranged all

the loans, and the elegant installation in the galleries is the work of members of the Design Department: Linda Sylling, Patricia Gilkison, Daniel Kershaw, and Sue Koch.

The publication took shape under the expert guidance of the Editorial Department, led by Mark Polizzotti, Gwen Roginsky, Michael Sittenfeld, and Peter Antony. Jane Tai ordered many of the images, assisted by Crystal Dombrow and Josephine Rodriguez-Massop, and Marcie Muscat edited the exhibition labels. Christopher Kuntze's elegant design and Christopher Zichello's careful attention to the images and production allowed us to show the prints up close and in conversation with each other. Dale Tucker was an ideal editor, knitting many disparate parts and voices into a unified and accessible book.

Ultimately an exhibition draws on every corner of the museum, beginning with the support of Thomas P. Campbell, Director; Jennifer Russell, Associate Director for Exhibitions; and Carrie Rebora Barratt, Associate Director for Collections and Administration. Barbara Bridgers, Scott Geffert, Mark Morosse, and Hyla Skopitz are responsible for the beautiful photography of the Metropolitan's works. I would also like to thank Martha Deese in the Exhibitions Office, Joseph Loh and Jennifer Mock in the Education Department, Mary Flanagan in Communications, and Kenneth Soehner, Arthur K. Watson Chief Librarian, and the staff of the Watson Library. I was fortunate to have at various times the research assistance of Kerry Barrett, Esther Bell, Olga Eysmont, Anna Piotrowska, and Normandy Vincent. It was through the generosity of The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation that Elizabeth Rudy first became involved in this project as a Postdoctoral Curatorial Fellow in the Department of Drawings and Prints from 2009 to 2011.

The authors would like to extend their gratitude to various friends and colleagues beyond the Metropolitan's walls: Emanuel von Baeyer, Colin B. Bailey, James Bergquist, Jonathan Bober, Suzanne Boorsch, Helen Burnham, Barbara Brejon de Lavergnée, Antoine

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Perrin Stein, Curator Department of Drawings and Prints

LENDERS TO THE EXHIBITION

PUBLIC COLLECTIONS

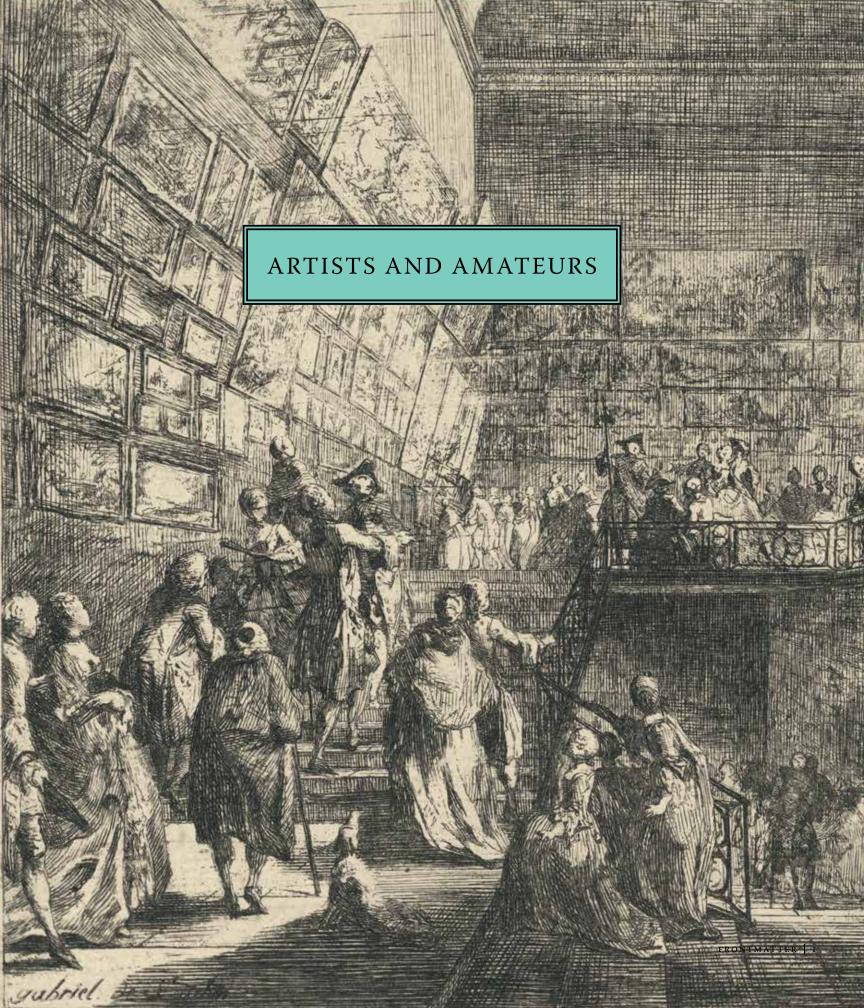
The Art Institute of Chicago
The Baltimore Museum of Art
Blanton Museum of Art, The University of Texas at Austin
Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, Williamstown
The Cleveland Museum of Art
Cooper-Hewitt, National Design Museum, Smithsonian Institution, New York
Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
Minneapolis Institute of Arts
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.
The New York Public Library
Philadelphia Museum of Art
Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven

PRIVATE COLLECTIONS

Anonymous

John W. Ittmann

David P. Tunick





INTRODUCTION

Perrin Stein

ICTURE THE SCENE: in 1723, the young François Boucher, an aspiring painter of humble origins, wins first place in the Académie Royale's prestigious Prix de Rome competition at the precocious age of nineteen but is denied a space at the Académie de France in Rome, the contest's coveted prize. Instead, Boucher, who would go on to become the most important artist of his generation, remains in Paris, forced to eke out a meager living by any means he can. To that end, Boucher must have been a fairly scruffy youth when he reported to the *hôtel* of Jean Jullienne, a wealthy businessman who lived adjacent to his family's dyed-fabric factory in the shadow of the royal Gobelins manufactory. Jullienne—not yet ennobled, and not yet one of the most renowned connoisseurs of the agehad nonetheless already begun assembling what would eventually grow into one of the era's greatest art collections, aided by his friendships with such notable artists as Antoine Watteau and François Lemoyne, Boucher's own master. Now he was offering to pay the young Boucher by the day to replicate Watteau's drawings in etching, part of an ambitious, unprecedented project he had conceived in the mid-1720s after Watteau's death. One can imagine Boucher, having gained access to this precious repository through his natural facility with the etching needle, spending day after day surrounded by portfolios of Watteau's chalk figure studies, slowly absorbing their style as he transposed them to the copper plate, an endeavor that no doubt left a lasting imprint on his developing aesthetic (fig. 2).1

Twenty-five years later, now a wealthy man at the apogee of his profession (fig. 3), Boucher must have cut quite a different figure as he arrived at the gilt gates of Versailles a favorite of Louis XV's powerful mistress, Madame de Pompadour. Although she commissioned many paintings from Boucher and sat for her portrait on several occasions, it was etching that brought them together as teacher and pupil. No doubt they spent many hours ensconced in her apartment, which was equipped with a press and the necessary etching tools,



Fig. 2. François Boucher (1703–1770), *The Artist in His Studio*, ca. 1733. Red chalk, heightened with white, 14¼ × 10½ in. (36.2 × 26.7 cm). Los Angeles County Museum of Art; Los Angeles County Fund (59.37.1)

as he guided her through the printmaking process.² Her pride in this accomplishment, and perhaps his as well, finds expression in a portrait of her in which one of her etchings (after one of Boucher's drawings) can be seen peeking out from a portfolio near her elegantly shod feet amid the resplendent tactile pleasures of her surroundings: the rose-studded satin of her dress, the gleaming wood and gilt bronze of her furniture, and the real roses cast on the parquet floor (fig. 4).³

If Boucher was initially drawn to printmaking for its remunerative possibilities, his engagement with the medium, rather than fade after his meteoric rise, only deepened.⁴ Nor was he alone in perceiving social and aesthetic advantages in pursuing the art of etching,

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Fig. 1. Detail, François Boucher after Antoine Watteau, Woman on a Swing, Viewed from Behind (cat. 9)



Fig. 3. Gustaf Lundberg (1695-1768), François Boucher, 1741. Pastel, 25% × 19¾ in. (65 × 50 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris (inv. 30868)

an activity that fell well outside the prescribed "career path" for painters as laid out by the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture. Take, as another example, the forty-six-year-old Jean Honoré Fragonard—by that age a successful and sought-after painter—taking time out from more lucrative enterprises to instruct his sixteen-year-old sister-in-law, Marguerite Gérard, in the rudiments and visual language of etching. The Genius of Franklin (cat. 18), Gérard's final and most accomplished print from this period of tutelage, was advertised and marketed for sale, but her earlier explorations of the medium were most likely circulated only among friends

and family, reflecting a private, even playful enjoyment of shared learning (fig. 5; see also cat. 16).5 Both Fragonard's and Gérard's prints from this brief but fertile period of instruction feature subjects of children and animals at play, underscoring the informal, domestic environment in which they originated.

These vignettes, which suggest the range of scenarios in which artists and amateurs (discussed below) experimented with etching in eighteenth-century France, attest to the era's new permeability of artistic spheres. Regulations and hierarchies of genre and medium intended to delineate and protect professions



Fig. 4. François Boucher (1703–1770), Marquise de Pompadour, 1756. Oil on canvas, $79\frac{1}{6} \times 61^{13}$ /16 in. (201 × 157 cm). Alte Pinakothek, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich; on permanent loan from the HypoVereinsbank, Member of UniCredit. Acquired in 1971 by the Bayerische Hypotheken- und Wechsel-Bank (inv. HUW 18)



Fig. 5. Marguerite Gérard (1761–1837) after Jean Honoré Fragonard (1732–1806), A Child with a Dog, 1778. Etching, second state of three: sheet, 6% × 8% in. (17.4 × 22.3 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Purchase, Phyllis D. Massar Gift, 2011 (2011.279)

were instead increasingly being tested and breached. Artists of the period, perhaps finding royal largesse lacking or official commissions stifling, clearly had sufficient incentive to explore new ground and to seek new patrons and audiences. Etching proved one of the most useful tools in this pursuit, offering painters not only more direct access to a vital and expansive market for their works—one capable of quickly spreading their fame and building reputations—but also entrée to wealthy salons and other private settings whose refined tastes and interests might better align with their own.

Broadly defined, a print in eighteenth-century France was a work of art created by running a damp piece of paper through a press, thereby transferring to the paper the ink held in the furrows or indentations of a copper plate. Classified solely by medium, this large body of work comprises some fairly disparate examples created by fairly disparate practitioners, a diversity explored in the groundbreaking 1984-85 exhibition Regency to Empire: French Printmaking 1715–1814.6 If we reshuffle the deck, however, and group these works not by chronology or technique but by the vocations (or avocations) of their makers, the spaces of their production, and the social milieus of their exchange and appreciation, then a different picture emerges, one that further illuminates the role of printmaking in the artistic spheres of the late ancien régime.

To be clear, prints in eighteenth-century France were made by two types of people: trained professionals, who earned their income by reproducing the works of others or creating works, such as book illustrations, intended for a mass market, and nonprofessionals, those artists and wealthy amateurs who etched their own inventions or sometimes the works in their collections and did so often for reasons other than income. It is this latter group, relatively understudied, that is the subject of this book and its accompanying exhibition.7

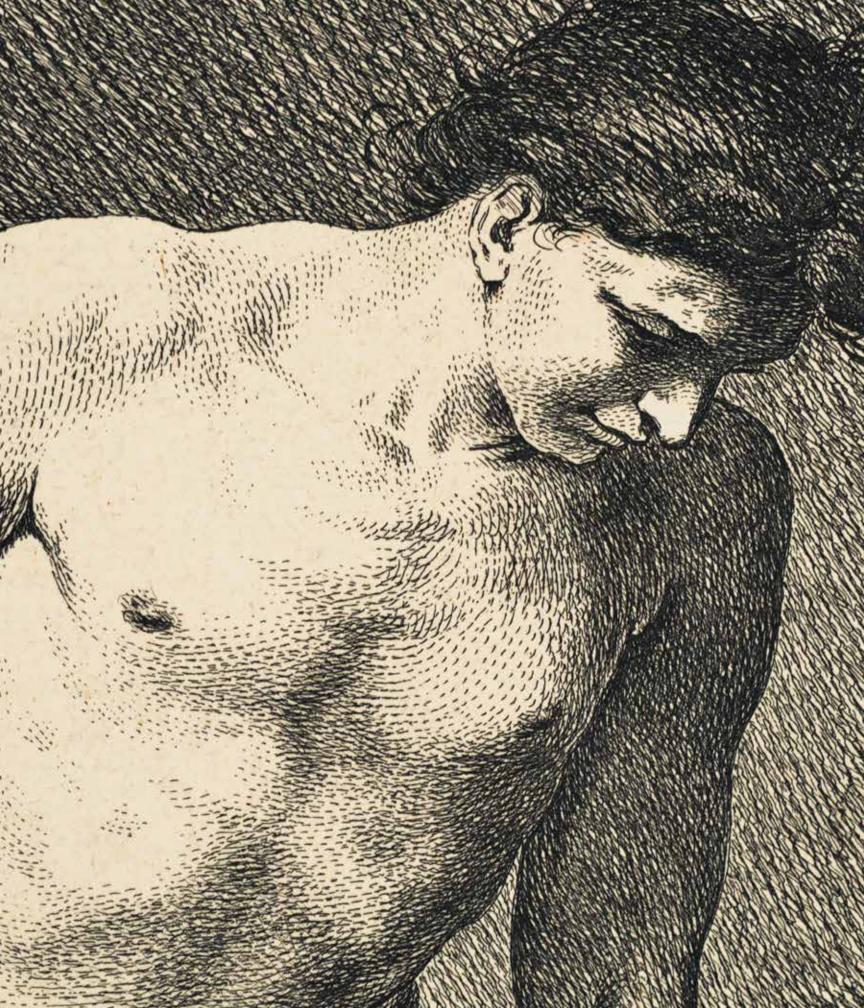
Although the word "gravure" is often used to describe both etchings and engravings, the two techniques have one key difference. Whereas almost anyone can make an etching, the same cannot be said for an engraving, the traditional domain of the professional printmaker, who, at least in the eighteenth century, utilized a burin (a sharp tool with a pointed end) to push into the copper plate and cut by hand the narrow grooves that catch the ink. It was a technique that required considerable training and skill. With etching, in contrast, a simple metal stylus could be used to lightly "draw" on the surface of a copper plate that had been covered in a varnish or ground. The plate was then brought into contact with acid, which bit into the areas of metal left exposed by the stylus's movements. The result was an image with the spontaneity of a drawing but a pleasing sharpness of line, as the process of transferring the viscous printing ink from indentations in the metal to the moistened paper produced tactile, raised lines of gleaming black on white. Etchings were also affordable and, unlike drawings, could be multiplied, thus expanding the roles the print could play, from leveraging an artist's reputation among distant strangers to cementing allegiances with patrons and friends.

There is considerable evidence that by midcentury French audiences were highly attuned to the distinct aesthetic qualities associated with each technique and category of maker, as reflected in numerous descriptions in contemporary journals, printmaking treatises, and sale catalogues. A 1751 announcement in the gazette Mercure de France, for example, noted that the engraver and print dealer Étienne Fessard had for sale in his shop two sets of etchings by the architect Ennemond Alexandre Petitot and the painter Joseph Marie Vien, both pensionnaires (or fellows) of the Académie de France

in Rome. The author praised their execution as "spirited, fine, light and very elegant," adding that the prints were etched "au premier coup" (in a single biting) and expressed their makers' "genius and taste." The anonymous writer remarked further on how architects and "grands peintres" could also be talented printmakers.8 In his 1765 biography of fellow academician and painter Carle Vanloo, Michel François Dandré-Bardon offered a similar assessment of his friend's etched académies, or nude male studies (fig. 6): "with a spirited and tasteful line, his stylus filled the plate with a pleasant irregularity of marks, a picturesque crudeness [brut pittoresque] that characterizes the prints of the great painters, who sometimes indulge in these sorts of amusements."9

The same liveliness of technique was also appreciated in the work of amateurs, roughly defined as an elite class of art lovers in eighteenth-century France who socialized with artists and whose activities often included the study and practice of art (see Charlotte Guichard's discussion of amateurs in chapter 5). Pierre Jean Mariette, whose father was a respected printmaker and publisher, inherited the family business and art collection and gradually transformed himself into a true amateur in the eighteenth-century sense: someone who enjoyed making drawings and prints after the works he owned. In the sale catalogue of Mariette's collection prepared after his death by the printmaker, publisher, and dealer François Basan, prints by amateurs were identified as such and grouped together. An article in the Mercure de France praised Basan's inclusion of Mariette's own etchings (for example, cat. 90), which had been slipped into the catalogue to illustrate drawings by Guercino, noting that they, too, were worthy of admiration "for the idea they gave of the facile manner of this amateur, both with the pen and with the etching needle."10

But the distinction between these two categories of printmakers—the professional and the nonprofessional—was not simply a matter of technical skill or aesthetic sensibility. It also reflected a highly regulated society in which artistic training, production, and commerce were controlled to some extent by the state and its laws and institutions. Professional identity was linked to hierarchical notions of social class, and parallel hierarchies applied to artistic subject matter and medium. These well-established regulations and social conventions provided the foil against which the unofficial, below-the-radar printmaking activity of the nonprofessionals took on meaning.



The most important of these institutions, which played a major role in the training and support of artists in eighteenth-century France, was the crown-supported Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture, founded in 1648. Conceived in large part to elevate the professional standing of painters and sculptors, the Académie Royale strove to maintain rigid hierarchies of genre and medium, even while outside forces—the marketplace, social upheaval, changing tastes—brought pressure to bear on its systems and values. Etching—or, more accurately, etching as a side pursuit of painters, sculptors, and architects—was an unsanctioned art form that found no encouragement within the Académie's official confines and yet nonetheless flourished in its midst. Professional printmakers, on the other hand, were eligible for membership in the Académie and were permitted to exhibit in the biennial Salons held at the Louvre, but their entries were typically listed last in the livret—the official "catalogue" of the works exhibited at the Salon—reflecting the medium's low rank in the artistic pecking order.

Professionals were also not eligible to compete for the Prix de Rome, which awarded the most promising young students in painting, sculpture, and architecture pensions to study at the Académie de France and thereby perfect their artistic training. Several petitions were put forward over the course of the century to open the prize to students of printmaking, including efforts by Charles Joseph Natoire and Joseph Marie Vien, both directors of the Académie de France in Rome, but until the policy was changed in 1803 such requests were consistently denied, often in language that explicitly stated that exposure to great works of art benefited original artists but was unnecessary for engravers, whose task was merely to reproduce the work of others. 11 While this debate is revealing as to the biases professional printmakers had to contend with, the experimentation with etching—sometimes short-lived, sometimes extended engaged in by painting, sculpture, and architecture pensionnaires and by the amateurs they befriended was a thing apart.

The stated reason behind the refusal of the French arts administration to underwrite the training of professional printmakers in Rome points to a key conceptual distinction: reproductive printmakers did not invent their compositions. Even as traditional methods of engraving were supplemented in the second half of the century with the fast-paced invention of new techniques—including chalk manner, used to produce

trompe l'oeil imitations of chalk drawing—the results were essentially facsimiles made to satisfy the burgeoning market for the collecting and display of drawings as works of art. The peintre-graveur (a term that describes artists who made prints but were not professional printmakers) also manifested the period's taste for the spontaneity and intimacy of drawings. Rather than imitating the inspired marks of the draftsman, however, such artists used the etching needle as a drawing instrument, sketching freely on the plate and creating equivalents, rather than facsimiles, of drawings. By asserting etching as an act akin to drawing, a medium considered capable of embodying "genius" and "inspiration," peintresgraveurs distinguished their aim from the professional printmaker's goal of mimesis.

This is not to say that painters never made etchings after the works of other artists; rather, that when they did, instead of a subjugation or forfeiture of their personal style it was an act of what a modern viewer might term appropriation: a dialogue with another artist's work, or perhaps a witty homage. Such etchings could be made either for the market or as a private gift or tribute, but in general they were less commercial in motivation and more concerned with what was known as sociabilité (the pursuit of cultivated pastimes within small groups of social elites), pedagogy, or reputation in a broader sense. If the prints of the *peintres-graveurs* were less technically accomplished, appeared less often on the art market, and tended to fetch lower prices at auctions than those of professionals, one need not conclude that their makers had failed or that their endeavor was less serious, for the practice of etching among this class of nonprofessional printmakers was closely entwined with different pursuits—collecting, connoisseurship, and experimentation—and as such had different aims. Indeed, such prints were created and exchanged in settings both private and public, and to judge their success, as this book sets out to do, one must gain a greater understanding of the milieus and audiences for which they were made.

The story of eighteenth-century art history is in many ways the story of art's changing role in contemporary life and the expansion of the contexts in which art was made, exchanged, viewed, and discussed, often resulting in the contesting of inherited taste and value systems. In contrast to the relatively ordered and centralized world of Louis XIV, in which the path to artistic success and patronage had been clear, Enlightenment Paris

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Fig. 6. Detail, Carle Vanloo, Title plate from "Six figures académiques" (Six Académie Figures) (cat. 1)

FACING PAGE

Fig. 7. Detail, Jean Jacques Lagrenée, Sacrifice to the God Pan (cat. 105)

was a land of shifting terrain. Studies of recent decades have cast new light on the various spheres that gained influence during this period. Thomas Crow's watershed Painters and Public Life in Eighteenth-Century Paris (1985) explored the powerful cacophony of voices that emerged with the establishment of regular Salon exhibitions open to the public beginning in 1737, while his Emulation: Making Artists for Revolutionary France (1995) investigated the space of the artist's studio and the complex impact of personal relationships on artistic activity.¹² The private domain of the collector and its power to influence artistic agendas and styles was the subject of Colin Bailey's Patriotic Taste: Collecting Modern Art in Pre-Revolutionary Paris (2002) and Charlotte Guichard's Les Amateurs d'art à Paris au XVIIIe siècle (2008).13 While Crow's and Bailey's works focus primarily on painting, the place of etching in the social fabric of eighteenth-century Paris should likewise be examined through the lens of the variously public and private spaces of the Académie, the market, the studio, and the private collection, or cabinet.

Tales of boundary breaking in the world of painting are now legendary. First Watteau and then Jean-Baptiste Greuze tested and eventually undermined the limits of academic hierarchies of genre. 14 Fragonard stepped off the defined career ladder of academic prestige and royal patronage in favor of the private market, where he found a demand for a type of subject and free execution more in line with his own proclivities.¹⁵ Then there is the example of Jacques Louis David, who in reference to his first masterpiece, The Oath of the Horatii (Musée du Louvre, Paris), which did not conform to the original parameters of his royal commission, famously declared that "I left off making a picture for the King and made one for myself."16

The collapse of genre hierarchies and the openness to new forms of patronage outside official channels found an echo in the concurrent disintegration of the traditional ranking of medium, as artists destined for careers in those considered most prestigious—painting, sculpture, and architecture—felt the pull of one lower down the ladder: printmaking. The pursuit of etching by these practitioners, who unlike their professional counterparts were not beholden to the task of reproduction, is worthy of study because it produced exquisite works of art and opened dialogues with new classes of patrons and publics. Reintegrated into a larger view of arthistorical trends and inquiry, peintre-graveur prints offer insight into the new roles art played in a period of

rapidly evolving practices, styles, and markets. Accordingly, this book is organized not by artist, chronology, or even individual works of art but rather by themes related to the social and aesthetic place of etching in eighteenth-century society.

We begin with the basic question of where and how artists who were not apprenticed in the studios of printmakers learned the craft, examining treatises of the period as well as the evidence of various commercial arrangements and social practices. Some painters, such as Boucher, were hired in the early part of the century by wealthy collectors to record contemporary collections of paintings and drawings or by professional engravers to provide the first etched state of a print, considered an unfinished "sketch." Others learned the rudiments of the technique in the context of the painter's atelier, where it was passed down from master to student, as in the case of Fragonard and Marguerite Gérard. Still others, such as Jean-Baptiste Marie Pierre or Jean Étienne Liotard, had friends or relatives who were professional printmakers. And while etching did not figure in the official course of training for painters within the conceptual framework of the Académie Royale, occasionally it nonetheless became part of the pedagogical process, for example, in replicating works (such as académies) used in the training of students.

Chapter 2 explores cases in which established painters, rather than experiment with etching in private or social settings, elected instead to enter the fray of the commercial print market, which offered them access to a broader audience and customer base. Painters of the Académie Royale, including Claude Gillot, Jean-Baptiste Oudry, and Jean Jacques Lagrenée, brought to this endeavor their impressive graphic skills and adopted many of the marketing techniques of the trade, such as issuing their prints in suites, series, and recueils (compendiums) and having their new work announced in contemporary journals. For artists working abroad or for those who wanted to extend their reputation into new realms, from book illustration to ornament design, etching proved a highly effective medium.

Once they picked up an etching needle, artists otherwise trained as architects, portraitists, or painters sometimes discovered in themselves not only a natural facility for the medium but a determination to push it to new heights. Chapter 3 follows four such masters— Gabriel de Saint-Aubin, Jean-Baptiste Le Prince, Louis Jean Desprez, and Jean Étienne Liotard—each of whom engaged with etching in an original way, harnessing



innovative effects of atmosphere and texture to create forms of expression distinctly suited to his own genius. Through examples chosen from different points in their careers, these four artists are shown to have undergone stylistic evolutions from a conventional, linear use of the etching needle to highly original techniques and aesthetic achievements.

Chapter 4 takes up the question of why so many young French artists made their first (and sometimes only) etchings while in Rome. Although printmaking had no role in the official curriculum of the Académie de France and the correspondence of the school's directors with administrators back in Paris makes scant mention of it, surviving works point to a vibrant culture of collaboration and experimentation. The inscriptions on these prints bear witness to close ties of friendship and informal patronage between the young students and many local diplomats and visiting amateurs. In addition, exposure to the Italian peintre-graveur tradition, especially with the Venetian printmaker Piranesi's studio just across the street, provided French students stylistic inspiration guite different from the manner of the reproductive prints that dominated the Parisian market. Shared activities of masquerades and sketching sessions, inflected with humor and wit, were memorialized on the copper plate not for profit but in the spirit of camaraderie and to celebrate exploits and accomplishments (see cat. 61 and detail on pp. 184-85).

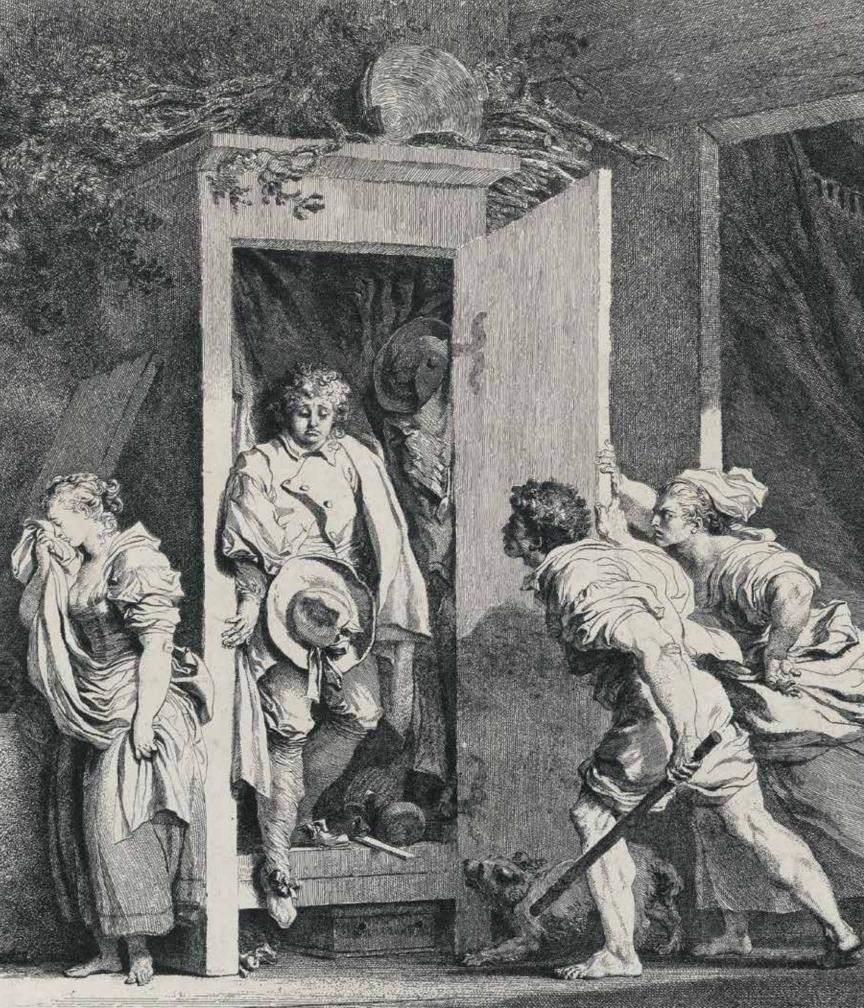
The friendships forged in Rome between young artists and visiting amateurs continued back in Paris. Chapter 5 takes a close look at the rarefied milieus in which artists and amateurs built mutually beneficial relationships of patronage and collaboration, often around their shared interest in etching. Printed in small numbers and circulated mostly as gifts, prints by *amateurs* tended not to show up in sales or to be announced in journals. Such prints were instead part of a Parisian culture of *sociabilité* and were typically linked to collecting and the honing of connoisseurship skills. Some amateurs, including Claude Henri Watelet, who enjoyed etching with the French pensionnaires on his two trips to Rome, played consequential roles as writers and taste-setters. Baron Dominique Vivant Denon, whose successful career spanned multiple political regimes and diverse roles, from diplomat to collector to museum director, also had a passion for etching and was elected a member of the Académie Royale in 1787 after submitting an etching after Luca Giordano.

If the practice of etching initially gained a foothold in this elite society as a "polite" art, in the circles of amateurs affiliated with the Académie Royale it soon grew to inform their writings and, in so doing, exerted a strong influence on the stylistic development of printmaking in the latter part of the eighteenth century, especially in regard to the medium's growing status as an original art form. The widespread appreciation for Rembrandt, in particular, and his many Italian emulators found fertile ground in amateur circles. It was in these privileged settings—the *cabinets* and ateliers of wealthy amateurs—where the taste for Rembrandt's prints took hold, reinforcing amateurs' conception of etching as a form of artistic expression. The vogue for the Rembrandtesque also reflected a much broader societal taste from about 1750 to 1780 for qualities widely associated with inspiration ("fire," "genius," and "spirit") as well as a popular fascination with the fragment, the ruin, and the unfinished.

Chapter 6 explores how the appreciation for visual signs of touch and spontaneity, which has been well documented in studies of drawing and painting, found a unique manifestation in etching. The attraction of French artists to the loose and sketchy manner of Rembrandt and of such Italian etchers as Giovanni Benedetto Castiglione (Il Grechetto)—as opposed to the more controlled manner of Jacques Callot and Claude Mellan, which was their native tradition—found written expression as early as the 1740s. In his biographical essay on Rembrandt that accompanied his groundbreaking catalogue raisonné of the artist's work (published posthumously in 1751), the art dealer and connoisseur Edme François Gersaint discussed how the Dutch master composed his etchings directly on the plates: "to avoid a dryness in the execution of his compositions, Rembrandt often drew them directly onto the copper, without relying on a finished preparatory drawing, which could then be traced, as other printmakers did."17 Charles Nicolas Cochin II, a noted engraver, remarked in his 1745 introduction to the updated edition of Abraham Bosse's influential treatise on etching that the Callotesque use of hard-ground etching to imitate engraving left him cold, and that he preferred instead "the pure etchings of painters who have made prints," including Castiglione, Rembrandt, and Nicolaes Berchem. He added that even modern painters who made prints did so with a spirit that even the most able professionals had trouble matching.¹⁸ Peintres-graveurs

in the second half of the century engaged with these stylistic influences in a very self-conscious way, retaining traces of these revered forerunners in their prints as a kind of witty reference intended for a sophisticated audience. As such, they effectively dissolved the dichotomy between original and reproduction in favor of a form of etching as appropriation or homage (fig. 7).

Ultimately, the story of etching in eighteenthcentury France traces the spread of the practice beyond the professional confines of the highly regulated print and book trade and into new hands and new spaces: the Académie and its schools; the expanding marketplace, with its shops and sales rooms; the private gatherings of the elite, whose rarefied society embraced artistic and quasi-scientific pursuits; the artist's studio, where the teaching of etching was linked to friendships and legacy; and the cabinets of connoisseurs, many of whom studied and wrote about art but found practice to be the best teacher. All are prisms through which one can examine the practice of etching over a period of significant transformation, an evolution best studied not in isolation but in the larger context of the eighteenth century, when hierarchies were challenged, breached, and fractured, and when the introduction of new audiences—the public, the marketplace, and the amateur—began to undermine the aesthetic criteria inherited from previous generations. It was a time when debates over the state of the arts in France-which qualities were to be admired, which to be condemned were engaged in not only with pen and paper but also with the brush and, as we will explore here, the etching needle.



LEARNING TO ETCH

Rena M. Hoisington

T IS AN unforgettable comic image, hovering somewhere between melodrama and farce: a young man, his tryst interrupted by his lover's angry parents, steps ashamedly out of an armoire, concealing his offending organ behind his hat. Yet what distinguishes Jean Honoré Fragonard's The Armoire (cat. 17; fig. 8) from the countless prints of domestic life and amorous intrigue sold in the eighteenth century is not just its dramatic brio but its technique. Fragonard, who had been trained not as a printmaker but as a history painter, took up the etching needle and drew the scene into the ground-covered surface of a copper plate. Working from a brown wash drawing of the same subject, he anticipated how the white of the paper would function in his composition and exploited its brightness to highlight the lovers, the parents, and, to a lesser extent, the onlookers peeping through the door at right, against the dense cross-hatching of the background. Fragonard's technique, especially as evident in the dots that define the young man's features or the serpentine lines that denote his curly locks of hair, is exuberant, almost gestural, and shows the artist working within a vocabulary of mark making distinct to his etchings.

In its spirited execution, *The Armoire* epitomizes the etchings of eighteenth-century French *peintres-graveurs*, artists who made prints but did not number among the professional printmakers who specialized in reproducing other artists' works through a largely standardized approach. The medium of etching could readily be learned and explored; it thrived as an adjunct to artists' efforts in other media because it offered them freedom and spontaneity. The etching needle was a close cousin to the implements of the draftsman, and, above all, the etchings of *peintres-graveurs* were informed by the practice, aesthetics, and appreciation of drawing.

Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture

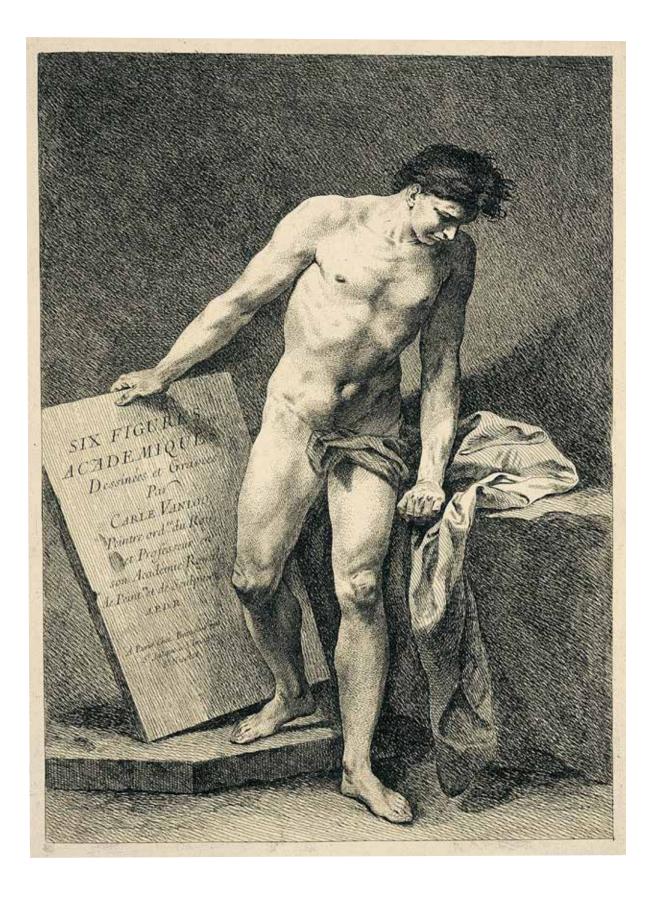
Instruction in etching was not readily available to every aspiring artist, nor was it cultivated through the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture, the preeminent

arts establishment of eighteenth-century France. No recognition was more coveted by artists than admission into the Académie Royale, founded in 1648 as part of an initiative to centralize the arts under the French monarchy and thereby project and glorify the power of the crown.¹ Reporting to the Bâtiments du Roi (royal arts administration), the Académie was governed as a hierarchical bureaucracy primarily led by history painters and sculptors: in other words, artists who took up the lofty themes of religion, history, allegory, and literature. In addition to furthering connections among artists, Académie membership bestowed many privileges and professional benefits, including the opportunity to display works of art in the Salon, the public exhibition held in the Salon Carré of the Louvre (cat. 37; fig. 31),2 and preferential consideration for important (if slow-paying) royal commissions. To join, artists had to be sponsored by an established member (often their teacher) before being elected a provisional member by the academicians. Upon the completion of an assigned reception piece—or reception pieces, depending on one's media and subject matter—the artist became a full member.

Most of the artists discussed in this book were Académie members and were actively involved in its affairs. François Boucher, Jean-Baptiste Marie Pierre, and Joseph Marie Vien all served as directors of the institution. Although prints were regularly discussed at the monthly meetings of the Académie Royale, as the procès-verbaux (official proceedings) attest, their consideration was largely limited to matters of membership for professional printmakers,3 the application for royal privilege for prints (an early copyright of sorts, referred to as the privilège; see chapter 2), and the occasional introduction of new printmaking techniques, such as aquatint (discussed in chapter 3). Presentations of the works of peintres-graveurs were few and far between, and over the course of the eighteenth century only one artist submitted an etching as a reception piece: amateur Baron Dominique Vivant Denon, who in 1787 offered the Académie an etching after Luca Giordano's Adoration of the Shepherds (Museé du Louvre, Paris) and which he exhibited in the Salon that same year.4

FACING PAGE
Fig. 8. Detail, Jean Honoré
Fragonard, *The Armoire*(cat. 17)

1. Carle Vanloo (1705–1765) Title plate from "Six figures académiques" (Six Académie Figures), 1743 Etching, first state of three



Aside from Denon and Jean-Baptiste Le Prince (see chapter 3), few artists exhibited their etchings in the Salon.⁵ And although one of the inaugural rules for the École Royale des Élèves Protégées, founded in 1748 to educate young history painters and sculptors, stated that students would etch the designs they made for the annual Prix de Rome competition, it seems that the initiative never got off the ground; the project is not mentioned again in the Académie proceedings.6 Some of the students from the École Royale occasionally picked up the etching needle, but they did so mostly while studying in Rome, where they had the time, freedom, and encouragement to experiment (as Perrin Stein discusses in chapter 4).

It is nonetheless surprising that etching played such a minor role in the Académie Royale given the many links between etching and drawing, including etching's potential to strengthen draftsmanship. Drawing was a cornerstone of the ideology and practice of the Académie Royale, and draftsmanship, accordingly, was considered a fundamental skill for all its artists. Students were expected to develop their drawing skills by regularly copying casts of antique sculpture and paintings, drawings, and prints of other artists, and in doing so progress toward the sketching of a nude model. During two-hour life classes, up to 150 male students would study and draw from a nude male model posed by one of the academicians, who was also responsible for correcting the students' drawings.7 (For reasons of propriety it was a practice that excluded women.) The creation of these drawings, known as académies, enabled young artists to work toward mastering the depiction of the human figure, the essential element of history painting and sculpture.

Over the course of the eighteenth century there flourished a steadily growing market for prints of académies that could be copied for instructional purposes.8 The printmaker Gabriel Huguier, for example, published several series of académies between 1737 and 1750, including two small booklets with titles specifying that the "académie figures were etched in part by professors of the Académie Royale."9 The booklets, which show nude figures in a wide array of poses, were the fruit of collaboration among various artists; some of the plates were etched by the history painters themselves, while others were made by professional printmakers after the drawings of Académie members.

One such Académie member was Carle Vanloo, who also created his own series, Six figures académiques

(cat. 1), and presented it to his colleagues in 1743.10 These etchings were based on a group of red chalk nudes the artist had made, each showing a male figure (or two, in the case of one plate) in a different pose.¹¹ Through etching, Vanloo was able to multiply his académies, making them more widely available for his students and other artists to consult, study, and copy. He began by drawing the contours of the nude and then defined and modeled the figure through a system of dash marks, whose direction, length, and density he varied according to the curves and musculature of the nude's body. To differentiate among the middle tones and the different textures of the stone tablet and drapery, Vanloo used hatching; he then rendered the most darkly shaded passages through varied webs of crosshatching. Vanloo's prestigious title, peintre ordinaire du Roi ("Painter to the King"), and academic affiliation, artfully spelled out on the stone tablet, underscored his importance and authority.¹² By the 1760s and 1770s, however, the market for such académie etchings shifted following the invention of chalk-manner prints, which enabled printmakers to replicate the distinctive physical appearance of chalk drawings, including printing them in red ink.13

The Distinction between Peintres-Graveurs and Professional Printmakers

The Académie Royale may not have encouraged its students to etch, but we can envision what peintresgraveurs would have learned in terms of technique by consulting the treatises available to them and closely examining the prints themselves. 14 Such a discussion is also valuable because it enables us to appreciate what distinguishes the work of eighteenth-century French peintres-graveurs from that of professional printmakers, who specialized in translating the paintings of other artists into a graphic medium. Particularly helpful in showing the various steps involved is A. J. Defehrt's image of an etching workshop that appears at the top of the first illustration in the plate volume of Denis Diderot and Jean Le Rond d'Alembert's Encyclopédie, 15 where it accompanies the amateur Claude Henri Watelet's entry on "gravure" (fig. 9).

Whether an artist was a professional printmaker or a *peintre-graveur*, he or she would begin by covering a clean, highly polished sheet of copper with a waxy, acid-resistant ground or varnish (fig. 9, figure at far right).16 Most important here was the uniform applica-



Fig. 9. A. J. Defehrt (ca. 1723–1774), An Etching Workshop, 1767, from Diderot and D'Alembert's Encyclopédie. Etching and engraving: image, 81/4 × 121/2 in. (20.6 \times 31.7 cm). George Peabody Library, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore

tion of the ground, because any irregularities would lead to the uneven biting of the plate. The artist would then darken the ground by exposing it to soot via the suspension of the plate above burning tapers (figure at right of center). To make a design, the artist took an etching needle and drew into the darkened ground, exposing bright lines of copper (seated figure at center, below a raised scrim).¹⁷ The point of the etching needle had to be sharp enough to cut through the ground yet also slightly rounded so as to move smoothly across the surface of the plate without scratching it.

Artists either composed their designs directly in the ground or, more commonly among eighteenth-century printmakers, worked from preparatory drawings. To transfer a design from paper to plate, an even coating of red chalk (or black lead) was applied to the reverse side of a drawing, and the sheet was then placed over the surface of a grounded plate and secured at the corners with melted wax. The artist would then lightly trace over the main lines of the composition with a stylus or some other tool to transfer them to the surface of the ground.¹⁸ Close inspection of the preparatory drawings that Vien executed for his Bacchanal series (cat. 110) and that Gabriel de Saint-Aubin made for Périer's trade card (cat. 40) reveals that the reverse sides of both sheets are coated with a thin layer of red chalk and that the designs are incised (in the case of Saint-Aubin's drawing, the main outlines are indented). Jean Étienne Liotard's late self-portrait (cat. 58) shows small circles

in the center of each side of the platemark; he probably used these marks to guide the transfer of his designs from drawing to plate.19

In the next step of the etching process, the artist used acid to eat away at the exposed lines of copper to make grooves in the surface of the plate. This could be accomplished in one of three ways: by building a dam or wall of wax around the plate's perimeter to contain the acid inside (note the two young men at center of fig. 9 pouring acid out of this enclosure into a pitcher); by inclining the plate on an easel and pouring the acid over its surface multiple times (second figure from left); or by lightly agitating the plate in a tub filled with acid (seated figure, left of center, balancing a covered tray on his lap).20 Although artists could use etching needles with points of different sizes and shapes—and sometimes other tools—to vary line type, the biting process also played a role in determining the width, and, accordingly, the tonal value of the lines. Artists could create increasingly darker and stronger lines, for example, by subjecting the plate to the corrosive action of the acid multiple times, in each instance covering lines intended to remain thinner and lighter with a stoppingout varnish. Once the desired effect had been achieved, the artist washed off the plate with water and removed the ground.

From this point on, the labor of the professional printmaker diverged from that of the peintre-graveur. The printmaker, translator, and historian Pierre Charles Levesque distinguished between two distinct uses for etching:

Some are intended by the artist to remain as they are; the etchings of painters are generally of this sort. The others are only sketches of prints that will then be finished with burin; these, generally speaking, are the etchings of printmakers.²¹

For the professional printmaker, the etching of the plate was only the first stage in creating the image. After using etching to establish the composition, he would then go over the acid-bitten lines with a burin, a tool composed of a steel shaft with a diamond-shaped tip set into a wood handle. The burin was employed to carefully cut into and remove thin strips of copper, leaving grooves in the surface of the plate (fig. 9, figure at far left). Engraving was laborious work that required specialized skills acquired through several years of training with an established printmaker. It took time to learn how to expertly manipulate the burin and to master a well-established system of mark making, encompassing engraving's distinctive language of flicks, lines, and patterns as well as the corresponding range of tonal values that suggest color and texture. The work of these professional printmakers involved a highly refined process that was at once reproductive and interpretative, and their efforts were sometimes likened to those of a literary translator.22

The creation of reproductive prints involved multiple states, or changes to the plate, depending on the artist or artists involved. Sometimes a single artist etched and engraved the entire composition, and sometimes one artist did the etching and another the engraving; in the latter case, the etcher's name was rarely specified in the inscribed lettering on the print.²³ The complex and sophisticated interplay of etching and engraving that emerged in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries varied according to the particular style of the professional printmaker. 24 Some worked over the etched line almost entirely with the burin, while others allowed the etching's calligraphic line work to show through. Aesthetic aims notwithstanding, this combination of etching and engraving served a practical purpose. The deeper lines of burin work ensured that the design could withstand repeated printing, which was necessary because impressions of reproductive prints were produced by maîtres imprimeurs en taille-douce (copper-plate printers) in the hundreds, if not thousands, for the publisher to distribute in France and abroad.



Fig. 10. Jean Massard (1740-1822) after Jean-Baptiste Greuze (1725-1805), The Beloved Mother, 1775. Etching and engraving: plate, $21\% \times 26$ in. (55.5 × 66 cm); sheet, $22\% \times 26\%$ in. (56.5 × 67 cm). The Baltimore Museum of Art; Purchased as the gift of the Print, Drawing & Photograph Society (BMA 2007.250)

Conforming to certain visual conventions distinct to reproductive prints, these etching and engravings tend to be darker in their overall tonality and polished in presentation, as seen in Jean Massard's Beloved Mother (fig. 10), after a painting by Jean-Baptiste Greuze. As Antony Griffiths has discussed, the chiaroscuro and fini (finish) of burin work were very much expected in reproductive prints.²⁵ In these works, the image is also often surrounded by engraved trompe l'oeil frames and graced by elaborate lettering—generally the domain of specialists, who had to engrave the elegant letters into the plate backward—to spell out titles, artists' names, dedications, quatrains, and, of course, the location (sometimes more than one) where impressions of the print could be obtained. Professional printmakers considered the early, etching-only states of their compositions unfinished, a "first sketch" not intended for appreciation and distribution, since these as-yet "unrealized" works could at this stage "expose the reputation of the artist."26

Where professional printmakers regarded etching as a preliminary step in a long and complicated process, peintres-graveurs viewed it as an end in itself. In general, the etchings of peintres-graveurs are not



Fig. 11. Detail, Louis Jean Desprez, *The Chimera* (cat. 52), showing overbiting

technically complex and were realized, for the most part, in one state; multiple states usually involved the addition of inscriptions and/or lettering (see chapter 3, however, for discussions of four exceptional artists who produced ambitious works in the medium). If, after biting the plate, the peintre-graveur wanted to make changes, the composition could be retouched with engraving or drypoint, in which a sharp-pointed tool is used to scratch directly into the plate.

Peintres-graveurs tended to print their etchings in small quantities,²⁷ and the works themselves are often modest in size, which made it easier to print them on a tabletop press in the studio or to transport the plates to the studios of colleagues.²⁸ In general, however, it seems that *peintres-graveurs* were usually more interested in the creation of their designs than in the printing of their plates. Their etchings are thus often characterized by their lack of finish,²⁹ and many retain evidence of changes, accidents, or mistakes (along with scratches from insufficient polishing or careless handling of the plates). Note, for example, the uneven line that Nicolas Vleughels drew around the perimeter of his composition (fig. 42); Pierre Hubert Subleyras's dropping of the etching needle in the lettering at lower right (cat. 64); the horizontal lines that cut through the left foot of the angry mother in Fragonard's *The Armoire* (cat. 17); and Gabriel de Saint-Aubin's modification of the upraised foot of the bent-over putto at lower

right (cat. 36). Acid presented particular challenges in creating prints, and peintres-graveurs sometimes had to cope with foul biting, which occurs when the acid corrodes unexpected passages of the plate (usually owing to an uneven or faulty application of the ground), as in the right side of Liotard's early self-portrait (cat. 56). Another acid-related problem was overbiting, the result of an artist placing lines too close together. Because of insufficient space between these marks, the acid corrodes the plate so that these passages cannot hold ink well and thus print as uneven patches of gray (fig. 11).

The presence of these signs of process is not surprising in *peintre-graveur* etchings because these artists lacked the extensive training of professional printmakers. Although some errors could be rectified through such time-consuming remedies as burnishing or hammering the plate from behind (fig. 9, figure second from the right), peintres-graveurs were not expected to achieve the same degree of finish as professional printmakers. In fact, such pentimenti, or visible traces of process, were often retained in the etched compositions of *peintres-graveurs* as part of the overall aesthetic. Levesque writes:

The painter does not intend to revisit his etching, and must establish all the necessary work to produce the effect he has in mind. A painter's etching, accordingly, can have a very lively effect. . . . The painter, not having to retrace his etched lines with an inflexible tool, may undertake all the work that his taste inspires in him, he can play in the ground with a free needle to his liking, he economizes, he mixes, he relishes the work: he establishes what he anticipates will be exposed and opened up by the acid, & in advance is promised accidents, lively and picturesque effects. Such happy audacity is forbidden to printmakers. . . . The painter's etching, accordingly, is free, inviting, full of wit.30

In thus characterizing *peintre-graveur* prints, Levesque makes a clear distinction between the drawn line of etchings and the cut line of engravings. Professional printmakers had to rely upon an established visual language to translate the works of others, whereas peintresgraveurs were free to develop idiosyncratic systems of mark making. Such graphic idioms came about through trial and error, and a concomitant relishing of "accidents, lively and picturesque effects," but also via experience with drawing. By emphasizing the affinities between etching and drawing—the fluidity of line; the spontaneity, freedom, and speed of execution; the pentimenti—Levesque links the medium to originality, wit, and an almost modern sense of creativity.31

Collaborations with Professional Printmakers

Having distinguished between the prints of peintresgraveurs and those of professional printmakers, we will now complicate matters slightly by discussing one means whereby peintres-graveurs learned etching: through involvement in the reproduction of their own paintings (and sometimes drawings) in collaboration with professional printmakers. For these prints, the painter would etch his composition onto the plate and then leave it to be finished by the professional printmaker. The lettering of these prints specifies the responsibility of each artist, which, as noted earlier, is somewhat unusual, since reproductive prints seldom indicate the name of the etcher apart from that of the engraver. In these cases, however, the painter's invention and etching of the composition are clearly signaled, and this information doubtless enhanced the prints' market appeal. The involvement of the painter would also—at least ideally—expedite the project for the engraver and publisher (sometimes the same person), who would be spared having to worry about gaining access to the original work or obtaining an intermediary drawing to work from. The accuracy of the etched design would be ensured, and the painters, especially those still establishing their careers, could disseminate their work using the resources of an established publisher or engraver.32

About 1715-16, Antoine Watteau assisted in making two reproductive prints after his paintings: Recruits Going to Join the Regiment and The Clothes Are Italian. Among the first reproductive prints made after Watteau's work, both were published before 1726³³ by Pierre Sirois, a glass merchant who was a friend and patron of the artist's. 34 In *Recruits*, a loose procession of soldiers traverses the countryside as a rainbow arcs above the figures' bent bodies and downturned heads. When Watteau etched the first state (cat. 2), his guivering but lively line work distinguished the soldiers from one another by the tilt of their tricornes, their manner of carrying their muskets and satchels, and their varying gaits and postures. A series of parallel zigzag lines and large areas of paper left in reserve suggest the atmosphere of the sky after a storm. Overall the etching is very even in tone with the exception of the darker patch of land at lower right. The Clothes Are Italian (cat. 4) offers a close-up view of a gathering of commedia dell'arte characters on a stage with a landscape backdrop.35 Here Watteau gained a better sense of how

to work within the monochromatic limitations of printmaking, gradually expanding his repertoire of mark making and becoming increasingly aware of how the white of the paper could help suggest a greater coloristic range, especially in differentiating the costumes of the actors from one another and from the background. Watteau's flickering line work, in particular, gives one a sense of the shimmering play of light and loose brushwork that are hallmarks of his paintings.

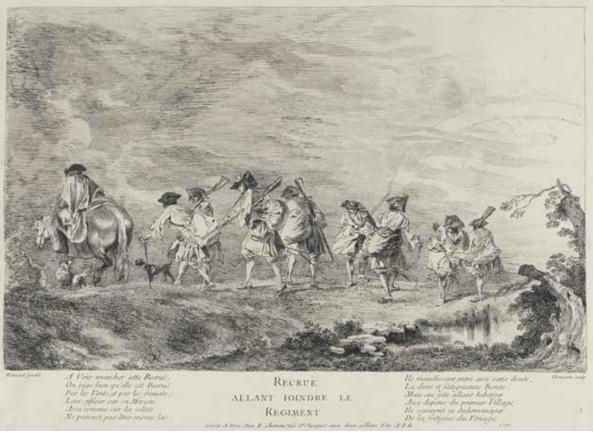
Watteau expected that his compositions would be finished in burin by professional engravers.³⁶ The choice of Henri Simon Thomassin to finish Recruits is not surprising, as the two artists had collaborated in about 1710 to create a series of elegant, small-scale fashion plates based on Watteau's red chalk drawings.³⁷ In the reworked state of Recruits (cat. 3), Thomassin supplemented Watteau's etched foundation by augmenting the sense of weight, volume, and depth in the composition and by clarifying details: the soldiers' tricornes have been darkened, the two dogs accentuated, and the texture of the grass enhanced. When Thomassin elaborated upon the sky, however, he modified Watteau's original design for reasons that are unclear.³⁸ Most noticeably, the engraver filled in the rainbow at left and redrew it at right, so that instead of soaring over the procession it now appears to spring forth somewhat awkwardly from one of the soldier's heads. An established professional printmaker named Charles Simonneau engraved The Clothes Are Italian (fig. 12).39 With the exception of a few etched passages that show through—the tree at upper left, the collar of the actor at right—Simonneau completely worked over Watteau's etched marks with his signature combination of engraving and stipple, effectively redrawing the composition.⁴⁰

Gabriel Huquier, who went on to publish a series of instructional académies, as noted above, also published several prints that arose from collaborations between painters and professional printmakers. One such project was a print of *Andromeda* designed and etched by Boucher. Its advertisement in the September 1734 issue of the Mercure de France stressed that the print had been "drawn and etched by sir Boucher of the Académie Royale of Painting, whose talents are well-known."41 Boucher had, in fact, become a full member of the Académie Royale earlier that year, and this composition paid homage to the 1723 painting of the same subject by his early teacher, the history painter François Lemoyne (Wallace Collection, London), which had been engraved by Laurent Cars, another artist with whom Boucher had

2. Antoine Watteau (1684–1721) Recruits Going to Join the Regiment, ca. 1715–16 Etching and drypoint, first state of three



3. Antoine Watteau (1684–1721) and Henri Simon Thomassin (1687-1741) Recruits Going to Join the Regiment, ca. 1717–26 Etching, drypoint, and engraving, third state of three





4. Antoine Watteau (1684-1721) The Clothes Are Italian, ca. 1715-16 Etching, first state of six



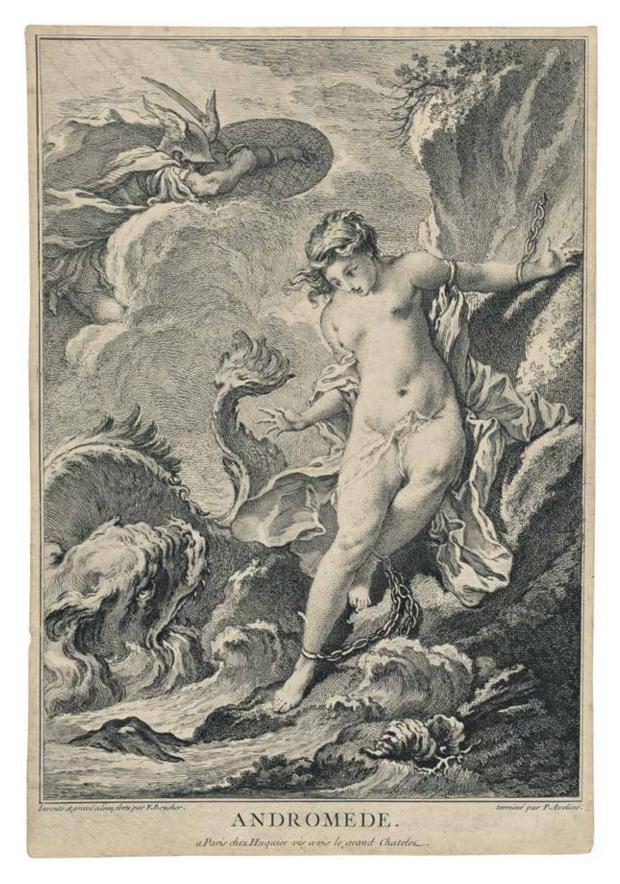
Fig. 12. Antoine Watteau (1684-1721) and Charles Simonneau (1645-1728), The Clothes Are Italian. Etching and engraving: image, 10% \times 5% in. (27.5 \times 19.9 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris (inv. 2701LR)

briefly worked. Like Lemoyne, Boucher reduced the composition to a triangle of the three protagonists the sacrificial princess Andromeda, Neptune's sea monster, and the helmeted and sword-carrying hero, Perseus—and depicted the moment just before the story's climax, when Perseus slays the monster and rescues Andromeda. The advertisement does not mention that Boucher's Andromeda print was finished in burin by Pierre Alexandre Aveline, a professional printmaker who, like Boucher and Huquier, had been involved in the landmark Recueil Jullienne (discussed below).

Looking at Boucher's etching (cat. 5), one detects his study both of a live model—evident from the puckering flesh of Andromeda's thighs, her ample stomach, and her individualized facial features—and of the drawings of seventeenth-century Dutch artist Abraham Bloemaert, a group of which Boucher was in the process of etching for publication in 1735 (cats. 93, 94). If the purpose of the latter project was to freely interpret and emulate the spirit of another artist's drawings (as Perrin Stein discusses in chapter 6), the reworked state of Andromeda (cat. 6) was directed more toward the

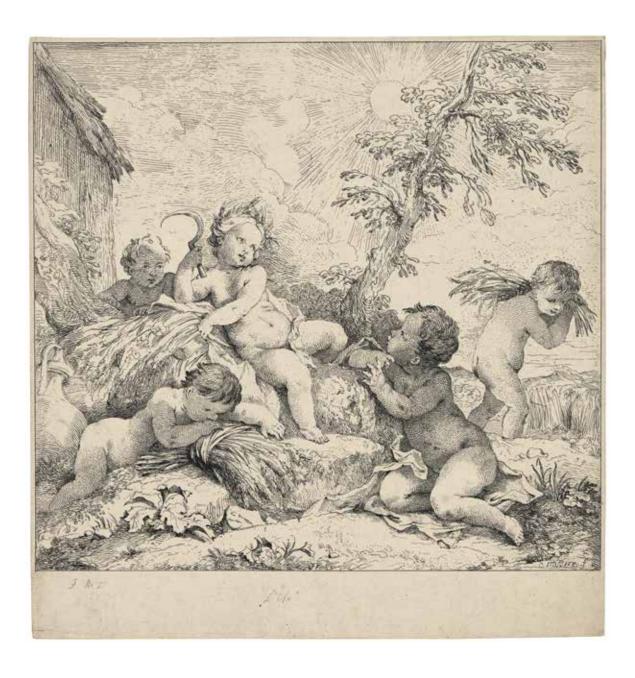
5. François Boucher (1703–1770) Andromeda, 1734 Etching, first state of four





6. François Boucher (1703–1770) and Pierre Alexandre Aveline (1702-1760) Andromeda, 1734 Etching and engraving, third state of four

7. Charles Joseph Natoire (1700-1777) Summer, from the Four Seasons, 1735 Etching, first state of two



reproduction and dissemination of Boucher's design of this historical subject. Accordingly, Boucher left it to a professional engraver to polish the print's presentation, to idealize Andromeda's face and figure in accordance with contemporary standards of female beauty, and to cover her genitalia with a modesty cloth.

Another artist who worked with Huquier to reproduce his designs was the history painter Charles Joseph Natoire, who like Boucher had become a full member of the Académie Royale in 1734. An advertisement placed in the July 1735 issue of the Mercure de France featured four prints sold at Huquier's shop:

The Four Seasons, treated in the most ingenious and lively manner in the world, by M. C. Natoire, adjoint à professeur of the Académie Royale de Peinture, after the original paintings in the collection of M. Orry, contrôleur général des finances. These four beautiful works were made in etching by M. Natoire himself, and finished by sir P. Aveline.⁴²

The paintings to which the notice refers were canvases of the Four Seasons Natoire had made in 1734 (now lost) as dessus-de-portes for the dining room of the château de La Chapelle-Godefroy, the home of Philibert Orry, comte de Vignory, none other than the man who controlled the royal purse strings.43 It was one of



8. Charles Joseph Natoire (1700-1777) and Benoît Audran II (1698 - 1772)Summer, from the Four Seasons, 1735 Etching and engraving, second state of two

Natoire's most important commissions to date, and he was doubtless eager to make his paintings more widely known. For Huquier, the charming subject matter and harmonious, decorative compositions were very much in keeping with other Rococo ornament prints he published in the 1730s. Natoire etched one plate for each painting, then two engravers each finished two of the four plates with burin: Pierre Alexandre Aveline (Spring and Winter) and Benoît Audran II (Summer and Autumn).44 In the case of Summer (cats. 7, 8), one sees how Audran clarified and reinforced certain parts of Natoire's design, his burin work heightening the contrasts and augmenting the modeling of forms and the depth of the composition. But there are many passages where Natoire's marks stand on their own, including the sky, where his delicate lines, dots, and dashes delineate the rays of the sun. The combination of Natoire's and Audran's mark making and the many areas of white paper left in reserve ensure that the print conveys something of the blond tonality and clear, bright light of Natoire's paintings.45

These collaborative projects are less common than one might expect, and it is not always clear how they came about. Most often painters would either etch their works themselves (for example, cats. 1, 17, 23) or rely upon the specialized skills of a professional printmaker to translate their paintings into etching and engraving. What is evident from the advertisements for these works, however, is that the painter's involvement—the "ingenious and lively manner" of etching in the case of Natoire—was considered advantageous.

Influential Projects: The Recueil Jullienne and the Recueil Crozat

In addition to occasional collaborations with professional printmakers, painters were hired to make etchings in less commercial settings, as when they produced plates for luxurious and erudite projects underwritten by wealthy collectors. Two of the most important print initiatives of the first half of the eighteenth century had far-reaching repercussions for etching: the Recueil Jullienne (1726-35), which reproduced nearly the complete works of Antoine Watteau, and the Recueil Crozat (1729-42), which amounts to a survey of Italian Renaissance and Baroque painting and drawing. Both multivolume recueils (or compendiums, as they are known today; see chapter 2) take their names from the individuals who financed, orchestrated, and oversaw these productions: Jean de Jullienne and Pierre Crozat. Fostering the development of new relationships that cut across social and professional lines, these projects reinforced etching's similarity to drawing by underscoring the facility of the technique and by presenting many etchings with an "unfinished" aesthetic.

Jullienne began publishing the Recueil Jullienne four large-scale volumes of more than six hundred prints after the works of his friend Antoine Watteau five years after the artist's premature death, in 1721.46 Many young artists were undoubtedly introduced to etching or at least further familiarized themselves with the medium while working on this publication, including Carle Vanloo (who etched two drawings), Pierre Charles Trémolières (who etched six drawings), Jean Étienne Liotard (who etched Watteau's now-lost comic painting The Sick Cat), 47 and, especially, François Boucher, who etched more than a hundred of the works in the first two volumes. In all, three hundred fifty-one etchings made after Watteau's chalk drawings were included in the Recueil's first two volumes, entitled Figures de différents caractères, which were published in November 1726 and February 1728, respectively.



Fig. 13. Antoine Watteau (1684-1721), Woman on a Swing, Viewed from Behind, ca. 1715. Red and black chalk over graphite, $6\% \times 5\%$ in. (16.7 × 13 cm). Private collection

One marvels at Jullienne's foresight in hiring the young Boucher, who gamely pursued this unparalleled opportunity to study and translate Watteau's drawings into his fluid and elegant line work. (Jullienne's own practice of making etchings—an amateur himself, he contributed seventeen plates to the Recueil Jullienne may have informed his choice.)48 Better regarded as interpretations than reproductions, Boucher's etchings convey something of the élan of Watteau's originals. In the words of the writer, collector, print publisher/dealer, and amateur etcher Pierre Jean Mariette: "His light and spirited needle seemed made for this work."49

A juxtaposition of Boucher's etching Woman on a Swing, Viewed from Behind (cat. 9; fig. 1) with the original red chalk, black chalk, and graphite drawing (fig. 13) sheds light on his approach.⁵⁰ The composition, albeit reversed, corresponds closely to the original in design, dimensions, and proportions, but Boucher made a few subtle changes to neaten—one might say perfect— Watteau's drawing with an eye to the appearance of the etching: he extended and cleaned up the ropes of the swing, leaving out a few stray marks, and eliminated the outlines of the figure's arms that had been visible through her lace engageantes.⁵¹ The novel presentation



9. François Boucher (1703–1770) after Antoine Watteau (1684-1721) Woman on a Swing, Viewed from Behind, ca. 1721–28 Etching

of these etchings also evoked the look of the originals through minimal lettering; Watteau's name appears at lower left, and the plate number and the printmaker's initials are given at lower right. Turning the pages of the first or second volume of the Recueil Jullienne may very well have evoked the sensation of looking through a portfolio of Watteau's drawings.

Because these prints were etched, the first two volumes were realized relatively quickly. In contrast, the Œuvre gravé, the last two volumes of the Recueil Jullienne—composed of some 270 prints after paintings and ornament designs by Watteau that were not made available in their entirety until 1735—took much longer to bring out. These prints were made mostly by professional printmakers using the more complex and timeconsuming process of etching and engraving. It was not until December 1739, thirteen years after the publication of the Recueil's first volume, that Jullienne could proudly present the four bound volumes of the Recueil Jullienne to members of the Académie Royale, who at the same meeting voted unanimously to have him join the institution as a "Conseiller honoraire et Amateur."52

The Recueil Crozat was likewise a project long in the making. The two volumes of the Recueil d'estampes d'après les plus beaux tableaux et d'après les plus beaux desseins qui sont en France, as they were formally titled,



Fig. 14. Raphael (Raffaello Sanzio or Santi, 1483-1520), Entombment, ca. 1507. Pen and brown ink, 8% × 12½ in. (21.3 × 31.9 cm). British Museum, London (1963,1216.1)



Fig. 15. Anne Claude Philippe de Tubières, comte de Caylus (1692-1765), after Raphael (Raffaello Sanzio or Santi, 1483-1520), Jesus Christ Carried to the Tomb, ca. 1729-40. Etching: plate, 95% × 11% in. (24.4 × 28.4 cm). British Museum, London (1855,0609.120)

were published in 1729 and 1742, respectively. These large-scale books contain more than 180 plates, which reproduce paintings and drawings by Italian Renaissance and Baroque artists, primarily from the collections of the king, the duc d'Orléans, and, of course, Crozat himself.⁵³ All but one of the forty-two drawings included in the publication numbered among Crozat's incomparable holdings of more than nineteen thousand drawings, which the rich financier regularly made available—along with his paintings, engraved gems, prints, and books—to artists and amateurs alike at his elegant Paris town house. The plates are grouped according

to school, artist, and medium, with reproductions of paintings followed by those of drawings. As with the Recueil Jullienne, the paintings were replicated by professional printmakers in etching and engraving. The drawings in ink or chalk, however, were interpreted in etching, some combined with chiaroscuro (color) woodcut to replicate passages of wash54 and printed in an array of colors. Of these, the majority were etched by Anne Claude Philippe de Tubières, comte de Caylus, an amateur who contributed etchings to the Recueil Jullienne while concurrently working on a separate project to etch more than two hundred Old Master drawings in the French royal collection.⁵⁵

Close examination of Caylus's etching after Raphael's Entombment demonstrates how he faithfully translated Raphael's fluid strokes of quill pen and brown ink (figs. 14, 15). Many of Caylus's etched "strokes," in fact, are composites of several etched marks made from points of different shapes and sizes. Where Boucher's task had been to approximate the spirit of the drawings by a single artist (Watteau), Caylus had to contend with a much greater range. The introduction to the Recueil Crozat explained that because the study of drawings was deemed essential to understanding "the true character of each artist," in these etchings "nothing has been omitted, nothing changed. Pen and ink, and chalk, drawings have been etched in the spirit of the originals, whose every feature has been followed."56 Such sentiments thus reinforced the significance of pentimenti in both the etchings and the original drawings.

The Recueil Jullienne and Recueil Crozat served as indispensable art reference sources for eighteenthcentury artists and collectors, and the influence of both publications was soon felt throughout Europe. Not only did they establish etching's inherent suitability to replicate the drawings of Watteau and earlier artists, they also firmly linked etching to the practices of making, studying, appreciating, and collecting drawings. The availability of books such as the *Recueil Jullienne* and Recueil Crozat was also essential to the emergence of the amateur, as defined by Charlotte Guichard (see chapter 5). Coming to the fore in the second half of the eighteenth century, this influential person of means studied, collected, and wrote critically about art, fostering discussions among circles of like-minded peers and socializing with artists, even mentoring them.⁵⁷ As amateurs such as Jullienne and especially Caylus remind us, the creation of etchings played a role in all of these activities.

From Teacher to Student: Fragonard and Company

Away from the enterprises of the print market and ambitious collectors, many young artists learned etching from their teachers in the intimacy of their studios. Teachers encouraged their students to etch for many reasons, including the practical aims of replicating and disseminating works and thereby generating extra income. But printmaking also served an aesthetic function, allowing artists to alternate fruitfully between one medium and another. Formal and thematic concerns that they were pursuing concurrently in painting or drawing could be explored and even resolved in etching.

Etching also served as a counterpart to drawing, helping young artists strengthen their draftsmanship considered essential to artistic practice in France—and think more broadly about process and different systems of representation. An artist could execute an etching with the ease and fluidity of a drawing, wielding an etching needle in the ground much as one would pull a pen dipped in ink across the surface of a sheet of paper. And yet seeing one's work gradually evolve—first the bright copper lines against a dark ground, then acidcorroded grooves, then black marks in reverse raised in slight relief on the paper's surface, with accidents or unforeseen results possibly diverting the process in unexpected ways—compelled the young artist to slow down, to step back, and to analyze his or her work in a novel way. Grappling with the transformation of their particular style of mark making (in size, shape, direction, and density), the best of these peintres-graveurs developed a visual language that moved away from the mimicry of their drawing techniques and toward an appreciation and embrace of the individual idioms distinctive to etching.

Some artists seem to have made a regular practice of introducing their students to etching. It was surely Boucher, for instance, who encouraged the young Fragonard to etch his black chalk drawing of An Angel Bringing Food to Elijah (National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa) in the mid-1750s (cat. 10),58 much as he had etched Watteau's drawings some thirty years earlier. Here we see Fragonard reinforcing and clustering etched lines to interpret the darker, more pronounced chalk strokes that Boucher used to establish the figures in the foreground.

Johann Georg Wille, a German-born member of the Académie Royale, was another artist who regularly instructed his students in etching. Wille was first and

foremost a professional printmaker, and an extremely successful one. He worked in pure engraving and did not rely upon an etched foundation to establish the basic designs of his compositions. Nonetheless, Wille made etchings as a hobby of sorts, a side practice that accorded with his interest in sketching the French countryside and exploring the affinities between etching and landscape.⁵⁹ The medium's suitability for rendering landscape was extolled by the amateur Watelet in his long entry on "gravure" for the Encyclopédie:

It's in landscape . . . that one permits oneself a much greater freedom in the different work of the hatchings. Free and varied work, the hatchings trembling, interrupted, reinforced, and exposed, give this genre of printmaking a lively effect that is extremely pleasing to connoisseurs, artists, and often to amateurs.60

Wille was linked to the world of eighteenth-century French etching through an extensive and international network of artists, collectors, and patrons. 61 Besides creating etchings himself, he printed and published those by other artists, including Hubert Robert's series Les Soirées de Rome (cat. 74), and exchanged etchings with individuals in France and abroad. Wille was also a collector, art agent, and adviser, and he avidly followed the art market, including the growing demand for Rembrandt's prints. Most of Wille's students hailed from northern and central Europe, and after training with Wille many of them returned to their native countries to teach printmaking. Wille was particularly proud of the Austrian Franz Edmund Weirotter,62 who had begun by etching some of Wille's landscape drawings, works that fuse an eighteenth-century French pastoral aesthetic with that of seventeenth-century Holland.63 It was Wille, in fact, who provided Weirotter with contacts when he went to Rome in 1763 in the company of Watelet, Marguerite Le Comte, abbé Copette, and the artist Savalette de Buchelay. Working with artists at the Académie de France in Rome, the Austrian etched several plates for *Nella venuta* (cat. 84), a booklet published in 1764 to commemorate the visit of Watelet and his entourage (see discussion in chapter 5).

The etching work of Fragonard and Weirotter became intertwined in the 1760s after both artists had returned from Italy, presumably through a mutual friend, the collector and amateur etcher Jean Claude Richard, abbé de Saint-Non (if not through other colleagues and acquaintances).64 All three artists rendered variations on the same composition, informed by two red chalk drawings Fragonard had made of the gardens

10. Jean Honoré Fragonard (1732–1806) after François Boucher (1703–1770) An Angel Bringing Food to Elijah, or Hermit Saint in the Desert, ca. 1752-56 Etching



of the Villa d'Este near Tivoli in 1760 in the company of Saint-Non,65 where he was smitten with the estate's lush vegetation, overgrown from years of neglect, and the architectural and sculptural remains of the lavish villa. The Little Park (cat. 11), like the other Italian-inspired etchings Fragonard made about this time (for example, cats. 97, 98), demonstrates his remarkable evolution as a printmaker. If An Angel Bringing Food to Elijah had set about translating the appearance of a chalk drawing into etching, The Little Park shows the artist relishing how the variation and accumulation of his scribbled lines could differentiate the sun-dappled foliage from the ethereal clouds floating overhead and the vista glimpsed at center. Exploring the interplay between his marks and the white of the paper, and ultimately printing the lightly bitten composition in gray-black ink, Fragonard created a shimmering landscape that suggests a view filtered through memory.

When Saint-Non took up the subject—working from Fragonard's drawings, or etching, or both—he worked through two states and introduced various compositional changes to make The Little Park his own (cat. 12).66 The atmospheric quality of Fragonard's etching has given way to Saint-Non's strong contrasts of light and dark, amplified by his denser patterns of squiggle marks. Gone are the clouds overhead and the sculpture in the niche, which has been burnished out; the white areas of paper left in reserve here throw the ample vegetation into relief. Furthermore, the addition of two prominent trees to the left and right sides of the composition has obliterated parts of the view. Weirotter, in turn, omitted the upper half of the composition, darkened the sky above, and gave a more prominent role to the tree at left (cat. 13).67 As a result, the seated sculpture at center seems to inhabit a romantic and mysteriously illuminated nocturnal realm. There are even reverberations of Fragonard's The Little Park in Louis Gabriel Moreau's Abandoned Park, made some fifteen years later (cat. 14). Employing tangles of scribbled lines to sketch the foliage, successions of zigzags for the balustrades atop the wall, and assemblages of vertical strokes topped by circles to indicate the minuscule figures, Moreau gives us calligraphic marks that seem to vibrate against the light blue of the paper, a delicate tone that enhances the atmospheric quality of the composition.⁶⁸

After his burst of etching activity in 1763-64, Fragonard set aside his etching needle for nearly fifteen years before taking it up again in 1778 to work with his young student and sister-in-law, Marguerite Gérard. In their



Fig. 16. Jean Honoré Fragonard (1732-1806), The Tax Collectors, 1778. Etching: sheet, $9\frac{3}{16} \times 7\frac{1}{16}$ in. (23.4 × 18 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1946 (46.125.3)



Fig. 17. Marguerite Gérard (1761-1837), The Child and the Cat, 1778. Etching and drypoint: plate, $10\frac{1}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$ in. (26.1 × 19.1 cm); sheet, $10\% \times 8$ in. (27.1 \times 20.3 cm). The Art Institute of Chicago; Gift of Dorothy Braude Edinburg to the Harry B. and Bessie K. Braude Memorial Collection (114.1998)

joint exploration of etching, which lasted the course of the year, the two artists made nine plates (Gérard five, Fragonard four) based on a selection of Fragonard's drawings executed in brown wash over black chalk.69 Fragonard's *The Tax Collectors* (fig. 16), which may well have served as an instructional model for Gérard, demonstrated the range of visual effects one could achieve by simply varying the length, width, and spacing of marks, including the spontaneous and irregularly placed flicks that soften the transition from the white of the paper to the dark hatching in the background.⁷⁰ The sixteen-year-old Gérard absorbed Fragonard's lessons and emulated his etching style in The Child and the Cat (fig. 17), including the same spray of marks in the shading of the column; she expressed her pride in her first print via the inscription below: "premiere planche de Melle Gerard agée de 16 ans 1778."71

After teacher and student had worked on a few prints each, the two artists decided to make etchings after the same composition, Fragonard's now-lost drawing of a little boy being chased by two dogs who have seized upon one of his dolls.72 Fragonard and Gérard probably used the same means to transfer the design to their plates; not only are the images nearly identical in size, the figures of the boys, dolls, and dogs are also the same in scale, proportion, and placement within the composition, down to the cropping of the dog's back

11. Jean Honoré Fragonard (1732–1806) The Little Park, ca. 1763 Etching

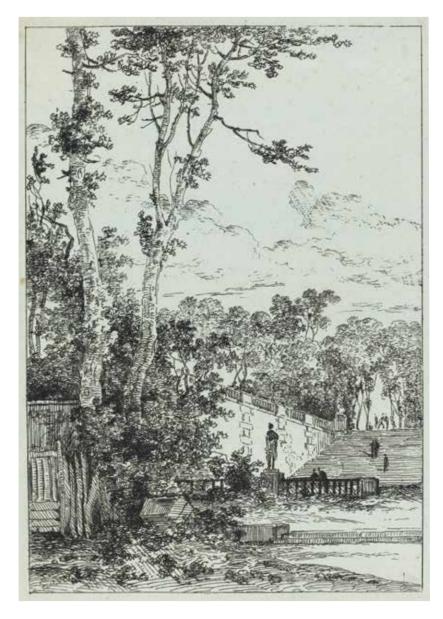


12. Jean Claude Richard, abbé de Saint-Non (1727–1791), after Jean Honoré Fragonard (1732–1806) The Little Park, ca. 1763–65 Etching, second state of two





13. Franz Edmund Weirotter (1733–1771) after Jean Honoré Fragonard (1732–1806) Terraced Garden at the Villa d'Este in Tivoli, plate 11 from "Fünfte Folge von Unterschiedlichen Gegenden Alter Gebæude bestehend in 24 Blat" (Fifth Suite of Different Regions of Old Buildings Consisting of 24 Plates) ca. 1767 Etching, third state of three



14. Louis Gabriel Moreau (1740–1806) Abandoned Park, ca. 1779 Etching on light blue laid paper, first state of two

15. Jean Honoré Fragonard (1732-1806) Monsieur Fanfan, 1778 Etching, third state of three



leg at lower left. A side-by-side comparison of Fragonard's and Gérard's etchings of Monsieur Fanfan shows their respective styles and approaches to printmaking (cats. 15, 16). For Fragonard, as seen in *The Little Park*, etching provided an opportunity to draw the composition anew. He wanted to suggest the tactile qualities particular to his subject matter—the boy's unruly curls, the weighty chemise falling off his shoulder—but also to distinguish the frenzied motion of the dogs from

the stiffness of the dolls. Fragonard was also interested in creating a chiaroscuro effect, employing the dense, penumbral network of lines in the background to set off the boy's radiant figure. Gérard, on the other hand, was intent on replicating the appearance of the drawing itself, using a thin, wavering line to depict the chalk underdrawing and various patterns of hatching and cross-hatching to suggest passages of wash. And Gérard, unlike Fragonard, further modified the tonal



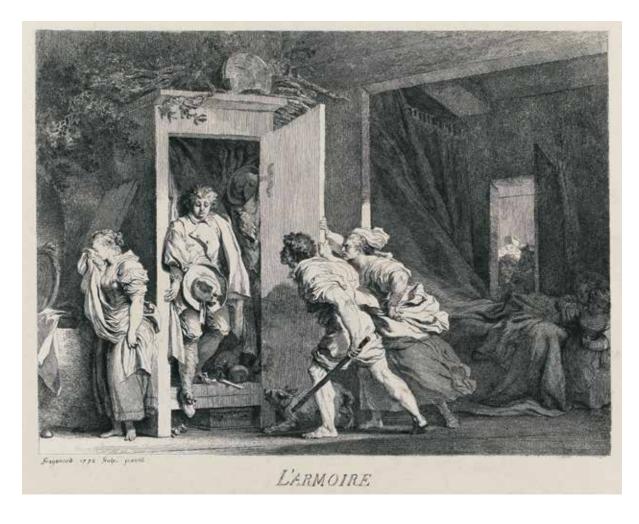
16. Marguerite Gérard (1761–1837) after Jean Honoré Fragonard (1732-1806) Monsieur Fanfan, 1778 Etching

range of her composition by reintroducing her plate to the acid bath to achieve the most deeply bitten and darkest passages. By applying stopping-out varnish with a brush to select areas of the plate before rebiting it, Gérard was also able to alter the modeling of the boy's drapery at left.

Following their joint work on Monsieur Fanfan, teacher and student decided to tackle a more ambitious and challenging project. They would each etch a large-scale composition—nearly doubling the size of their earlier plates—and then publish and sell the prints themselves. They selected subjects, again based on Fragonard's drawings, that would appeal to different niches of the growing and increasingly diverse print market. Fragonard opted for The Armoire, discussed at the outset of this chapter (cat. 17),73 while Gérard chose The Genius of Franklin, an allegorical composition that celebrated the American diplomat and the cause of a

17. Jean Honoré Fragonard (1732-1806) The Armoire, 1778 Etching, second state of four

FACING PAGE 18. Marguerite Gérard (1761-1837) after Jean Honoré Fragonard (1732-1806) The Genius of Franklin, Etching printed in brown ink, first state of two



young nation with which France had recently allied itself (cat. 18).74 The advertisements for the etchings that appeared in the journal *L'Avant-coureur* emphasized their respective merits. Gérard's print was extolled for its close approximation of the drawing itself: "they wished only to render by means of the etching needle the bold and animated mark-making of the drawing, with the same liveliness with which the drawing itself was executed." The write-up for *Armoire*, on the other hand, played up Fragonard's power of invention: "M. Fragonard, creator of this composition, which he himself etched with the needle, has applied to it the imprint of his genius."75

Like the individualized styles of mark making and the pursuit of an "unfinished" aesthetic, the laudatory phraseology associated with the appreciation of drawings ("liveliness" and "genius") enabled eighteenthcentury artists and amateurs to distinguish their etched

creations from the etching and engravings made by professional printmakers. Although the Académie Royale played a minimal role in fostering interest in etching, artists found ways to pursue it nonetheless. Some were drawn to the potentially lucrative possibilities of the print market (as Elizabeth Rudy discusses in chapter 2). Others were stimulated by the project-based means of learning provided by the ambitious initiatives of the Recueil Jullienne and the Recueil Crozat. Yet another spur to taking up etching was instruction in the context of the artist's studio within a milieu of friendship, emulation, and exchange. The sampling of artists and works examined here reveals the ripple effects that could be brought about by embracing, in the words of Levesque, "such happy audacity." What emerged over the course of the eighteenth century was an extensive and active network among artists and amateurs through which etching flourished.





ON THE MARKET: SELLING ETCHINGS IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY FRANCE

Elizabeth M. Rudy

OHANN ELEAZAR SCHENAU, a German peintre-graveur who spent more than thirteen years in Paris, opened his print series of child vendors with the image of a peddler coyly entreating the viewer to buy her etchings (fig. 19).¹ Humorously eliding labor, commerce, and seductiveness in the figure of a young girl, the title page starkly reveals the artist's commercial intentions. On the large piece of paper spilling from the vendor's basket, at the center of the image, his plea is made literal: "Buy my little etchings."² The spelling mistakes in the inscription, which could signify nothing more than that French was not Schenau's native language, nevertheless serve to emphasize the girl's youth and lowliness as well as Schenau's trenchant wit.³

The occasional mingling of serious commercial aims with apparent insouciance is but one aspect of the multifaceted relationship that existed between *peintres-graveurs* and the print market in the eighteenth century. While some *peintres-graveurs*, such as Jean Jacques de Boissieu, turned their prolific production into entrepreneurial success and reaped significant financial rewards,⁴ others had a more compromised experience. Jean-Baptiste Le Prince, for example, received high praise when he presented prints made with a new aquatint process to the Académie Royale in January 1769,⁵ but when he sought to exploit the novelty of his invention by trying to sell it first to the king and then, by subscription, to a public audience, his efforts were ultimately fruitless.⁶

The exigencies of working within the bounds of the professional print trade were standardized, but each peintre-graveur's approach to these regulations was unique and often determined by the nature and scope of the project he or she was completing. In instances when artists were commissioned to produce etchings for large-scale projects initiated by others, such as the Recueil Crozat and Recueil Jullienne (see chapter 1 for more on these famous print compendiums), the issue of the artist's agency in commercial terms is moot, for most artists had no financial stake in the ultimate market success of such projects beyond getting paid

for their efforts. What concerns this essay, instead, are those artists who recognized the opportunities afforded by the professional print market and produced work specifically for that milieu and audience.

Few *peintres-graveurs* sought to sell their work commercially. From the standpoint of the market as a whole, etchings by professional painters, sculptors, and architects appeared infrequently and were thus "marginal," to

FACING PAGE

Fig. 18. Detail, Jean-Baptiste Oudry, Return from the Hunt with a Dead Roe (cat. 23)



Fig. 19. Johann Eleazar Zeissig, called Schenau (1737–1806), *The Print Seller*, 1765. Etching: plate, $5\% \times 3$ in. (13.7 \times 7.7 cm). Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (CA-30-Fol; inv. 40318)

use Antony Griffiths's term.7 The inscriptions on many etchings by *peintres-graveurs* are initially misleading in this regard, since dealers sometimes purchased used plates and "reinforced" existing inscriptions with the burin.8 Rather than referring to publishing arrangements brokered during the artist's lifetime, as many inscriptions do, some were made posthumously, after a dealer purchased the etched plate. Alexandre Joseph Paillet's 1787 reprint of Pierre Hubert Subleyras's Banquet in the House of Simon the Pharisee (cat. 64), for example, included a new inscription that degraded the quality of the original printing in Rome in 1738.9

Although inventories of dealers' stock routinely list thousands of printing plates, they rarely identify all of the artists responsible for those that are engraved and etched. So while we know that dealers regularly purchased used plates in order to print their own editions of previously issued works, it is impossible to ascertain from inventories the precise number that were etched with finished compositions by peintres-graveurs and then used for reeditions. What is important to note is that the total number of engraved and etched plates in dealers' inventories is consistently impressive over the entire eighteenth century—the inventory in 1735 after Pierre Gallays's death, for example, listed 4,711 copper plates, 10 while the inventory of Pierre François Basan's stock in 1788 included more than 4,900—and that the reeditioning of prints was by no means taboo.11

Dealers augmented their inventories by a variety of means, purchasing used plates directly from artists, at auctions after an artist's death, or from other dealers. An annotated copy of the catalogue from the 1772 sale of Gabriel Huquier's collection of engraved and etched copper plates is littered with the names of the dealers and collectors who purchased them.¹² After successfully acquiring numerous plates at a similar auction, Charles François Joullain announced his new purchases in the arts section of the newspaper *L'Avant-coureur* and took the opportunity to mention his already considerable collection of plates engraved by famous printmakers.¹³

One of the *peintres-graveurs* whose plates were frequently reprinted by dealers was Claude Gillot, who during his lifetime actively sought to market himself as a printmaker. At the end of his career, Gillot even abandoned painting to concentrate exclusively on printmaking (in the announcement of his student Antoine Watteau's death, in 1721, Gillot was celebrated as a "fertile and singular genius, who manipulates with equal art both the brush and the burin"). 14 Gillot's four-part

Festivals series (cats. 28, 29), first published about 1727, was among the prints reissued by Basan from 1761 to 1779. They appeared in the third volume of the dealer's six-volume series of prints after the work of Italian, Flemish, Dutch, and French painters, each bearing a newly added inscription alerting any interested viewer that they could be purchased "A Paris chés Basan." 15 Gillot's illustrations for Antoine Houdar de La Motte's Fables nouvelles, dediées au roy (cat. 34), which were first published in 1719, were likewise reprinted later and sold separately from the text in two editions, one of which was published by the Chéreau firm, which owned Gillot's plates for the suite. 16 These reeditions of Gillot's prints point to an audience for his work that shared the opinions of the comte de Caylus, himself a noted amateur, who famously predicted in his biography of Watteau that Gillot would be forever celebrated for his Fables nouvelles illustrations.17

Although the overall impact of the peintres-graveurs' works on the print market was minimal, there was clearly serious interest in their etchings among dealers and collectors. The renown of an artist's reputation and affiliation with the Académie, which was noted in the announcements of their prints in contemporary newspapers, contributed to the value of such etchings. And as noted above, prints by nonprofessional printmakers were rarities, allowing dealers to capitalize on their "eccentricity." The announcement for sculptor Jacques François Joseph Saly's Vases series in 1751, for example, describes the etchings as trivial compared to the artist's work in stone but at the same time praises them for their technique.18

Publishing Prints in Rome

Saly's Vases, like the work of many other peintresgraveurs, was heavily informed by his experiences in Rome, where a number of artists became associated with print publishers and dealers during their student years as pensionnaires at the Académie de France (see Perrin Stein's discussion of etching in Rome in chapter 4). Two such artists were Jean Laurent Legeay, a pensionnaire from 1737 to 1742, and Jean Barbault, whose long residence in Rome spanned from 1747 until his death, in 1762. Both produced architectural views and landscapes that appeared alongside works by Giovanni Battista Piranesi in Italian publications.19 Barbault worked primarily with the French expatriate firm of Jean Bouchard and Jean Joseph Gravier, publishers who played an

active role in the Académie's activities and established themselves as a resource within the network of pensionnaires by providing young artists with contacts even before they arrived in the Eternal City.20 Throughout their careers Bouchard and Gravier maintained an enthusiasm for etchings by French artists who had studied in Rome.21 This interest may have been encouraged in later years by Bouchard's daughter, Maddalena, whose own large etchings of 133 exotic birds were published by the firm in 1784.22

Best known for publishing Piranesi's prints in the early 1760s, Bouchard and Gravier can be credited with contributing to the widespread diffusion of Piranesi's influence through Barbault's compositions. Their 1761 publication containing prints after Barbault's designs, Les Plus Beaux Monuments de Rome ancienne, was announced later that year in L'Avant-coureur as being sold and distributed in Paris.23 Even after Barbault's death, Bouchard and Gravier continued to produce books in this vein, such as the 1770 volume Recueil de divers monumens anciens répandus en plusieurs endroits de l'Italie, dessinés par feu M. Barbault, which includes numerous plates designed by Barbault that are so close to Piranesi's work that they have been described as pastiche.24

Pierre Moreau, an architect resident in Rome at the same time as Barbault, displayed his own indebtedness to this aesthetic in a series of etchings illustrating the removal of a body from a crypt and its placement in a ship for transfer to another location (cats. 19-22).25 Gabriel Martin Dumont, a professor of architecture at the Académie whose etchings were similarly beholden, published Moreau's prints in two separate suites.²⁶ The theatrical qualities of Moreau's images and his references to both Piranesi and the prolific seventeenth-century etcher Stefano della Bella helped make this suite an exemplar of the theoretical, architectural fantasies that were popular in midcentury France and also part of contemporary architectural discourse.²⁷ Other impressions of the prints indicate that the series was sold in at least two other contexts, pointing to the ready market for this kind of imagery at the time.28

Selling Prints in Paris

The publicity afforded by the print market appealed to many French peintres-graveurs, since it gave them access to a broader audience and customer base. Those who were members of the Académie, moreover, enjoyed special status within the administrative structure of the trade because of their attachment to a royal institution.²⁹ As authors of their own prints, peintres-graveurs were extended the same courtesies as their professional printmaker counterparts in the Académie, who published their own prints as their primary occupation. Académie members were allowed to print editions of their own work on private presses, 30 for example, as attested by the inventory taken after the painter Joseph Parrocel's death, which lists a press in his home.31

The king's consent to produce, sell, and distribute merchandise, known as the privilège, extended to the Académie. It was thus not compulsory for artists within the Académie to attain this permit if they wanted to sell their own work, as specified among the benefits of Académie membership when an artist was admitted.32 The privilège also served as protection against copyright infringement from counterfeit publications—a serious concern for publishers in the second half of the eighteenth century—and was usually acquired by the publisher of a print through application to the Communauté des Librairies et Imprimeurs, the administrative body that bestowed the privilège.33 Print publishers, or éditeurs, incurred the costs of producing a print, which included the fee for the privilège, printmaking materials, and payments to both printmaker and printer. Once finished, prints were distributed by merchants at their shops or, if they did not own a storefront, by vendors in the streets.34

Although few contracts survive that detail the financial transactions negotiated with the intermediaries in this process, for many of the compendiums of etchings by peintres-graveurs, which were assembled by amateurs or funded by the king, we know the precise amounts peintres-graveurs were paid to produce prints. In the preparation of his four-volume Recueil, for example, Jean de Jullienne paid François Boucher a daily salary of twenty-four livres in 1735 (a substantial sum) for his etchings after the work of Antoine Watteau.³⁵ Jean Houël received a small fortune from the crown from 1769 to 1772 for the large aquatints illustrating his Voyage en Sicile; he collected 2,400 livres in August 1777 alone from Charles Claude de Flahaut de la Billarderie, comte d'Angiviller, then directeur général of the Bâtiments du Roi.³⁶ Much to the chagrin of his patrons, some of whose correspondence is transcribed in Maurice Vloberg's monograph on the artist, Houël reputedly squandered a large percentage of his total earnings during his travels.37

19. Pierre Moreau (1715/20–1762) View of a Funerary Monument (Exhumation), ca. 1760 Etching



20. Pierre Moreau (1715/20–1762) View Inside a Temple (Transfer of the Body), ca. 1760 Etching

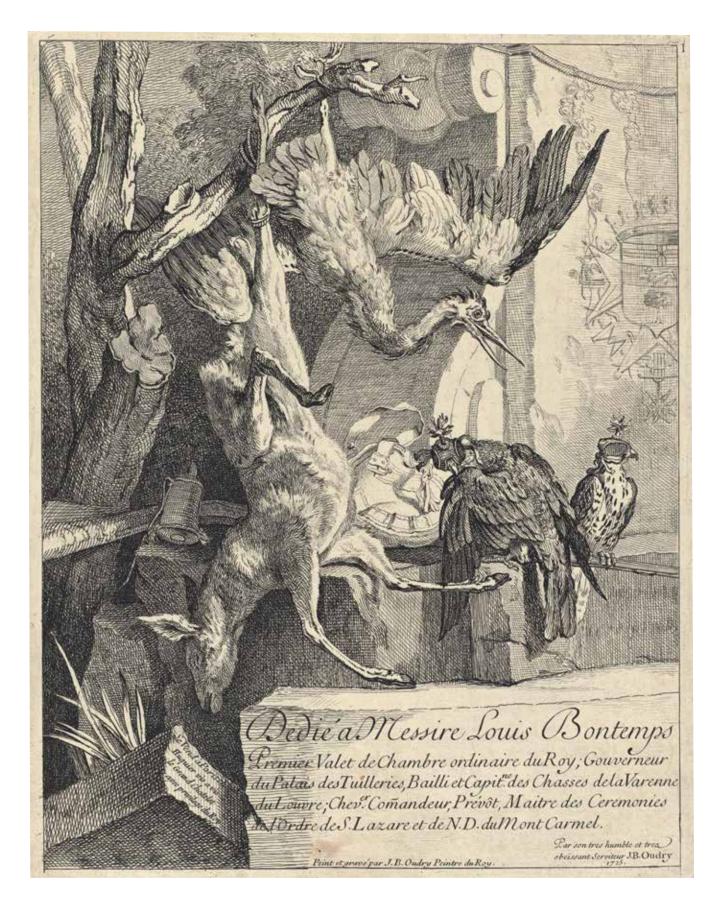




21. Pierre Moreau (1715/20–1762) View Outside a Temple (Funerary Preparations), ca. 1760 Etching



22. Pierre Moreau (1715/20–1762) View of a Port (Removal of the Body to a Ship), ca. 1760 Etching



Many printmakers were also éditeurs and dealers themselves, which afforded them numerous financial benefits, including being able to avoid paying intermediaries and to replenish their stock whenever necessary.38 An artist could also sell his prints through more than one dealer at a time or decide to change dealers. In the case of Jean-Baptiste Oudry's suite of four etchings known as the *Hunt* series, different versions of the title page (cat. 23) reveal the artist's decision to adjust the distribution of his work. Impressions from 1725 indicate that the series was being sold both in Oudry's studio and in Nicolas Gautrot's shop: "Se vend à Paris chez l'auteur au Palais des Tuileries, et chez Gautrot, quay de la Megisserie" (fig. 20). Eleven years later, this was no longer true; the title page indicates that the series was being sold by Gabriel Huquier, who had procured Oudry's plates and replaced the earlier inscription with his own name and address: "Se vend à Paris chez Huguier vis a vis le Grand Chatelet avec privilege du Roy" (fig. 21).39 When Huquier engraved this inscription, he used the burin to draw diagonal lines to the left of the space occupied by his address, darkening that area of the image and thereby drawing more attention to his name and address. At the same time that Oudry effected this change with his Hunt series, he transferred to Huquier both his *privilège* and the plates for his illustrations to Paul Scarron's Roman comique, which Huquier reissued after making adjustments with the burin to Oudry's plates and completing the set of illustrations himself.40

In cases where a dealer wanted to make his profit up front, prints were sold in advance by subscription, a method Oudry practiced with the first suite of

Fig. 20. Detail of *Hunt* series title page showing original inscription.

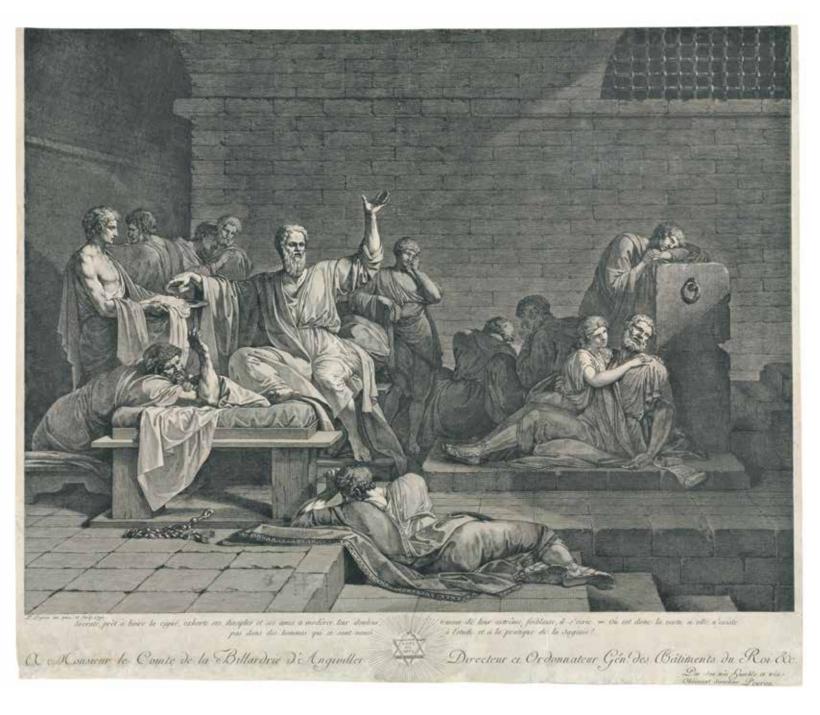
the *Roman comique* illustrations. The initial cost of subscription was thirty-eight prints for forty livres.41 Shortly thereafter, the king was announced as a subscriber, and in little more than a year the series was listed at the higher price of sixty livres. 42 This was still in the normal range for professional prints, however, which was generally standardized from about one to sixteen livres apiece. 43 Announcements in the Journal de Paris in the last quarter of the century indicate that etchings by peintres-graveurs conformed to the cost margins set by professional prints.

The administration of the publishing trade changed significantly in the wake of the French Revolution, most notably in the abolition of the privilège system within a month of the fall of the Bastille. Soon thereafter the architect Charles de Wailly, a member of the Académie and a noted proponent of the Neoclassical style, founded the Société des Amis des Arts as a means of support to fellow artists. Membership in the Société required a subscription fee; two-thirds of the group's funds were used to support contemporary artists by acquiring their paintings and sculpture, and the remaining third was used to publish their prints.44 Pierre Peyron's Death of Socrates (cat. 24) is an example of one of the projects supported by the Société, as indicated in the inscription bearing its seal (bottom center), which features the instruments of all the arts arranged in the shape of a star. According to Article V of the Société's statutes, 1,200 impressions were to be printed from the plates, after which they were to be destroyed.⁴⁵ In Peyron's case, however, three years after the original printing the Société announced that it would reprint the plate as part of a six-volume compendium it was



Fig. 21. Detail of Hunt series title page showing revised inscription.

FACING PAGE 23. Jean-Baptiste Oudry (1686 - 1755)Return from the Hunt with a Dead Roe, title page from the "Hunt" series, 1725 (printed 1736) Etching with drypoint and some engraving



24. Pierre Peyron (1744–1814) Death of Socrates, 1790 Etching with roulette and stipple

selling, of which one hundred impressions were eventually made.46

Three years after the foundation of de Wailly's Société, the Convention created the Comité de Salut Public (Committee of Public Safety) as the executive branch of the new republic. At first led by nine governors, the Comité administered international and domestic policies until, under Maximilien de

Robespierre, it saw a broad expansion of its powers and began to legislate all domestic affairs.⁴⁷ Thus, when Jacques Louis David sought to disseminate prints after his designs for civil servants' uniforms, it was the Comité who granted him permission for the project; the drawings were rendered shortly thereafter in etching by Baron Dominique Vivant Denon (see cats. 31, 32, discussed below).48

Beyond Paris

As part of the broader publishing trade, Paris dealers sold their stock throughout France and Europe via networks of contacts and associates. 49 Many colophons in eighteenth-century books point to this international distribution by listing the publishers selling the volume in different cities, but often this information was a falsehood designed to disguise the author's identity. One such example is Claude Henri Watelet's Silvie, a novel published in Paris through the firm of Pierre Prault and yet whose colophon reads "Londres: 1743," suggesting it was printed in England instead.50

The exchange of printed materials between countries was nonetheless an essential aspect of the print trade for peintres-graveurs, many of whom lived abroad after receiving their training in France and Rome. The example of Charles François Hutin is particularly interesting because it testifies specifically to an artist's desire for his work to be known in France while he was living abroad. During his tenure as director of the Académie de Peinture in Dresden (1762-64),51 Hutin published a group of his etchings under the title Recueil de différents sujets (Johann Georg Wille, a German-born member of the Académie, wrote in his Mémoires that he received from Hutin two copies of the artist's etchings in 1765 and again in 1766).52 Ultimately, however, Hutin's ambitions for his work to reach Paris would be ensured by publishers, who later issued an edition of Hutin's etched oeuvre that organized all of his compositions by subject; it also incorrectly included his father's series of the Seven Acts of Mercy (cat. 70).53 The edition, numbered alphabetically, included a series of fountains inscribed with the letter "c" in the left corner below the image (cat. 25). At least three of the plates from this group then passed into different hands and made their way to France, in the process acquiring a new inscription below the image mentioning Claude Martin Goupy, a building contractor for the king and the prince de Condé, who purchased the royal rank of secrétaire du Roi in 1779.54

Marketing Prints for Sale

The primary means of publicizing prints in the eighteenth century was through announcements in leading newspapers. These varied from short listings identifying the artist and his work to longer discourses on the artist's career and importance, sometimes found in identical format in different newspapers. The Mercure

de France, which appeared monthly throughout most of the century before it became a weekly journal, published announcements of new prints regularly after 1725. The editors addressed their readers in the first issue of 1726 with a letter introducing new features of the newspaper, stating that prints would now be discussed in the section on the sciences and fine arts. Since new prints were not advertised like books, they argued, they too often languished inside vendors' folders, escaping the attention of the "curieux," referring to collectors whose interest in art was informed but perhaps not academic in nature.⁵⁵ This disparity was not fully rectified until 1763 with the Journal de la librairie, which appeared weekly and listed all new publications, prints as well as books, that had secured the royal privilège; the Mercure often referred its readers to this publication.56

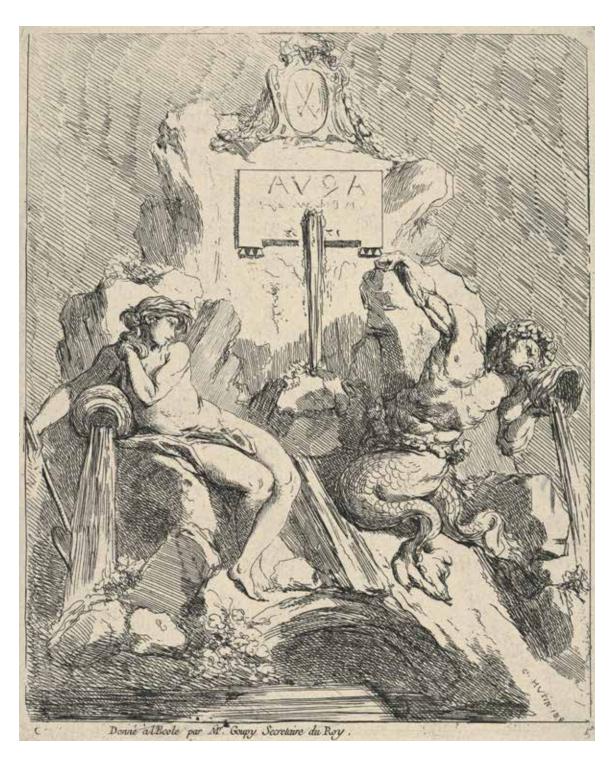
Listings of newly published prints appeared steadily thereafter in the Mercure, leading one author to comment that the presses in Paris were as busy producing prints as they were printing books to supply so many announcements in the newspaper.⁵⁷ Examples from later in the century, such as *L'Avant-coureur* and the Journal de Paris, the first daily newspaper in France as of 1777, followed the example of the *Mercure* by dedicating sections to the discussion of prints.⁵⁸

Still, etchings by peintres-graveurs constituted a small fraction of these ubiquitous print announcements, mostly because few of these artists had commercial ambitions for their work. Even in cases where such intentions plainly existed, however, it ought to be acknowledged that peintres-graveurs enjoyed their own "network" of publicity through patrons and colleagues on whom they could rely rather than following the traditional routes of publicity utilized by professional printmakers. When peintres-graveurs did produce prints explicitly for sale, their work fell into categories already established by the market, which included (but were not limited to) recueils (collections, or compendiums), suites and series, reproductive prints, book illustration, and ornament prints.

The Recueil

When peintres-graveurs labeled suites of their own etchings recueils, they invoked the august history of the term, which had graced the covers of some of the most celebrated print projects reproducing famous art collections. 59 The most pertinent in the context of

25. Charles François Hutin (1715-1776) Design for a Fountain, 1758 (?) Etching, third state of three



the *peintres-graveurs* were those executed in etching, including two important examples: the Recueil d'estampes d'après les plus beaux tableaux et d'après les plus beaux desseins qui sont en France dans le cabinet du Roy, which became known as the Recueil Crozat (1729–42), and the Recueil de testes de caractere & de

charges dessinées par Leonard de Vinci (1730), published by Pierre Jean Mariette. 60 Both publications included etchings by the comte de Caylus, who through such projects sought to make private art collections accessible to a wider audience and to support the development of etching as a superlative reproducible medium.



Fig. 22. Jacques Gamelin (1738–1803), Rape of the Sabines, from "Nouveau Recueil d'ostéologie et de myologie," 1779. Etching: plate, 5% × 10½ in. (14.8 × 26.6 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1931 (31,24)

In addition to associating themselves with these famed projects, peintres-graveurs, through their use of the word recueil, assumed the role of éditeur, asserting that they possessed the professional discernment to select the best works for publication in a single volume. 61 Jacques Gamelin's ambitions for his large Nouveau Recueil d'ostéologie et de myologie, for example, which took two years to complete (1777-79) and exhausted his fortune, cannot be overstated.⁶² In this reenvisioning of the illustrated anatomy book—the kind used by artists to understand the composition of the human form⁶³—Gamelin interspersed folio-size anatomical plates with his own etched vignettes of skeleton and human protagonists.⁶⁴ In a witty turn, he cast the skeletons as the aggressors; they play the role of the Romans in this scene representing the rape of the Sabines (fig. 22). On a basic level, Gamelin's vignettes illustrate the usefulness of artists studying such anatomical plates when preparing to compose an actionfilled scene. They also inject humor into the book, as in the anatomical plates showing skeletons playing instruments. More significant, perhaps, is that in his playful chef d'oeuvre, Gamelin-a peintre-graveur who was also a professor of painting and director of the Académie in Montpellier—fully exploited the fluid line of the etching needle to present a unique method of teaching one of the fundamental aspects of painting.

A similar context befits Jean Jacques Lagrenée's two recueils of designs inspired by antiquity, which he rendered in aquatint with etching from 1782 to 1784.65 Many of the plates, all of his own invention, echo the structure and subject matter of the wall paintings discovered during the excavations of Herculaneum in the 1750s and reproduced in the multivolume Antichità di Ercolano (1757–92). The addition of decorative elements around many of Lagrenée's scenes and the red and black color scheme further recall the red-figure vases reproduced in the antiquarian Sir William Hamilton's Collection of Etruscan, Greek, and Roman Antiquities (1766-77), a luxurious publication that illustrated what would later form the nucleus of the British Museum's holdings in ancient art.66 Certainly those designs inform Lagrenée's antique compositions, ranging from single figures set against an opaque background to friezes of ornamental arabesque motifs and multifigure scenes. Lagrenée was perhaps best known for his designs for the decorative arts; from 1785 to 1800 he served as artistic director of the manufactory at Sèvres, which produced many of his designs that were then installed in royal palaces.67

One of the ultimate claims made in Lagrenée's recueils is a definition of the artist's approach to Neoclassicism, an effort that reached its apogee in the 1784 collection Recueil de différentes compositions, frises et







26. Jean Jacques Lagrenée (1739-1821) Two Figures in the Style of Red-Figure Vase Painting and The Holy Family with Angels, possibly from "Recueil de différentes compositions, frises et ornements dessinées et gravées à la manière du lavis" (Collection of Different Compositions, Friezes, and Ornament Drawn and Etched in the Wash Manner), ca. 1784 Etching and aquatint, printed in color

FACING PAGE Fig. 23. Detail, cat. 26 *ornements.* In the first instance, the artist placed his surname in the upper margin at the center of the composition, where it functions as a title (or brand) for a frieze composition featuring the bathing of Venus. In another instance, possibly from the same recueil, he situated a thematically anachronistic Holy Family with Angels in between two single-figure compositions rendered in the manner of ancient red-figure paintings (cat. 26). By thus framing his own designs—inscribing his name on the composition and flanking a religious image with ancient modes of painting—Lagrenée not only defined his own approach to ancient sources, he asserted antiquity's very regeneration in his own work.

The term "oeuvre" had the same eminent resonance as recueil, having been used in the second half of Jean de Jullienne's four-volume suite reproducing the work of Antoine Watteau (although the entire set has become known as the Recueil Jullienne, the official title of the second half is L'Œuvre d'Antoine Watteau). As Peter

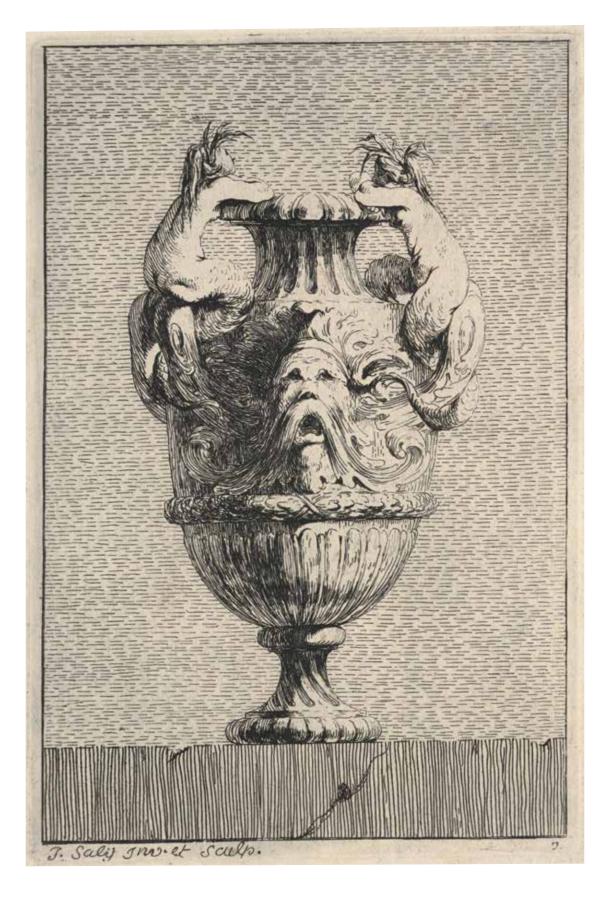
Fuhring has explained, it was the dealer Gabriel Huquier who recast and redefined "oeuvre" as a definitive presentation of an artist's work.⁶⁸ Later in the century, François Basan sought to capitalize on the potential import of the term by using it to describe posthumous editions of artists' prints. Similarly, the German publisher Anton von Klein issued a posthumous collection of Joseph Fratrel's etchings as the Œuvre de Joseph Fratrel, peintre de la Cour de son Altesse Seren. Elect. Pal. (1799), which included The Arts and Sciences Honoring Their Protector Charles Theodore, Count Palatine (cat. 30, discussed below).

Suites and Series

Prints grouped together as suites or series could be considered a small subset of the larger category of the recueil or oeuvre. Organized around a single theme, these sets of prints sustained an idea across multiple



27. Jacques François Joseph Saly (1717–1776) Design for a Vase with Two Mermaids, from the "Vases" series, 1746 Etching



images, inviting comparative study and analysis. Their subjects are often reinforced by compositional consistencies and literary inscriptions below the images, further unifying the members of the suite and invoking another layer of interpretation for the whole.

In Saly's Vases series, for example, the artist adopted a single compositional structure across the thirty designs, placing each vessel on a cracked stone surface stretching across the width of the image and against a background of small dashes. In doing so, Saly presented each vase design as an independent "portrait" within a cohesive group. He played with this notion of singularity by establishing a leitmotif of water nymphs, gods, and sprites, who populate many of the designs. This theme is carried even further in the seventh vase (cat. 27), with its reposing mermaids, each with fronds for hair, and piscine head at center, which sprouts large, curling leaves and whose mouth falls agape, recalling the kinds of fantastical marine animals found on many fountains.

Inscribing quotations and verses of poetry on suites and series was another means of unifying structure and concept. Claude Gillot's prints featuring bacchanalian celebrations of Diana, Bacchus (cat. 28), Faunus (cat. 29), and Pan commit to a single organizational principle: a frieze structure in which a sculpted proxy for the honored deity is placed at the center of the image and crowds of adulating satyrs, nymphs, and putti swarm toward the herms or busts. Conjoined with verses below, the scenes become narratological through the image-text relationship bridged on the page and across the entire series. The viewer is invited into this narrative game through the inclusive language of the poetry, particularly the first-person plural in the opening phrase beneath the scene of Pan: "Célébrons le dieu Pan" (Let us celebrate the god Pan).

The themes and language employed by these verses are typical of theatrical divertissements de musique, brief performances that combined pastoral and mythological elements in a context of jovial gaiety and that avoided descriptive verbs in favor of the first- or second-person plural, calling others to participate in a specific action.⁶⁹ Placed under Gillot's compositions, the verses allude to a theatrical context typical of much of the artist's oeuvre and underscore the dance and musical components of the scenes. Below the pair illustrated here, Bacchus, god of wine, orders that his feast be celebrated in the service of Love, while for the feast of



Fig. 24. Joseph François Foulquier (1744/45-1789), Mamolin, King of Garbe, 1776. Etching: sheet, $4\%6 \times 3\%6$ in. (11.2 × 8.8 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1917 (17.3.1974)

Faunus, god of the forests, the nymphs, satyrs, and shepherds are called to join in song and forget their troubles.

In Jean-Baptiste Le Prince's large aquatint of mythological figures and animals in a lush landscape (cat. 49), the addition of a quotation from Book II of Virgil's Georgics establishes an allegorical context, imbuing the wonderfully inventive scene with philosophical import. In like fashion, the small etching of a male head by the amateur Joseph François Foulquier (fig. 24) becomes more than just a continuation of the Rembrandtesque tradition of suites featuring single heads with the inscription "Mamolin Roy de Garbe," which identifies the figure as a character from Jean de La Fontaine's comedic Contes. Literary motifs and devices such as these, which were ubiquitous in prints but often added by the print's *éditeur*, not the artist, allowed the viewer to enjoy the works on multiple levels and provided another means of enticing the collector to purchase the peintres-graveurs' works.



Que l'on n'accuse point Bachus D'avoir avec l'Amour vou éternelle guerre, Lors qu'il vainquit toute la terre Au Dieu d'amour il livra les vaincus.

La paia fut le doua fruit done telle conqueste, Es pour signaler es grand jour Bachus voulut qu'en édebrant en Feste On rendit homage à l'Amour.

Le Dieu du Vin lordonne, et l'en voit la Bacehante Du Tatyre effrenté prenant es pos divin, l'our se montrer elseissante Lui donner plus d'amour qu'elle n'a pris de vin



Reproductive Prints

One of the largest categories of professional prints comprised those that reproduced paintings, studies, and drawings. 70 Selling prints after either their own work or their colleagues' was an attractive proposition for peintres-graveurs, offering, among other benefits, the opportunity to advertise their skill in two media at once. Oudry's Hunt series reproduced his paintings for a royal commission for the château de Chantilly, including the painting upon which the title page is based, Return from the Hunt with a Dead Roe, exhibited at the Salon in 1725.71 Oudry then sold the prints (made that same year) to visitors to his studio, simultaneously celebrating the augustness of his commission and advertising its exhibition at the Salon.

Pierre Lélu, an amateur who was a member of the Académie in Marseille, reproduced his only Salon submission, a drawing of Cupid and Psyche embracing in a bed with servants in attendance.⁷² In the process of reproducing his composition, Lélu returned repeatedly to the techniques and media of drawing, for example, adding a combination of pen, graphite, and wash after printing an unfinished state in order to determine how to adjust the print in the next state (fig. 25).⁷³ A prolific etcher, Lélu in this instance reveals his reluctance to edit his own composition by working directly on the plate, as did most other peintres-graveurs. Prosper de Baudicour, an avid collector of Lélu's work, catalogued all seventy-five of his prints by the artist in the first

volume of his seminal text, *Le Peintre-graveur français* continué. Baudicour eventually donated his collection of Lélu's prints and drawings, assembled in an album with relevant publications about the artist, to the Bibliothèque Nationale de France (EF-266a fol.). Many of the prints in the album contain drawing media, indicating that for Lélu, drawing on early states of his prints was a general working practice even when he was not making reproductive compositions.

In Joseph Fratrel's *The Arts and Sciences* (cat. 30), etched in 1777, the artist reproduced his own grisaille painting from four years earlier in which Minerva, the Muses, and putti pay homage to Charles Theodore, prince-elector of Palatine and Bavaria, who is represented in profile in the oval relief at center. The structure of the painting's composition strongly evokes a dedicatory frontispiece to a published volume, making the etching itself less readily identifiable as a reproduction of a painting. The print's complicated conflation of painting, printmaking, text, and image is ultimately subsumed to the larger point being made by the inscriptions—easily legible at this scale—explicating Fratrel's role in the Académie in Mannheim and his relationship to the prince-elector.

Denon's etchings after David's uniform designs (cats. 31, 32) are likewise reproductive in nature, and yet they differ significantly from the original drawings executed in pen, wash, and chalk. Denon etched most of the eight designs in reverse so that the prints would reproduce them in the same orientation,74 and by FACING PAGE, TOP

28. Claude Gillot (1673-1722) Festival of Bacchus, Celebrated by Satyrs and Bacchantes, from the "Festivals" series, printed before 1728 Etching with some engraving

FACING PAGE, BOTTOM 29. Claude Gillot (1673-1722) Festival of Faunus, God of the Forest, from the "Festivals" series, printed before 1728 Etching with some engraving



Fig. 25. Pierre Lélu (1741–1810), Cupid and Psyche, 1793. Etching with pen and brown ink and gray wash: plate, 71/16 × 16 in. (18.9 × 40.5 cm). The Art Institute of Chicago; Gift of Dorothy Braude Edinburg to the Harry B. and Bessie K. Braude Memorial Collection (18.1998)

30. Joseph Fratrel (1730–1783) The Arts and Sciences Honoring Their Protector Charles Theodore, Count Palatine, 1777 Etching with drypoint, first state of two







31. Baron Dominique Vivant Denon (1747-1825) after Jacques Louis David (1748 - 1825)Judge, 1794 Etching on pale green paper

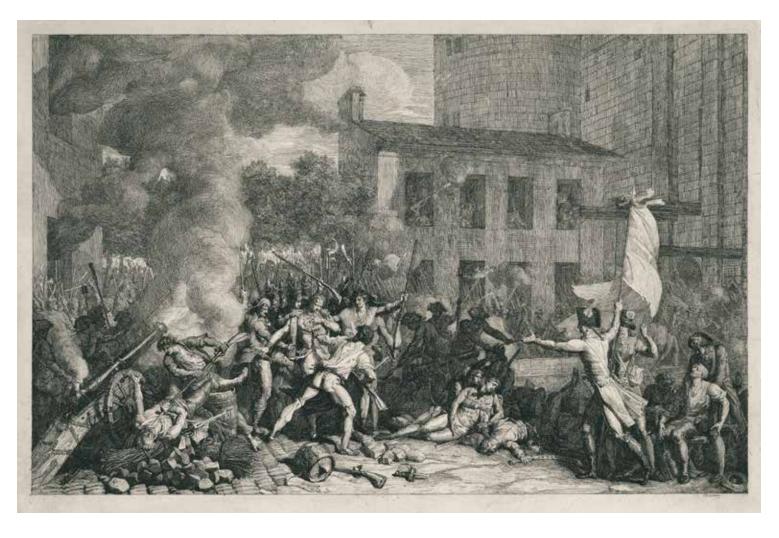
32. Baron Dominique Vivant Denon (1747-1825) after Jacques Louis David (1748 - 1825)Municipal Officer with a Sash, Etching on pale blue-green paper

leaving reserves (or near reserves) where they existed in the drawings—such as the right arm of the figure in Municipal Officer with a Sash as well as a swatch of his cloak at right—Denon accurately represents David's use of light and shadow. The expressions on the faces of the Republican patriots are equally deft in Denon's etchings, conveying all of the gravity of David's drawn portraits.

Yet as they strive to convey blocks of wash and fields of color, Denon's etched lines wriggle in staccato bursts across the page with an energy different from that in David's drawings. And while Denon faithfully replicated some of David's awkward passages, such as the overly large joint in the extended left palm of the Judge, he also corrected imprecision, including the ground beneath both figures' feet, which Denon rendered with greater emphasis, and, in the case of the judge, significantly greater depth, thus placing the figure in a more expansive space. Denon's etchings were printed in a large edition that comprised thousands of impressions

on several different kinds and colors of paper.⁷⁵ In the green and blue examples, the effect of Denon's facture is even more poignantly vibrant (and quite distinct from) David's wash drawings on off-white paper.

In most cases the self-referential, reproductive etchings made by peintres-graveurs were not intended as substitutes for professionally produced reproductive prints. An etching after one's own painting—which often meant the reproduction of a finished drawing or sketch for a painting, not the painting itself—therefore became a unique version of the composition on the professional market. A key exception is Pierre Peyron's Death of Socrates (cat. 24), which adopts the format of a luxurious, professional print in its large scale, dedication, and inscription. It relates to the painting he had exhibited the year before, at the Salon of 1789, which was the final version of a subject he had painted for the previous Salon, in 1787. That version had met with scathing reviews that deemed it far inferior to David's



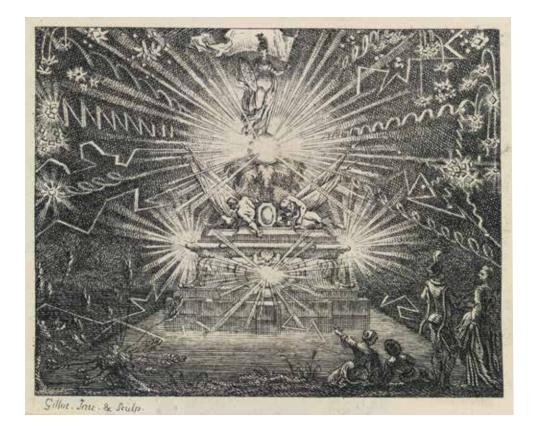
33. Charles Thévenin (1764 - 1838)The Storming of the Bastille on 14 July 1789, 1790 Etching, first state of two

FACING PAGE Fig. 26. Detail, cat. 33 painting of the same subject.⁷⁶ The circumstances surrounding the 1789 version of the painting were thus fraught for Peyron, and his decision to attempt an ambitious etching after it rather than delegating this process to a professional printmaker transforms the print into a manifesto about his ownership of the subject: an assertion that he could master Socrates in both paint and print, a point he further underscored by exhibiting the etching at the Salon of 1791.⁷⁷ The dedication to the comte d'Angiviller further solidified the grandiosity of Peyron's claim for the representation of the philosopher, since it was d'Angiviller who had commissioned the first composition in 1787 and owned the study. Peyron etched Death of Socrates with a firmer, more finished manner than in his other work by alternating the directionality and geometry of the matrices of his lines. It has been argued that this approach mimics engraving in its controlled, regularized appearance, which suited Peyron's aims for this reproductive print.78

Charles Thévenin's *Storming of the Bastille* (cat. 33), also from 1790, was equally ambitious in scale. It displays Thévenin's superlative virtuosity, with only one minor detail revealing any struggle the artist might have had with the medium: he failed to reverse the letters in his initials. (In the rocks in the lower left corner, under the cannon, they appear as a backward "C T." Thévenin signed them a second time in another rock, closer to the center of the image, where they appear in the correct orientation.) Since Thévenin had failed in his quest to win that year's Prix de Rome competition his fourth consecutive attempt—this etching marked the artist's first unqualified public success.⁷⁹ The scene, which Thévenin claimed he witnessed, takes place in the second courtyard of the Bastille and shows the governor of the prison, Bernard René Jourdan, marquis de Launay, being arrested. In an unusual reversal of the circumstances described above, Thévenin, in light of the etching's success, made a painting after it, which



34. Claude Gillot (1673-1722) The Fish and the Fireworks, from Antoine Houdar de La Motte's "Fables nouvelles, dediées au roy," 1719 Etching



he exhibited at the Salon.80 The etching is the same size as the painting but differs in certain compositional details, such as the seated elderly man leaning against the younger soldier in the lower right corner.81 Also, in the painting the two men are joined by a young girl, transforming the motif from one of masculine heroism to that of a familial allegory. Although The Storming of the Bastille is the only etching Thévenin is known to have made, his apparent lack of sustained dedication to the medium did not prevent his appointment as head of the Cabinet des Estampes at the Bibliothèque du Roi (1829 - 38).⁸²

Book Illustration

Like reproductive prints, book illustrations occupied a large swath of the market, and peintres-graveurs produced etchings in this arena as well. Claude Gillot's fifty-eight etched illustrations for Fables nouvelles appeared alongside those by professional printmakers, but when his compositions—including nine designed by him but etched by other printmakers—were lauded over the rest, Gillot was immediately commissioned to produce a complete set of etchings for a new edition of the book in an even smaller size.83 His illustrations often succeed by marginalizing or ignoring the obtuse aspects of the fables, as in The Fish and the Fireworks (cat. 34).84 Radiating from four points on a monumental structure, fireworks explode across the evening sky and bathe it in light, perfectly encapsulating the opening lines of La Motte's fable. However, the rest of the text and its protagonists—namely, the fish in the river below killed by the entertainment above—find no analogue in Gillot's scene, where the water's surface is undisturbed and all aquatic creatures are invisible. In the conclusion of the fable, a pike fish supplicates Jupiter for mercy, promising to cease its cannibalistic practices (adult or larger pikes will eat smaller ones) if peace is restored. But once the fireworks end and their appetites return, the fish resume their usual habits of consumption. Rather than attempt to illustrate this less-than-compelling part of the narrative, Gillot focused instead on the story's prime movers, namely, the human observers and their pyrotechnics, which fill the scene with fiery light and dynamism. As Bernard Populus notes in his monograph on the artist, Gillot's drawings for the illustrations were done to scale in red chalk, wash, and gouache (and sometimes watercolor), but he continued to adjust his

designs during the etching process so that the etchings do not look exactly the same as the drawings.85 This is especially surprising in the illustration for *The* Stomach, because while the objects in the drawing have been incised for transfer,86 certain details in the etching still depart from that design (such as the detail of the plucked fowl in the foreground) and thus are doubled in the etching.

The study and practice of printmaking played a significant role in Pierre Paul Prud'hon's early career. Among his collaborations with his first patron, Jean-Baptiste Anne Geneviève Gagniare, baron de Joursanvault, are two sets of etchings for books authored by his benefactor but never published: one on heraldry, the other on how to play the cello.87 Prud'hon's etchings for the title pages contain numerous charming details, such as the decanter and wine-filled glass in the left background of one of the compositions for the cello manual, a bacchanalian touch that contributes a humorous note to the music being performed by the putti in the foreground. The most ambitious of his etchings for illustration in terms of scale and complexity is his frontispiece for Joursanvault's book on heraldry (fig. 27).88 He used two general types of lines: a looser, freer technique in



Fig. 27. Pierre Paul Prud'hon (1758-1823), Frontispiece for a Treatise on Heraldry, 1780. Etching with drypoint. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris; Réserve (AA-3 rés. Prud'hon)

the foliage and grass, where long lines jump and crinkle across the page, and, throughout the rest of the composition, short, straight lines and dashes that constitute the more controlled and tighter forms. Prud'hon paid careful attention to the light in the scene—which emanates from the sun, supported by the nude figure of Truth—and studiously left areas of reserve where the light falls most brightly: on Truth and History, and on the putti closest to these figures. He followed the same strategy in such wonderful details as the top of the bust and on the edge of the fluted column in the foreground. He even reinforced the darkest areas of shadow, particularly in the back of Time and in the putti on the left, as is evident in the etched plate.89

Claude Henri Watelet collaborated in a manner similar to Joursanvault and Prud'hon for the illustration of his novel Silvie. He commissioned Jean-Baptiste Marie Pierre to design six illustrations, which he himself then etched. In this case, however, the professional printmaker Charles Nicolas Cochin II contributed significantly to the final result. Not only did Cochin etch vignettes and fleurons for the book, he also selectively etched Watelet's plates further, most likely to give the compositions more solidity.90

Ornament Prints

The ferocious demand for ornament prints in the eighteenth century, a topic examined extensively by art historians, constituted an obvious opportunity for *peintres-graveurs* to pursue for commercial gain. 91 Numerous artists capitalized on this market by producing prints that illustrated their designs for objects such as vases, fountains, and tombs. Charles Germain de Saint-Aubin, elder brother of the peintre-graveur Gabriel de Saint-Aubin, designed embroidery at King Louis XV's factory at Gobelins, but he also etched what have become some of the most beloved prints of the century. His two-part Essai de papilloneries humaines, which consists of horizontal scenes in the first instance and vertical ones in the second, portrays butterflies engaged in decidedly human activities, from dancing and bathing to jousting. In The Dressing Table (cat. 35), where a female butterfly sits for her toilette, Saint-Aubin litters the scene with ornamental objects that a woman of means would have had at her disposal. The abundance of these items etched on such a small scale, and from which the very arabesque frame of the scene appears to spring, anchors the protagonists in an

35. Charles Germain de Saint-Aubin (1721–1786) The Dressing Table (La Toilette), from "Essai de papilloneries humaines" (Ideas for Scenes with Butterflies Masquerading as Humans), 1748 Etching, first state of two



environment of fantasy. Executed in tiny, meticulous marks that fill the page and trumpet the complex beauty of rocaille ornament (characterized by an elaborate, often asymmetrical conflation of natural elements, particularly stones, shells, and plants), these scenes are at once delightfully inventive and technically astounding. The profusion of small etched lines belies the extant drawings for the series, which are rendered summarily in chalk and wash, indicating that Saint-Aubin, much like Gillot, consistently adjusted his compositions on the etched plate.92

The humor of the series derives first from its subject matter, but another layer of wit is hinted at in the title, in that "essay" had two potential meanings in the eighteenth century. The first and more common referred to a short written text, but a second meaning, rooted in the commodities industry, denoted a taste or sample.93 This potential double significance opens the possibility that the series was making a broader allegorical argument about the commodification of ornament.94 Evidence related to the sale of Saint-Aubin's etched butterfly series on the market is scant. The impression of a first state of the title page for the first essay bears a note, "icy le bas du Cartouche," in Saint-Aubin's handwriting that the frame for the text had been printed upside down, which indicates that he was working with a printer or partner to produce the suite.95 But further proof of his commitment to the sale of these engaging prints—as was the case with his later series of etchings, which were announced in L'Avant-coureur in 1766—is not yet available.96

Women printmakers and *amateurs* contributed significantly to the market for ornament prints. As an announcement in the Mercure de France illustrates, however, their gender sometimes threw the quality of their work into question: "[F]essard, Printmaker, has just put three new prints up for sale. . . etched by Ms. Louise D***, after the famous Bouchardon & Pierre. These prints prove that ladies can excel at this art."97 Ornament prints by women abound nevertheless, particularly in the subcategory of vase designs. The amateur Adélaïde Allou, for example, whose oeuvre included a series of landscapes after Hubert Robert and Jean Honoré Fragonard, etched a series of prints after P. Nicolet's drawings for vases that were then published by Basan.98

Several wives of academic peintres-graveurs were printmakers in their own right, including Marie Thérèse Reboul, who etched plates for books on natural history

and produced a series of etched vase designs after drawings by her husband, Joseph Marie Vien. The title page of the latter identifies Reboul as Vien's wife but also states her own affiliation with the Académie, to which she was granted membership in 1757.99 Her series was also announced in L'Avant-coureur in 1766.100

The Audience: Collectors of Etchings

In addition to the "curieux" to whom many print announcements appealed, etchings by peintres-graveurs were purchased and collected by connoisseurs and dealers such as Mariette and Basan, both of whom were well versed in the artists' oeuvres and wrote about their works, often in humorously editorialized vignettes. (The former, whose manuscript notes were partially published as the *Abécedario* in the 1850s, penned scathing remarks about certain artists' etchings.) Basan's two-volume Dictionnaire des graveurs anciens et modernes, issued in two editions, was dedicated primarily to professional printmakers but included a selection of peintres-graveurs, which seems to indicate more about his taste and contacts than his assessment of their works. While references to Gillot and Watelet are de rigueur for a publication such as this—indeed, they were cited by Basan for the fame and volume of their prints—his discussion of Charles Germain de Saint-Aubin's etchings is more surprising given the small number of prints Saint-Aubin made and their relative scarcity.101

Not all printmaker-dealers sought out etchings for their collections. Charles François Joullain sold work by the peintres-graveurs, but he was interested primarily in professionally engraved portrait prints, and the catalogue of his considerable collection does not include etchings. Similarly, prominent collections of paintings did not tend to include many etchings beyond examples from the famous recueils. 102 Committed print collectors did exist, however, chief among them Gilbert Paignon-Dijonval, who amassed a cache of thousands of drawings and prints before his death in the early nineteenth century,103 and by the last third of the eighteenth century print connoisseurship and collecting had increased significantly. One of the effects of this newfound attention to the rarity and quality of impressions and to the states of prints was an escalation in prices, as bemoaned at length by Joullain in his 1786 treatise Réflexions sur *la peinture et la gravure.*¹⁰⁴ In the second edition of his Dictionnaire, published at the end of the century, Basan



expressed a different lament, namely, the dominance of a vogue for the finished look of reproductive stipple engravings, which made etchings by peintres-graveurs appear inferior for their lack of robustness.¹⁰⁵

The presence of etching in the print market increased exponentially during the Revolution, when its expediency was ideally suited to the needs of a swiftly changing political landscape. Denon's prints after David's costume designs and Thévenin's depiction of the fall of the Bastille served those purposes in different ways. When Thévenin's print was announced in the Gazette nationale, ou Le Moniteur universel, the technique of etching was specifically cited as being uniquely capable of conveying the emotional tenor of that momentous event, something that could only be awaited "vainly from the cold burin." 106

Dealers and printmakers seeking to exploit the expanded market for prints featuring contemporary issues recognized the capacity of etching to meet that demand. In at least two instances they reused previously published compositions by peintres-graveurs and created a new political context for them by incorporating the original images into larger scenes and adding new inscriptions. In so doing, they put those earlier eighteenth-century ideas at the service of a radically modern sociopolitical agenda. Louis Jean Desprez's Chimera (cat. 52), for instance, was reused in 1790 as the basis for a caricature vilifying the First and Second Estates (the nobility and clergy), but the attribution to Desprez is nowhere to be found on the print. The new inscription, moreover, identifies the multiheaded beast as "a monster with three heads designating the three Estates of the Aristocracy [that] busies himself with devouring the remains of the cadaver of the People." 107 Similarly, Triomphe des Arts modernes, ou Carnaval de Jupiter, an etching alternately attributed to Gillot and Barbault, was given a new inscription in 1791 referring

to the degradation of taste and art and was then presented to the Assemblée Nationale.108

The transmutation of etchings into new political contexts did not obviate the viability of original works on the market, as attested by a 1795 newspaper announcement listing the sale of 294 aquatints and etchings by "le célebre [sic] abbé de Saint-Non" for 2,500 livres. 109 Nor did the end of the century (and the fashion for stipple engraving) necessarily dampen peintres-graveurs' commitment to marketing and selling the fruits of their labors. Notable endeavors included the Œuvres de J.B. Huet (1805), the collected etchings of Jean-Baptiste Huet along with some of his son's etchings after his designs, and Jean Houël's Histoire naturelle des deux éléphants (1803), which describes the habits and behaviors of a pair of elephants that the author had seen in 1797 (he also etched the illustrations).

In the end, the variety, breadth, and scope of the eighteenth-century print market afforded peintresgraveurs a modest though not aberrant foothold in the commercial world. The infinite possibilities of the elastic categories described above—from suites and reproductive prints to ornament and book illustration allowed for their work to be considered and understood in the context of preestablished areas of collecting. Announcements in newspapers underscored their primary affiliations as painters, sculptors, and architects so that their prints would be set apart from those of professional printmakers, but never was their work asserted to be anomalous in conception or actual price. On the contrary, etchings by peintres-graveurs were inscribed, marketed, and sold just like other prints. For those who placed their etchings on the commercial market, the pursuit was not only for financial reward but also for a greater sphere of influence through the protracted dissemination, collection, and reissuing of their work in a reproducible medium.

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Fig. 28. Detail, Charles Germain de Saint-Aubin, The Dressing Table (La Toilette) (cat. 35)



ETCHING AS A VEHICLE FOR INNOVATION: FOUR EXCEPTIONAL PEINTRES-GRAVEURS

Rena M. Hoisington

N INVETERATE DRAFTSMAN who chronicled the city and inhabitants of Paris; an artist who carved out a niche for himself depicting Russian subject matter; an architect turned theater designer celebrated for his expansive imagination; and a peripatetic portraitist known as "the Turkish painter." One might wonder what these four artists had in common. And yet Gabriel de Saint-Aubin, Jean-Baptiste Le Prince, Louis Jean Desprez, and Jean Étienne Liotard all pursued printmaking with a passion and an eye toward innovation unequaled by their French peintregraveur contemporaries. In fact, their profound interest in etching and their technical experimentation places them among the most intriguing printmakers of the eighteenth century. Le Prince, Desprez, and Liotard, in particular, created unprecedented tonal effects by combining etching with aquatint, mezzotint, and roulette. What follows is an examination, in loose chronological order, of the means whereby these four artists realized their distinct pictorial aims in printmaking.

Revisionist Impulse: Gabriel de Saint-Aubin

Although most of the *peintres-graveurs* were content to make etchings in a single state (as discussed in chapter 1), Gabriel de Saint-Aubin invariably revised and refashioned his work, at times wholly revisiting a composition years after its original conception. Some of this variability might be attributed to the very nature of printmaking, which lends itself to repeated tweaking to resolve and perfect a composition. But doubtless much of Saint-Aubin's trial-and-error revisions arose from his restlessness as an artist, one whose habitual tinkering with his etchings offers a window onto his changeable temperament.

Growing up in Paris, the young Gabriel, who hailed from a family of artists, was encouraged to draw at an early age. At the time he first took up printmaking, about 1750, he was teaching a wide range of subjects at Jacques François Blondel's École des Arts, including

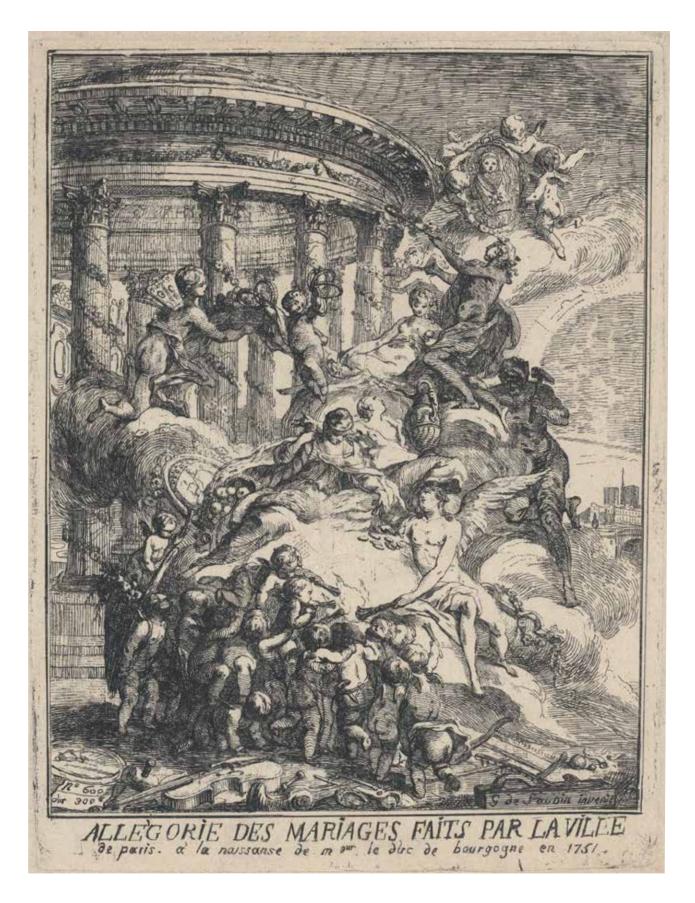
instruction derived from drawing excursions around Paris; he had also recently enrolled at the Académie Royale. A glance at the more than ten etchings Saint-Aubin made in the first half of the 1750s shows him trying his hand at various themes, but especially historical subjects, a tendency that fits with the artist's aspiration—ultimately unsuccessful—to win the Prix de Rome and become a history painter.

In Allegory of the Marriages Performed by the City of Paris in Honor of the Birth of the Duc de Bourgogne in 1751 (cat. 36), Saint-Aubin attempted to turn a topical occasion—the birth of the heir to the French throne, Louis Joseph Xavier de France, on September 13 of that year—into a bid for royal favor.² The key to this allegory, in which Saint-Aubin imaginatively orchestrated a small but complex scene with a host of figures and architectural forms, are the two numbers (600 and 300) provided on the note in the lower left corner of the image. To celebrate the birth of his grandson, Louis XV had offered to pay dowries for six hundred women in need, at three hundred livres apiece.3 Floating before a temple on a massive cloud, Venus supervises the transfer of gold coins from a figure representing the city of Paris to a winged, torch-bearing Hymen, the god of marriage. Clambering putti have dropped various objects in the foreground in their eagerness to light their torches from his, with three of them carrying aloft an oval portrait of the newborn prince wearing the royal Ordre du Saint-Esprit.

The city of Paris, merely glimpsed in the background of this etching, increasingly provided Saint-Aubin with subject matter. In 1753 he made a print of the Salon (cat. 37), the biennial public exhibition of work from members of the Académie Royale. Saint-Aubin's etching conveys something of the ebullient social spectacle of the exhibition, offering the viewer a sense of how one would climb the Louvre's dark, winding staircase (later destroyed) and emerge into the light-filled Salon Carré, where hundreds of works were displayed. Although Saint-Aubin provided little in the way of

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Fig. 29. Detail, Louis Jean Desprez, *The Capture* and Burning of Selinus by Hannibal (cat. 55)



detail to identify the individual paintings, drawings, sculptures, and prints, his attention to the arrangement of the framed works hung from floor to ceiling—with history paintings given pride of place above, and the more intimately scaled portraits, landscapes, still lifes, and genre scenes displayed near or at eye level to allow close inspection—surely reflects the actual layout of the installation.

Saint-Aubin seems to have had difficulties from the outset with striations on the plate, whose uneven corrosion resulted from his brushing on the ground too thinly. Displeased with these distracting marks, he tried to minimize them through burnishing. He added a large shadow in the foreground, which helped to offset these problematic passages and clarify the threedimensionality of the space by strengthening the contrasts between the dark of the staircase and the light of the room.5

Saint-Aubin's abiding need to return to his etched compositions extended even to repurposing his plates for other subjects. In 1766, for example, he transformed the Allegory of the Marriages into an allegory for the École Gratuite de Dessin by using pen and ink to alter the lettering and to give Venus a plumed helmet and a spear, presumably to refashion her as Minerva, the goddess of wisdom (fig. 30). He also updated the View of the Salon of 1753 for the Salon of 1767 (fig. 31), modifying some of the works on view and, in accordance with current fashion, lengthening and narrowing the coat sleeves of the men in attendance.

Another composition that Saint-Aubin would later revisit was his 1754 etching The Four Vases (cat. 38). The main subject of this work, which probably catered to the mid-eighteenth-century interest in ornament prints, especially vase designs,6 offered Saint-Aubin a means to exercise his fertile imagination; his calligraphic line work displays his inventiveness, especially in creating themes and variations on one decorative form. Saint-Aubin etched all of the vases on a single plate, though he may have originally intended to cut the plate into four, as suggested by two pairs of parallel lines dividing the plate through the middle both horizontally and vertically as well as the artist's signature on or near the base of each design. If this was his intention, then Saint-Aubin's exuberance got the best of him: the vase at lower right is taller than its neighbor. We see here how the etching plate became a sketch pad for Saint-Aubin, who could not resist augmenting his designs with tiny doodles, including a horse race at lower right and the



Fig. 30. Gabriel de Saint-Aubin (1724–1780), Allegory of the École Gratuite de Dessin, 1766. Etching, retouched with pencil and ink: sheet, 6% × 5 in. (16.9 × 12.8 cm). National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

rendering of the *cabinet* of the important collector Ange-Laurent de La Live de Jully at lower left.7 In 1774 Saint-Aubin resuscitated the plate, darkening parts of the background with a system of engraved parallel lines to throw the vases into relief, and yet he did not engrave the entire background, leaving the composition unresolved (fig. 32).

Saint-Aubin was thirty in 1754 when he lost his third and final attempt to win the Prix de Rome. He would never be invited to join the Académie Royale, not even as a provisional member, which would have allowed him to exhibit works in the Salon he so loved to visit and sketch. Reorienting his career, he turned to scenes of contemporary Parisian life that echo the refined pastoral pleasures of Watteau's fêtes galantes. In taking up

FACING PAGE 36. Gabriel de Saint-Aubin (1724 - 1780)Allegory of the Marriages Performed by the City of Paris in Honor of the Birth of the Duc de Bourgogne in 1751, 1751 Etching, first state of three



37. Gabriel de Saint-Aubin (1724-1780) View of the Salon of 1753, Etching and drypoint, fourth state of five

such urban subjects, Saint-Aubin may also have been influenced by the work of his younger brother Augustin de Saint-Aubin, who by the early 1760s was an established professional printmaker fashioning images of popular recreation spots in Paris.8

Among the highlights of Saint-Aubin's Watteauinflected work are two etchings, The Spectacle of the Tuileries: The Watering Cart and The Chairs, both of which show elegant Parisians enjoying the Jardin des Tuileries, the magnificent public gardens at the heart of the city, near the Louvre. In these compositions, which Saint-Aubin etched on the same plate (cat. 39),

we see the fruit of the civic improvement of the Tuileries, which became an ever more popular gathering spot after the introduction of rental chairs in 1760 by Bontemps, governor of the Tuileries palace, to accommodate the increasing number of visitors. More people meant more dust along the paths, however, hence the presence of a watering cart to dampen the soil. Saint-Aubin used a marvelous economy of means to render the throngs of tiny figures animating these park scenes. Their faces are indicated in the most summary fashion, but small incidental details stand out. In The Watering Cart, two boys catch water from the cart in



Fig. 31. Gabriel de Saint-Aubin (1724-1780), View of the Salon of 1767, 1767. Etching and drypoint: image, 51% × 7% in. (14.8 × 18.1 cm); sheet, 61/4 × 7% in. (15.8 × 19.3 cm). Private collection, Paris

their tricorne hats, the one at the right humorously tipping his up at an angle to drink from it; in The Chairs, a graceful young man steps forward with one long, stocking-clad leg, attentively angling his head toward his female companion.

Earlier states of both *The Watering Cart* and *The* Chairs show that Saint-Aubin darkened the background, working over the upper halves of the two compositions with a combination of etching and drypoint.9 By transforming the Tuileries from a spacious and lightfilled park to a lush and densely grown space, he created a foil for the sunlit, frolicking figures in the foreground. He may have intended to offer a panoramic view of the gardens by placing these prints side by side, almost making a modern-day frieze—the height, dimensions, and horizon lines of the two etchings correspond closely—but if so, he abandoned this idea.10

Watteau's influence upon Saint-Aubin's work of the 1760s was felt more directly in the composition of the trade card Saint-Aubin made in 1767 for the ironmonger Périer.11 This was an homage to Watteau's painting *The Shop Sign*, which served as an actual shop sign for the Parisian art dealer and publisher Edme Gersaint.¹² Trade cards, known as addresses, number among the many types of ephemera produced in the history of printmaking. These small-scale prints, which first appeared in the sixteenth century, were actually advertisements that served as a sort of business card, giving the name, address, and specialty of particular shops or merchants through compositions featuring simple text or clever, eye-catching imagery. Here the conceit is a cutaway view of Périer's shop—how literal or imaginary a depiction is impossible to say—that reveals an assortment of objects (lanterns, sconces, andirons, fireplace

38. Gabriel de Saint-Aubin (1724–1780) The Four Vases, 1754 Etching and drypoint, first state of two





Fig. 32. Gabriel de Saint-Aubin (1724–1780), *The Four Vases*, 1774. Etching, engraving, and drypoint: image with border, $9\% \times 6\%$ in. (23.9 × 15.6 cm). Harvard Art Museums / Fogg Museum, Cambridge, Massachusetts; Purchase through the generosity of David Leventhal and the Anonymous Fund for the Acquisition of Prints Older than 150 Years (M25812)



tongs) displayed for sale. The trio at right engages in an animated discussion about a lock and key while the young assistant at left retrieves something from the ceiling. The extant preparatory drawing for this etching (cat. 40) along with a touched proof (cat. 41)—an impression the artist pulled during the process of making the etching to check the progress of his work, which he then altered with pen and brown ink—show Saint-Aubin fiddling with various details, including the addition of a large lantern hanging above the salesgirl as well as the spelling out, in the lintel along the top, of Périer's name and the shop's address. Our attention is directed to this information by the bust of an African woman gazing upward.13 Her head, in fact, makes reference to a motif on either the shop sign or the exterior of Périer's shop on the Quai de la Mégisserie in Paris, which is referred to here (and in contemporary advertisements) as "à la Tête Noire."14

The final composition, charming to be sure, is doubtless not what Périer had in mind (cat. 42). Packed with the sort of tiny and fanciful details that were so dear to Saint-Aubin, it is difficult to comprehend in a glance, and the allusion to Watteau may well have been lost on his client. Aside from the preparatory drawing, Trade Card for Périer, Ironmonger is known today only through three proof states.

Saint-Aubin's design for Périer's trade card, like many of his compositions, could be revisited, redrawn, and reinvented. With Saint-Aubin, such a range of possibilities seemed invariably in play, and given his propensity to revise, it is understandable that there is no larger arc of evolution in evidence among his etchings, unlike the printmaking of Le Prince or Desprez (as we will see). During the three decades Saint-Aubin made prints, his process was always haphazard, his approach open-ended. Yet out of such idiosyncrasy derives not only his work's limitations but also his uniqueness among the *peintres-graveurs* of his era.

Perfecting Aquatint: Jean-Baptiste Le Prince

A native of Metz, Jean-Baptiste Le Prince came to Paris in the early 1750s and studied with François Boucher. 15 Absorbing the older artist's lyrical, idealizing style and inflecting it with the naturalism of Northern art, Le Prince gained a lifelong appreciation for pastoral landscape, exemplified by Boucher's 1756 etching The Laundress (cats. 43, 44). 16 Among the lessons imparted to Le Prince early on was the importance of the print

market for the dissemination of an artist's work. Like Boucher, Le Prince would both make prints after his own compositions and allow professional printmakers to translate them.

It was surely Boucher who introduced the young Le Prince to the circle of amateurs and artists—and the figures of political, social, and cultural importance who gathered at the Moulin Joli, the estate of noted amateur Claude Henri Watelet outside Paris on the Seine (in present-day Colombes). On these picturesque grounds, Watelet and his guests could socialize, converse about the topics of the day, commune with nature, and, not least, make etchings.17 The abbé de Saint-Non was one of the amateurs who frequented the Moulin Joli. Between 1755 and 1757 he etched more than twentyfive of Le Prince's compositions, 18 including a series of landscapes after Le Prince's ink and wash drawings entitled Varie vedute del gentile mulino (Various Views of the Genteel Mill) (cat. 45). The suite was dedicated to Marguerite Le Comte, Watelet's companion (and an amateur etcher herself) who was fondly known as the "miller's wife" of the Moulin Joli. Studying how his loose handling of brown ink and wash over black chalk was translated into Saint-Non's distinct idiom of mark making (cat. 46)—comparing, in particular, how Saint-Non approximated the scribble of the vegetation in the sun-dappled scene made for the title plate to the series—undoubtedly helped Le Prince develop his own etching skills.19

Le Prince went on to have a remarkably successful career specializing in scenes of Russian exotica that evoked the manner of his teacher Boucher. The artist journeyed to Russia in 1757, and although information about his sojourn there is limited, we know that he traveled within the country and spent time in St. Petersburg. While in the Russian capital he may have made the occasional etching in the company of Jean Jacques Lagrenée, who created several etchings when he and his brother visited there between 1760 and 1763.20 The drawings and collection of costumes and accessories that Le Prince brought back to Paris in 1763 provided source material for his Russian-themed work for years to come.

In 1764 Le Prince was accepted as a provisional member of the Académie Royale, becoming a full member the following year with the acceptance of his oil painting A Russian Baptism.²¹ Membership in the Académie enabled the artist to exhibit in the biennial Salon, to which he contributed more than ninety

39. Gabriel de Saint-Aubin (1724 - 1780)

FACING PAGE

state of two

The Spectacle of the Tuileries: The Watering Cart and The Chairs, 1760-63 Etching and drypoint, second

40. Gabriel de Saint-Aubin (1724–1780) Design for Trade Card for Périer, Ironmonger, 1767 Black chalk, pen and black and brown inks, brush and gray and brown wash, verso covered with red chalk



41. Gabriel de Saint-Aubin (1724-1780) Trade Card for Périer, Ironmonger, 1767 Etching and drypoint, first state of three, reworked with pen and brown ink





42. Gabriel de Saint-Aubin (1724-1780) Trade Card for Périer, Ironmonger, 1767 Etching and drypoint, third state of three

works over the next decade and a half. During this productive period in his career, Le Prince often emphasized his affiliation with Russia. He contributed to the deluxe 1768 publication Voyage en Sibérie by the abbé Jean-Baptiste Chappe d'Auteroche, an astronomer to Louis XV and member of the Académie des Sciences who had famously observed the Transit of Venus in Tobolsk, Siberia, on June 6, 1761. (It is not clear if he and Le Prince met in Russia or, more likely, later in Paris.) Le Prince provided thirty-two highly finished drawings (Rosenbach Museum and Library, Philadelphia) that were subsequently etched and engraved by professional printmakers as illustrations for the three volumes.²² This ostensibly scientific publication—in truth filled with provocative commentary on Russia's political structure and social mores—was so popular that a second edition appeared in 1769, followed by an English translation in 1770.

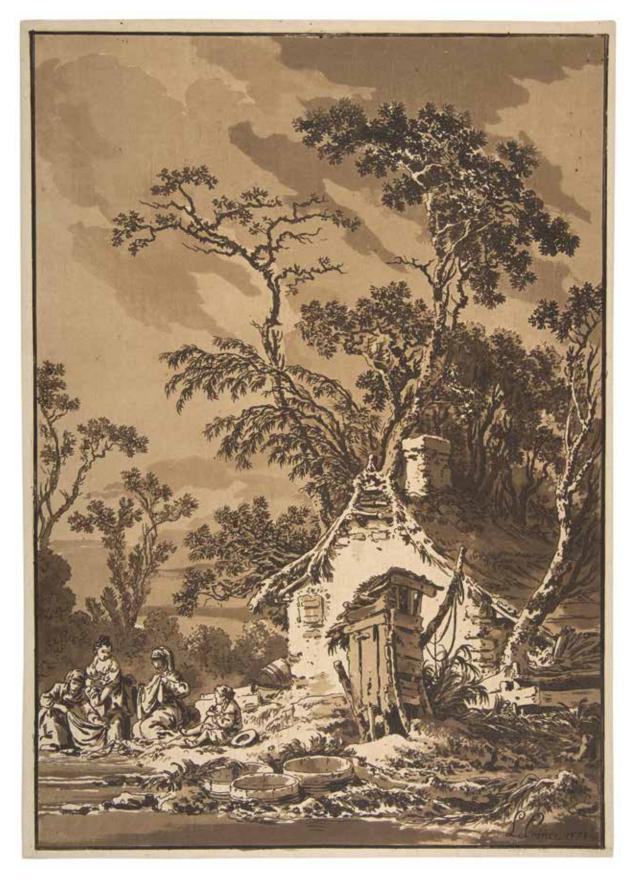
Le Prince's involvement with Chappe d'Auteroche's project underscored his expertise in Russia and the "authenticity" of his images. It was through his multiple series of etchings, however, that Le Prince cemented his reputation as a specialist in Russian subject matter. He began publishing and selling his print series on Russian themes in 1764,²³ putting out four that year, five in 1765, and four in 1768, totaling more than one hundred prints in all. Le Prince's neat little packages of prints were grouped according to themes or categories that made the exotic familiar—costumes, landscapes, street vendors, etc.—and advertisements stressed that the etchings were based on drawings made in Russia.²⁴ When Le Prince's Suite de divers habillements des peuples du nord (Suite of Various Costumes of the People of the North), dedicated to the printmaker and draftsman Charles Nicolas Cochin II,25 was featured in the October 1764 issue of the Mercure de France, he explained what distinguished his prints:

I continued with all possible care a genre of study as new as it is interesting, since I can say that of all the foreigners who have been called to [Russia], I am the first who has taken it upon myself to find beauty in the simplicity and the picturesque dress of the People.²⁶

The series comprises six plates depicting costumed women set in domesticated landscape settings. The compositions of the first two plates (cats. 47, 48), in particular, are built around a play of contrasts among

43. François Boucher (1703–1770) The Laundress, 1756 Etching, first state of two





44. Jean-Baptiste Le Prince (1734–1781) The Washerwomen, 1771 Etching and aquatint printed in brown ink

45. Jean-Baptiste Le Prince (1734 - 1781)Design for title plate from "Varie vedute del gentile mulino" (Various Views of the Genteel Mill), ca. 1755 Brush and brown and gray wash over black chalk



the ages, poses, and backgrounds of the figures. Filtered through Le Prince's aesthetic, the rendering of these subjects is informed as much by seventeenth-century Northern sources as by eighteenth-century landscape and genre scenes.

In 1768 Le Prince began publishing prints that combined etching with aquatint, a relatively new technique that artists throughout Europe were experimenting with in the second half of the eighteenth century.²⁷ To make an aquatint, an artist dusts rosin (pulverized resin) on the surface of a copper plate. The plate is then heated from below, to liquefy and fuse these particles, and submerged in an acid bath. The acid eats away at the exposed areas around and between the rosin particles, making tiny circles and irregular patches that coalesce into speckled patterns and read as passages of tone when inked and printed. The combination of aquatint with etching, which is done first, creates an interplay of line and tone similar to the effect of applying wash with a brush over a drawing first rendered in pen and ink. The appearance and tone of the aquatint can be varied according to the grain size of the rosin particles employed and the number of times the plate is corroded with acid. Artists control the tones, as they do for etching, by using stopping-out varnish to cover the lightest passages in anticipation of reintroducing the plate to the acid bath; they can also burnish the plate after biting to lighten select areas.

Not having been trained as professional printmakers, peintres-graveurs were particularly open to the use of aquatint, intrigued by the possibilities the new technique offered to multiply their ink and wash drawings. Many also came to appreciate the medium for its distinctive characteristics and expressive potential, especially in the creation of original prints. Early impressions of Le Prince's etching and aquatints, printed in brown ink,28 tapped into the expanding market for affordable yet sophisticated facsimiles of drawings, which were increasingly popular as works to collect, frame, and display as well as to use to instruct art students via copying. Aquatint—one of several print techniques being developed around this time to replicate compositions rendered in chalk, wash, watercolor, or pastel—should be distinguished from the wash-manner prints made by professional printmakers in France, such as Jean François Janinet, beginning in the 1770s.29



46. Jean Claude Richard, abbé de Saint-Non (1727-1791), after Jean-Baptiste Le Prince (1734-1781) Title plate from "Varie vedute del gentile mulino" (Various Views of the Genteel Mill), 1755 Etching

As when making chalk- and pastel-manner prints, professional printmakers used a host of tools to create various marks in the ground or on the plate to replicate the effect of the drawn strokes of chalk or pastel or the brush-applied areas of wash and watercolor. The use of these tools, in keeping with their professional training and practice, gave them a fine degree of control over the end results.

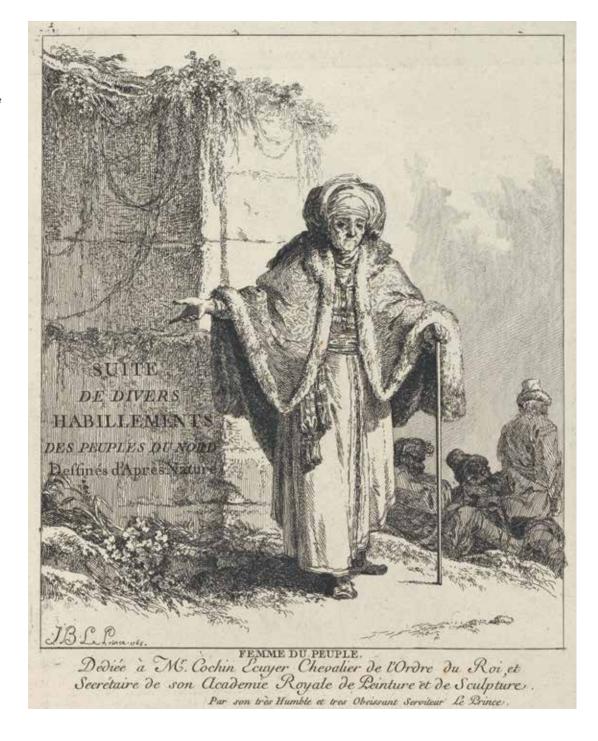
A handful of artists used aquatint in the 1760s in Paris, including Saint-Non, but it seems that Le Prince was not familiar with, or at least not privy to, the techniques they employed.³⁰ The works he made in 1768 reveal experimentation with various means of adding tone to a plate, including drypoint and lavis (the direct application of acid to the plate), but these methods predate the development of his own aquatint process, which he presented to fellow members of the Académie Royale in January 1769.31

What distinguishes Le Prince's aquatint process from that of other artists then working in France was the fineness of his grain, the nuanced range of his tones, and the means he devised to control its application.³² Having etched his plate, Le Prince applied another

ground and then brushed on a special ink (a combination of olive oil, turpentine, and lampblack) to create his composition, much as he would add passages of wash to an ink drawing. The solvent softened the ground so that it could be wiped off. Le Prince then covered these exposed passages of the plate with a soap and sugar solution, sticky enough to hold the pulverized aquatint rosin in place until it was fused to the plate. The plate was bitten multiple times before it was inked and used to print impressions. This unique process enabled Le Prince to work on the plate with the same ease with which he executed his ink and wash drawings.

Le Prince introduced his aquatints to the French public in 1769, showing twenty-nine etching and aquatints—compared to only five paintings—in that year's Salon³³ and several in the Salon of 1771.³⁴ Although we do not know the titles of the individual prints,³⁵ we can speculate that he likely showcased the full range of his achievements, including his largest print, O farmers, happy beyond measure, could they but know their blessings, a mythological scene inspired by Virgil's Georgics (cat. 49).36 Le Prince also placed multiple advertisements for his aquatints in contemporary journals

47. Jean-Baptiste Le Prince (1734-1781) Woman of the People, title plate from "Suite de divers habillements des peuples du nord" (Suite of Various Costumes of the People of the North), 1765 Etching



between 1768 and 1781, emphasizing the medium's utility in replicating drawings and claiming to have perfected the technique.³⁷ In an advertisement published late in his life, when he tried unsuccessfully to sell his aquatint process by subscription, Le Prince provided a long list of its many "advantages." It could, he claimed, enable artists to reproduce, multiply, and thus profit

from drawings made after their paintings; provide visitors to the Salon with "printed drawings of all the works exhibited"; facilitate the dissemination of designs for public monuments; and give amateurs "the pleasure of circulating their works at their friends' houses."38

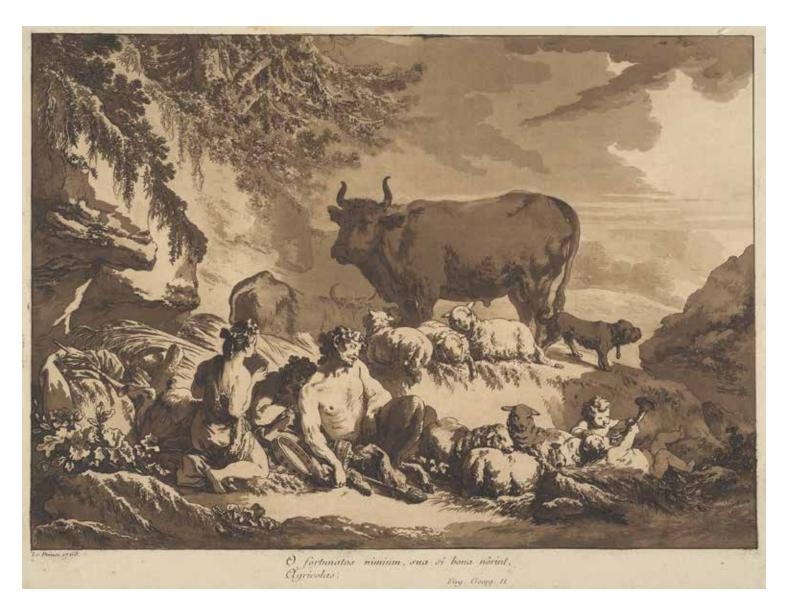
Most of Le Prince's etchings were presented in series designed to explore variations on Russian themes, espe-



48. Jean-Baptiste Le Prince (1734-1781) The Young Shepherdess, plate 2 from "Suite de divers habillements des peuples du nord" (Suite of Various Costumes of the People of the North), 1765 Etching

cially with an eye to conveying information about exotic costumes. His etching and aquatints, in contrast, were intended primarily as facsimiles of drawings and were conceived as individual works or complementary pendants to be framed and displayed (cat. 44).39 Accordingly, these aquatints featured little text aside from signature, date, and title. A drawing related to the artist's

1771 etching and aquatint *The Fishermen* (cat. 50) shows how he used the earlier work as a model but did not slavishly copy it (fig. 33). Among the many small, subtle changes he made as he revisited, reedited, and redrew his composition, most noticeable is the rendering of the luminous and translucent sky, achieved in the final print through the white of the paper and lightly bitten



49. Jean-Baptiste Le Prince (1734-1781) O farmers, happy beyond measure, could they but know their blessings, 1768 Aquatint and etching printed in brown ink, fourth state of four

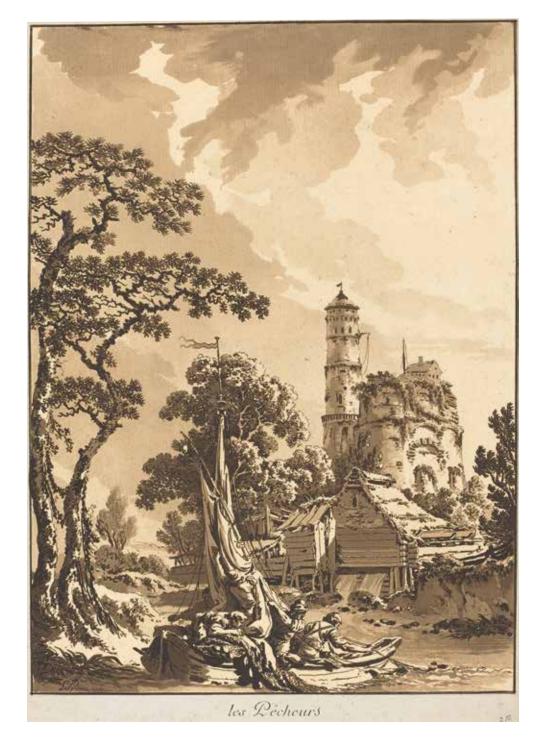
passages of aquatint. Here one senses how Le Prince brushed his special solvent ink onto the grounded plate with spontaneity and confidence, making, in essence, an original work, albeit a variation on an earlier theme.

Le Prince's etching and aquatint The Repose, from the same year, highlights his control of deeply bitten areas of aquatint, here used to render the penumbra of a room that in turn sets off the eroticized slumber of the young woman en déshabillé illuminated in the foreground (cat. 51). As so often happens in Le Prince's work, we see him take a conventional subject and overlay it with a fanciful foreignness through the inclusion of Russian clothing and props. The composition was based on a painting (now lost) that Le Prince exhibited in the 1767 Salon, 40 and as was the case with

the original canvas, the artist's nod to Rembrandt through the use of clair-obscur (chiaroscuro) would no doubt have been appreciated by his contemporaries.41 *The Repose* is the sort of elegant and original work by which Le Prince, through his unique aquatint process, exceeded the achievements of even the most talented professional printmakers.

"Un homme d'une vaste imagination": Louis Jean Desprez42

In 1771 Louis Jean Desprez, an architect and professor of drawing at the École Royale Militaire, placed an advertisement in the November 4 issue of L'Avantcoureur for eighteen prints, both by him and after his



50. Jean-Baptiste Le Prince (1734-1781) The Fishermen, 1771 Etching and aquatint printed in brown ink



Fig. 33. Jean-Baptiste Le Prince (1734-1781), Russian Landscape with Ruins of a Tower, second half of the 18th century. Pen and black ink, brush and brown wash, $13\frac{1}{4} \times 8\frac{1}{2}$ in. $(33.8 \times 21.7 \text{ cm})$. Musée du Louvre, Paris (inv. 30632, recto)

own works, including his Project for a Repository (fig. 34). All were related to architecture, with one exception: a composition entitled *The Chimera* (cat. 52).⁴³ The artist had periodically made etchings while establishing his career in the 1760s—prints offered the primary means to disseminate his unrealized architectural designs—but he had previously created nothing along these lines.⁴⁴ Front and center in Desprez's etching is a winged, three-headed creature seen devouring a man, or rather the remains of a man. Not quite the chimera of Greek mythology—a monster with a lion's, goat's, and snake's heads—the beast is terrifying nonetheless. The lower



part of the corpse is visible within the chimera's exposed rib cage, his right leg protruding from the hip bone. The chimera's devilish left and right heads consume the man's hands; the middle, birdlike head is shown in the midst of a savage attack, its beak piercing through the man's chin into his mouth. The ground below is littered with the skeletal remains of the monster's past meals, while to the left we see two smaller creatures—one resembling a snake, the other an insect—who warily regard each other, rivals for the spoils.

Such a spine-chilling scene enabled Desprez to showcase his imagination in a way distinct from the theatricality of his architectural designs and from the sober portraits he would etch of the engineers Antoine de Chésie (cat. 53) and Jean Rodolphe Perronet in the early 1770s. 45 Here the medium of etching served both as a vehicle for new subjects and, more broadly, as a means for Desprez to reinvent himself as an artist. The small creatures that ornamented and animated the structures in his earlier prints (fig. 34) have pushed the architecture to the background, where it becomes a mere stage set that emphasizes the chimera's massive scale. The print may have been inspired by other graphic work—imagery of human and animal musculature and skeletal systems; prints of monsters, demons, and witchcraft; the work of Piranesi—but if so, Desprez thoroughly digested and transformed these sources, etching a brilliant composition that tapped into contemporary interest in the macabre sublime.

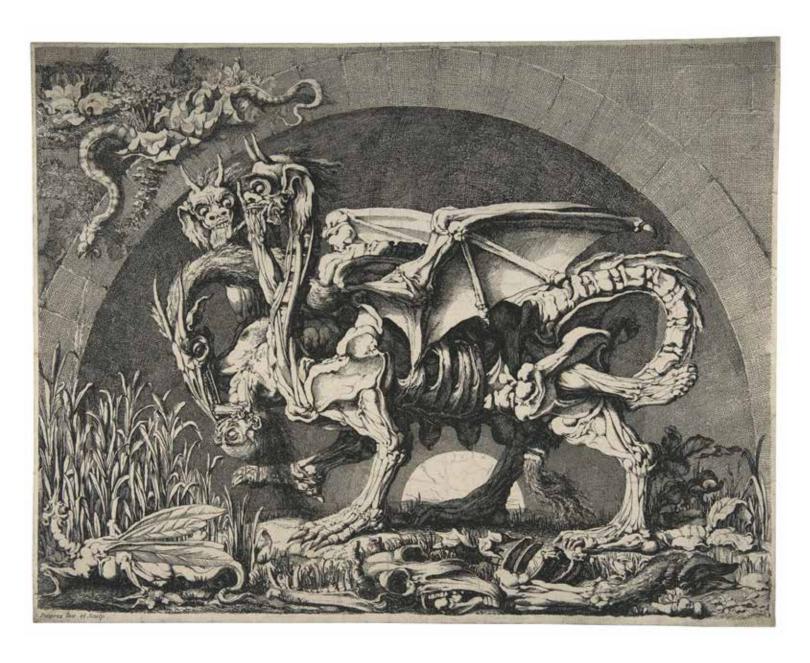
In August 1776, after several attempts, Desprez at last won the annual Prix de Rome competition as an architect, allowing him a few years of study in Italy through the support of the French monarchy. Arriving in Rome in August 1777, he soon became involved in making illustrations for Voyage pittoresque ou, Description des Royaumes de Naples et de Sicile, one of the most ambitious and sumptuous book projects of the second half of the eighteenth century. Published between 1781 and 1786 and composed of five volumes illustrated with more than five hundred prints and vignettes by a team of artists, this deluxe travel book was overseen and funded at first by Jean Benjamin de Laborde, the son of a wealthy tax farmer and one of the first men-in-waiting to Louis XV. In 1777 the abbé de Saint-Non was brought on as a partner (to supervise the production of the plates) along with Saint-Non's brother, Louis Richard de la Bretesche, both of whom helped finance the undertaking.46 After receiving a special dispensation to pursue the project from the

Bâtiments du Roi (which administered the Académie de France in Rome), Desprez departed in November 1777, probably meeting up in Naples with a few others, among them the young Dominique Vivant Denon, at the time secretary to the French ambassador there. Over the next year, as they traveled throughout southern Italy, spending ample time in Sicily, Denon kept a journal that became the basis for Saint-Non's text for the publication. In his entries, Denon frequently noted when and where Desprez made drawings, marveling at the artist's ability not only to render a landscape,

FACING PAGE 51. Jean-Baptiste Le Prince (1734 - 1781)The Repose, 1771 Etching and aquatint printed in brown ink, second state of two



Fig. 34. Louis Jean Desprez (1743-1804), Project for a Repository, ca. 1770. Etching: plate, 17½ × 12% in. (44.6 × 32.1 cm). Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (inv. HA-52-FOL)



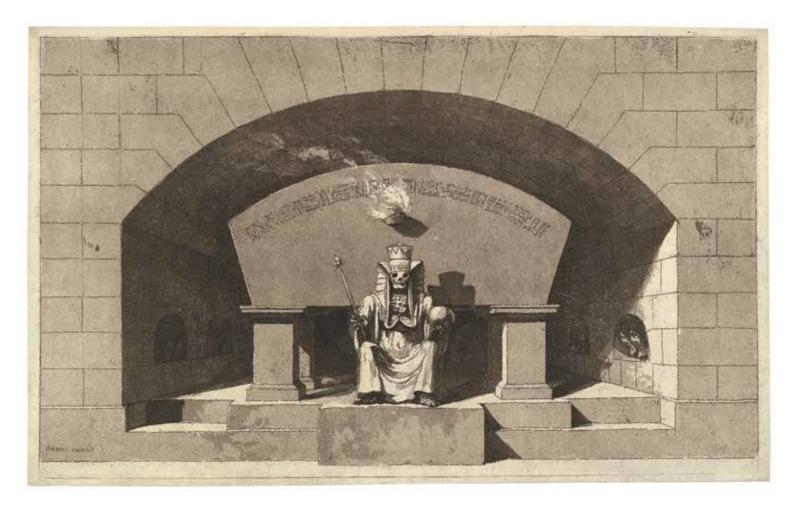
52. Louis Jean Desprez (1743-1804) The Chimera (La Chimère de Monsieur Desprez), before 1771 Etching, second or third state of five

city, architectural ruin, or archaeological excavation as it currently appeared, but also to create drawings that could conjure terrible or cataclysmic events of the past.⁴⁷ There were numerous visits to tombs and catacombs; one ink and wash drawing from Desprez's notebook shows a sepulchral vault in Benevento (visited in April 1778) replete with skeletons and a pile of skulls (fig. 36).

The trip enthralled Desprez and provided new fuel for his imagination. Returning to Rome in January 1779, he continued working on the project—again receiving special permission from the Bâtiments—and finished more than one hundred drawings to be sent to France, where they would be etched and engraved. Desprez's

special position within the French system ensured that his shift from architecture to painting was not only supported but generously extended through two years of additional state sponsorship at the Académie de France. During this time Desprez took on several projects to expand his repertoire and client base. Theater design was one side venture;48 printmaking was another. We know that in 1781 Desprez began collaborating with Francesco Piranesi, son of the famous printmaker, on a series of hand-colored etchings for the tourist trade depicting well-known sites in Rome, Naples, and Pompeii.49 Most remarkable are the five prints, each a combination of etching and aquatint, that Desprez made

53. Louis Jean Desprez (1743–1804) Antoine de Chésie, ca. 1772–76 Etching



54. Louis Jean Desprez (1743-1804) Tomb with Death Seated, ca. 1779-84 Etching and aquatint printed in brown ink, second state of two

after his own designs sometime following his return from southern Italy: a series of four tombs and a monumental battle scene from antiquity.

Each of the four prints in the untitled series shows a view of a tomb set in an arched recess in a stone wall.⁵⁰ In Tomb with Death Seated (cat. 54), we see a tomb guarded—one might say haunted—by a draped skeleton adorned with royal regalia. The flickering sepulchral flame, which issues forth smoke in a phantasmagoric form across a pastiche of meaningless pseudohieroglyphics (fig. 35),⁵¹ contrasts with the bright light raking across the foreground that creates looming shadows in the recess around the tomb. The angle of light and shadow at right draws our attention to a pair of feet protruding from a niche, which we then realize is but one of four pairs of feet belonging to corpses placed symmetrically in four niches, two on each side of the tomb. Desprez had depicted tombs before,⁵² but here they offered a new means of exploring the macabre through the exploitation of mysterious symbols that resist easy decipherment.53

What gives the prints in this series their eerie power is the mysterious darkness that envelops each tomb, an effect created with aquatint. As with the other artists who began using aquatint in the second half of the eighteenth century, Desprez was probably taken with the medium's ability to replicate his drawings, and like Le Prince he often printed his etching and aquatints in brown ink, better to simulate the appearance of wash.⁵⁴ He began by etching the outlines of the four tomb compositions on his plates, enlarging and subtly improving upon the designs he had worked out for each through smaller-scale drawings (Cooper-Hewitt, National Design Museum, New York).55 After applying a coarse grain of aquatint—so unlike the fine variety favored by Le Prince—Desprez achieved the tonal range of the print by biting the plate at least three times, fashioning the lighter areas by selectively covering these passages with stopping-out varnish applied with a brush. Desprez left a thin strip of white paper in reserve along the upper and left edges of the tomb to define them against the dark shadows; he also used the stopping-out varnish



Fig. 35. Detail of cat. 54, showing pseudo-hieroglyphics



Fig. 36. Louis Jean Desprez (1743-1804), Sepulchral Vault, Benevento, 1778. Pen and ink and brush and gray wash on parchment (page from an album or notebook of drawings): album, $10\% \times 7\%$ in. (27.5 \times 18.5 cm). Académie Royale des Beaux-Arts, Stockholm (P 49:1)

in a painterly way to render the smoke and evoke the variegated coloring of the stone.

About this time Desprez created his most ambitious print, The Capture and Burning of Selinus by Hannibal (cat. 55), which he dedicated to Jean-Baptiste Charles François, marquis de Clermont d'Amboise, the French ambassador to Naples, for whom Denon served as secretary. It shows the sack of Selinus (present-day Selinunte), a Greek city on the southwest coast of Sicily, by the Carthaginians in 409 B.C. In re-creating this catastrophic event, Desprez was likely stimulated by the magnitude of the destruction, which necessitated depicting damaged buildings as well as orchestrating countless tiny figures. As with the artist's tomb prints, the idea for the composition was first worked out through drawings, but its full potential was realized in etching and aquatint. Desprez had made at least one drawing of temple ruins when he visited Selinunte in August 1778; he also made two small-scale works in which he imagined the city's destruction by the Carthaginians and the aftermath of its pillage (all Nationalmuseum, Stockholm).56 Having decided on the sack of the city as the subject for his print, Desprez then worked on a larger, more finished and detailed drawing (fig. 37) similar in size to the final print. The most significant of the changes introduced between this drawing and the print were the elimination of the two birds flying overhead, presumably because they were distracting, and the compression of space, which moved the city forward in the picture plane to bring more clearly into view its devastation by legions of soldiers.

Desprez amplified the terror of the attack by taking advantage of aquatint's capacity to render dramatic contrasts. The menacing forms of the ships in the harbor; the flickering reflections off the bows of the ships and in the ripples of water; the expanse of the smoke-filled night sky emblazoned with fire, set against the masses of the buildings: all were achieved by going back in with brush and stopping-out varnish—which he could apply broadly, confidently, and freely given the sheer size of the plate—and by corroding the plate multiple times. The two states of the composition reveal how Desprez minimized the areas of white paper left in reserve to plunge the scene further into darkness.⁵⁷

55. Louis Jean Desprez (1743–1804) The Capture and Burning of Selinus by Hannibal, ca. 1779-84 Etching, aquatint, and drypoint, second state of three





Fig. 37. Louis Jean Desprez (1743–1804), The Capture and Burning of Selinus by Hannibal, ca. 1779–84. Pen and black ink, gray wash, and watercolor heightened with white, $16\% \times 28\%$ in. (42 × 71.5 cm). Bibliothèque de l'École Polytechnique, Palaiseau (B13)

If Le Prince's aquatints look like drawings, Desprez's prints transcend the medium's original purpose of replicating compositions rendered in ink and wash. By wedding his expansive imagination with his technical virtuosity in etching and aquatint, Desprez created works that achieved effects possible solely via intaglio printmaking, the likes of which one finds elsewhere in the eighteenth century perhaps only in the prints of Goya.

Pursuing Clair-Obscur: Jean Étienne Liotard

Jean Étienne Liotard's career is bookended by printmaking. Although his finest achievements in the medium came during his later life, he also pursued printmaking as a budding young portraitist. Trained in Geneva as a miniaturist and enamelist, Liotard came to Paris in 1723 to apprentice with the professional printmaker Jean-Baptiste Massé for three years,58 but unlike his twin brother, Jean Michel Liotard, he decided not to make this his specialty. By the early 1730s he was advertising his portraits in the Mercure de France, including an etching of the lawyer and Paris police chief René Hérault (1731) and a miniature color print of Voltaire (1735).59

Liotard's ability to seize a likeness is demonstrated by a remarkable small-scale self-portrait etched about this time (cat. 56).60 Rather than showing himself making eye contact with the viewer, Liotard depicted himself with his face turned to the right. His mouth is slightly ajar, and one imagines the artist assuming this expression as he concentrated on rendering his features, down to the stubble on his cleft chin. Perhaps somewhat obviously Liotard etched the words "dapres nature [sic]" (from nature) below his visage. This was conventional phrasing, to be sure, but such an inscription on a work of a personal nature, and one pulled in a small number of impressions, most likely indicates that this self-portrait was an informal image he composed directly on the prepared ground of the plate.

It seems that Liotard's lack of success in becoming a member of the Académie Royale is what prompted him to leave Paris in 1735 and embark on a peripatetic career, which over the course of the next four decades saw him travel to Italy, Constantinople, Vienna, back to Paris, England, and the Netherlands before settling in his native Geneva in 1756 (although he made later trips abroad). Liotard ceased making prints in the 1740s for three decades, finding it more expedient, given his



extensive travels and growing international fame, to work with professional printmakers to replicate his drawings of Levantine subjects and pastel portraits. Eighteenth-century interest in the exotic fueled the demand for the former, as did the artist's cultivation of his reputation as "the Turkish painter" through his unmistakable full beard and Turkish dress.

Why did Liotard return to printmaking in the late 1770s? As his career wound down, it appears that he took a retrospective survey of his accomplishments and abilities as a portraitist. Such reflection was occasioned by advancing age, but also by a trip to Vienna in 1777-78 to work for his longtime patron, the former Empress Maria Theresa. At her request, he had come to make a portrait drawing of her son Emperor Joseph II (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam), a work intended to complement an extraordinary group of eleven portrait drawings, very dear to the empress, that he had made of her children in 1762 (Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Geneva).61

56. Jean Étienne Liotard (1702-1789) Self-Portrait, ca. 1731 Etching, second state of three

57. Jean Étienne Liotard (1702-1789) The Archduchess Maria Anna of Austria, ca. 1778-81 Mezzotint, roulette, engraving, and drypoint

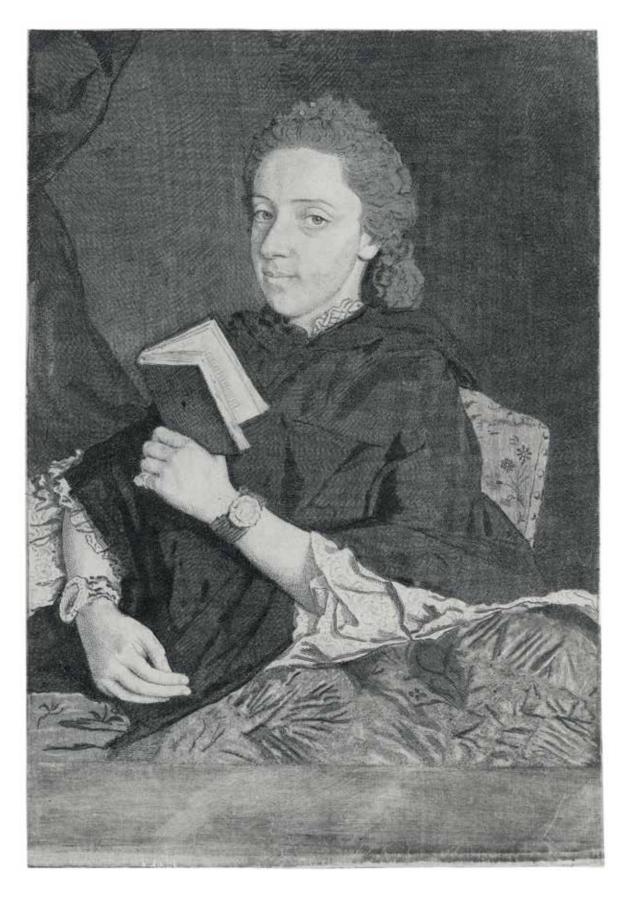




Fig. 38. Jean Étienne Liotard (1702–1789), The Archduchess Maria Christina of Austria, ca. 1778-81. Etching, mezzotint, and roulette: sheet, 14 × 9% in. (35.6 × 25 cm). Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (RP-P-1955-504)



Fig. 39. Jean Étienne Liotard (1702-1789), Emperor Joseph II of Austria, ca. 1778-81. Etching, mezzotint, and roulette: plate, 15 × 11½ in. (38.2 × 29.1 cm). Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (RP-P-OB-5749)

Liotard enjoyed his visit, but his correspondence with his wife reveals that he was envious of the Swedish portraitist Alexander Roslin, who was kept busy painting portraits of the nobility and Archduchess Maria Christina: "The Empress and her daughters, I think they believe that I do not make them beautiful enough and this is why I believe they have not asked me to paint any of them."62

It seems that not long after Liotard returned to Geneva in 1778, he decided to make a group of prints of the imperial children: two of the archduchesses, Maria Anna (cat. 57) and Maria Christina (fig. 38), and one of Emperor Joseph II (fig. 39).⁶³ Such works would pay homage to Maria Theresa but also serve as a reminder of Liotard's connections to one of the most important courts in Europe. Using plates of similar dimensions,64 Liotard based the three compositions on the portrait drawings he made of the sitters in 1762 and 1778, respectively, presumably working from drawn copies.65 Although we cannot ascertain the order of these late prints, it would seem that the portraits of the two archduchesses came first, as the technique is slightly less assured.

After transferring his design for Maria Anna's portrait to the plate's surface and sketching the main outline of the composition with drypoint, Liotard textured select areas with a mezzotint rocker (a steel tool with a curved, serrated edge set into a wood handle).66 A printmaker who specialized in mezzotint would have uniformly and consistently textured the entire surface of the copper plate in sections using a guide or measuring system of sorts (such as a ruler and compass). He would then have scraped and burnished select passages of the plate—a subtractive process that essentially diminished the texture to bring about a tonal range of grays—and the image would gradually emerge from the darkness. Liotard, however, created his late prints through an additive process, the mezzotint rocker being but one of several tools he used to make different marks and patterns on his plates. He supplemented the rocker marks with evenly spaced rows of dots made with a roulette (a tool with a spiked wheel), here probably in a ground

FACING PAGE 58. Jean Étienne Liotard (1702 - 1789)Self-Portrait, ca. 1778-81 Mezzotint, roulette, and etching

applied over areas of the plate subsequently corroded with acid.

By varying his tools (rockers, like roulettes, come in different sizes and gauges) as well as the directionality and density of mezzotint and roulette—and by combining these techniques with passages of drypoint, engraving, and stipple (dots executed with various tools, here probably made one at a time in the plate with the tip of a burin)—Liotard differentiated the various tones and textures of flesh and fabric (fig. 40). For Maria Anna's face he created an almost imperceptible pattern of dashed lines and used the subtle interplay between delicate stipple and the white of the paper to model her features. The light areas of flesh are set off by the darker tones of background, drapery, dress, and hair, which the artist rendered with a combination of mezzotint and roulette, whose deeper, acid-bitten marks hold substantially more ink and so print darker. The artist appears to have used scraping and burnishing to model the fabric that covers Maria Anna's lap, but here the lackluster results prompted him to employ engraving to better define the draping of the material.

It appears that Liotard abandoned his portraits of Maria Anna and Maria Christina; there is but one known impression of the former⁶⁷ and only two of the latter. 68 Devoid of signatures or lettering, the empty bands at the bottom are darkened in. Although it is possible that the artist was dissatisfied with some details, such as the arc of lines cutting through the center of Maria Christina's portrait,69 the format and presentation of the two archduchesses may well have been the works' most problematic aspects. As intimate, half-length portraits based on drawings that had been conceived for private viewing, these prints were ill-suited for wide distribution because the sitters wore no special clothing or accessories to identify them as royalty. 70 Joseph II's portrait, in contrast, shows the Holy Roman Emperor wearing the insignia of the Order of Maria Theresa and the Order of Saint Stephen of Hungary, both founded by his mother. Made through a combination of mezzotint, roulette, and etching, with tonal passages rendered for the most part through the carefully controlled and subtle use of scraping and burnishing, Joseph II's portrait was completed, signed, lettered, and dedicated to the empress, the artist's faithful supporter.

Liotard's printmaking work eventually dovetailed with another late-career project. He decided to include his portrait of Joseph II as one of the illustrations for his 1781 publication Traité des principes et des règles

de la peinture. Of the seven prints accompanying this theoretical treatise on the "principles" and "rules" of painting, three reproduce the work of other artists: a seventeenth-century Flemish genre scene of smokers (a painting in Liotard's own collection), a plaster cast of the antique statue Venus Kallipygos, and a painting of a sleeping Venus (also in the artist's collection and then thought to be by Titian). The other four plates replicate examples of Liotard's specialty, namely, portraiture: a self-portrait and portraits of Joseph II, Maria Theresa, and the artist's daughter (named after the empress).71 Looking at all the plates together, one is struck by the disparities in subject matter, size, and technique (varying combinations of mezzotint, roulette, drypoint, etching and/or engraving), differences that reveal something of the ad hoc nature of the project.

Liotard's interest in writing art theory was not new. He had published some of the content of his treatise in the Mercure de France in 1762.72 His son had also encouraged him to gather together and publish his "discoveries" regarding pastels, enamel, and various techniques in the fall of 1779, if not earlier.73 As the title promises, this book, addressed to "young artists," is laid out according to twelve principles and twenty rules, an organizational scheme in keeping with other treatises. Interlarded with anecdotes and references to art of the past, Liotard's discussion of broader ideas is based upon his personal experience as a portraitist. Above all he stresses the importance of working from nature, the value of the innocent or uneducated eye, and his opposition to the use of suggestive "touches," such as the loose application of oil or pastel.

The most substantial information about the seven prints appears in the list of plates included in the book's introductory avertissement.74 Within the text itself, however, discussion of the prints is fairly minimal. One of the few exceptions concerns plate 1 (cat. 58), a self-portrait modeled on two earlier works, a pastel and a preparatory chalk drawing (both Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Geneva).75 The print's lettering links it to the principles of effet (effect) and clair-obscur (chiaroscuro). Liotard's employment of mezzotint, or la manière noire ("the dark manner," as it was known in France), here and in the other plates underscored the importance of rendering the contrasts of the latter principle, a challenge he defined as "the art of choosing and seizing the moments where nature is illuminated most advantageously."76 Although Liotard acknowledged Rembrandt as the master of clair-obscur, he found fault with the





artist for toning down "the lights, which are sometimes browner than the shadows."77 Liotard then described his own self-portrait, essentially positioning his work above that of Rembrandt. With regard to plate 1, he explained: "Even though my shadows are strong, they are nevertheless soft, and [I] have not sacrificed the lights."78

Liotard's self-portrait first and foremost demonstrates the artist's interest in building an image through the modulation of tone. In creating the rich range of darks, he made a distinctive herringbone pattern through a diagonal pass of the rocker combined with vertical and horizontal passages of roulette in the ground. Liotard also employed etching to deepen the shadowed areas of his coat and articulate select details, such as the back of the chair. The artist then brought his image to light, so to speak, through subtle scraping and burnishing, much as he had in his portrait of Joseph II.

Liotard went to Lyon in April 1781 to supervise the printing of his book and the plates, but recognizing that the individual prints might be desirable to collectors, he decided to sell them separately.79 Few copies of the treatise were sold, and only four copies are known to still exist, none of them accompanied by the related plates. The extant impressions of Liotard's late prints are more numerous, suggesting that he was correct and that the text of the treatise ultimately held less appeal than the

prints that showcase his unusual and impressive use of different printmaking techniques.80

Most of the artists discussed in this book pursued etching in isolated bursts of activity, grappling with its challenges and mastering it to varying degrees of success and achievement before ultimately moving on to projects in other media. Saint-Aubin, Le Prince, and Desprez are conspicuous because of their sustained interest in etching over the course of their careers, each regarding the medium as an important adjunct to their other work. Liotard, having abandoned etching for decades, is the odd man out among this group of exceptional peintres-graveurs, but the intensity of his commitment to printmaking late in his career accords with the dedication of the others to the medium and to the exploration of its expressive potential. In creating prints that most effectively conveyed their ideas, stylistic idioms, and subject matter, these four artists launched intriguing forays of innovation in etching, especially in concert with other tonal intaglio printmaking techniques. And while they all followed distinctive and unconventional career paths, each artist succeeded in registering his own particular mark on the history of etching in the eighteenth century.

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Fig. 40. Detail, Jean Étienne Liotard, The Archduchess Maria Anna of Austria (cat. 57)



DIPLOMACY, PATRONAGE, AND PEDAGOGY: ETCHING IN THE ETERNAL CITY

Perrin Stein

ANY FRENCH ARTISTS—painters, sculptors, and architects—found the necessary freedom to learn and experiment with etching not on their home soil, where the boundaries delineating artistic specialties were more strictly adhered to, but in Rome, where the French crown underwrote their expenses at the Académie de France. At any given time, the Académie hosted twelve *pensionnaires*: winners of the Grand Prix competition who were awarded a fellowship to study in Rome, typically for four years. There, they found themselves in a heady environment where they could mix with local Italian artists as well as with other French and Northern European artists who had traveled to Italy either under the protection of a patron or at their own expense.

The Paris-based administrators of the Académie found it difficult, in practical terms, to maintain rigid control over the activities and artistic proclivities of the students at such a distance. Although the course of instruction at the Académie was quite narrowly prescribed, it was also constantly being circumvented with the help of a series of sympathetic directors, who recognized the benefits to be derived from close relationships with the prominent figures in Rome—often diplomats, clergy, and wealthy amateurs—whose commissions offered the *pensionnaires* diverse opportunities to develop their powers of invention and the individuality of their styles. This extracurricular work took many forms, but the art of etching, in particular, flourished in the context of the Académie, where it was largely untethered from the marketplace and rooted instead in a culture of friendship and exchange, allowing students to celebrate their own inventions, record ephemeral creations, and pay homage to their supporters.

Because instruction in etching was not offered to students of painting, sculpture, or architecture in any official setting of the Académie either in Paris or in Rome, it was a practice largely ignored by the administration except in connection with certain diplomatic or pedagogical enterprises. As a pursuit tolerated but

outside the circumscribed curriculum, etching was thus susceptible to a certain ebb and flow of interest that often corresponded to specific catalysts, and there was a considerable range of enthusiasm and aptitude for it among the *pensionnaires*. Some arrived in Italy already quite adept with the etching needle from previous employment in the market for reproductive prints. Pierre Charles Trémolières and François Boucher, to name just two, had both worked on Jean de Jullienne's pioneering project of replicating Watteau's oeuvre in etching.1 Others had no prior experience but were pulled into the printmaking milieu by the opportunity to pursue supplemental income, often working with Piranesi and his French-born publishers, Bouchard and Gravier, or through the encouragement of visiting amateurs, who enjoyed their companionship and local knowledge and, moreover, often underwrote travel expenses and engaged pensionnaires to work on publication projects. In many instances, however, the prevailing dynamic was one of shared enjoyment of a cultivated pastime—sociabilité, as it was called—rather than a solely commercial arrangement, and the benefit pensionnaires derived from working on prints (or books of prints) dedicated to diplomats, patrons, and visiting amateurs would have been considered of a more general and long-term nature.

In terms of style, it is not surprising that a practice that often took root in Rome—and that the Paris arts establishment was either unaware of or chose to ignore—would be marked by the influence of Italian etchers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Unlike the typical separation of artistic practices at home, in Italy there were many examples, especially among Venetian and Genoese artists, of painters embracing the medium and wielding the etching needle with the verve of accomplished draftsmen. This sketch aesthetic, with its freely applied lines deeply bitten in acid, was an attractive model for the young French artists, and one that they would often continue to embrace once back on French soil.

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Fig. 41. Detail, Joseph Marie Vien, *Lot and His Daughters* (cat. 66)



Fig. 42. Nicolas Vleughels (1668-1737), Reclining Female Nude in a Garden. Etching and drypoint: sheet, $2 \times 2\%$ in. (5 × 6 cm). Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (inv. AA-3)

The Académie de France

First proposed by seventeenth-century painter and theorist Charles Le Brun, the founding of the Académie de France in Rome was approved by Louis XIV in 1666, motivated by what art historian Henry Lapauze termed a "grandiose and despotic inspiration." The benefits of such an institution were initially conceived in fairly concrete terms: by copying great works of the past and learning to produce works in the same classicizing mold, the pensionnaires of the king would contribute to the decoration of the ambitious palaces and gardens of the French monarch. Indeed, the statutes and regulations penned by Jean-Baptiste Colbert, minister of finance under Louis XIV, clearly specified at the outset that "His Majesty absolutely forbids all those who have the honor to be accommodated at said Academy to work for any person other than the king."³ The daily lessons, as specified in these statutes, were to include arithmetic, geometry, perspective, architecture, and anatomy as well as drawing after the live model. This idea of the Académie serving the artistic needs of a distant monarch lost its currency following the deaths of Colbert and Louis XIV, however, and the school fell into decline.

Directorship of Nicolas Vleughels (1725–37)

A revival of and broader vision for the Académie followed the appointment of Nicolas Vleughels as director in 1725.4 With the support and financial backing of the powerful surintendant of the Bâtiments du Roi, Louis Antoine de Pardaillan de Gondrin, the first duc d'Antin, Vleughels moved the Académie into the grand setting of the Palazzo Mancini on the Corso, in the center of Rome, and decorated it with fine furniture and tapestries from French manufactories, a reflection of its role not just as an art school but as a prominent outpost of the French state, where ambassadors and princes could be received. In other ways as well Vleughels integrated the Académie and its pensionnaires into the fabric of the Eternal City. Vleughels was close to a number of Italian artists, including the Venetian pastelist Rosalba Carriera, who had visited Paris in 1720-21, and Giovanni Paolo Panini, who would become his brotherin-law. He also maintained good relations with Cardinal Melchior de Polignac, the French ambassador to Rome, and his successor, Paul Hippolyte de Beauvilliers, duc de Saint-Aignan, both of whom were helpful in facilitating access for the students to copy in private palaces and in arranging commissions. Thus, the early rule that all the students' works belonged to the king fell victim not so much to lax enforcement as to a newly formed conception of the Académie's broader patriotic and diplomatic role, in which the patronage of the French pensionnaires by princely, ecclesiastical, and diplomatic luminaries was seen as a means of promoting the glory of French culture.

Essential to the perceived success and continued funding of this mission was regular communication between the school's director in Rome and the administration back in Paris, achieved in the first half of the century primarily through letters, most of which have survived (the eighteen volumes of the complete Correspondance were published between 1887 and 1912).5 Etchings, too, played a distinct role in this communication. Directed at both local and distant audiences, they visually represented the pedagogical practices and achievements of the students, recording their participation in festivals and celebrations and enhancing their relationships with patrons both current and prospective. In contrast to the works of professional printmakers, the majority of these prints were not intended to be sold; they bear no publisher's name or any address where they could be bought. Indeed, like many of the

works by pensionnaires that changed hands in Rome, it is likely that they were instead part of a realm of privileged exchange, one governed by the rules of sociabilité rather than commerce.6

Although *amateurs* would play an increasingly important role in the artistic life of Rome as the century progressed, during Vleughels's directorate etching was less a result of outside commissions and friendships with such patrons than an amusing pastime shared by the pensionnaires, reflecting their quotidian activities and the close camaraderie and mutual influence fostered by the pedagogical practices of the Académie, where students worked together, without pressure to earn income. An inventory of the contents of the building housing the Académie prepared in 1684 by Charles Errard, a cofounder of the Académie Royale, listed a printing press in the attic, and there is no reason to believe that it was not moved to the Palazzo Mancini in 1725, allowing for casual experimentation outside the commercial milieu of publishers and professional printmakers. The ready availability of a press is also suggested by the large number of extant counterproofs from this period. Indeed, another inventory, made by Joseph Marie Vien in 1781, his last year as director, mentions "a press for counterproofing the drawings of the pensionnaires."8 Counterproofs, or reversed copies of chalk drawings made by running the original through a press facing a damp blank sheet of paper, were integral to Vleughels's approach to teaching, in which he encouraged the pensionnaires to borrow and copy each other's drawings.9 Jean-François Méjanès's study of the provenance of many of the counterproofs from this period has reinforced the notion that counterproofs not only served to multiply an artist's repertoire of studies and poses by providing mirror images, they were also part of a culture of exchange among pensionnaires.¹⁰ Thus, the easy accessibility of the Académie's press, along with its associations with the ability to multiply and share drawings, must have informed the sensibility of the young artists first experimenting with etching in this setting, conditioning them to see the medium as neither slavish reproduction nor commercial pursuit but as an extension of drawing and part of this pedagogical culture.

Vleughels himself during his career made just a single print: a combination of etching and drypoint that depicts a female nude in a landscape (fig. 42). The inscription, "vleughels frances," identifies the author as French, but this actually suggests that it was made



Fig. 43. Michel François Dandré-Bardon (1700-1783), Mary Magdalene Praying at the Foot of the Cross. Etching: sheet, $7\frac{1}{16} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$ in. (18 × 13.3 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Purchase, Thomas and Lore Firman Gift, 2011 (2011,470)

in Rome, for such an identification would have been unnecessary had it been published in France. Print publisher turned collector and writer Pierre Jean Mariette described it in his manuscript notes as a work of Vleughels's youth, when he was a pensionnaire.11 Modern scholars have accepted this tradition, although one cannot exclude the possibility that Vleughels picked up the etching needle during his second Italian period to work alongside his students, as was his practice when he taught drawing. The subject matter reflects Vleughels's lifelong interest in Venetian art, as does the loose sketchiness of the execution, an approach one also sees in the few etchings made by pensionnaire Michel François Dandré-Bardon (fig. 43), who arrived in Rome in 1726.12 Other students during Vleughels's tenure adopted a very different manner in their etchings, however, suggesting that Vleughels himself had little if any direct influence on the style or technique his students employed, which tended to mirror each artist's approach as a draftsman.

In addition to the traditional académies (studies of nude male models), Vleughels instituted the practice

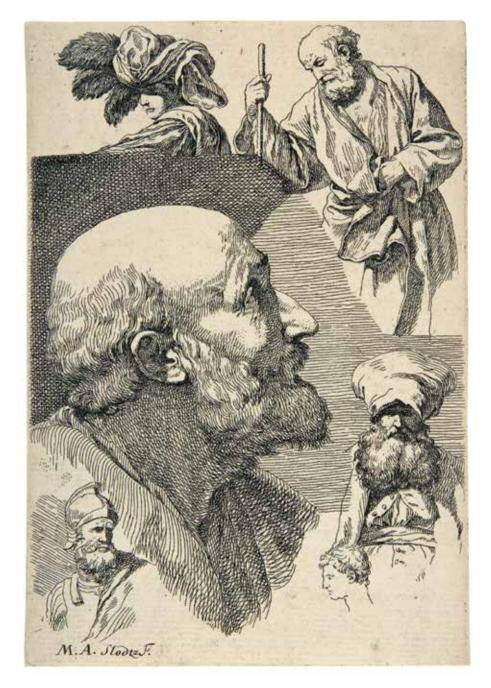
of having students draw after the draped model, as he described in a letter to the duc d'Antin (by that time director of the Bâtiments) on April 4, 1732.13 The young sculptor René Michel (called Michel-Ange) Slodtz, in his one experiment with etching (cat. 59), chose a technique reminiscent of his controlled use of red chalk (or sanguine) in his portrait drawings and studies of draped figures made during this period, in which parallel strokes and cross-hatching carefully delineate form, volume, and texture.14 It was a style taken up by many pensionnaires at the time (Carle Vanloo, Pierre Charles Trémolières, Charles Joseph Natoire, and Pierre Hubert Subleyras, to name just a few) in emulation of the fluid precision of Edme Bouchardon, considered one of the finest draftsmen of the age. Slodtz's plate, cleverly knit together with hatching and shadow, is essentially a pastiche of motifs taken from the studies made by pensionnaires during the official drawing sessions. The head of the man in the plumed turban at upper left and that of the bearded man in the large turban at lower right, for example, are both adapted from full-length figure studies today in the Louvre (fig. 44),15 although it is difficult to be certain whom they are by, as the pensionnaires drew the same models, many in a similar style, and frequently exchanged counterproofs as gifts. Slodtz's print, so enmeshed in the pedagogical culture of the Académie de France, seems to have been made purely for his own enjoyment, as very few impressions are known.¹⁶ A pensionnaire for an unusually long period (1728–36), Slodtz must have made this print in the latter part of his stay, since the studies after draped models apparently began only in 1732; the prominent initials he etched on the plate, "M. A.," refer to his nickname, Michel-Ange, bestowed on him after he was assigned to carve a marble copy of Michelangelo's Christ in Santa Maria sopra Minerva, a project that occupied him from 1731 to 1736.17

Another of Vleughels's initiatives, pursued with the assistance of Cardinal de Polignac, was to forge ties between the pensionnaires and the upper tiers of Roman society in order to gain access to important collections and to encourage commissions. The two etchings connected to Trémolières's Roman period reflect the success of these efforts, as was first recognized by Jean-François Méjanès, who pointed to a 1733 letter from Cardinal Ottoboni to the duc d'Antin in Paris requesting that Trémolières be allowed to extend his stay at the Palazzo Mancini to complete the painted copies commissioned by Cardinal Albani after Otto-



Fig. 44. Attributed to Edme Bouchardon (1698-1762), Young Man in Turkish *Dress*, ca. 1730–35. Red chalk, $21\frac{1}{2} \times 16\frac{1}{2}$ in. (54.5 \times 41.9 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris (inv. 35030)

boni's set of the Seven Sacraments by Giuseppe Maria Crespi.¹⁸ Copying Crespi's acclaimed works must have inspired Trémolières to embark on his own version of the subject, first in a drawn series and then in a partial set of prints. Although Trémolières's compositions bear the strong impact of Crespi's series, they are far from literal copies and are perhaps best seen as an homage. Trémolières opted for the traditional horizontal format, allowing for the inclusion of many more figures, whose attire is also more timeless and antique-inspired than in Crespi's originals. In Confirmation, the only instance where both the preparatory drawing for the etching and the final print survive, one notes quite a few changes between Crespi's painting and Trémolières's drawing, followed by significantly more changes between drawing and etching. In *The Baptism* (cat. 60), Trémolières flipped the direction of the scene and abandoned such details as the haughty manner of the mother and the long-handled implement used by the priest (fig. 45).¹⁹ The technique of the print, with its richly inked, handdrawn, parallel etched lines, recalls that of the artist's preparatory drawings as well as Crespi's paintings, which are notable for their heavily textured, striated impasto and dramatic chiaroscuro.



59. René Michel (called Michel-Ange) Slodtz (1705–1764) Figure and Head Studies, ca. 1732-36 Etching

The year following Trémolières's departure from the Académie saw the arrival of Jean-Baptiste Marie Pierre, a promising young painter who would go on to become director of the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture as well as premier peintre du Roi. Shortly after arriving in Rome in the summer of 1735, Pierre began work (likely at Vleughels's suggestion) on an ambitious plate that re-created an event that had taken place several months before his arrival: the procession of the pensionnaires in Chinese masquerade costume through

the Piazza Colonna, part of the city's celebration of Carnival, the festival season preceding Lent. The etching captures in all of its splendor and gaiety the moment when the students passed before the Antonine column, just across from the Palazzo Mancini (cat. 61). Vleughels had already penned a glowing account of the parade to the duc d'Antin, who replied that he was pleased that the festivities had been imagined and carried out with "fitting brilliance," 20 but the print, which underscores many facets of Vleughels's success as director, would



60. Pierre Charles Trémolières (1703-1739) The Baptism, ca. 1734 Etching

more widely disseminate the message. Indeed, the etching makes clear that by moving the Académie to the Palazzo Mancini, Vleughels had situated the school in the heart of the city, where France's stature and artistic glory could be admired by all. In addition, the dedication of Pierre's print to the duc de Saint-Aignan emphasized the close ties Vleughels had established between the Académie and each successive French ambassador. Pierre's first official visit upon arriving in Rome, in fact, had been to the residence of the French ambassador, and the two apparently became friends. Years later, in the introduction to Saint-Aignan's sale catalogue, the art dealer Jean-Baptiste Pierre Le Brun described the ambassador's taste for the arts in terms of his friendships with young artists: "Fame trumpeted the names of Subleyras, Vernet, Pierre, Michel-Ange Slodtz & other distinguished artists he had already befriended. These connections were more than sufficient to guide his choices for the superb Collection he brought back on his return [to France . . .]. He asked their advice & their recommendations were his oracles."21



Fig. 45. Giuseppe Maria Crespi (1665–1747), Baptism, 1712. Oil on canvas, $50 \times 37\%$ in. (127 \times 95 cm). Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Dresden (inv. 398)



Mafearade Chinoise faite a Rome le Carnaval de l'annèe M. D. ce xxxv. Par mes les Pensionaires du Roy de France en son Academie des arts
a Son Excellence Mong. Le Duc de S'Aignan Pair de France Chevallier des Ordres du Roy et Son Ambassadeur Extraordinaire a Rome

In The Chinese Masquerade, a work of startling brilliance and graphic sophistication that is considered Pierre's first etching, the artist's facility with the etching needle seems entirely on par with his deft handling of chalk or pen and ink. The distinctly Roman mélange of classical and baroque structures is described in tactile detail with subtly vibrating parallel and dashed lines; these are set off against serpentine flourishes in the form of fluttering flags and the drooping mustaches and extravagant ornament of the masquerade costumes. The broad tonal range, from inky black shadow to bright white paper, suggests that the festivities took place on a brilliant, sunlit day. Unlike Trémolières and Boucher, who had earned money by making etchings after the drawings of Watteau before they traveled to Italy, Pierre had not been introduced to etching through employment. He may have gained exposure to the

technique through a youthful friendship with Charles Nicolas Cochin II (himself the son of a successful printmaker), as Nicolas Lesur hypothesized based on an etching made in 1731 by Cochin, at age sixteen, after a drawing by Pierre, age seventeen.²² This association of etching and friendship would prove formative for Pierre, who during his time in Rome made four etchings after small paintings of subjects from the writings of the poet Jean de La Fontaine by fellow pensionnaire Pierre Hubert Subleyras; he also forged a lifelong friendship with prominent amateur Claude Henri Watelet,23 with whom he would pick up the etching needle and collaborate on a whimsical series of etchings years later back in Paris.²⁴ Of course, even The Chinese Masquerade must have been based on another artist's design, as Pierre did not witness it himself. The traditionally held idea that Pierre's etching was based on a drawing by

61. Jean-Baptiste Marie Pierre (1714-1789) The Chinese Masquerade, 1735 Etching

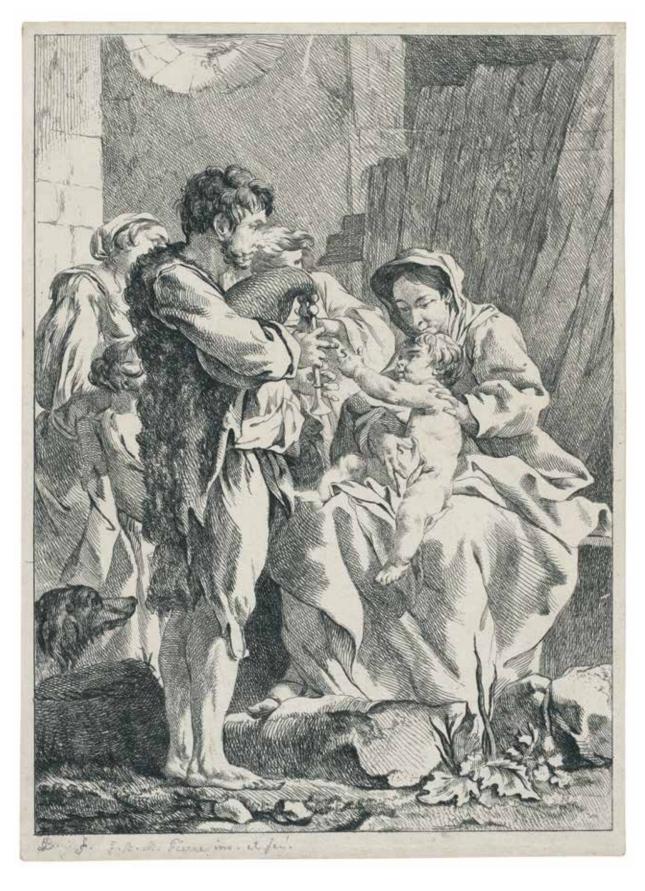




Fig. 46. Jean-Baptiste Marie Pierre (1714–1789), Country Dance, ca. 1735–40. Oil on canvas, $24\% \times 30\%$ 6 in. (62 × 77 cm). Whereabouts unknown

Slodtz cannot be confirmed, but this might explain why Pierre's copper plate is listed in the inventory of Slodtz's possessions made after Slodtz's death.²⁵

Equally sparkling and fluid in technique are Pierre's etchings after his own compositions, often pastoral scenes, such as the Country Dance (cat. 62), apparently inspired by a painting made for his friend and fellow pensionnaire Guillaume Coustou the Younger (fig. 46).26 The differences between painting and print are numerous, but it is the painting that is more conventional. Even though the etching is smaller in scale, for example, Pierre shoehorned in more figures, employing a complexity that favors quirky overlaps and cropping, such as the two observers with their backs to the viewer who partially obscure the dancing couple. The same odd layering of figures appears in the Adoration of the Shepherds (cat. 63), where the rustic man playing a bagpipe blocks our view of three other figures. Influenced by the Bamboccianti painters of the seventeenth century, who took the common people of Rome as their subject,



FACING PAGE 62. Jean-Baptiste Marie Pierre (1714–1789) Country Dance, ca. 1735-40 Etching, proof state

63. Jean-Baptiste Marie Pierre (1714–1789) Adoration of the Shepherds (Shepherd with a Bagpipe?), ca. 1740 Etching



the scene merges the visual language of the Virgin and Child with the ambience of the Roman street, creating a playful ambiguity of subject suitable to the intimate medium of etching.27

If the activity of etching flourished within the walls of the Académie in an informal context of friendship and collaboration, it also had a distinct utility for artists who chose to stay and pursue careers in Rome. Subleyras—whose term as pensionnaire ended in 1735 but who continued to find steady patronage in the form of commissions from Saint-Aignan, the French ambassador, and various Roman ecclesiastical clients-made an ambitious print, The Banquet in the House of Simon the

Pharisee (cat. 64), that allowed him to trumpet to audiences near and far his success as an independent artist. The inscription beneath the dedication to Saint-Aignan and the description of the subject make it clear who painted the imposing canvas: "P. Subleyras inven. Pinxit, et sculp. Romae 1738." Commissioned by the Order of Saint John Lateran for the refectory of their monastery at Asti, Subleyras's canvas, today in the Louvre, evokes Veronese's painting of the same subject, but it was Subleyras's oil sketch (also in the Louvre), much more manageable in scale, that served as the model for the print; note, for example, the kneeling youth turning to look at the viewer, who can be seen in the sketch and



64. Pierre Hubert Subleyras (1699-1749) The Banquet in the House of Simon the Pharisee, 1738 Etching printed in red-brown ink, fourth state of five

the etching but not in the finished painting.²⁸ Despite the fact that the etching was likely based on the oil sketch, one occasionally finds impressions of it printed in red or red-brown ink, giving the illusion that it might have been done after a sanguine drawing. The dating of these colored impressions also presents a challenge, for the plate was in use for many years, and although Subleyras may not initially have printed many impressions, admiration for this French artist, who found great success in Rome, was strong enough forty years after his death that one hundred new impressions were pulled in 1787, an interest fueled perhaps by the growing taste for Neoclassicism.29

Directorship of Jean François de Troy (1738-51)

The appointment of Philibert Orry as director of the Bâtiments following the death of the duc d'Antin in 1736 led to the drawing up of a new set of regulations for the Académie, which reached Vleughels just months before his unexpected death. The document strongly reiterates the founding concepts of the school, namely, that the primary occupation of the pensionnaires should be copying and that the product of their labor was the property of the crown. Within the stern language, however, were embedded certain exceptions that acknowledged Vleughels's broader view of the institution's



Dixit major filiarum Lot ad minorem demus patri bibere vinum etiam hac nocte, et dormies cum eo, ut Salvemuf Semen de patre nostro Len Cap XIX v. 34.

mission. For instance, with permission students could accept commissions from the French ambassador or from high-ranking clergy resident in Rome.³⁰ They could also use the crown's purse to fund public displays at the time of Carnival and other holidays and were expected to receive foreigners "with all of the propriety that their diginity demands."31

Jean François de Troy, the man chosen as Vleughels's successor, was in many ways also his opposite: a facile and prolific painter comfortable in a wide range of genres and formats whose working methods embodied mainstream academic practice. De Troy would ultimately flout the administration's strictures, however, choosing not to enforce the rigid curriculum of copying and study and allowing the pensionnaires latitude to accept commissions, to work in media and genres beyond those delimited by the category of their prize,

and generally to pursue their own genius.³² A highly successful history painter with an ability to work on a grand scale, de Troy was on the cusp of his seventh decade, and with no apparent diminishment of his skills, when he took charge of the Académie. During his stay in Rome he continued to produce tapestry cartoons, altarpieces, and easel paintings, and, since many of these works were not destined for Paris, de Troy embarked on a campaign of having etchings made to record his major works. Complaining in a 1741 letter that "printmaking is a skill that is almost lost in this country,"33 he eventually began to look to the pensionnaires to provide this service. That the project was primarily aimed at promoting de Troy's reputation and the graphic skills of his charges is clear from the fact that the prints lacked addresses where they could be purchased and that the copper plates remained in de Troy's



FACING PAGE 65. Joseph Marie Vien (1716-1809) after Jean François de Troy (1679-1752) Lot and His Daughters, 1748 Etching

66. Joseph Marie Vien (1716-1809) Lot and His Daughters, 1748 Etching

possession.34 Although in the 1764 sale of de Troy's estate they brought in less money than the prints made by professionals,35 the plates by the pensionnaires, with their considerably freer facture, appeal more to modern eyes than do those of the reproductive printmakers, with their hard and dry burin work.

De Troy also arranged for Claude Olivier Gallimard, a young French printmaker who had studied with Charles Nicolas Cochin I in Paris and had been in Rome since 1744, to be given lodging at the Palazzo Mancini from 1746 to 1751, during which time he made prints after at least three of de Troy's paintings.³⁶ Gallimard's presence, and his connections with certain of the pensionnaires, may well have been a factor in facilitating the flurry of experimentation with printmaking at the Académie during these years. Joseph Marie Vien, a pensionnaire who first tried his hand at etching in 1748,

was among those who discovered a natural facility with the etching needle. His shimmering print after de Troy's Lot and His Daughters (cat. 65) uses tremulous parallel lines reminiscent of Canaletto's technique to suggest the shadowy, cave-like setting, which sets off the milky flesh tones of de Troy's entwined figures. Emulation, or perhaps playfulness, led Vien to make a second etching after his own version of the subject, which is more sentimental and less ribald than his teacher's (cat. 66).³⁷ In etching his own design, Vien allowed himself even greater freedom, letting the needle suggest the tactile qualities of the heavy draperies and the craggy rock wall while at the same time pushing the tonal range (fig. 41).

Vien's tremendous aptitude for the medium found full expression in an ambitious series of thirty-two etched plates featuring the pensionnaires and their friends in homemade masquerade dress as members of 67. Joseph Marie Vien (1716–1809) Four plates from the series "Caravanne du Sultan à la Mecque" (Caravan of the Sultan to Mecca), 1748 Etchings

FACING PAGE Fig. 47. Detail of cat. 67a



a. The Chief of the Indians (plate 8)



c. The Sultan (plate 17)



b. The Priest of the Law (plate 9)



d. The Black Sultana (plate 28)





68. Louis Joseph Le Lorrain (1715-1759) Project for the Chinea of 1744: The Glorification of Virgil, 1744 Etching

the Ottoman sultan's court, a tongue-in-cheek play on the tradition of the costume book (sets of prints of fulllength figures in contemporary, historical, or exotic dress), which by the seventeenth century was well established in both Europe and the Ottoman Empire (cat. 67). As explained in the dedication plate, the prints commemorated a "Caravan of the Sultan to Mecca" staged by the *pensionnaires* during Carnival in 1748.³⁸ Vien took credit for conceiving this remarkable event,³⁹ with de Troy's full support. Indeed, the "caravan" fully aligned with de Troy's agenda for the Académie de France, as it brought acclaim to the school, promoted camaraderie, provided opportunity for commissions,

and, through Vien's prints, enabled a wide dissemination of the *pensionnaires*' success. 40 Vien, who two years before his departure for Italy would no doubt have witnessed the pomp of the embassy of Mehmed Said Effendi to the French capital and the resulting vogue for turquerie,41 may have enjoyed the conceit of the young Frenchmen as "foreigners" making their (artistic) pilgrimage to Rome.⁴² But the layers of reference were many, for in addition to the real Turks on diplomatic mission and the ensuing popularity of Turkish masquerade dress, Vien's "Turks" have a clear affinity with certain characters in de Troy's paintings of Old Testament subjects, such as his tapestry cartoons of the story of



Esther, and therefore are entirely defensible on a pedagogical level.43 The standard source for the costumes as well as a basic knowledge of Ottoman social structure was Jean-Baptiste Vanmour's Recueil de cent estampes représentant différentes nations du Levant (1714),44 a copy of which was owned by de Troy,45 and yet while Vien's set of etchings mirrors the format of Vanmour's Recueil, it does so at several steps of remove. Inspired by the prints in Vanmour's volume, the costumes of the pensionnaires and their sumptuous fabrics are a feat

of trompe l'oeil illusionism bordering on the outlandish, including brocade designs painted on linen and oversize turbans dripping in faux pearls and plumage. Each participant posed in costume to be drawn by Vien and others; Ennemond Alexandre Petitot, for instance, played the role of the "Chef des Indiens."46 In the final step from print to costume to drawing and then back to print, Vien made etchings after his drawings, evoking the rich tonal range of the black-and-white chalk and the tactile qualities of the faux damasks and trimmings.

69. Louis Joseph Le Lorrain (1715-1759) Project for the Chinea of 1748: Strength Generates Strength, 1748 Etching

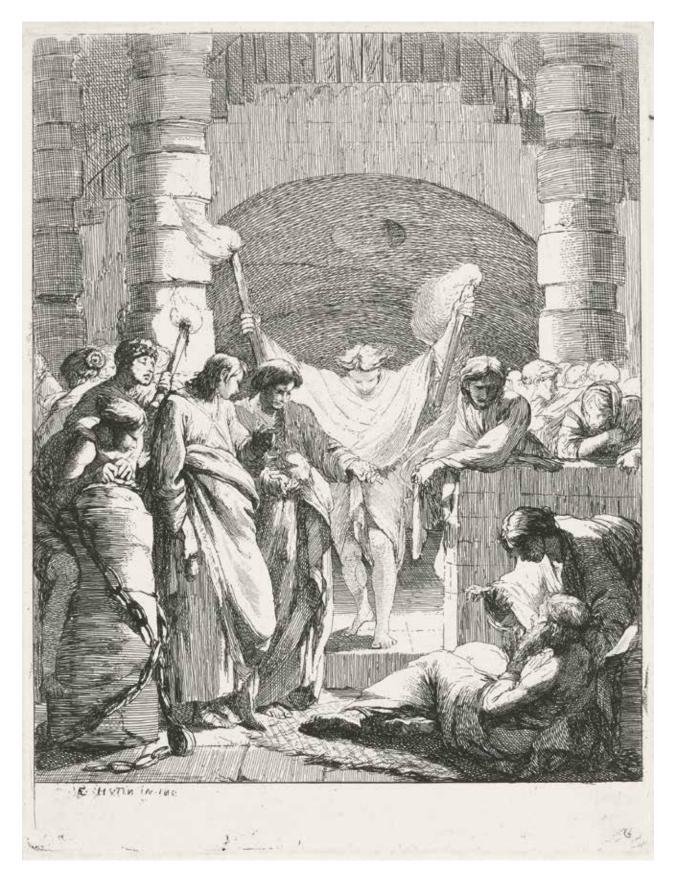
He embellished the backgrounds with inventive sketches of plinths, balustrades, and foliage more suggestive of an Italianate garden than a setting on the Bosphorus.⁴⁷ When the plates were completed, de Troy proudly sent a bound set back to Paris, although the language of his letter was careful to present the project as an extracurricular activity. "Vien," he wrote, "amused himself during his vacation drawing and etching all of the figures in the masquerade."48

In addition to Carnival, the festival of the Chinea provided opportunities for the French pensionnaires to give free rein to their imaginations and to memorialize their inventions through etching. In this longestablished tradition, the kingdom of Naples paid homage to the papacy with a procession led by a *chinea* (white hackney) through the streets of Rome and to the Vatican. Large ephemeral structures known as macchine (or set pieces) were built along the processional route and fireworks set off from them. Beginning in 1722, prints based on the macchine were commissioned by the grand constable of Naples to commemorate the festivities.49 In the 1730s and 1740s, many of these commissions went to French artists associated with the Académie de France, who unlike their Italian counterparts tended to etch their own plates.

The most spectacular and innovative of these were the work of Louis Joseph Le Lorrain, whose design for the first set piece of 1744, The Glorification of Virgil (cat. 68), featured swaying, languorous figures that echo the figure types and compositions of François Hutin, who had provided designs and prints for the *macchine* for the three preceding years.⁵⁰ Le Lorrain's four subsequent designs revealed a stunning reinvention of the form, however, as he began to experiment with grandiose architectural forms liberated from practicality and motivated, perhaps, by the fact that he was a painter and not an architect by training (cat. 69). Le Lorrain's versatility flourished under the lenient benevolence of de Troy, who allowed him to create works of his own invention and in the genre of his choosing, such as still lifes and architectural capriccios, reporting back to his superiors in Paris that Le Lorrain had "boundless talents in all genres of painting."51 Even so, de Troy's reports mentioned no specific work beyond the young artist's steady progress in his copy after Raphael; indeed, de Troy almost never mentioned the printmaking activities of the pensionnaires except in cases that reflected well on him, such as the prints he had made after his

own paintings or after successful public events staged by the students, including the Caravan of the Sultan to Mecca. Still, creating Chinea prints and etchings after their teacher's compositions allowed some of the students to discover they had a facility for the medium. Hutin, for instance, went on to create an innovative series of prints depicting the Seven Acts of Mercy (cat. 70). Although the subject was not uncommon among the works of seventeenth-century printmakers, Hutin updated it with his sinuous figure types, macabre overtones, and spirited, unfussy manner of etching, which was adopted by many young French artists.52

A watershed moment not only for Le Lorrain but for many *pensionnaires* in the 1740s and 1750s was the arrival in Rome of Venetian architect-turnedprintmaker Giovanni Battista Piranesi, who in 1745 established a studio directly across the street from the Académie de France.⁵³ Under the powerful pull of Piranesi's vision, architecture increasingly came to be seen as a fictive genre, employed less in the planning of actual construction and more as a springboard for the imagination: an embodiment of a proto-Romantic sentiment. With this evolution in taste, strict demarcations between specialties began to dissolve, and a fascination with hybrid areas of ephemeral ornamental design swept in painters, sculptors, and architects alike. Friendship and employment brought the pensionnaires into close contact with Piranesi, from whom they absorbed not only an attraction to the realm of the imaginary—filtered through the study of antiquity, be it temple, ruin, or vase—but the impulse and the inspiration to memorialize and share their flights of fancy in the form of prints. This engagement with antiquity through the lens of the Venetian printmaker can be seen, for instance, in the work of the architecture student Ennemond Alexandre Petitot, who etched six plates after his own designs while a pensionnaire in Rome. His *Elevation in Perspective of a Column* Intended as the Tomb for a Queen (cat. 71) and Triumphal Bridge54 both combine classicizing motifs in unexpected ways, with diminutive figures acting as foils to the monumental scale of the imaginary structures. Petitot's Roman prints, which were announced as for sale in Paris in the January 1751 issue of the Mercure de France, were praised for their spirited, elegant execution and the idea they gave of the architect's genius. Moreover, the author of the announcement considered it notable that Petitot had etched the plate himself,



70. François Hutin (ca. 1685–1758) Visiting Prisoners, $from\ the\ Seven\ Acts\ of$ Mercy, 1740–60 Etching, second state of two

71. Ennemond Alexandre Petitot (1727–1801) Elevation in Perspective of a Column Intended as the Tomb for a Queen, 1746-50 Etching





Fig. 48. Unknown artist, Interior of the Librairie Bouchard et Gravier, ca. 1760–80. Oil on canvas, $49\% \times 70\%$ in. (125 \times 180 cm). Private collection, Rome



writing that "when architects decide to make the effort to etch their thoughts themselves, they will always be the best printmakers in this genre."55

Within the orbit of both the Académie de France and Piranesi's studio were a number of French artists who had not won the Grand Prix but had come to Rome at their own expense. Jean Barbault, a young painter who had studied with Jean Restout the Younger, a leading religious painter in Paris, arrived in 1747 and was soon assisting Piranesi with the etchings in Varie vedute di Roma antica e moderna (Views of Ancient and Modern *Rome*).⁵⁶ He also earned the favor of de Troy and was, exceptionally, granted the status of pensionnaire in 1749, although this good fortune did not extend into the next administration: he was expelled shortly after the appointment of de Troy's successor. Choosing nonetheless to remain in Rome, Barbault relied increasingly on

etching as a means of support, publishing in 1761 and 1763 immense volumes of prints of ancient and modern Rome inspired by Piranesi⁵⁷ and even using the same publisher, the French bookseller Bouchard and Gravier, whose shop (fig. 48), near the Académie de France, provided a social space where artists, publishers, and collectors could gather and discuss the latest prints.⁵⁸

Predating these ambitious commercial enterprises are a handful of individual plates that reflect the prevailing attitudes toward printmaking among the French pensionnaires. The Excavation of the Obelisk from the Campo Marzo (cat. 72) is a hybrid image that illustrates the public spectacle created by the excavation of a newly discovered Egyptian obelisk. In its focus on the contemporary fascination with Rome's richly layered past, the print recalls the Chinea and Carnival prints of earlier pensionnaires as well as Piranesi's

72. Jean Barbault (1718-1762) The Excavation of the Obelisk from the Campo Marzo, 1748 Etching

73. Joseph Vernet (1714–1789) Return from Fishing, before 1752 Etching



documentation of archaeological finds. Below the title is the name Nicolà Zabaglia, who was both a print publisher and the engineer responsible for raising the obelisk,⁵⁹ a connection that explains why the image focuses as much on the feat of engineering—the temporary structures and system of pulleys—as on the antiquities themselves.

While Piranesi's impact on this generation of French artists has received considerable attention, many other Italian artists, both living and of the previous century, were influential in molding the aesthetic sensibilities that held sway in the community of French artists working in Rome. For Joseph Vernet-an artist from Avignon who lived in Rome from 1734 to 1752 and made a living supplying landscapes and marine views to French diplomats, British tourists, and Roman nobles—the wilder view of nature found in the work of Salvator Rosa, Andrea Locatelli, and Gaspard Dughet helped form his taste for the rugged picturesque. 60 In Return from Fishing (cat. 73), the bolder of the two etchings known from his hand, one senses also a familiarity with the elegance and clarity of the etchings of Venetian landscape painter and set designer Marco Ricci. Like Canaletto and other Italian etchers who were primarily painters, Vernet approached the plate much as he would a sheet of paper, allowing the acid to bite deeply the freely laidin marks of the etching needle so that the final result would suggest the look of a pen and ink drawing.61

Directorship of Charles Joseph Natoire (1752–75)

If the freedom de Troy granted the pensionnaires led to the flowering of what some termed the "French Piranesians" and to a greater integration of the young French artists into the fabric of Roman artistic life, it was also quietly feeding a brewing discontent back in Paris. The desire on the part of the Bâtiments to steer the Académie de France back toward its founding principles coalesced around the visit to Rome in 1751 of Abel François Poisson de Vandières, the younger brother of Madame de Pompadour, who was being groomed to succeed his uncle as directeur général. On the surface the visit went well; Vandières commissioned work from the *pensionnaires* and even sat for his portrait by de Troy. Shortly after Vandières's return to Paris, however, Charles Joseph Natoire was officially named de Troy's successor.⁶² In his letters to the new director, Vandières wrote that, while he had kept his silence in Rome, he

had observed "an infinite number of abuses." 63 In making clear his dissatisfaction with de Troy's leniency, Vandières urged Natoire to work more closely with the pensionnaires in guiding, critiquing, and "correcting" their work.64 That Natoire, who arrived in Rome in October 1751, adhered closely to these directives is clear from the large number of drawn copies after Italian Baroque masters that survive (by his hand as well as by the students) and, more important, in the form of retouched drawings, in which he put pen to the drawings of others, no doubt as part of a pedagogical practice. 65 Although this body of work demonstrates the engagement during Natoire's directorate with Italian art of the recent past as opposed to that of antiquity or the Renaissance, the practice of etching seems to have held little interest, at least during the first decade he was at the helm.

The catalyst for a burst of printmaking activity in 1763-64 at the Académie was almost certainly the arrival of Claude Henri Watelet, an amateur and etching enthusiast who had collaborated on etching projects with Jean-Baptiste Marie Pierre and Jean-Baptiste Le Prince and who was returning for a second sojourn in Rome in the company of his mistress, Marguerite Le Comte, herself an *amateur* printmaker. 66 For Watelet, etching was and had long been the nexus of his many artistic activities, from making to collecting to writing about art. It is not surprising, then, that in this milieu of sociabilité centered around the Académie de France, where friendship and exchange often cloaked patronage and support, a group of young French artists chose to commemorate the artistic pilgrimage of Watelet and his entourage in the form of a book of thirty-two etched plates, the Nella venuta (cat. 84).67 While the book was long considered solely a collaboration of young artists both from the Académie and from Watelet's coterie, a signature on a rare proof impression of the plate depicting Madame Le Comte holding an etching needle (cat. 86) reveals that Watelet himself etched this delicate image, working alongside the young artists. His plate was then cut down to fit within the format of the book and was later replaced with an etched copy by Franz Edmund Weirotter (an Austrian printmaker who had trained in Paris with Johann Georg Wille) when the book was later reprinted in the French capital.⁶⁸

Hubert Robert, a young French painter specializing in scenes of architecture and ruins, contributed to Nella venuta two lively etched borders featuring vignettes

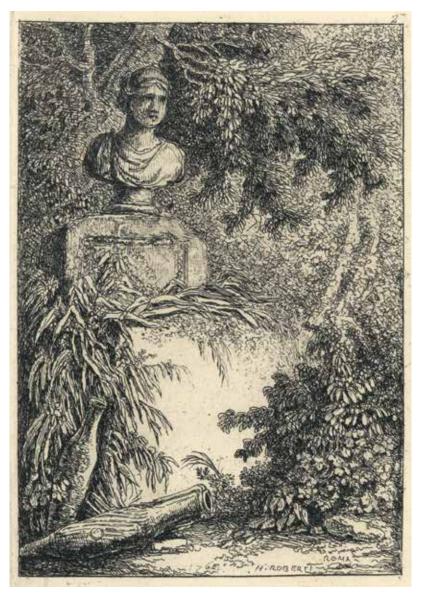


Fig. 49. Hubert Robert (1733-1808), The Bust, original frontispiece to "Les Soirées de Rome," 1764. Etching, first state of four: plate, $6\frac{1}{6} \times 3\%$ in. (15.4 \times 9.9 cm). Cabinet des Estampes, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris

of Roman buildings. He also created his own series of etchings dedicated to Madame Le Comte, Les Soirées de Rome (cat. 74). Loosely based on his own pen and wash studies made in and around the city, these animated etchings represent a mix of recognizable places and invention, combining fragments of antique statues and buildings with figural groupings inspired by the works of Roman painter Giovanni Paolo Panini (although the woman with the muff in plate 5 [cat. 74e] may well be intended as Marguerite Le Comte). 69 Rare impressions of the first states reveal that the suite originally comprised only eight plates, with the title etched in an

awkward hand on the plinth supporting the bust on what later became plate 2 (fig. 49). Robert, upon his return to Paris, sold the plates to Wille,70 who published them as a suite—with some additional etching done on each plate (possibly by Wille himself or someone in his studio) to add shading and contrast—along with two supplemental plates: a new title page (cat. 74a) and a final plate, *The Ancient Gallery* (cat. 74j). An early state of this last plate, recently bequeathed to the Metropolitan Museum (cat. 75), bears a surprising signature, "Digne Sc," that was burnished off all subsequent states.⁷¹ "Digne" was the surname of the French consul, Louis Dominique Honoré Digne, who in 1760 assumed the post previously held by his father, Joseph Digne.⁷² Although there is no previous evidence connecting Digne and Robert, Digne's wife, Barbe Sophie, hosted salons featuring musical entertainments where Romans and French visitors mixed, including Robert's patron, the abbé de Saint-Non.73 It is worth recalling that at the time Robert produced this suite of prints, he had finished his term at the Académie de France and was lodged in the residence of Jacques Laure Le Tonnelier de Breteuil, the bailli de Breteuil, patron to a number of young French artists; Breteuil was also closely tied to Watelet and the abbé de Saint-Non, who were themselves brothers-in-law.74 Madame Digne apparently also befriended Marguerite Le Comte, as she is identified in the Italian edition of Nella venuta as the second woman depicted in the image of Le Comte and Watelet visiting the falls at Tivoli in the company of the young French artists (fig. 50).⁷⁵ The signature on the Metropolitan's proof state suggests that *The Ancient Gallery* was etched either by one of the Dignes alone or, presumably, in some kind of collaboration with Robert after a drawing of his, and that when Wille added the new frontispiece he also burnished off the signature to add this plate to the series, passing it off as a work by Robert and thereby bringing the total to ten.⁷⁶

The flurry of printmaking activity that accompanied Watelet's visit to Rome reawakened an interest in etching at the Académie that had been dormant in the fifteen years since de Troy's directorship. Natoire, always game to work alongside his students, even picked up the etching needle himself to create a print (cat. 76) after his own drawing of the Holy Family.⁷⁷ The result recalls the facile, draftsmanlike technique he had employed three decades earlier when he was introduced to etching as a means of assisting professional printmakers in reproducing his oil paintings (see chapter 1). Although



PAGES 127-30 74. Hubert Robert (1733-1808) "Les Soirées de Rome," ca. 1763-65 Etchings, all second state of four except 74a (first state of three)

b. The Bust

the impression illustrated here is a proof state, and Natoire would go on to reinforce certain areas in the finished state, his touch is nonetheless distinctive for its light, flickering quality, the use of stippling to model forms, and the many dashes, broken lines, and squiggles. This intuitive, nonformulaic approach may have originated in the preparations Natoire made for engravers in Paris, but in the Italian milieu, the artist's style was likely admired on its own terms.

With the renewed interest in etching, several pensionnaires took advantage of the relaxed and collegial environment in Rome, far removed from the commercialism of the Parisian trade, to create small, whimsical plates inspired by their pedagogical routines. Much like Slodtz's plate (cat. 59), which knits together bits of sketches made after draped figures, two etchings made by Simon Julien in 1764 combined quickly sketched vignettes reflecting the type of copying expeditions Natoire and his students undertook as part of their training. A certain lightheartedness comes across in the juxtapositions of scale and figure types. Mythological female nudes sprinkle flowers and awkwardly bend over alongside a composite of the stern heads of ancient warriors, perhaps inspired by the Trajan column (cat. 77). 78



a. Title page



d. The Stairs by the Four Posts



c. The Statue Before the Ruins



e. The Ancient Temple



 ${\it f.\ The\ Sarcophagus}$



h. The Triumphal Arch

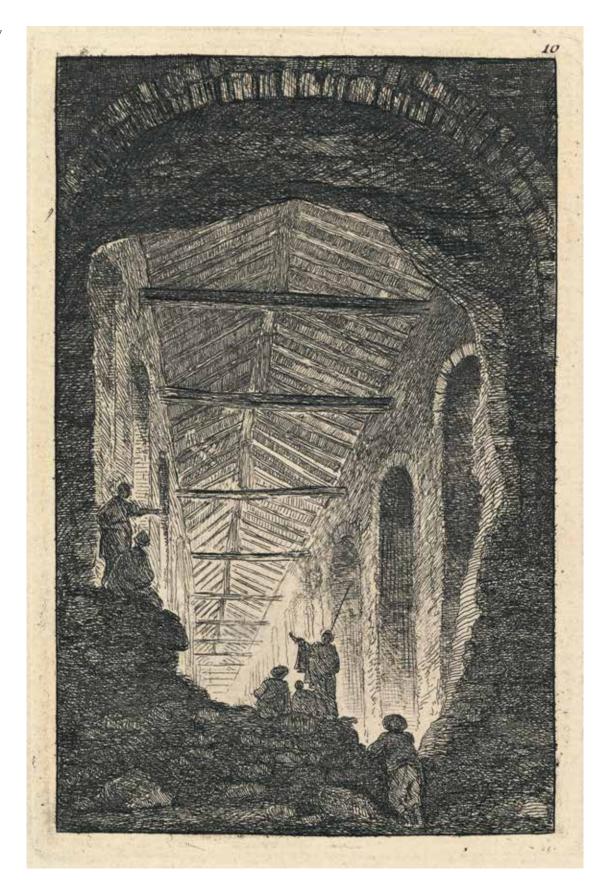


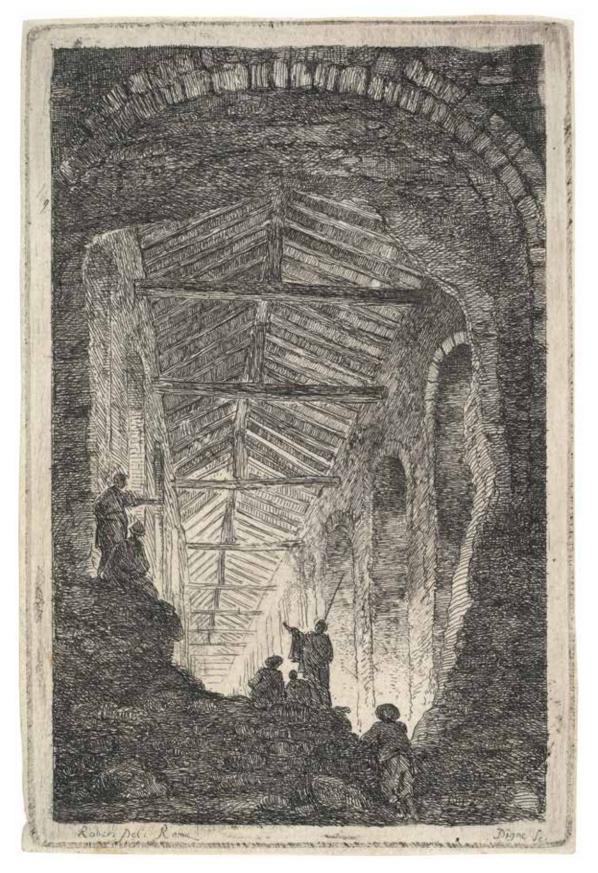
g. The Well



i. The Pulley

j. The Ancient Gallery





75. Barbe Sophie or Louis Dominique Honoré Digne (1735–1792) after and possibly with the assistance of Hubert Robert (1733–1808) The Ancient Gallery, ca. 1763–64 Etching, first state of four

76. Charles Joseph Natoire (1700-1777) The Holy Family, ca. 1764 Etching, proof state





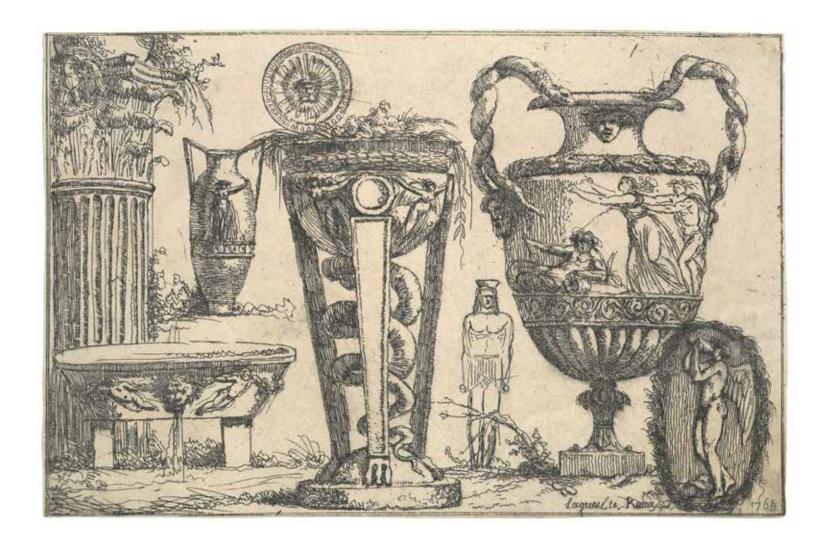
Although not a novice to printmaking when he arrived in Rome, Jean Jacques Lagrenée was also inspired by the informal pedagogical atmosphere at the Palazzo Mancini to make two sketch plates. 79 His choice of subjects, however, reveals how fully he had fallen under the spell of Piranesi, a decisive turning point in his career. In his Fragments of Antiquity of 1765 (cat. 78), Lagrenée used the sketch-plate format to create visual tensions between the expectation of unified space, supported by foliage and the horizon line, and the disparities of scale and placement.

Another trend that continued was the use of etching by pensionnaires to publicize their painted compositions, presumably with an eye toward building their reputations at home. One such ambitious plate was Jean Bernard Restout's Saint Bruno (cat. 79), etched in 1764 after his painting of the previous year (Musée du Louvre, Paris). The print was dedicated to Dom André Le Masson, the French procureur général of the Carthusian order of friars; Le Masson would commission, a couple of years later, the over-lifesize marble of Saint

Bruno from Jean Antoine Houdon, who had arrived in Rome in 1764 as a new pensionnaire.80 By overlaying lines drawn freely with the etching needle, Restout sought to replicate the strong contrast between the pale drapery and the dark shadows of the cave. The technique has little in common with the more formulaic means of achieving tone employed by professionally trained printmakers, but it nonetheless produced a rich, tactile surface and lent the print an atmospheric quality.81

The etchings made in and around the Académie de France during the directorates of Vleughels, de Troy, and Natoire can be distinguished stylistically from etchings made in Paris at the time in part because of the influence of contemporary Italian peintres-graveurs. In terms of their driving force, they were also the product of whimsy, camaraderie, and, occasionally, pride. As an unsanctioned activity outside the normal curriculum, etching at the Palazzo Mancini benefited from its freedom from official scrutiny and commercial pressures.

77. Simon Julien (1735-1800) Sheet of Studies: Flora, Cupids, and Heads, 1764 Etching on light gray paper



78. Jean Jacques Lagrenée (1739-1821) Fragments of Antiquity, 1765 Etching

Pensionnaires, many of whom arrived in Rome with little or no experience in printmaking, picked up the etching needle to celebrate their own accomplishments or to engage in the pursuits of sociabilité, which flourished in the small communities that grew up among the students or through their friendships with visiting patrons or diplomats. For some, it would be their only encounter with printmaking; others would discover a facility and enjoyment that led them to continue etching back in France. Stylistically, these artists constitute a bridge to the shifts in sensibility that altered the practice of etching in Paris in the second half of the eighteenth

century, when the taste for a freer manner, more akin to drawing, began to take hold. As the next two chapters will explore, these shifts evolved out of a web of interconnections between the young artists who had experimented with etching while in Rome; their awareness of the prints of such Italian masters as Castiglione, Rosa, and Tiepolo; and their friendships, often forged in Rome, with a closely connected circle of amateurs who not only collected and wrote about prints but also worked shoulder to shoulder with the young artists in a unique nexus of connoisseurship and artistic practice.



79. Jean Bernard Restout (1732-1797) Saint Bruno, 1764 Etching, second state of two



AMATEURS AND THE CULTURE OF ETCHING

Charlotte Guichard

HEN THE FRENCH term amateur first appeared in the Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française, in 1694, it encompassed two different meanings. On the one hand, an amateur was someone who rendered artistic judgments and commissioned works from artists with whom he (or she) was engaged in a social context, similar to the role of what would be called a patron in English. On the other hand, an amateur was also someone who practiced the arts in an occasional manner: what we would understand today as an "amateur" artist. But the figure of the amateur in the eighteenth century should not be reduced to that of a dilettante or collector, a confusion too often perpetuated in art history. Indeed, viewed solely from the perspective of dilettantism, the amateur has long been held in disrepute, and his or her artistic creations have traditionally been accorded little value. Such was not always the case, however, for the amateur occupied a central place in the art world of the eighteenth century, especially within the monarchical system of arts patronage, in which the amateur, both as an artist and as a patron, was a key protagonist in the defense of the French national school of painting.

In the mid-eighteenth century, after a period that saw a decline in its influence within the Parisian arts establishment, the Académie Royale underwent a number of major reforms in order to restore the institution to the glory it had enjoyed during the time of Jean-Baptiste Colbert, Louis XIV's powerful finance minister and a vigorous advocate for French art. Among those reforms and changes, the most important was the organization of the Salons, exhibitions in which artists from the Académie Royale could show their works. Held regularly at the Louvre from 1747 and every two years beginning in 1751, the Salons, which were open to the public and free of charge, played a key role in the creation of a public space for art in France, as Thomas Crow's seminal writings have shown. To accompany the opening of the Académie Royale to the public, the academic status of honorary member, or amateur honoraire, was redefined in 1748 in response to the many, often anonymous critiques of the Salon (with titles such as "Letters to an Amateur" or "Judgment of an Amateur") that invoked the figure of the *amateur* to legitimize what were often negative pronouncements on the works exhibited by Académie artists.

In his 1748 lecture to the Académie "De l'amateur," the comte de Caylus-himself an amateur honorairetheorized the amateur as the public arbiter of artistic taste. In arguing against such loose uses of the term in critiques of the Salon, Caylus defended the Académie's strict definition of the amateur as an adviser to artists who was engaged with them socially as well as a connoisseur whose visual competence was based not only on familiarity with works of art and collections but also on the practice of copying. The last point, rarely made, is nonetheless central: Caylus insisted on "the necessity which I believe to be almost indispensable to an amateur, to copy all kinds of works, to draw and to paint, even after nature, and to practice all the techniques of fine art." Through this definition of the amateur, Caylus articulated specific concepts regarding artistic consumption and production, the defense of the French school of painting and of its painters, and, finally, the formation of the judgment of taste through artistic practice.

Far from being remote patrons, eighteenth-century *amateurs* were engaged in various relationships with artists, often couched in the language of friendship, even though such relationships remained largely inegalitarian, as we will see. But they also asserted themselves as artists: indeed, if they were, on occasion, "patrons," then *amateurs* in eighteenth-century Paris were also practitioners, collaborators, and students of artists, and as such they played a crucial role in the formation of French visual and artistic culture of the period.² The etchings they made, moreover, illuminate not only the diverse uses of the medium but also the complex, interwoven relationships that existed between artists and *amateurs*. They are at once testaments to the pastimes

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Fig. 50. Detail, Visitors to the Falls at Tivoli, plate XI in "Nella venuta in Roma di madama le Comte e dei Signori Watelet, e Copette" (cat. 99)

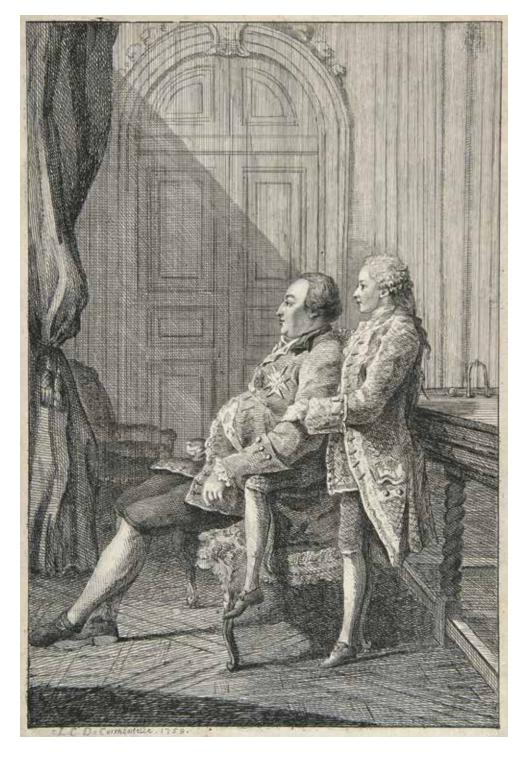
of the social elite—many were produced within the new framework of sociabilité mondaine,3 sometimes during sojourns in Italy (see chapter 4)—but also rigorous endeavors that attest to the graphic innovations and artistic knowledge developed during the Enlightenment. And while the etchings made by amateurs have very different meanings, as a group they reveal the diffusion in eighteenth-century society of the arts of drawing and the focused attention paid by elites to the visual arts, this despite the fact that literature and the art of conversation had long been the dominant diversions of Parisian "polite" society.

Etching as a Polite Art

In the eighteenth century, the graphic arts, especially drawing and etching, assumed a more prominent role in the social practices of the Parisian elite. No longer the preserve of professionals, whether artists of the Académie or artisans in the guilds (known as corporations), the practice of drawing was becoming a key element in culture and formal education. That is undoubtedly how we should view the exemplary career of Louis Carrogis, called Carmontelle, whose brilliant ascent within the upper echelons of Parisian society rested on his reputation as an "enlightened amateur of the arts" and on his ability to express that talent in the context of diversions and leisure activities.4 An engineer and topographer by training, but also a good draftsman, Carmontelle was attached to the Orléans family and employed as a *lecteur* to the young duc de Chartres in 1759.⁵ Through a combination of artistic talents and extensive social connections, Carmontelle became one of the most important social impresarios in Paris, reflecting the elevated status within polite society granted to images and to art in general. Carmontelle's talents as a draftsman were in constant demand: he produced nearly 750 portrait drawings of Parisian elites of his time, including six etchings. Among the latter is a portrait of Louis-Philippe, duc d'Orléans, and his son, the duc de Chartres (cat. 80). In contrast to an official portrait, Carmontelle's image shows the pair absorbed in the contemplation of a hearth fire, capturing what at the time would have been a rarely seen moment of intimacy.

Treatises on education written during this period assign significant importance to drawing as a pedagogical tool, as dramatized by the writer and theorist Madame de Genlis—who was also a précepteur (or private tutor) to the children of the Orléans family—in her Lettres sur l'éducation: "Dainville brings me my son, who has come to take . . . an hour-long drawing lesson. During that time, I continue to write: I am brought the eyes, the nose, and the profiles that were made, I approve or disapprove." This elevated status for artistic practice was even more pronounced within the circles of amateurs honoraires in the Académie Royale, for whom it played a role in the formation of their artistic judgment. Of the many private academies that were popular among the Parisian elite and that catered to such enthusiasms, we have few descriptions, but one is particularly precious: a letter from Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart to his father written in 1778, when the composer was twenty-two. The account records a social gathering at the home of the duchesse de Rohan-Chabot in which even Mozart's playing is eclipsed by the intense focus on the practice of drawing: "At last the Duchesse de Chabot appeared. She was very polite and asked me to make the best of the clavier in the room, as none of her own were in good condition. . . . But what vexed me most of all was that Madame and all her gentlemen never interrupted their drawing for a moment, but went on intently, so that I had to play to the chairs, tables and walls."7 Although Mozart might deplore the lack of absorbed, silent listening, the practice of art, so it would seem, required no less than the full attention of the society figures gathered around the duchesse and duc de Rohan-Chabot, which included such notable artists and amateurs as Hubert Robert, Claude Henri Watelet, and Aignan Thomas Desfriches (the duc de Rohan-Chabot was made an amateur honoraire in 1785).

This model of study and collaboration between artists and amateurs greatly expanded in the 1740s, especially in the circles that gravitated around the Académie Royale. In these artistic milieus, a particular interest in the art of etching took root, as attested by the numerous etched portraits, landscapes, and decorative motifs (illustrations, tailpieces) produced by amateurs. The article "Gravure" (Printmaking) published in L'Encyclopédie in 1751 and written by Watelet, an amateur honoraire at the Académie Royale, was addressed in its practical considerations to a readership of amateur artists, not professionals. No doubt the technical nature of the etching process appealed to amateurs because it had the advantage of masking clumsy draftsmanship: one could always begin by tracing over another artist's design. Moreover, the requisite tools (needles, échoppes, sharpening stones, copper plates, polishing tools) were in certain ways reminiscent



80. Louis Carrogis, called Carmontelle (1717–1806) Louis Philippe, Duc d'Orléans, and His Son Louis Philippe Joseph, Duc de Chartres, 1759 Etching

of the instruments one might find in a laboratory, suggesting that the craze for etching was perhaps integrally related to the passion for science and technology that took hold during the Enlightenment. Indeed, two of the principal technical innovations that characterize the history of eighteenth-century printmaking, the chalk

and wash manners, are both associated with amateurs who were also honorary members of the Académie Royale. Barthélemy Auguste Blondel d'Azincourt, owner of an important collection of paintings and drawings and a great admirer of François Boucher, was among the first to practice chalk-manner engraving, a technique

81. Claude Henri Watelet (1718-1786) and Jean-Baptiste Marie Pierre (1714-1789) Studies of Heads, ca. 1756 Etching



invented by Jean Charles François in 1756 and approved by the Académie Royale in 1757. Similarly, the abbé Jean Claude Richard de Saint-Non, made an amateur honoraire of the Académie Royale in 1785, was associated with the research on aquatint led by Jean-Baptiste Le Prince (for more on Le Prince and his innovations, see chapter 3).9

Estate inventories can help shed light on the material culture of the *amateur* at this pivotal moment. For example, at his death the abbé de Saint-Non possessed sixty-two copper plates for etching, five easels, and "a table containing different instruments for use in pulling impressions of etchings."10 Watelet, meanwhile, kept "about a hundred needles, files, scrapers, and etching



tools" in his lodgings at the Louvre in addition to "three boxes of pastels, one paintbox containing a large India ink stick and three others; a mahogany wood easel, and various objects useful for painting and drawing."11 In general, *amateurs* did not maintain presses in their homes—only printmakers and printers had the privilege of using a press for personal purposes—but there were in all likelihood exceptions.12 Amateurs did, however, produce etchings in the company of artists they met at the Académie Royale or, in some cases, during sojourns in Rome at the Académie de France, located after 1725 in the Palazzo Mancini, on the Corso. It was there, during what would be the first of his two stays in Rome (1735-40, 1763-64), that Watelet made the acquaintance of Jean-Baptiste Marie Pierre, the future premier peintre du Roi but then a young student living at the Académie.13 The two collaborated on a number of projects, most notably illustrations of Watelet's literary output. In 1743, Pierre drew the illustrations for Watelet's allegorical novel Silvie, and in 1759 he did the drawings for L'Art de peindre (The Art of Painting), a work that opened the doors of the Académie Française to Watelet the following year. Although Diderot, whose loathing for amateurs was well known, scathingly criticized the text of L'Art de peindre, he found redeeming qualities in the etchings by Watelet after Pierre's drawings: "If this poem belonged to me, I would cut out all the illustrations, I would put them under glass, and I would fling the rest into the fire."14

In 1756 Watelet produced a print (cat. 81), supposedly etched in a single day, and used the caption to draw attention to his collaboration with Pierre, emphasizing

82. Claude Henri Watelet (1718-1786) The House of Marguerite Le Comte, ca. 1765 Etching

the virtuosity of the feat: "Etched by C. H. Watelet and J.B.M. Pierre in a single day at the Moulin Joli." Moulin Joli (literally "Pretty Mill," or in Latin "Moletrinae Gallice," as it appears in the inscription) was Watelet's property on the banks of the Seine, about an hour from Paris, which he conceived as an inspired space for the practice of art. It eventually became a fashionable destination, so famed for its dedication to the arts that the German diplomat, writer, and critic Baron Friedrich Melchior Grimm ridiculed the visitors who came "to put on the airs of a courtier or an amateur." 15 Pierre was among the artists who visited, as was Hubert Robert, both of whom made drawings from nature during their stays. 16 The painter Élisabeth Louise Vigée Le Brun provides a touching description of Moulin Joli in her memoirs, recalling that it was there that she created her portrait of Hubert Robert holding his palette.¹⁷ Men of letters were also frequent guests at Moulin Joli, including the abbé Delille, who described the property in his 1782 book-length poem Les Jardins, ou L'Art d'embellir les paysages (Gardens, or the Art of Beautifying Landscapes), and even princes, such as Holy Roman Emperor Joseph II, who visited in 1777.18

Académie artists played a not insignificant role in the production of many of the etchings made at Moulin Joli by providing initial drawings and, sometimes, adding finishing touches. In 1755 the abbé de Saint-Non produced a collection of seven views celebrating Moulin Joli etched after Jean-Baptiste Le Prince (see cats. 45, 46).¹⁹ The collection is dedicated—in Italian, as was the habit among amateurs—to Watelet's companion, Marguerite Le Comte, whom he calls a "kindly milleress." 20 As a group, the etchings underscore the privileged bond that the regulars at Moulin Joli maintained with art and artists as well as the select audience for whom such works were intended. Unfolding in a succession of bucolic and picturesque landscapes, Moulin Joli is represented as a kind of invitation to art, where the omnipresent motifs of mill, bridge, rowboats, shepherds, and foliage evoke the practice of drawing from nature.

This craze for nature and landscape is reflected in the caption for *The House of Marguerite Le Comte* (cat. 82), where Watelet celebrates the beauty of his property with a quotation from Virgil's *Bucolics*: "Cur valle permutem sabina divitias operosiores?" (Why would I exchange my Sabean vale for riches acquired with too much toil?). Watelet had constructed Moulin Joli on the model of the English garden, which he is credited with having introduced to France and which

he praises in his 1774 Essai sur les jardins (Essay on Gardens), reflecting the 1770s vogue for (and construction of) landscaped "parks."21 This new kind of idealized landscape, replete with ruins, bridges, and other picturesque touches, was conceived in contrast to the jardin à la française, the more symmetrical and overtly man-made approach embodied by the work of André Le Nôtre in the preceding century. Such a tangible fantasy of nature and landscape also corresponded to the ideas of Jean Jacques Rousseau, who celebrated the garden as a close analogue to his ideal of nature in his 1761 novel Julie, ou la Nouvelle Héloïse. In Watelet's poetic but didactic essay, Moulin Joli stands as an ideal haven for the development of the liberal arts, far from the whims of fashion: an idealized space of sociabilité for amateurs and artists alike where the depravities of urban bad taste could be kept at bay. Watelet's etched tributes to Moulin Joli, which were reserved for his small circle of friends and visitors to the property and strike a more playful tone than the text of his essay, were a way of affirming membership in this refined community.

Although there were numerous spaces in Paris where elites could gather and indulge in these new artistic practices, Rome remained an essential component of a proper education in visual culture. For traveling amateurs, a sojourn in the Eternal City was the ideal time to enjoy companionship with artists and devote oneself to the arts of drawing.²² The abbé de Saint-Non, who explored Italy between 1759 and 1761, often in the company of Hubert Robert and Jean Honoré Fragonard, returned from Rome with a quantity of drawings done by his protégé. Saint-Non reproduced the drawings in etching as well as with the recently developed aquatint process and then published the results in numerous recueils (compendiums). The Recueil de griffonnis, de vues, paysages, fragments antiques et sujets historiques (Collection of Sketches, Views, Landscapes, Antique *Fragments, and Historical Subjects*), published in 1780, represents the synthesis of these efforts (see cats. 99, 100). A similar fascination with Rome is palpable in Ange-Laurent de La Live de Jully's etched caricatures after drawings made by sculptor Jacques François Joseph Saly in 1745, when Saly was a student at the Académie de France (cat. 83). La Live de Jully, who would soon become introducteur des ambassadeurs, a prestigious position at court, had already amassed a major collection of paintings. He also supported many of the young French painters of the era, including Jean-Baptiste Greuze, making his collection emblem-



a. An Artist at the Académie de France in Rome (?) (plate 1)



c. Jean François de Troy, Director of the Académie de France in Rome (plate 8)



b. An Artist at the Académie de France in Rome (?) (plate 5)



d. Nicolas Bremont, Cook at the Académie de France in Rome (plate 14)

83. Ange-Laurent de La Live de Jully (1725–1770) after Jacques François Joseph Saly (1717–1776) Four plates from "Receuil de caricatures" (Collection of Caricatures), ca. 1754 Etchings





84. Sonnet XI and Visitors to the Falls at Tivoli (plate XI), from "Nella venuta in Roma di madama le Comte e dei Signori Watelet, e Copette," 1764 Text by Louis de Subleyras (1743-1814)

atic of the new "patriotic taste" in French art. 23 On his way to becoming a "man of fashion," as Baron Grimm wrote—one gifted in printmaking and music and who frequented the literary salons of his cousin, Madame d'Épinay—La Live de Jully found it amusing to portray the varied figures who populated the daily life of French artists or amateurs passing through Rome, from the director of the Académie at the time, Jean François de Troy, to the school's cook, Nicolas Bremont (he also made etchings of a cicerone, an antiquarian, and other local figures). Although La Live de Jully had neither been to Rome himself nor personally encountered many of the characters he depicted, he nonetheless captured with humor and tenderness the unique ambience of the institution.²⁴ Created about 1754, the same year La Live de Jully was admitted to the Académie Royale as an associé-libre (free associate), the etchings may have

been intended to attest to his fondess for the institution and its Roman satellite.

The importance of Rome as a crucible for artists and amateurs and as a laboratory for shaping these new forms of *sociabilité* finds material expression in *Nella* venuta in Roma di madama le Comte e dei Signori Watelet e Copette, a small volume of prints produced by the young students at the Académie de France in Rome (cat. 84). The book of thirty-two plates was intended to commemorate the stay in Rome of Watelet, Marguerite Le Comte, and the abbé Copette in the winter of 1763–64; it was coordinated by *pensionnaire* Étienne de Lavallée-Poussin, who had trained in Pierre's studio. In addition to etchings by Hubert Robert and Louis Jean Jacques Durameau as well as Franz Edmund Weirotter, a young landscape specialist who had accompanied Watelet's small group to Rome, the collection contains





sonnets in Italian verse by Louis de Subleyras, son of the painter and former pensionnaire Pierre Hubert Subleyras. We see Watelet and Le Comte being welcomed into the Accademia dell'Arcadia, in front of the falls at Tivoli (fig. 50), and at their audience with the pope. Another print depicts Watelet drawing at the foot of the Colosseum, guided by Minerva. The lasta portrait based on a recently discovered drawing by Lavallée-Poussin (cat. 85)²⁵—represents Le Comte as an artist, etching needle in hand, alongside her medallion portrait of Cardinal Alessandro Albani (cat. 87). Unlike the other plates in Nella venuta, this image was etched by Watelet himself, as can be seen in an early impression bearing his signature before it was cut down to match the format of the other plates in the book (cat. 86). A comparison of Lavallée-Poussin's drawing and Watelet's etching reveals that it was Watelet who

decided to portray his mistress as a printmaker and as an artist, done by adding etching tools and a clearly legible image of her print of Cardinal Albani unfurled over the table edge (fig. 51). As indicated in the preamble, the booklet was offered by the students as a token of friendship and esteem ("testimonianza d'amicizia e di stima") to the couple. The collection of etchings, created as a panegyric to the couple's journey to Rome and as a commemoration of the resulting friendships, attests to the new companionship between the artist and the amateur that arose during this period.

"Gravures de Société": Gifts and Exchanges

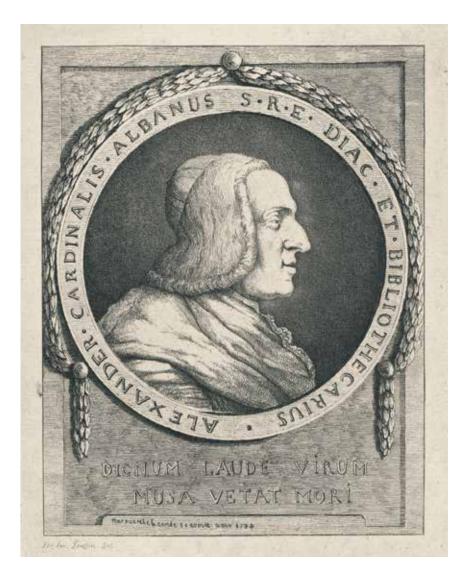
The etchings made by amateurs were not intended to be sold to a broad, anonymous public. Often gathered together into recueils (compendiums, or collections),

LEFT

85. Étienne de Lavallée-Poussin (1733 - 1793)Marguerite Le Comte, 1764 Black chalk, pen and brown ink, brush and brown and gray wash

RIGHT

86. Claude Henri Watelet (1718-1786) after Étienne de Lavallée-Poussin (1733-1793) Marguerite Le Comte, 1764 Etching, second state of three



87. Marguerite Le Comte (1717-1800) after Étienne de Lavallée-Poussin (1733-1793) Cardinal Albani, 1764 Etching

they were instead disseminated outside commercial channels and commonly circulated as part of a culture of gift-giving or exchange within a select social space. These gravures de société—"private society" prints marked a social bond established around a shared passion for art and expressed through etching. The dedications that often accompanied them bring to life this unique community of amateurs, preserving traces of their social practices and celebrating their friendships and shared love of art. One recueil produced in 1752 by Watelet after vases drawn by Louis Joseph Le Lorrain is dedicated to Madame Geoffrin, whose Monday salon, established with the assistance of the comte de Caylus, was a renowned meeting place for artists and amateurs (fig. 52).²⁶ The title page is a visual homage, but one with a playful and humorous tone, since Madame Geoffrin's

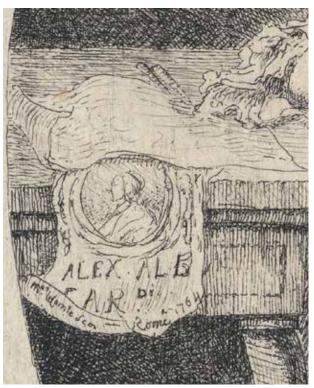


Fig. 51. Detail, Claude Henri Watelet, Marguerite Le Comte (cat. 86), showing table with etching instruments and Le Comte's etched portrait of Cardinal Albani

name is announced in the foreground by a yapping dog. In these prints, which circulated in the Paris salons, the dedications in Italian (the typical practice, as noted above) dramatized the new identity of the eighteenthcentury amateur, celebrating friendship (amicissimo), artistic talent (virtuosissimo),²⁷ and the love of art (arti amante, dilettante diletto).²⁸ They evoke the amateurs' privileged universe of divertissements as well as their artistic skills and also show the importance of the Italian model of the virtuoso in the emergence of the figure of the amateur in the eighteenth century.

Some inscriptions point to a new type of bond that arose between artists and amateurs during this period, a more supple—if not egalitarian—form of sociabilité that was formulated in the language of friendship and far from the conspicuous distance characteristic of patronage relationships. In many cases, the presence of a double signature—in which the etching is signed jointly by the draftsman (often a member of the Académie Royale) and the amateur printmaker—reinforces the idea of a familiarity and companionship between the two. Notable pairings of artist and *amateur* signatures include those of Jean-Baptiste Marie Pierre and Claude Henri Watelet; Edme Bouchardon and the comte de

Caylus in Les Cris de Paris (Paris Street Criers); François Boucher and Madame de Pompadour; Laurent Guiard and Campion de Tersan; Jean Honoré Fragonard (or Jean-Baptiste Le Prince) and the abbé de Saint-Non; and Saly and La Live de Jully. Sometimes, however, such signatures betray a more assertive authorial will; for example, the three etchings produced by the marquise de Pompadour after drawings by Boucher and collected in the second state of the 1782 Suite d'estampes (Suite of Prints) were signed "Pompadour sculp 1751" (cat. 88). This signature is discreetly recalled in the portrait Boucher painted of Louis XV's mistress in 1756 (Alte Pinakothek, Munich), in which he reproduced the marquise's signature on an engraving shown slipping out of a portfolio at bottom left (fig. 4).29 By including the signature, Boucher not only cast the marquise as a woman of letters and a patroness of the arts and sciences, he legitimized her artistic activities, which can be seen as part of a tradition of portraying the prince-as-artist that dates to the Renaissance.30

Printed in small numbers, these etchings are now quite rare, and many came on the market only after the deaths of the amateurs who had them in their collections. Pierre Jean Mariette, for example, owned numerous etchings that had been given to him by amateurs. The sale catalogue for his collection, published in 1775, was no doubt the first to isolate visually (by a horizontal line) etchings by amateurs, thus granting them a distinct aesthetic value. Among the works Mariette possessed: Caylus's prints in four volumes; the Suite d'estampes by Madame de Pompadour; the etchings and chalk-manner prints made by Watelet, Blondel d'Azincourt, and Antoine Joseph Dezallier d'Argenville; and the oeuvres of both the abbé de Saint-Non and Jean Jacques de Boissieu. These prints were highly sought after because of their limited print runs, as indicated in a handwritten note by the dealer François Basan inserted in a copy of Nella venuta (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris), which described the volume as "a small work made on the occasion of M. Watelet's journey to Italy, which I saw sell for a high price at several sales because during his lifetime he had not wanted to give out copies except to his very close friends."31 The value of these pieces on the art market contributed to the Académie Royale's recognition of their aesthetic value, which in turn was a factor in the affirmation of their status as works of art in their own right, no more so than in 1787, when etchings made by amateurs honoraires such as the comte de Paroy and the marquis



Fig. 52. Claude Henri Watelet (1718-1786) after Louis Joseph Le Lorrain (1715–1759), Title page from "Raccolta di Vasi," 1752. Etching, $9\% \times 7\%$ in. (24.3 × 20 cm). The British Museum, London (1989,0930.236)

de Turpin Crissé were exhibited for the first time at the Salon.

Even as these etchings freely celebrated new forms of sociabilité, they were still part of a patronage relationship, a social connection that by definition is asymmetrical in nature. At the end of his stay in Rome, Watelet, for one, did not neglect to commission two landscape paintings from Lavallée-Poussin.32 He was also a considerate patron of Jean-Baptiste Marie Pierre, who in 1750 exhibited at the Salon *The Abduction of Europa*, a painting commissioned by Watelet. Despite this greater fluidity in social affiliations, formulated in the language of friendship, such relationships were nonetheless still characterized by socioeconomic dependency. The conflict—unfortunately poorly documented—between Pierre Jacques Onésyme Bergeret de Grancourt and Fragonard concerning the ownership of the drawings done during their joint sojourn to Rome underscores the ambiguities surrounding the patronage relationship. Whereas Bergeret considered the drawings a deserved bonus given the sums he had spent on the artist during the trip, Fragonard did not want to hand them over, affirming the importance that the value of drawings on the art market had assumed for artists.33



Artistic Knowledge: Imitation, Appropriation, Attribution

Long considered lesser-quality works by art historians and as such little studied, amateur etchings were in fact often more than a mere social pastime. Many were done in the immediate proximity of a collection and had a scholarly, even cognitive dimension, which is surely the broader meaning of Caylus's formulation in his Recueil des antiquités (Collection of Antiquities), published beginning in 1752, concerning the talent necessary for the arts of drawing: "One cannot require an Antiquarian to handle the pencil with elegance or to compose like an Artist; these talents would be useless to him. I ask only that he has worked enough in this genre to have acquired a sharp eye [la justesse de l'oeil]."34 The pleasure of artistic creation, Caylus proposes, leads to competence and expertise.

Of the three thousand etchings produced by the comte de Caylus over the course of his lifetime, certainly not all were instruments for building knowledge (either theoretical or personal) of the works they depict.35 Many were made in the context of the new forms of sociabilité mondaine described above; others were produced for the pleasure of collaboration with an artist. The five suites of Les Cris de Paris, engraved between 1737 and 1746 after drawings by Edme Bouchardon, attest to Caylus's interest in the genre poissard, or "fish-market style," a vogue for the coarse manners and language of Parisian street life (cat. 89). But many of Caylus's etchings also bear witness to the pursuit of connoisseurship. The act of copying the Old Masters as etchings has too often been considered mere inventory work: for example, the 1729 collection formally known as the Recueil d'estampes d'après les plus beaux tableaux et d'après les plus beaux desseins qui sont en France dans le Cabinet du Roy, dans celui de Monseigneur le Duc d'Orléans, & dans d'autres Cabinets (Collection of Prints after the Most Beautiful Paintings and the Most Beautiful Drawings That Are in France in the King's Cabinet, in That of Monseigneur le Duc d'Orléans, & in Other Cabinets) was no doubt conceived by Caylus (who etched a number of its plates) as an inventory of the collections that would at the same time document them, assess the formal composition of the paintings, and establish their provenance. Copying through etching is also an act of manipulation, however, of tactile appropriation and sensation, and thus in reproducing a painting as an etching Caylus became intimately

familiar with the painter's hand, gestures, and manner. Through this pursuit, Caylus refined his expertise, and that labor played a role in his judgments about the value and attribution of the works.

This is how we should understand etching as practiced by Pierre Jean Mariette, the descendant of a major dynasty of Paris booksellers who became an amateur honoraire at the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture in 1767. An expert in prints and drawings, Mariette prepared inventories of some of the most important collections in Europe.³⁶ Revealingly, his sale catalogue makes special note of the drawings that he himself produced and even includes an impression of one of his etchings bound in the center of the book (cat. 90). The print, a landscape after Guercino "copied by M. Mariette, exceptionally well,"37 perfectly illustrates the multiple uses etching had for the amateur. It is dedicated in Latin to Venetian collector and printmaker Anton Maria Zanetti the Elder, situating it within the social customs and networks of correspondence that linked amateurs across Europe.³⁸ But as a copy after Guercino, Mariette's print also constituted a practical exercise in connoisseurship and as such assumed a scholarly dimension. Inserted into the sale catalogue, the print contributed to the representation of the amateur as both a scholar and an expert. Mariette's visual competence was grounded in his rich collection, extensive network of correspondents, and practice—albeit modest—of the arts of drawing. His etchings thus invite us to reconsider connoisseurship not as theoretical knowledge but as practical knowledge put into action.

The admiration accorded to "Rymbranesques" (or prints in the manner of Rembrandt) by both artists and amateurs in the eighteenth century underscores this connection between visual pleasure and understanding through technical practice. At the time, Rembrandt's works were subject to strong criticism because they did not correspond to the classical Italian model of intellectual painting, in the vein of Poussin (one of his biographers defined him with the paradoxical expression "a genius full of fire, without nobility").39 His critics notwithstanding, it was precisely the visibility of Rembrandt's strokes and the traces of his artistic labor that were key to the artist's success in the world of amateurs, who eagerly collected, copied, and pastiched his prints. The phenomenon stretched from England, where many amateurs made Rembrandtesque etchings, 40 to Venice, where Zanetti, owner of a major collection of Rembrandt prints, made copies after them,

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88. Madame de Pompadour (1721-1764) after François Boucher (1703-1770) The Young Savoyard, 1751 Etching



which he then dedicated to a large and impressive network of correspondents that included the prince of Liechtenstein, Pierre Jean Mariette, Pierre Crozat, the antiquarians Richard Mead and Joseph Smith, and the pastelist Rosalba Carriera. 41 In Germany, the director of the Academy of Fine Arts in Dresden, Christian Ludwig von Hagedorn, produced a series of thirty-four etchings titled Landschaften und Köpfe (Landscapes and Heads) whose manner and motifs were greatly inspired by Rembrandt. 42 Similarly, in France, select circles cultivated a familiarity with Rembrandt's prints and studied his techniques, especially through the genre of pastiche.

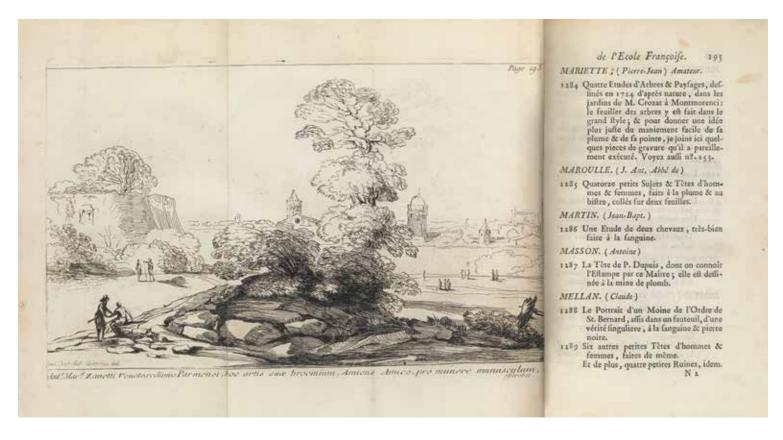
At the root of this new appreciation for and impulse to imitate Rembrandt lay an enigma, namely, the artist's unique style of etching, which combined etching, drypoint, and burin. In 1764, amateur printmaker Antoine de Marcenay de Ghuy produced an etching (in four proof states) after Jean Siméon Chardin's House of Cards (fig. 53).43 The different proof impressions resulting from the exercise clearly demonstrate Marcenay de Ghuy's efforts to imitate Rembrandt's style and chiaroscuro technique and his intimate familiarity with the Dutch master's manner. Marcenay de Ghuy even asked the lieutenant general of police in Paris, who protected the royal *privilège* (the ancestor of modern copyright)

of the Paris corporations for permission to use a press "in his apartment" under the supervision of a master printer: "It is of great interest, for several reasons, for a printmaker to see his works printed, either in order to know from one moment to the next the progress of the plate he is working on, or, without wasting time, to notice and prevent flaws the printer might commit out of negligence, especially in the new genre of etching, of which the petitioner is the inventor, and which requires, owing to the delicacy of the work, a particular attention on the part of the printer who is pulling the prints."44 As Katie Scott has rightly noted, these unsigned proof states attest to active research not theoretical but practical—on Rembrandt's gestural handling. Mounted in an album as part of an oeuvre, they reveal the artist's learning process and practical knowledge as well as his experimentation by trial and error to discover the master's secrets. At once aesthetic and exploratory, they manifest an open-ended process in which etching emerges as a cognitive medium par excellence.45

Amid this craze for Rembrandt, Claude Henri Watelet once again took center stage. At his death, in 1786, Watelet owned 674 prints and 260 drawings by Rembrandt and his school. He also possessed FACING PAGE

89. Anne Claude Philippe de Tubières, comte de Caylus (1692–1765), after Edme Bouchardon (1698-1762) Retouched by Étienne Fessard (1714-1777) Picture Seller, 1738 Etching with some engraving

90. Pierre Jean Mariette (1694-1774) after Guercino (Giovanni Francesco Barbieri) (1591 - 1666)Landscape with Figures and a Distant Town Etching



FACING PAGE 91. Claude Henri Watelet (1718-1786) after Jean-Baptiste Greuze (1725-1805) Self-Portrait as Jan Six, ca. 1762-65 Etching

eighty-one of the artist's copper plates, some of which he retouched. Furthermore, in his library he proudly displayed thirty-three prints framed under glass that he himself had etched in the manner of Rembrandt, a practice he justified in his 1785 collection Rymbranesques, ou Essais de gravures par C. H. Watelet de l'Académie Françoise, & Honoraire Amateur de l'Académie royale de Peinture & Sculpture (Rymbranesques, or Trial Prints, by C. H. Watelet of the Académie Française & Amateur Honoraire of the Académie Royale de Peinture & Sculpture). In his prefatory remarks, Watelet included observations on Rembrandt's technical innovations— "I assured myself, by repeated observations with the magnifying glass, that [Rembrandt] used only etching, drypoint, & sometimes perhaps rather rough and quick marks made with a burin"46—and endeavored to reproduce these varieties of detail in his prints. Here the amateur was not content just to inventory and document the artist's work; through his many copies and

pastiches, Watelet embarked upon a learning process in which he strove to understand and then describe Rembrandt's artistic gestures. The fact that he reworked some of Rembrandt's copper plates in his possession attests to their radically different status at the time: not as masterpieces to be maintained intact but material resources to study. Several of the copper plates, still preserved, bear traces of Watelet's manipulations. The inscription on the third state of the bust portrait Rembrandt's Mother with Her Hand on Her Chest (B. 349), for example, proudly proclaims: "Watelet reparavit / 1760 Bruxelles."47

Watelet's technical and artistic interest in Rembrandt's etchings was fueled by the identification it allowed between artist and master. In that regard, Watelet also identified with Jan Six, Rembrandt's renowned patron, in a print he etched (cat. 91) after a grisaille painting (Staatliche Kunsthalle, Karlsruhe)48 commissioned from Jean-Baptiste Greuze, who also painted

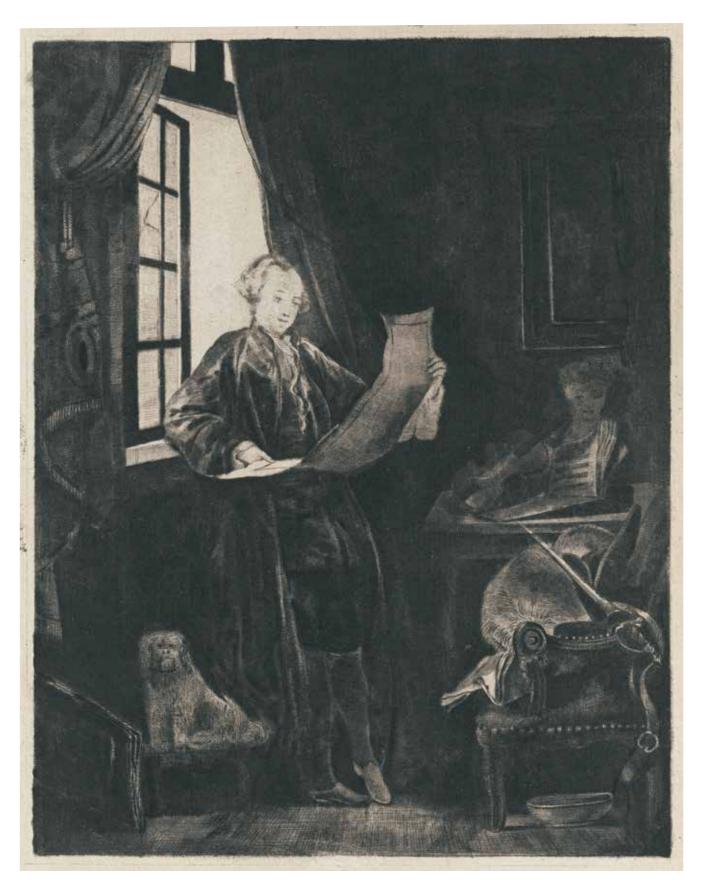








Fig. 53. Antoine de Marcenay de Ghuy (1724-1811) after Jean Siméon Chardin (1699-1779), House of Cards, ca. 1754-78. Etching, four states mounted together: each sheet, approx. $3\% \times 4\%$ in. (9.4 × 12.2 cm). The British Museum, London (1840,0314.98)



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92. Baron Dominique Vivant Denon (1747-1825) after Rembrandt (Rembrandt van Rijn) (1606-1669) The Death of the Virgin, 1783 Etching

a portrait of Watelet (Musée du Louvre, Paris) that was exhibited at the Salon in 1765. Under the print, Hugues Adrien Joly, custodian of the Cabinet des Estampes in the Bibliothèque du Roi, wrote:

This print was etched by M. Watelet, receveur général de finances at the Académie Française and the Académie de Peinture, after a drawing by the famous Greuze. The idea and the effect align harmoniously in the rare and beautiful print called the Burgermeister Jan Six. As Six was Rembrandt's friend and benefactor, M. Watelet is also the friend of the artist after whom he himself etched this print, which is at the same time his portrait, and, like another Jan Six, is also the friend of arts and letters.

In representing himself as a "new" Jan Six, Watelet inserted himself within the tradition of the great patrons in the history of art, casting his relationship with Greuze as analogous to that between Rembrandt and Six. The print, in effect an elegy to Rembrandt and Six, also serves to characterize Watelet's own identity as both patron and artist: in short, an *amateur* in the full sense of the term.

Baron Dominique Vivant Denon was undoubtedly another central figure in the history of Rymbranesques. A diplomat and future director of the Musée Napoléon, Denon was also an amateur printmaker and was admitted to the Académie Royale de Peinture in 1787. In 1791 he purchased en bloc Anton Maria Zanetti's collection, which included 428 Rembrandt prints that had come directly from Amsterdam.⁴⁹ Denon's own prints reveal the extent of his interest in Rembrandt's works. At the Salon of 1787, for example, he exhibited the etching One Night, after Rembrandt, described in the livret as a depiction of two women, "one in bed & the other rocking a child."50 Others are pastiches made in homage to the artist: these are neither copies nor fakes, since they were produced in the reverse direction of the originals and bear the artist's signature. For example, *The Death* of the Virgin (cat. 92), etched in 1783, bears a double signature: that of Rembrandt, reproduced at bottom left ("Rembrandt f. 1639"), the same location as in the original (fig. 54), and Denon's at bottom right ("Dn. / 1783"). The imitation is thus made explicit, and the dual signatures reference the emulation to which Rembrandt's etchings gave rise. In his correspondence, Denon formulates this relationship of admiration for Rembrandt as his "engagements with that master" and states his wish that it "come out honorably."51

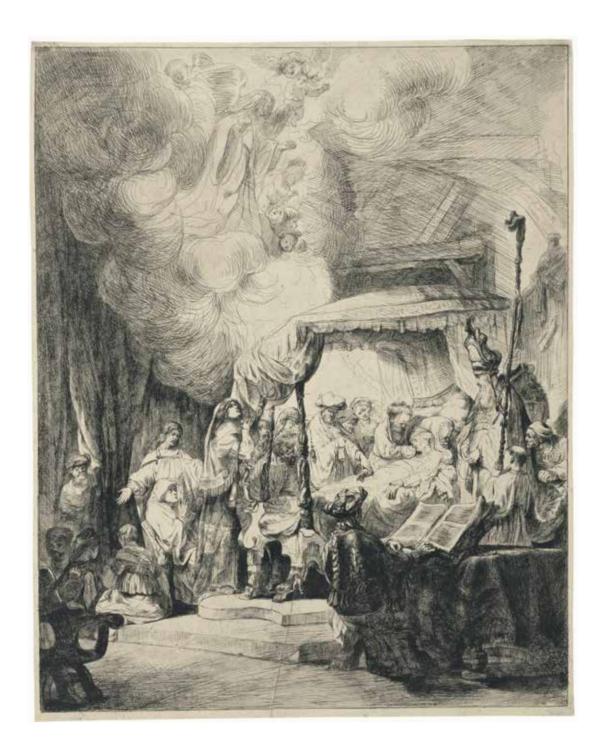
Through such pastiches amateur printmakers engaged in an intense, tactile reflection on Rembrandt's



Fig. 54. Rembrandt (Rembrandt van Rijn, 1609-1669), The Death of the Virgin, 1639. Etching and drypoint, third state of three; sheet, $16\% \times 12\%$ in, (41×31.4) cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Bequest of Ida Kammerer, in memory of her husband, Frederic Kammerer, M.D., 1933 (33.79.14)

style, highlighting its singularity at precisely the moment when it was becoming a specific subject in art history.⁵² The visibility of his strokes, so faulted by biographers, became a key to Rembrandt's popularity with amateurs long before it was judged in the nineteenth century a critical element of the artist's "genius."53 In their copies and manipulations amateurs inaugurated a new appreciation for the work of the artist that stood in stark contrast to the critical reception of Rembrandt at the time, an admiration that led not only to a new understanding of his work but also to a revision of the art-historical canon.

In the end, it bears reiterating that these etchings were closely tied to the personal collections, publications, and social networks of amateurs and as such were not widely diffused. They have little in common with the engraved illustrations with which the history of eighteenth-century printmaking is too often identified; their audience was different, as was their social role. And yet they are testaments to a learning process within the scholarly milieu around the Académie Royale: the constitution of a new visual knowledge



that combined the pastimes of high society with the expertise of connoisseurship and the pleasures of artistic practice.

This specific formulation of the amateur, a figure who had gained considerable authority in the final decades of the ancien régime, did not survive intact the societal transformations of the revolutionary period. In 1799, the publication of "Über den Dilettantismus"

("On Dilettantism") by Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Friedrich Schiller, and Johann Heinrich Meyer relegated the amateur to the rank of a "demi-artist," to borrow Goethe's term.⁵⁴ This critique of dilettantism, which in France accompanied the end of the monarchical system of arts patronage and the elimination of the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture, effectively sounded the death knell of the amateur.



ECHOES OF REMBRANDT AND CASTIGLIONE: ETCHING AS APPROPRIATION

Perrin Stein

Y THE FINAL decades of the ancien régime, the practice of printmaking had effectively split into two paths. Within the professional domain, which was geared toward the reproduction of existing works of art, a slew of sophisticated new techniques had been devised for closely imitating the technique, handling, and sometimes even color of the original, allowing printmaking as a medium for the reproduction of paintings and drawings to flourish as market demand for such prints grew apace.1 At the same time, a separate current of etching activity, nurtured within a rarefied milieu of connoisseurship and camaraderie, was increasingly untethered from the commercial goal of reproduction and gained stature as an independent art form akin to drawing.2 Unlike the professional, who aspired to transcribe faithfully and meticulously another artist's composition, this type of practitioner, the peintre-graveur, was free to channel inspiration through the etching needle, a spontaneous artistic process in which the hand races to record ideas, elaborating some, abandoning others. In this context, away from the demands of the marketplace and the hierarchy of the Académie Royale, a different sensibility prevailed. When one artist etched a composition or figure inspired by another artist's work, it was more likely understood as a clever game of appropriation or homage rather than an implicitly hierarchical relationship of original and copy.

The painters and *amateurs* who made these original prints exalted in the freedom and spontaneity of the medium; their lines, accordingly, skip and wiggle across the surface in a lively, inventive manner. In their working method such artists were conditioned by their appreciation of Rembrandt and his many Italian admirers, whose messy, experimental technique gave rise to an aesthetic that valued the sketch over the highly finished work.³ It was a sensibility that had currency far beyond the realm of printmaking. Indeed, the qualities associated with inspiration—*le génie* (genius), *le feu* (fire)—were central to Enlightenment culture and

art, as can be seen in the gestural Neo-Baroque manner of painting that found favor about 1750-754 and in the prevalence of oil sketches: small, impasto-laden canvases, originally made as preparatory studies for larger oil paintings, that were particularly sought after by collectors during this period.⁵ The taste was so engrained by the mid-1760s that Diderot's question in his critique of the Salon of 1767—"Pourquoi une belle esquisse nous plaît-elle plus qu'un beau tableau?" (Why does a beautiful sketch please us more than a fine picture?)—was clearly rhetorical.⁶ At the same time that oil sketches were coming to be appreciated for their intrinsic qualities and, moreover, were being made and exhibited as independent works of art, so too were the "inspired" sketches made by painters with etching needles. Often created as the first stage of a print that would later be worked over in burin (see Rena Hoisington's discussion of technique in chapter 1), such etchings were increasingly appreciated in and of themselves, even without professional "finish."7

The sketchy and spontaneous manner of etching that came to the fore during this period represented a stark discontinuity with the controlled native French tradition, embodied by the prolific seventeenth-century etchers Jacques Callot and Claude Mellan. This engagement on the part of French printmakers with the art of the North and with Rembrandt in particular was closely intertwined with contemporary trends in collecting and connoisseurship.8 In 1748, the expert (one who catalogues works for auction) and dealer Edme François Gersaint—whose catalogue raisonné of Rembrandt's prints, the first publication of its kind, was published posthumously in 17519—observed that collectors were seeking out the prints of Rembrandt and the innovative Italian printmaker Stefano della Bella with greater fervor than those of Callot because they found them more imbued with "spirit" and "expression."10 The noted amateur Claude Henri Watelet (see Charlotte Guichard's discussion in chapter 5) was another essential figure in the lionization of Rembrandt FACING PAGE

Fig. 55. Detail, Louis Germain, *Studies of Heads* (cat. 108)

and his graphic oeuvre. Having studied closely the Dutch master's technique, Watelet created a body of prints in homage, collectively titled Rymbranesques (for example, cat. 91), and even owned eighty-one of Rembrandt's copper plates, some of which he reworked and reeditioned.11 So dominant was the taste for Rembrandt's "furious" and "messy" technique that the entry on "Gravure" in the Encyclopédie stated, "you can't call yourself a connoisseur if you don't, despite all his faults, appreciate Rembrandt."12

A parallel situation emerged in the French vogue for the work of certain Italian artists: not the Renaissance masters the Académie expected young painters to study, but the picturesque shepherd caravans of Giovanni Benedetto Castiglione and the wild, windswept landscapes of Salvator Rosa. Cabinet pictures (small paintings intended to be viewed close up) either by or inspired by these Italian artists proliferated in Parisian collections, and their prints were sought, studied, and emulated by artists and amateurs alike. Eighteenthcentury auction catalogues offer clear indications of this taste, especially among artists. Carle Vanloo, for instance, owned forty-eight etchings by Castiglione and other artists,13 while Jean-Baptiste Le Prince had accumulated by the time of his death, in 1781, seventy-three prints by and after Rembrandt and twenty-four after Castiglione. 14 François Boucher, whose collection would have been available to his many students, owned seventy-seven prints by Pietro Testa, the majority etched by Testa's own hand, ninety-eight prints "à la maniere du dessein, gravées en Italie" (in the manner of drawing, etched in Italy), one hundred thirty-seven "morceaux inventés & gravés par Tiepolo" (pieces invented and etched by Tiepolo), "Les soldats de Salvator Rosa" (the series of soldiers by Salvator Rosa), as well as forty prints described as "gravées par Benedette lui-même" (etched by Benedette [Castiglione] himself).¹⁵

Given the strong predilections revealed by Boucher's collection, it is not surprising that among painters he was a seminal figure in developing and passing on the taste for Rembrandt and Castiglione. Two of his early influences—Antoine Watteau, whose drawings he was hired to etch following the elder artist's early death (see chapter 1), and Nicolas Vleughels, who was director of the Académie de France in Rome at the time of Boucher's delayed visit to Italy (see chapter 4)—were Franco-Flemish artists, likely fostering in Boucher his preference for the picturesque over the classical. Accordingly, the canvases Boucher painted upon his return to Paris

were constructed in the manner of the Bamboccianti painters, with rustic peasants populating idyllic, Italianate settings. He also actively collected paintings, drawings, and prints by Northern artists, using them both as source material for his own work and as models for his students to copy.¹⁶

In the complex world of eighteenth-century printmaking, Boucher, perhaps more than any of his contemporaries, was adept at bridging the divides and overlaps of the commercial arena of reproductive printmaking and the social sphere, where printmaking was done for pleasure. 17 Etching, for Boucher, was both a vehicle through which he honed his drawing skills (cat. 9) and a pedagogical tool (cat. 10). Because printmaking was a pastime that appealed to members of the court and polite society, Boucher could sit by the side of the king's favorite and instruct her in the rudiments of the process (cat. 88) while feeling equally comfortable in the shops on the quais, working with publishers to bring his designs to a broad audience (cat. 6). Throughout his career he explored ways in which printmaking could build his reputation not simply through the reproduction of his paintings but also by disseminating images of his drawings and the exotic works in his personal collection, thereby advertising his skill and taste.18

Perhaps Boucher's most influential encounter with Northern figure drawings ironically occurred in Rome, where a group of about forty sheets of studies of peasants done from life by Abraham Bloemaert was apparently in a collection easily accessible to the pensionnaires of the Académie de France; Boucher and Pierre Hubert Subleyras drew numerous copies of them between 1728 and 1730.19 Boucher later etched a set of twelve prints inspired by these copies—the *Livre* d'étude d'après les desseins originaux de Blomart—probably shortly after his return to France, as they were announced for sale in the Mercure de France in June 1735.²⁰ His approach in creating this collection mirrored that of the Recueil Jullienne, the famous edition of Watteau's drawings, in which the originals were revered as works of art but their mise-en-page was not considered sacrosanct; the printmakers were thus given the liberty to pick and choose and to recombine individual studies into new compositions. 21 Similarly, Boucher's prints from the Livre d'étude (cats. 93, 94) are highly aestheticized appropriations of Bloemaert's studies from life. Each combines a range of motifs—whole and partial figures, often differing in scale and finish—and is executed in a lively etched line, suggesting speed and inspiration.



93. François Boucher (1703–1770) after Abraham Bloemaert (1566–1651) Sheet of Sketches with a Woman Holding a Basket, from the "Livre d'étude d'après les desseins originaux de Blomart" (Drawing Book after Original Drawings by Bloemaert), ca. 1735 Etching



94. François Boucher (1703–1770) after Abraham Bloemaert (1566–1651) Sheet of Sketches with a Boy Lying on the Ground, from the "Livre d'étude d'après les desseins originaux de Blomart" (Drawing Book after Original Drawings by Bloemaert), ca. 1735 Etching



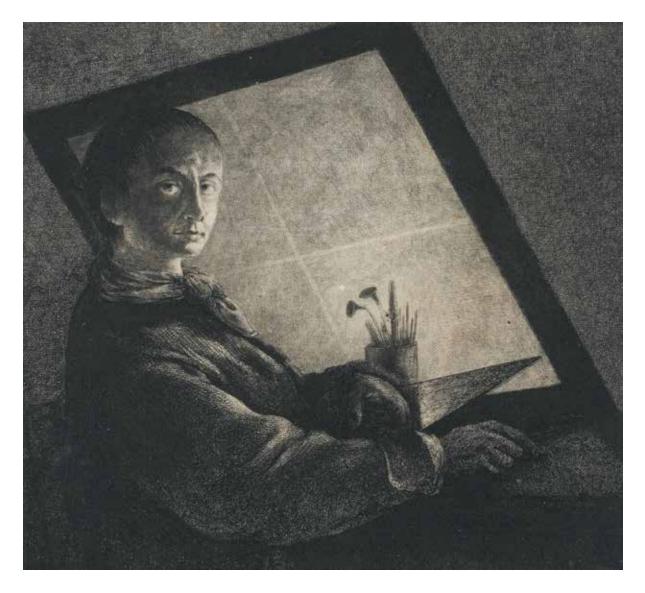
Fig. 56. Marguerite Le Comte (1717–1800) after Rembrandt (Rembrandt van Rijn, 1606–1669), The Beggar in the Tall Hat, 1753. Etching: sheet, $6\% \times$ 5% in. (17.4 × 14.2 cm). Philadelphia Museum of Art; The Muriel and Philip Berman Gift, acquired from the John S. Phillips bequest of 1876 to the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, with funds contributed by Muriel and Philip Berman, gifts (by exchange) of Lisa Norris Elkins, Bryant W. Langston, Samuel S. White 3rd and Vera White, with additional funds contributed by John Howard McFadden, Jr., Thomas Skelton Harrison, and the Philip H. and A.S.W. Rosenbach Foundation, 1985 (1985-52-25422)

The decision to multiply these studies through the medium of etching speaks to the way drawing was taught, disseminated, and used. Moreover, the adaptation and reuse of such images underpinned many of the subjects of everyday life so popular in Rococo France. In the end, these paintings of rustic subjects had less to do with Boucher's experience of everyday life than with art about art, for Boucher had no reason to set foot in a farmyard to sketch a chicken or a dozing shepherd when he could copy and pastiche a painting by Melchior de Hondecoeter or a drawing by Bloemaert.²² That he would edition and advertise these prints, with their source explicitly stated on the title page, makes clear that this mode of working would be admired not despite but precisely for its artifice and fluent appropriation.

Boucher's engagement with the art of the North continued throughout his life and had a strong effect on several of his students, notably Jean Honoré Fragonard, Jean-Baptiste Le Prince, and Gabriel de Saint-Aubin, all of whom in different ways embraced the tenebrism and

focus on gesture and mark making associated with the Northern school and with Rembrandt in particular.²³ But it was in etching more than any other medium that French artists and amateurs embraced the expressive line and experimental technique of the Northern master.24 This emulation took many forms. A number of artists, including Watelet (cat. 91), Marguerite Le Comte (fig. 56), Antoine de Marcenay de Ghuy (fig. 53), Jean Pierre Norblin de la Gourdaine, and Baron Dominique Vivant Denon (cat. 92), made loosely etched plates directly after prints by Rembrandt in part as playful homage, in part to absorb his graphic genius through the tactile means of imitation. In other instances, certain graphic qualities or subjects were strongly associated with Rembrandt's oeuvre. For Norblin de la Gourdaine, the close study of Rembrandt's prints informed his entire production of about 118 etchings. 25 His Self-Portrait (cat. 95) focuses on this aspect of his identity by making direct reference to Rembrandt's Self-Portrait Drawing at the Window, a print it echoes both in composition and technique.²⁶ In a plate almost covered in dark, inky tone built up with cross-hatching, the artist turns to look at us, his face illuminated by an unseen window to the side. From its dull gleam we can identify the copper plate in his hand, while a scrim (used to diffuse light) frames his head and jar of etching tools. A man lit by a window in a dark interior was a recurring motif in the work of Rembrandt and his followers for depictions of readers, writers, artists, and men of religion and would have been understood as a topos of illumination and inspiration (see also cat. 91).

As much as his style and subject matter were widely imitated, the true core of eighteenth-century admiration for Rembrandt was based on his commitment to etching as a medium capable of expressing artistic genius. In his hands, the copper plate became a site for sketching and revising ideas, much like a sheet of paper. Indeed, the possibilities for making changes through additional etching, drypoint, burnishing out, and multiple trips to the acid bath made etching the perfect vehicle for showcasing virtuosity and the artistic process. The conceptual alignment between etching and drawing was most pronounced in Rembrandt's sketch plates, on which he juxtaposed seemingly random groupings of sketches featuring varied orientations and degrees of finish (fig. 57). If his earliest examples were born of a sense of experimentation as he learned to master the handling of the etching needle, Rembrandt's prints quickly evolved into artful displays of imagination and



95. Jean Pierre Norblin de la Gourdaine (1745-1830) Self-Portrait with Etching Plate, ca. 1778 Etching, drypoint, and engraving

facility in which disparate, loosely sketched studies drawn from life were assembled on a single plate. Rembrandt's choice to make such sketches on a copper plate, where they could be multiplied through the printing process, indicated the widespread appreciation for this facet of his draftsmanship.27

The sketch-plate format gained popularity in the eighteenth century as artists and amateurs increasingly valued the free use of the etching needle as a drawing tool. Jean Jacques de Boissieu, a self-taught artist from Lyon, was another devotee of Rembrandt's prints and of the Dutch school generally.28 Like Rembrandt, he made sketch plates as he was first experimenting with the etching process and then continued to produce such compositions well into his maturity as a means of demonstrating his impressive range and proficiency

with the etching needle. His Study of Thirteen Heads (cat. 96) reveals the conscious effort that underpinned the appearance of spontaneity and looseness. The six smaller and less finished heads that occupy the lowerright quadrant were in fact later additions, made after the artist burnished out the large and more highly finished head that filled this area in the first state.²⁹

Beyond the appreciation of the etched sketch plate as an art form akin to drawing, with an emphasis on inspiration and spontaneity that paralleled the contemporary taste for premières pensées and oil sketches, lay a broader phenomenon: the eighteenth-century vogue for the fragment, the partial, the unfinished, the ruin. From operas to garden follies, sketches to etchings, fragments were valued for all that they left to the imagination.³⁰ In copies, especially, the subjective act of selecting part of

96. Jean Jacques de Boissieu (1736–1810) Study of Thirteen Heads, ca. 1770 Etching, second state of three

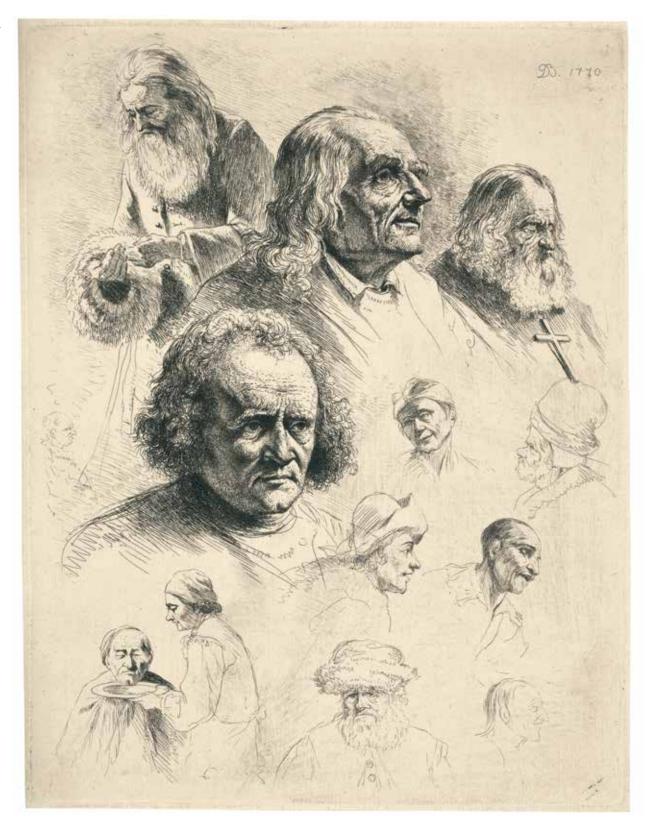




Fig. 57. Rembrandt (Rembrandt van Rijn, 1606-1669), Studies of the Heads of Saskia and Others, 1636. Etching; sheet, $6\frac{1}{16} \times 5\frac{1}{16}$ in. (15.4 × 12.9 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Bequest of Julie Parsons Redmond, 1960 (60.534.28)

a whole was seen as a type of connoisseurship, an act of taste to be distinguished from slavish imitation. Explicit reference to these ideas can be found in midcentury correspondence between members of the Académie Royale. The comte de Caylus, writing a letter of advice in 1751 to pensionnaire Louis Jean François Lagrenée, who had just arrived in Rome, urged the young artist to follow his own taste and copy only the parts of the great masterpieces that he found useful, always striving for a lightness of touch.³¹ In the summer of 1752, the marquis de Marigny, director of the Bâtiments du Roi, wrote to Charles Joseph Natoire, the new director of the Académie de France in Rome, and made this point more programmatically, stating that the pensionnaires should follow their own tastes and copy just those parts of paintings that most affected them.³²

If selective copying was a proclamation of taste and a dialogue with the past, no one embraced this idea more than Fragonard, Hubert Robert, and the other artists whose inspired, playful sketches provided the source material for the abbé Jean Claude Richard de Saint-Non's *Recueil des griffonis*, a collection of suites of etchings and aquatints published sporadically beginning about 1777.33 Individual suites, organized around the

Italian cities where the copies were made, were given titles such as "Fragments choisis," emphasizing the subjective act of selection. Thus, the some three hundred black chalk sketches Fragonard made on his five-month return journey to Paris in 1761 in the company of Saint-Non represent a compendium of Fragonard's tastes and interests at this moment and contain clues to the direction his career would take.³⁴ Drawn after compositions, passages, and details of his favorite paintings in Italian cities, they reveal his strong preference for the painterly artists of the late Baroque and, as such, form a coda to his Italian sojourn, which had been marked initially by a debilitating awe following his first encounters in Rome with the works of Michelangelo and Raphael.³⁵

Shortly after his return from Italy, and long before the publication of Saint-Non's Griffonis, Fragonard made sixteen prints after his own broadly sketched drawings from the journey that excerpt from and occasionally alter their Italian models.³⁶ These etchings so thoroughly embody Fragonard's graphic style that they are more accurately considered appropriations than reproductive prints. And just as the paintings he chose to copy and etch reveal certain tastes and preferences, so too can we see in his improvisational and vivid handling of the etching needle that Fragonard was equally enamored of the style and technique of Italian late Baroque and Rococo printmakers. In their ebullient style, Fragonard's etchings after Italian masters employ the full arsenal of effects seen in the prints of Tiepolo, Castiglione, and even Canaletto, from undulating, near parallel lines, to scattered flecks and wiggles distributed in varied densities in order to model forms, to airy patches of white created by paper left in reserve.

Of the sixteen prints, a full ten were after works Fragonard had copied in Venice, including three after paintings by the still-living Giambattista Tiepolo and one after German painter Johann Liss's Saint Jerome *Inspired by an Angel* (fig. 58). The latter (cat. 97) illustrates the tweaking and transformation that often occurred in Fragonard's etchings; in this case, he suppressed several of the saint's attributes and turned the face of the angel in the sky toward the viewer, giving it a sunlit, cherubic quality completely imbued with his own style.³⁷ For his *Feast of Anthony and Cleopatra* (cat. 98), Fragonard grafted together two separate sketches of vignettes from Tiepolo's fresco decoration in the Palazzo Labia, Venice (fig. 59), into a coherent, unified composition. In place of the musicians and trompel'oeil architecture that framed Tiepolo's banquet scene,

Fragonard, borrowing from the cartouche above, substituted the pair of Pluto and Persephone, who hover directly over the earth-bound banquet table on heavy, billowing clouds.38

Saint-Non's more ambitious project of translating Fragonard's black chalk sketches into prints did not truly get under way until about 1772, by which point he had hired a printmaker named Delafosse to devise a new technique—referred to in the eighteenth century as "wash manner" and today as aquatint—to produce prints that resembled pen and wash drawings.³⁹ These prints, produced in suites referred to as griffonis (or sketches, as in the *Receuil de griffonis* noted above), achieved a real fluidity and richness of tone, especially the early impressions, which were printed in brown ink. Reflecting the range of Fragonard's copies, Saint-Non's aquatints sometimes took as their subject an entire composition but at other times just a vignette or detail. He sometimes also retained, as he did in Cain Killing Abel and Jacob Wrestling with the Angel (cats. 99, 100) after paintings by Nicolò Tornioli in the church of San Paolo Maggiore, Bologna—the small alterations of pose and detail that Fragonard habitually made. 40 Ironically, Saint-Non's griffonis aquatints reflect neither the original manner of Fragonard's black chalk sketches, with their quick parallel hatching, nor the sketchy Italianate style of etching that Fragonard sought to emulate in his own prints after his copy drawings. Rather, Saint-Non's aquatints capture the fluid handling of sepia wash that marked Fragonard's production during his second journey to Italy, in 1773–74, and in the preceding years, that is, at the time Saint-Non was making etchings after his drawings from the first trip.

In this period of engagement with etching that followed his return from Italy, Fragonard also made a set of four Bacchanal etchings (cats. 101–104) that appear to take as their starting point sketches after antique reliefs or fragments. 41 Playful scenes of satyrs and nymphs, blending the domestic and the erotic, fill variously shaped reliefs embedded in shallow landscapes of lush foliage. In a fanciful conceit, Fragonard's bacchic revels take place, like Claude Gillot's earlier series (cats. 28, 29), in verdant groves, but here they appear more self-consciously as antique fragments, overgrown and forgotten, a playful riff on a lost world. With a broad range of mark making, from flecks to wiggles to areas of velvety tone made of cross-hatching, Fragonard portrays nature as a fecund, engulfing presence, with heavy fronds of bent grass and sunlit sprays of tiny



Fig. 58. Johann Liss (ca. 1595/1600-1631), Saint Jerome Inspired by an Angel, ca. 1628. Oil on canvas. San Nicolò da Tolentino, Venice

leaves punctuated by dark shadow. Displays of facility, to be sure, they would also have been understood as homages to the etchings of Castiglione, whose graphic mannerisms for depicting foliage they directly recall. (for example, fig. 60).

Although Fragonard's etchings after Italian masters and his bacchanals all date to shortly after his return from Italy, the artist's admiration for the etching style of Castiglione and other Italians, from Rosa to Tiepolo, was in all likelihood well established even before he set foot on Italian soil. Prints by such Italian masters were common in Paris and prized by French collectors. Castiglione, in particular, had been admired in France since the seventeenth century, with Michel Corneille the Younger and Sébastien Bourdon figuring among his early emulators. 42 In the case of younger artists working in the mid-eighteenth century, such as Giambattista and Giandomenico Tiepolo, serious collectors like Pierre Jean Mariette sought out their newest work even before it became widely available on the Paris art market. 43 But in Boucher's studio, where the sensibilities of Fragonard and many other artists of his generation were formed, the taste for Castiglione's painterly style was reinforced by an embrace of his subject matter as well. The rustic lushness of his pastorals, whether the subject was a

97. Jean Honoré Fragonard (1732–1806) after Johann Liss (ca. 1595/1600-1631) Saint Jerome, ca. 1761–65 Etching, first state of three

98. Jean Honoré Fragonard (1732–1806) The Feast of Anthony and Cleopatra, ca. 1761–65 Etching, first state of two





Fig. 59. Elevation view of Tiepolo's frescoes at Palazzo Labia, Venice

shepherd caravan or a Flight into Egypt, was essential to Boucher's particular, and popular, formulation of the Rococo, in which he assimilated Castiglione's subject matter and made it his own. Indeed, the passion for Castiglione was so ingrained in Boucher's studio that copies of and homages to the Genoese master can be found in the oeuvres of many of Boucher's students, from Fragonard to Jean-Baptiste Deshays44 and, more broadly, in works by François André Vincent, Jean Jacques Lagrenée, and others well into the 1770s. 45

Lagrenée's debt to Castiglione manifested itself primarily in the first two decades of his career, before he turned in a more Neoclassical direction and was appointed artistic director of the Sèvres porcelain manufactory in 1785 (cat. 26).46 His emulation of the Genoese artist can be seen in his painted and drawn oeuvre⁴⁷ as well as in his earliest experiments with etching. Although Lagrenée would eventually compete for the Prix de Rome and, despite a second-place award, be granted pensionnaire status at the Académie de France, his first trip abroad, from 1760 to 1763, was to St. Petersburg in the company of his older brother, Louis Jean François Lagrenée, who had been appointed director of the St. Petersburg Academy. Of his ten prints inscribed

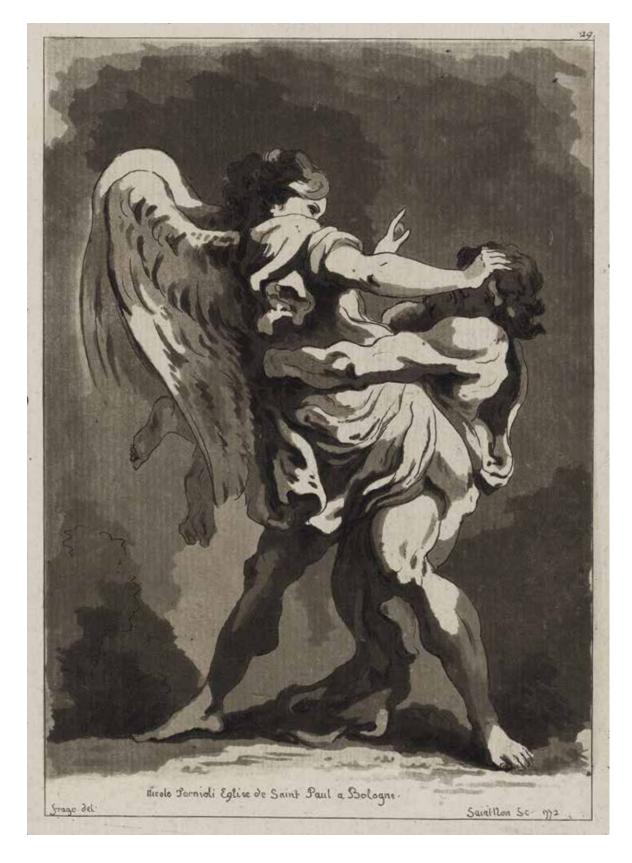
as having been etched in Russia, 48 Sacrifice to the God Pan (cat. 105) is the most direct homage to Castiglione. Feathery trees provide shelter for overgrown antique herms and all form of bacchic revelry. In technique as well as subject matter, Lagrenée's print is reminiscent of Castiglione's Feast before the Altar of the God Terminus (fig. 61), especially in its manner of modeling and the shading of figures as well as the quick, exuberant marks used to indicate branches, foliage, and clouds, as if the artist were celebrating the ungroomed quality of nature in a golden age.49

After Castiglione, one of the most admired Italian artists among French etchers was Salvator Rosa, whose wild and dramatic landscapes were imitated by many late eighteenth-century proto-Romantic painters in both France and England. But his etchings were no less influential, especially his enigmatic and playful series of more than sixty small figural etchings made between 1656 and 1657 that depict soldiers as well as male and female genre figures.⁵⁰ Capricious and engaging, they recall established traditions of military, costume, and street-crier prints but intentionally resist identification or clear narrative. To French artists, the format became a template for displaying one's imagination, wit, and virtuosity. Examples include Pierre Parrocel's Figure de femme des environs de Rome (Figure of a Woman from the Environs of Rome),⁵¹ a set of six Études de soldats (Studies of Soldiers) drawn and etched by his cousin Charles Parrocel,⁵² and a series of twelve prints of military figures, Reîtres et lansquenets, etched after Charles Parrocel's designs by Johann Georg Wille about 1753.⁵³ Philippe Jacques de Loutherbourg, an Alsatian painter who came to the capital in 1755 to study with Carle Vanloo and Francesco Casanova, also studied etching at Wille's academy on the Quai des Augustins, where he certainly would have encountered some of these. His Première suite de soldats (cat. 106) bears a direct lineage to the quirky and flamboyant demeanor of Rosa's soldiers (for example, fig. 62) and makes use of similar compositional devices: figures, for example, who wear fluttering costumes, are seen from behind, have their faces obstructed, or are set against nondescript landscapes.

As in the case of Rembrandt, this engagement with Italian etchers such as Castiglione and Rosa was very much part of amateur culture, in which the etching of plates was closely connected with the study, collecting, and connoisseurship of prints. One collector and amateur printmaker quite enamored of the Genoese

99. Jean Claude Richard, abbé de Saint-Non (1727–1791), after Jean Honoré Fragonard (1732-1806) Cain Killing Abel, plate 30 from "Fragments choisis, 3e suite" (Select Fragments, 3rd Suite), 1772 Etching and aquatint





100. Jean Claude Richard, abbé de Saint-Non (1727–1791), after Jean Honoré Fragonard (1732-1806) Jacob Wrestling with the Angel, plate 29 from "Fragments choisis, 3e suite" (Select Fragments, 3rd Suite), 1772 Etching and aquatint

101. Jean Honoré Fragonard (1732–1806) Nymph Supported by Two Satyrs, 1763 Etching



102. Jean Honoré Fragonard (1732–1806) The Satyr's Family, 1763 Etching





103. Jean Honoré Fragonard (1732–1806) Nymph Astride a Satyr, 1763 Etching



104. Jean Honoré Fragonard (1732–1806) The Satyrs' Dance, 1763 Etching



Fig. 60. Giovanni Benedetto Castiglione (Il Grechetto) (1609-1664), Theseus Finding His Father's Arms, ca. 1645. Etching: sheet, $11\% \times 8$ in. (30.3 \times 20.2 cm). The British Museum, London (1932,0709,75)



Fig. 61. Giovanni Benedetto Castiglione (Il Grechetto) (1609-1664), Feast before the Altar of the God Terminus, ca. 1645. Etching: sheet, $8^{15}/_{16} \times 7^{3}/_{16}$ in. (22.7 × 18.3 cm). Minneapolis Institute of Arts; The Ethel Morrison Van Deslip Fund (P.68.334)

master was the jeweler Jean Denis Lempereur, whose oeuvre has sometimes been confused with that of his son, Jean-Baptiste Denis Lempereur, himself an amateur draftsman and etcher.54 The catalogue of the sale of Lempereur père's collection describes, among other works by Castiglione, no fewer than four drawings and a painting all with the subject of a "marche d'animaux." Lempereur's etching of the subject, Landscape with a March of Animals (cat. 107), which bears the inscription "benedette Castiglione Delineavit Lr. Ft. 1742," was presumably made after lot 260, described in the catalogue as "another superb drawing in pen and bistre, representing a march of animals."55 Etched with a broad, energetic line suggestive of the looping flourishes of a spontaneously drawn sheet in pen and ink, Lempereur's print sought to emulate the qualities of Castiglione's draftsmanship just as Mariette's drawn and etched

copies emulated their Italian models (for example, cat. 90).

A related print in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (fig. 63), must have been made about the same time, as it excerpts six vignettes from the same drawing by Castiglione (or Lempereur's print after it) and scatters them as griffonis on a sketch plate that includes an etched copy of a Castiglione print in reverse.56 The result is a sophisticated exercise in connoisseurship, especially in the passage at center right, where Lempereur juxtaposed the etched evocation of Castiglione's treatment of foliage in an etching with an imitation of his freer handling of the same motif in pen and ink. Variants of Castiglione's composition inspired other eighteenth-century artists, among them Gaetano Zompini, an Italian who in 1759 etched a similar composition after a drawing in the collection of noted connois-



seur Anton Maria Zanetti,57 and Fragonard, who about 1773 made a black chalk copy after a related painting, Troupeau et bergers, then in the Palazzo Chigi, Rome.58

Lempereur, like Rembrandt, used the sketch plate to display his virtuoso skills as a draftsman and etcher, but the format could also be exploited for its humorous and caricatural potential. In the quirky and appealing Studies of Heads (cat. 108), Louis Germain, a little-known draftsman and etcher,59 placed details appropriated from both earlier and contemporary sources in unexpected juxtaposition.⁶⁰ Forming a band across the lower margin of the plate are heads of skeletons, many bearing horrific screaming expressions, copied from Stefano della Bella's series Five Deaths (fig. 64),61 while the comical if raunchy heads of soldiers, drunks, and charlatans

from Loutherbourg's numerous series of Rosa-inspired figures fill the top-right quadrant.⁶² Acting as buffer between the two groups are a series of naively drawn vignettes of a contemporary amorous couple (fig. 55). Germain's inscription, which states that he "drew and etched" the plate in Neuilly in 1773, makes clear that such exercises in the witty borrowing and reuse of earlier art, especially the types of etched series of prints that one would find in a Parisian print collector's portfolios, were considered an original, not reproductive, act. Indeed, the notion of artistic agency and choice was intrinsic to the concept of the sketch plate, a format that allowed the etcher, through the selection and arrangement of its parts and fragments, to assert taste, authority, even humor.

105. Jean Jacques Lagrenée (1739-1821) Sacrifice to the God Pan, ca. 1760-63 Etching, first state of two

106. Philippe Jacques de Loutherbourg (1740-1812) "Première suite de soldats" (First Suite of Soldiers), 1755-71 Etchings, all second state of three



a. Soldier Seated on a Rock with Shield (plate 1)

So fully saturated was French etching with the taste for these late Baroque Italian printmakers that an anonymous sketch plate in the Philadelphia Museum of Art (cat. 109) must surely be situated among the examples above. Covered in unrelated sketches disparate in scale, orientation, and finish, the plate is dominated by an oval scene of three ancient soldiers in a landscape, one standing and two in helmets, the latter pair resting on the ground alongside a shield bearing the head of Medusa. Although the figures are reminiscent of Rosa,⁶³ the oval format suggests that the sheet is more a pastiche or homage. Looseness and lack of finish also characterize the smaller sketches strewn across the plate, such as the summarily indicated Flight into Egypt at lower left. The many faces, mostly contemporary, are likewise quickly sketched, sometimes with rapid, parallel hatching that casts the face in shadow or throws it into relief by darkening the background. Incongruous details—a caricature profile, a grinning grotesque, a tiny pair of spectacles—all interject humor. Even without an artist's name attached to it, the plate brings together many of the qualities that distinguish the private and nonprofessional pursuit of etching in late ancien régime



b. Soldier in Armor, Seen from Back, Resting on a Lance (plate 2)



Fig. 62. Salvator Rosa (1615–1673), A Standing Warrior in a Helmet *Holding a Spear*, ca. 1656–57. Etching with drypoint: sheet, $5\frac{1}{2}$ × 3% in. (14 × 9.2 cm). The British Museum, London (W,7.26)



c. Savage Soldier, Swinging a Club (plate 3)



e. Soldier with Lance, Holding Out One Arm (plate 5)



d. Soldier Standing, Resting on a Flag (plate 4)



f. Armed Warrior Standing over a Dead Soldier (plate 6)



107. Jean Denis Lempereur (1701-1779) after Giovanni Benedetto Castiglione (Il Grechetto) (1609-1664) Landscape with a March of Animals, 1742 Etching

France: the echo of Rosa, the ascendance of the sketch aesthetic, and the cross-pollination of collecting, connoisseurship, and play.

For certain French artists, close relationships with amateurs and collectors also brought them under the sway of antiquarianism, which played a strong role in the early development of the Neoclassical style. Both Jean Jacques Lagrenée (cats. 26, 78) and Joseph Marie Vien were exposed to all manner of antiquities while pensionnaires in Rome, especially with Piranesi's studio a stone's throw from the Académie de France, but the flame of antiquarianism burned just as bright back in Paris, where the fervor of collectors, scholars, and amateurs was fueled by recent excavations and publications. 64 Vien's work in Rome showed an interest in the classical artists of the Renaissance and Baroque periods as well as a commitment to naturalism. But the decade

between his return to Paris in 1750 and the appearance of his major Neoclassical canvases in the 1760s was a time of transition, when his friendship with the comte de Caylus was a decisive factor. Caylus's influential multivolume Recueil d'antiquités began to appear in 1752, and his lectures at the Académie Royale on classical painting and encaustic found tactile expression in Vien's experiments with this ancient technique of blending pigment into melted wax, which were exhibited in the Salon of 1755 and acquired by major collectors of the day.65

As Vien transitioned to more classical subjects and severe, planar compositions in his paintings, he also executed a number of graphic works featuring classical motifs and ornament in narrow, frieze-like formats. The Salon livret of 1753, for instance, lists "eight sketches drawn and washed in bistre, representing the Four

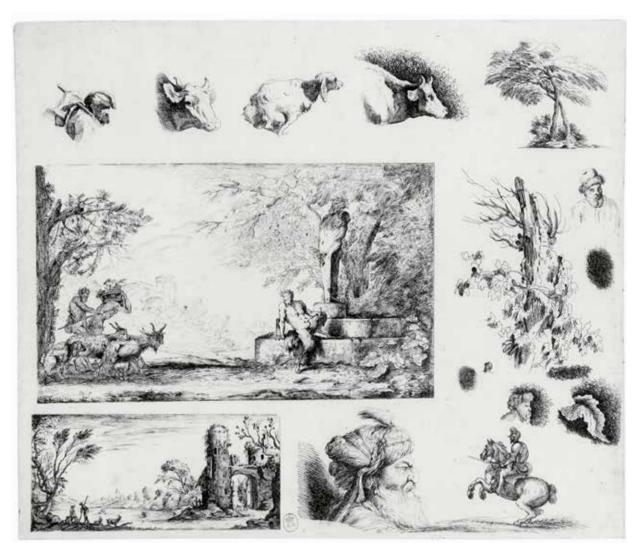
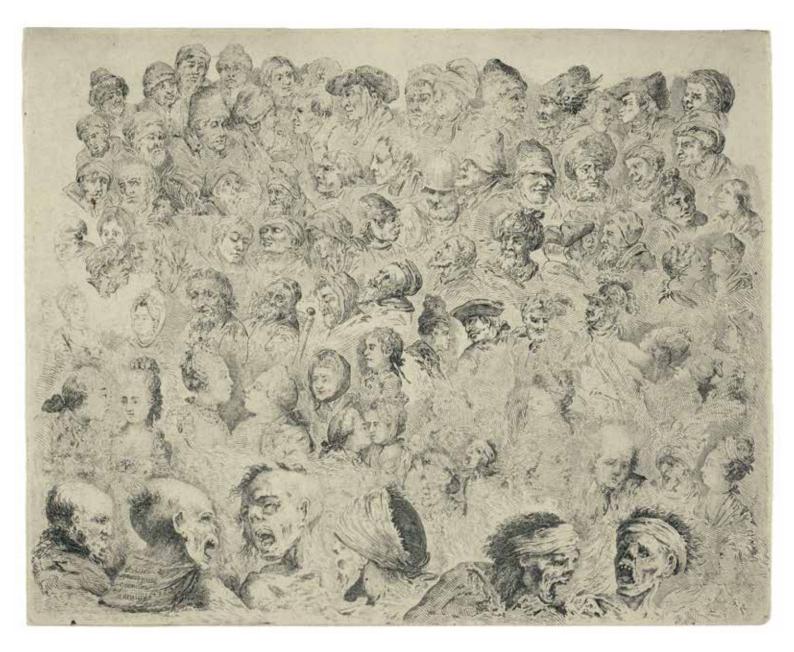


Fig. 63. Jean Denis Lempereur (1701–1779), Landscapes with Subsidiary Sketches, ca. 1742. Etching; sheet, $12\% \times 14$ in. (31.5 × 35.5 cm). Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (Ad. 17, in-fol.)

Seasons, of which four are done as friezes in the historical taste and four in a vertical format in an arabesque style."66 A similar (or overlapping) group of works are listed in Vien's estate sale as "another suite of nine drawings in pen, lightly washed in bistre, offering an agreeable variety of bacchanal subjects, of which several were etched by Joseph Marie Vien. They are in the form of a frieze."67 Five etchings of bacchanals by Vien are known today, and although Prosper de Baudicour, the nineteenthcentury collector and cataloguer of French peintregraveur prints, recorded that a date of 1750 was on one of them,⁶⁸ this date is not visible on the impression consulted,69 opening the possibility that the series was done not in Rome but in Paris about 1755, when works of a similar aesthetic sensibility started to appear in his oeuvre. 70 Vien's study for one of the bacchanals, Arrival at the Wine Vat (cat. 110), acquired by the Metropolitan

Museum in 2008, is in reverse to the etched composition (cat. 111), as one would expect of a model. Its verso has also been rubbed in red chalk and the outlines of the forms incised, a technique commonly used to transfer a drawn design to a copper plate (see chapter 1 for a discussion of this technique).⁷¹ Stylistically, the sheet aligns with Vien's pen and wash drawings dated to the mid-1750s, with their emphasis on the serpentine line rather than shadow or texture, and is notably different from the drawings associated with his Roman period, the majority of which are in black and white chalk on blue paper and combine hatching and zigzags in black chalk with liberally applied highlights in white.⁷² The technique of the bacchanal etchings can also be contrasted with that of the prints Vien made in Rome, such as Lot and His Daughters (cats. 65, 66) and the plates for the Caravan of the Sultan to Mecca (cat. 67), which are



108. Louis Germain (1733-ca. 1791) Studies of Heads, 1773 Etching

more textured and feature greater use of cross-hatching and inky areas of shadow. Arrival at the Wine Vat, by comparison, relies on lines that are rangées (laid out in a parallel rather than an overlapping fashion) and are reminiscent in their clear linearity of Canaletto's etching technique, anticipating Vien's own later, more purely Neoclassical drawings.

While the serpentine linearity of Vien's relieflike compositions has, on the surface, little similarity to the staccato scribbles that describe foliage and shadow in Fragonard's bacchanals or to the indistinct murkiness of Norblin's Rembrandt-inspired Self-Portrait, what these works do have in common is that they are manifesta-

tions of tastes that germinated and grew in the private realms of collecting and connoisseurship. In almost every way they are the antithesis of the polished and technically accomplished reproductive prints produced by printmakers who had trained professionally and whose work was shown in the public exhibitions of the Salons,73 announced in journals such as the Mercure de France or *L'Avant-coureur*, and found eager markets both near and far, from the quais along the Seine to the print shops of foreign capitals. For the painters and amateurs who chose to pick up the etching needle, the context was often governed by bonds of sociabilité and common interests in study, emulation, and experimentation



Fig. 64. Stefano della Bella (1610–1664), Death Carrying Off an Infant, ca. 1648. Etching: sheet, $7\% \times 6$ in. (18.7 × 15.1 cm). The British Museum, London (1871,0513.649)

(see Charlotte Guichard's discussion in chapter 5).74 The setting could vary—from a painter's studio to the Académie de France in Rome to the Moulin Joli, Watelet's artistic retreat outside Paris, to the private apartments of Madame de Pompadour at Versailles, where she kept her personal press and etching tools but within all of these private "spaces" the notion of emulation and appropriation as worthy endeavors, distinct from copying, found validation.

Once we accept etching (at least as it was practiced by eighteenth-century peintres-graveurs) as something other than a reproductive or secondary art form, we can also integrate it more fully into a given artist's oeuvre and consider it on those terms. Unlike the divisions between departments in modern museums, in the eighteenth century the delineations between media were essentially porous, and ideas explored in one often spilled over into another. A stellar example of this fluidity and of the essential role etching could play can be found in Boucher's artistic enterprise, which in many ways is central to understanding the shifting practices and perceptions of art that marked the broader trajectory of the Rococo period. We can cite, for example, his etched suites after Bloemaert's figure studies or after his own collection of Chinese statuettes and pagodes,75 both



of which explicitly reference their sources on the title page. These suites were also liberally reused and reinvented in Boucher's own oeuvre as well as in the works of others, promulgating the notion of artful appropriation as the seed of invention.

This working method permeated Boucher's studio and was absorbed by his students. As Sophie Raux has argued, the idea of copies so free that the copyist was emboldened to alter compositions and to leave the visible imprint of his own distinctive facture—to the point where they ceased to be deserving of the label "copy" is reflected in surviving works such as Fragonard's sketchy, impasto-laden copies after paintings by Rembrandt and his school in Boucher's and other Parisian collections. 76 The strategy of appropriation

109. Unknown artist (French, 18th century) Sketch Plate, ca. 1760-80 Etching



110. Joseph Marie Vien (1716-1809) Arrival at the Wine Vat, Pen and brown ink, brush and brown wash, incised, verso covered in red chalk both assumed and played to a sophisticated audience for whom identifying and appreciating the references was part of the game. One sees this in the number of variants Fragonard produced of his copies libres after Rembrandt's Holy Family with Angels (Hermitage, St. Petersburg), then in the collection of Pierre Crozat; some depict the full cast of angels and Joseph in his carpenter's shop, while others were reinvented as tenebrist sketches of a rustic scene of a mother and baby in a cradle.⁷⁷ The notion that a playful homage was

understood by contemporaries as just that is clear in the presentation of such works in the catalogues of contemporary auctions, where one finds frequent mention of works in all media as "in the style of Rosa" or "in the manner of Benedetto."

Etching proved an ideal technique through which such appropriation could be explored, although sources did not necessarily need to be distant in time or space or plucked from the pantheon of great artists of the past. It was a game that could be played among friends,



for example, in many cases the same audience of fellow artists and amateurs. Surely the abbé de Saint-Non found amusement in the playful dexterity that allowed him to etch a wash drawing by Le Prince in line etching, suggesting a pen and ink source (cats. 45, 46), or to translate Fragonard's black chalk drawings into rich brown aquatint, likewise suggesting wash, or lavis (cats. 99, 100). And imitation as a means of flattery certainly governed the round-robin etching of *The Little* Park, Fragonard's shimmering vision of a secluded

Italian garden (cat. 11). Although not advertised or distributed by a publisher, the print clearly made its way into the hands of friends whom he had spent time with in Italy, as we can see in several homages. Weirotter (cat. 13) transformed the composition into a panorama, reducing the background into impenetrable darkness, while Saint-Non (cat. 12), with his penchant for contrast, added dark trees as repoussoirs and burnished out the statue and niche, leaving a glowing void at center. One senses a more distant echo of The Little Park in



111. Joseph Marie Vien (1716-1809) Arrival at the Wine Vat, ca. 1755 Etching

the imaginary park etchings made about 1780 by Louis Gabriel Moreau (cat. 14), with their overgrown steps and balustrades and figures dwarfed by silent statuary.

Practiced within circles of friends or in painters' ateliers, etching became a collaborative act of connoisseurship, a rarefied dialogue where emulation became transformation and distinctions between invention and reinvention fell away. One senses this in the inscription that the teenage Marguerite Gérard scratched into her first copper plate—etched under the close eye of Fragonard, her brother-in-law—proudly proclaiming it the

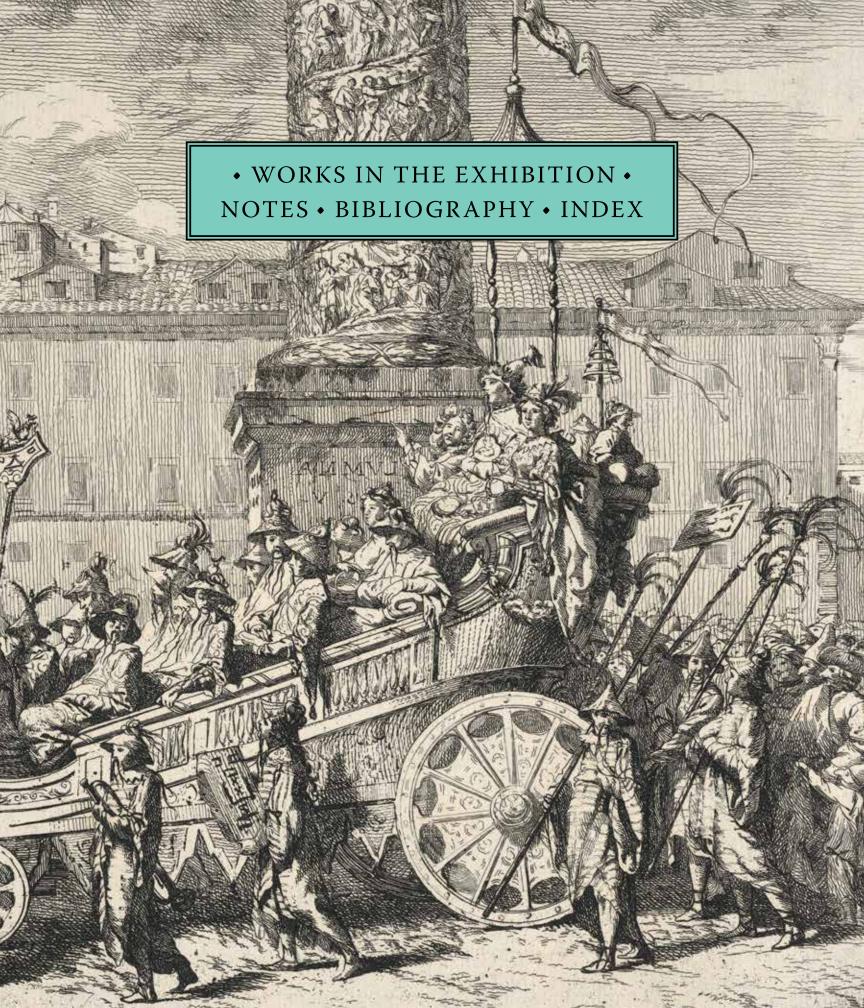
"premiere planche de M^{elle} Gerard âgée de 16 ans. 1778" (first plate of Mlle Gérard, aged 16, 1778) (fig. 17).78 The same could be said for the tender language and cursive handwriting on the title page of the abbé de Saint-Non's Varie vedute suite: "Dedicate au amabile et Leggiadra Mulinaia" (dedicated to the lovely and graceful milleress [Marguerite Le Comte]) (cat. 46).

Whether they ventured into the marketplace to present themselves to a wider audience or instead sought the freedom afforded by private exchange, many eighteenth-century artists found in etching the means



not simply to reproduce and multiply works in other media but to explore ideas rooted in the modern sensibility. In a century when a centralized arts administration inherited from the time of Louis XIV was already fracturing under the pressure of new markets, new classes of collectors, and new critical voices, etchings provided additional channels through which artists could circumvent traditional hierarchies of media and regulated spaces of display. Handheld and intimate, they offer illumination into the fertile spaces of pedagogy and collaboration, emulation and self-promotion.





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Baudicour, Le Peintre-graveur français continué (1859-61) Baudicour, Prosper de. Le Peintre-graveur français continué, ou catalogue raisonné des estampes gravées par les peintres et les dessinateurs de l'école française nés dans le XVIIIe siècle. 2 vols. Paris: Mme Bouchard Huzard, Rapilly, etc., 1859-61.

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Carlson, Victor I., and John W. Ittmann, eds. Regency to Empire: French Printmaking, 1715-1814. Exh. cat. Baltimore: Baltimore Museum of Art; Minneapolis: Minneapolis Museum of Art, 1984.

Couturier, Drawn to Art (2011)

Couturier, Sonia, ed. Drawn to Art: French Artists and Art Lovers in 18th-Century Rome. Exh. cat. Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 2011.

Jean-Richard, L'Œuvre gravé de François Boucher (1978) Jean-Richard, Pierrette. L'Œuvre gravé de François Boucher dans la Collection Edmond de Rothschild. Paris: Éditions des Musées Nationaux, 1978.

Le Blanc, Manuel de l'amateur d'estampes (1854-56) Le Blanc, Charles. Manuel de l'amateur d'estampes. 4 vols. Paris: P. Jannet, 1854-56.

Rosenberg, Fragonard (1987)

Rosenberg, Pierre. Fragonard. Exh. cat. Paris: Galeries Nationales du Grand Palais, 1987; New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art. 1988.

1 * LEARNING TO ETCH

1. Carle Vanloo (French, Nice 1705-1765 Paris) Title plate from "Six figures académiques" (Six Académie Figures),

Etching, first state of three: sheet, $16\% \times 12\%$ in. $(42.3 \times 30.8 \text{ cm})$ Blanton Museum of Art, The University of Texas at Austin; Purchase with funds provided by the Friends of the Archer M. Huntington Art Gallery, 1995 (1995.22)

Inscriptions: in image, on tablet at lower left, "SIX FIGURES / ACADEMIQUES / Dessinées et Gravées / Par / Carle Vanloo / Peintre ord. re du Roy / et Professeur en / son Académie Royale / de Peint. re et de Sculpture / A.P.D.R. / A Paris Chez Beauvais rue / S.t Jacques a l'Image / S.t Nicolas"

Selected references: Baudicour, Le Peintre-graveur français continué (1859-61), vol. 2, p. 106, no. 1; Marie-Catherine Sahut, Carle Vanloo: Premier Peintre du roi (Nice, 1705-Paris, 1765), exh. cat. (Nice: Musée Chéret, 1977), pp. 172-73, nos. 567-70, and p. 184, nos. 626-31

2. Antoine Watteau (French, Valenciennes 1684-1721 Nogent-sur-

Recruits Going to Join the Regiment, ca. 1715–16 Etching and drypoint, first state of three: sheet, 8% × 137/16 in. (22.6 × 34.2 cm)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Purchase, Gift of Dr. Mortimer Sackler, Theresa Sackler and Family, and The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 2006 (2006.43)

Selected references: Margaret Morgan Grasselli and Pierre Rosenberg, Watteau 1684-1721, exh. cat. (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art; Paris: Galeries Nationales du Grand Palais; Berlin: Schloss Charlottenburg, 1984), pp. 236-37, no. 7 (entry by Nicole Parmantier); Marie-Catherine Sahut et al., Antoine Watteau et l'art de l'estampe, exh. cat. (Paris: Musée du Louvre, 2010), pp. 22-24

3. Antoine Watteau (French, Valenciennes 1684–1721 Nogent-sur-Marne) and Henri Simon Thomassin (French, Paris 1687–1741 Paris) Recruits Going to Join the Regiment, ca. 1717–26 Etching, drypoint, and engraving, third state of three: plate, 9\% × 13¾ in. (24.8 × 34.9 cm); sheet, 9% × 13% in. (25.1 × 35.2 cm) The Art Institute of Chicago; The Amanda S. Johnson and Marion J. Livingston Endowment Fund (2007.503)

Inscriptions: below image, at left, "Wateaux pinxit", at right, Thomasin sculp", at center, "Recruë / allant ioindre le Regiment / Sevent A Paris Chez F. Chereau ruë St. Jacques aux deux pilliers d'Or A.P.R", left of center, "A Voir marcher cette Recruë / On juge bien qu'elle est Recruë / Par les Vents, et par les frimats; / Leur officier sur sa Mazete / Assi comme sur la sellete / Ne paroist pas êtres moins las.", and right of center, "Ils maudissent entre eux sans doute, / La dure et fatiguante Route: Mais au gite allant heberger / Aux depens du premier Village / Ils sauront se dedommager / De la fatigue du Voiage / Gacon"

Selected references: Margaret Morgan Grasselli and Pierre Rosenberg, Watteau 1684-1721, exh. cat. (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art; Paris: Galeries Nationales du Grand Palais; Berlin: Schloss Charlottenburg, 1984), pp. 236-37, no. 7 (entry by Nicole Parmantier); Marie-Catherine Sahut et al., Antoine Watteau et l'art de l'estampe, exh. cat. (Paris: Musée du Louvre, 2010), pp. 22-24

4. Antoine Watteau (French, Valenciennes 1684-1721 Nogent-sur-Marne)

The Clothes Are Italian, ca. 1715-16

Etching, first state of six: sheet, $11^{13}/_{16} \times 8^{1}/_{4}$ in. (30 × 20.9 cm) The Cleveland Museum of Art; Severance and Greta Millikin Purchase Fund (2008.3)

Selected references: Carlson and Ittmann, Regency to Empire (1984), pp. 48–49, no. 2; Margaret Morgan Grasselli and Pierre Rosenberg, Watteau 1684-1721, exh. cat. (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art; Paris: Galeries Nationales du Grand Palais; Berlin: Schloss Charlottenburg, 1984), pp. 238-39, no. 8 (entry by Nicole Parmantier), and pp. 122–24, no. 55 (entry by Margaret Morgan Grasselli); Marie-Catherine Sahut et al., Antoine Watteau et l'art de l'estampe, exh. cat. (Paris: Musée du Louvre, 2010), p. 24

5. François Boucher (French, Paris 1703-1770 Paris) Andromeda, 1734

Etching, first state of four: sheet, $13\frac{3}{4} \times 9\frac{7}{16}$ in. (35 × 23.9 cm) Philadelphia Museum of Art; The Muriel and Philip Berman Gift, acquired from the John S. Phillips bequest of 1876 to the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, with funds contributed by Muriel and Philip Berman, gifts (by exchange) of Lisa Norris Elkins, Bryant W. Langston, Samuel S. White 3rd and Vera White, with additional funds contributed by John Howard McFadden, Jr., Thomas Skelton Harrison, and the Philip H. and A.S.W. Rosenbach Foundation, 1985 (1985-52-469)

Inscriptions: in image, at lower left, "f. Boucher inue" Selected references: Jean-Richard, L'Œuvre gravé de François Boucher (1978), p. 79, no. 203

6. François Boucher (French, Paris 1703-1770 Paris) and Pierre Alexandre Aveline (French, Paris 1702–1760 Paris) Andromeda, 1734

Etching and engraving, third state of four: plate, $13^{11}/16 \times 9^{5}/16$ in. $(34.8 \times 23.8 \text{ cm})$; sheet, $13\frac{3}{4} \times 9\frac{7}{16}$ in. $(34.9 \times 23.9 \text{ cm})$ Philadelphia Museum of Art; The Muriel and Philip Berman Gift, acquired from the John S. Phillips bequest of 1876 to the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, with funds contributed by Muriel and Philip Berman, gifts (by exchange) of Lisa Norris Elkins, Bryant W. Langston, Samuel S. White 3rd and Vera White, with additional funds contributed by John Howard McFadden, Jr., Thomas Skelton Harrison, and the Philip H. and A.S.W. Rosenbach Foundation, 1985 (1985-52-41175)

Inscriptions: below image, at left, "Inventé et gravé a l'eau forte par F. Boucher.", at right, "terminé par P. Aveline.", and at center, "ANDROMEDE. / a Paris chez Huquier vis a vis le grand Chateles"

Selected references: Jean-Richard, L'Œuvre gravé de François Boucher (1978), p. 79, no. 203

7. Charles Joseph Natoire (French, Nîmes 1700-1777 Castel Gandolfo)

Summer, from the Four Seasons, 1735

Etching, first state of two: sheet, $10\frac{14}{4} \times 9^{13}$ /16 in. (26.1 × 24.9 cm) Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; Harvey D. Parker Collection

Inscriptions: in image, at lower right, "c. natoire f"

Selected references: Susanna Caviglia-Brunel, Charles-Joseph Natoire, 1700–1777 (Paris: Arthena, 2012), pp. 226–28, under no. *P.38

8. Charles Joseph Natoire (French, Nîmes 1700-1777 Castel Gandolfo) and Benoît Audran II (French, Paris 1698–1772 Paris) Summer, from the Four Seasons, 1735

Etching and engraving, second state of two: sheet, $10\frac{3}{16} \times 9\frac{5}{8}$ in. $(25.9 \times 24.5 \text{ cm})$

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Harry Brisbane Dick Fund, 1953 (53.600.2453)

Inscriptions: in image, at lower right, "c. natoire f"; below image, at left, "Inventé peint et gravé a l'eau forte par C. Natoire", at right, "Termine par B. Audran.", and at center, "ÆSTAS L'ESTE. / Dedié a Monseigneur Philibert Orry Controlleur general des finances. / par Son très humble & très Obeissant Serviteur C. Natoire. P. R. / a Paris chez Huquier vis a vis le grand Chatelet aux armes d'Angleterre avec privilege du Roy."

Selected references: Susanna Caviglia-Brunel, Charles-Joseph Natoire, 1700–1777 (Paris: Arthena, 2012), pp. 226–28, under no. *P.38

9. François Boucher (French, Paris 1703–1770 Paris) after Antoine Watteau (French, Valenciennes 1684–1721 Nogent-sur-Marne) Woman on a Swing, Viewed from Behind, ca. 1721-28 Etching: plate, $9^{11/16} \times 7^{1/16}$ in. (24.6 × 18 cm); sheet, $11\frac{1}{4} \times 8\frac{1}{4}$ in. $(28.6 \times 21 \text{ cm})$

The Cleveland Museum of Art; Gift of The Print Club of Cleveland (1927.313)

Inscriptions: in image, at lower right, "260"; below image, at lower left, "Vatteau. del.", and at lower right, "B. f."

Selected references: Jean-Richard, L'Œuvre gravé de François Boucher (1978), p. 56, no. 124; Pierre Rosenberg and Louis-Antoine Prat, Antoine Watteau 1684-1721: Catalogue raisonné des dessins, 3 vols. (Milan: Leonardo Arte, 1996), vol. 1, no. 310; Emmanuelle Delapierre et al., Quand la gravure fait illusion: Autour de Watteau et Boucher, le dessin gravé au XVIIIe siècle, exh. cat. (Valenciennes: Musée des Beaux Arts; Montreuil: Gourcuff-Gradenigo, 2006), pp. 38-39, no. 12

10. Jean Honoré Fragonard (French, Grasse 1732–1806 Paris) after François Boucher (French, Paris 1703-1770 Paris) An Angel Bringing Food to Elijah, or Hermit Saint in the Desert, ca. 1752-56

Etching: sheet, $10\frac{3}{16} \times 11^{11}\frac{1}{16}$ in. (25.9 × 29.7 cm) The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1949 (49.36.8)

Inscriptions: below image, at left, "F Boucher Inv. & delinea", and at right, "Fragonard Sculps"

Selected references: Sonia Couturier, French Drawings from the National Gallery of Canada, exh. cat. (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 2004), pp. 60-61, no. 20; Rena M. Hoisington and Perrin Stein, "Sous les yeux de Fragonard: The Prints of Marguerite Gérard," Print Quarterly 29 (2012), p. 143

11. Jean Honoré Fragonard (French, Grasse 1732–1806 Paris) The Little Park, ca. 1763

Etching: plate, $4^{13}/_{16} \times 6^{9}/_{16}$ in. (12.3 × 16.7 cm); sheet, $5^{3}/_{16} \times 8^{3}/_{16}$ in. $(14.6 \times 20.8 \text{ cm})$

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 2011 (2011.91) Inscriptions: in image, at center, on pedestal of statue, "fragonard"

Selected references: Carlson and Ittmann, Regency to Empire (1984), pp. 150-51, no. 46; Rosenberg, Fragonard (1987), pp. 153-54, no. 66

12. Jean Claude Richard, abbé de Saint-Non (French, Paris 1727-1791 Paris), after Jean Honoré Fragonard (French, Grasse 1732-1806 Paris)

The Little Park, ca. 1763-65

Etching, second state of two: sheet, $4\frac{5}{16} \times 6\frac{1}{8}$ in. (11 × 15.6 cm) The Baltimore Museum of Art (BMA 2003.5)

Selected references: Carlson and Ittmann, Regency to Empire (1984), pp. 150-51, no. 46; Rosenberg, Fragonard (1987), p. 153,

13. Franz Edmund Weirotter (Austrian, Innsbruck 1733-1771 Vienna) after Jean Honoré Fragonard (French, Grasse 1732–1806

Terraced Garden at the Villa d'Este in Tivoli, plate 11 from "Fünfte Folge von Unterschiedlichen Gegenden Alter Gebæude bestehend in 24 Blat" (Fifth Suite of Different Regions of Old Buildings Consisting of 24 Plates), ca. 1767

Etching, third state of three: plate, $2\frac{1}{8} \times 6\frac{3}{16}$ in. (5.4 × 15.7 cm); sheet, $3\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{\%}{8}$ in. $(8.9 \times 20 \text{ cm})$

Minneapolis Institute of Arts; Gift of John W. Ittmann (P.81.50)

Inscriptions: below image, at center, "F. E. Weirotter fecit."; at lower right, "11"

Selected references: Carlson and Ittmann, Regency to Empire (1984), pp. 150-51, no. 46; Rosenberg, Fragonard (1987), pp. 153-54, no. 66; Thilo Winterberg, Franz Edmund Weirotter (1733–1771), der Landschaftsradierer: Das graphische Werk (Heidelberg: Galeria Palatina and Edition Winterberg, 1998), p. 389, no. 184

14. Louis Gabriel Moreau (French, Paris 1740-1806 Paris) Abandoned Park, ca. 1779

Etching on light blue laid paper, first state of two: plate, 6% × $4^{15/16}$ in. (17.4 × 12.6 cm); sheet, $7^{5/16}$ × 5 in. (18.6 × 12.7 cm) National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.; Gift of Ivan E. Phillips (1997.18.1)

Selected references: Carlson and Ittmann, Regency to Empire (1984), p. 234, no. 79

15. Jean Honoré Fragonard (French, Grasse 1732–1806 Paris) Monsieur Fanfan, 1778

Etching, third state of three: sheet, $10\frac{1}{8} \times 7\frac{1}{8}$ in. $(25.7 \times 18.1 \text{ cm})$ Collection of David P. Tunick

Inscriptions: below image, at left, "Naudet Xc.", at right, "Fragonard Sp.", and at center, "MOSIEUR FANFAN / Jouant avec Monsieur Polichinelle et Compagnie / AParis chez Naudet Md D'Estampes Port au Blé"

Selected references: Rosenberg, Fragonard (1987), pp. 493-94, no. 244; Rena M. Hoisington and Perrin Stein, "Sous les yeux de Fragonard: The Prints of Marguerite Gérard," Print Quarterly 29 (2012), pp. 152-53, 156-57, and 162, figs. 128 and 130

16. Marguerite Gérard (French, Grasse 1761–1837 Paris) after Jean Honoré Fragonard (French, Grasse 1732-1806 Paris) Monsieur Fanfan, 1778

Etching: sheet, $9\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{8}$ in. $(24.1 \times 18.1 \text{ cm})$

Philadelphia Museum of Art; Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Laurence Eyre, 1958 (1958-9374)

Inscriptions: below image, at left, "fragonard / epreuve avant la lettre", and at right, "Gerard"

Selected references: Rosenberg, Fragonard (1987), pp. 493-94, no. 244; Rena M. Hoisington and Perrin Stein, "Sous les yeux de Fragonard: The Prints of Marguerite Gérard," Print Quarterly 29 (2012), pp. 152-53, 156-57, and 162, figs. 127 and 129

17. Jean Honoré Fragonard (French, Grasse 1732–1806 Paris) The Armoire, 1778

Etching, second state of four: plate, $16\frac{1}{2} \times 20\frac{1}{4}$ in. $(42 \times 51.3 \text{ cm})$; sheet, $17\% \times 24\%$ in. $(45.4 \times 61.5 \text{ cm})$

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; Gift of Mrs. Lydia Evans Tunnard, in memory of W. G. Russell Allen (63.2825)

Inscriptions: below image, at left, "Fragonard 1778 Sculp. jnvenit", and at center, "L'ARMOIRE"

Selected references: Carlson and Ittmann, Regency to Empire (1984), pp. 227-29, no. 76; Rosenberg, Fragonard (1987), pp. 486-87, no. 238; Rena M. Hoisington and Perrin Stein, "Sous les yeux de Fragonard: The Prints of Marguerite Gérard," Print Quarterly 29 (2012), pp. 157-62, fig. 135

18. Marguerite Gérard (French, Grasse 1761-1837 Paris) after Jean Honoré Fragonard (French, Grasse 1732-1806 Paris) The Genius of Franklin, 1778

Etching printed in brown ink, first state of two: plate, 21% \times $16\frac{7}{16}$ in. (54.9 × 41.8 cm); sheet, $22\frac{3}{8} \times 17\frac{3}{4}$ in. (56.8 × 45.1 cm) The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Gift of William H. Huntington, 1883 (83.2.230)

Selected references: Mary Sheriff, "'Au Génie de Franklin': An Allegory by J.-H. Fragonard," Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society 127 (1983), pp. 180-93; Carlson and Ittmann, Regency to Empire (1984), pp. 232-33, no. 78; Rosenberg, Fragonard (1987), pp. 488-89, no. 240; William Kloss, Art in the White House: A Nation's Pride (Washington, D.C.: White House Historical Association, 2008), pp. 60-61; Rena M. Hoisington and Perrin Stein, "Sous les yeux de Fragonard: The Prints of Marguerite Gérard," Print Quarterly 29 (2012), pp. 157-62, figs. 131 and 133

2 • SELLING ETCHINGS IN 18TH-CENTURY FRANCE

19. Pierre Moreau (French, 1715/20-1762 Paris) View of a Funerary Monument (Exhumation), ca. 1760 Etching: plate, $5\frac{1}{16} \times 7\frac{5}{8}$ in. (12.9 × 19.4 cm); sheet, $5\frac{1}{4} \times 7^{11}\frac{1}{16}$ in. $(13.3 \times 19.5 \text{ cm})$

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1953 (53.523.62[3])

20. Pierre Moreau (French, 1715/20-1762 Paris) View Inside a Temple (Transfer of the Body), ca. 1760 Etching: plate, $5\frac{3}{16} \times 7\frac{9}{16}$ in. (13.1 × 19.2 cm); sheet, $5\frac{3}{16} \times 7\frac{11}{16}$ in. (13.2 × 19.5 cm)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1953 (53.523.62[2])

Inscriptions: in image, "P. Moreau Inv. Sculp."

Selected references: *Piranèse et les Français*, 1740–1790, exh. cat. (Rome: Académie de France à Rome; Edizioni dell'Elefante, 1976), pp. 235-36, no. 122

21. Pierre Moreau (French, 1715/20-1762 Paris) View Outside a Temple (Funerary Preparations), ca. 1760 Etching: plate, $5\frac{1}{8} \times 7\frac{5}{8}$ in. (13 × 19.3 cm); sheet: $5\frac{3}{16} \times 7^{11}\frac{1}{16}$ in. (13.2 × 19.6 cm)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1953 (53.523.62[1])

Selected references: *Piranèse et les Français*, 1740–1790, exh. cat. (Rome: Académie de France à Rome; Edizioni dell'Elefante, 1976), p. 237, no. 125

22. Pierre Moreau (French, 1715/20–1762 Paris) View of a Port (Removal of the Body to a Ship), ca. 1760 Etching: plate, $5\frac{1}{16} \times 7^{11}\frac{1}{16}$ in. (12.8 × 19.5 cm); sheet, $5\frac{1}{8} \times 7^{11}\frac{1}{16}$ in. $(13 \times 19.5 \text{ cm})$

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1953 (53.523.62[4])

Inscriptions: in image, "P Moreau Inv. Sculp."

Selected references: Piranèse et les Français, 1740-1790, exh. cat. (Rome: Académie de France à Rome; Edizioni dell'Elefante, 1976), p. 236, no. 123

23. Jean-Baptiste Oudry (French, Paris 1686–1755 Beauvais) Return from the Hunt with a Dead Roe, title page from the "Hunt" series, 1725 (printed 1736)

Etching with drypoint and some engraving: plate, $14\%6 \times 11\%6$ in. $(36.6 \times 28.4 \text{ cm})$; sheet, $14^{11}/_{16} \times 11^{9}/_{16}$ in. $(37.3 \times 29.4 \text{ cm})$ Philadelphia Museum of Art; The Muriel and Philip Berman Gift, acquired from the John S. Phillips beguest of 1876 to the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, with funds contributed by Muriel and Philip Berman, gifts (by exchange) of Lisa Norris

Elkins, Bryant W. Langston, Samuel S. White 3rd and Vera White, with additional funds contributed by John Howard McFadden, Jr., Thomas Skelton Harrison, and the Philip H. and A.S.W. Rosenbach Foundation, 1985 (1985-52-36777)

Inscriptions: in image, "Dedié à Messire Louis Bontemps Premier Valet de Chambre ordinaire du Roy; Gouverneur du Palais des Tuilleries, Bailli et Capitne. des Chasses de la Varenne du Louvre; Chever. Comandeur, Prévôt, Maitre des Ceremonies de l'Ordre de S. Lazare et de N.D. du Mont Carmel.", at lower right, "Par son tres humble et tres obeïssant Serviteur J.B. Oudry 1725.", at lower center, "Peint et gravé par J.B. Oudry Peintre du Roy", and at left of dedication, "Se Vend à Paris chez Huquier vis-à-vis le Grand Chatelet avec privilege du Roy"; in plate, in upper right margin, "I"

Selected references: Hal N. Opperman, Jean-Baptiste Oudry (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1977), vol. 2, no. E51, p. 883; Hal N. Opperman, J.-B. Oudry, 1686-1755, exh. cat. (Fort Worth: Kimbell Art Museum; Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1983), pp. 83-84, fig. 31b

24. Pierre Peyron (French, Aix-en-Provence 1744–1814 Paris) Death of Socrates, 1790

Etching with roulette and stipple: sheet, $18\frac{1}{16} \times 21\frac{5}{8}$ in. $(45.9 \times 54.9 \text{ cm})$

The Baltimore Museum of Art; Garrett Collection (BMA 1984.81.66)

Inscriptions: in image, at lower left, "P. Peyron inv. pinx. et Sculp. 1790."; in plate, below image, "Socrate, prêt à boire la cigüë, exhorte ses disciples et ses amis a modérer leur douleur; / temoin de leur extrême foiblesse, il s'ecrie = Où est donc la vertu si elle n'existe / pas dans des hommes qui se sont voués à l'etude et à la pratique de la sagesse?", at lower center, "LAMI DES ARTS [in six-pointed star made of drafting tools]: A Monsieur le Comte de la Billardrie d'Angiviller Directeur et Ordonnateur Génl. des Bâtiments du Roi &c.", and at bottom right, "Par son très humble et très / Obéissant Serviteur Peyron"

Selected references: Baudicour, Le Peintre-graveur français continué (1859-61), vol. 1, pp. 292-93, no. 5; Pierre Rosenberg and Udolpho van de Sandt, Pierre Peyron, 1744-1814 (Neuilly-sur-Seine: Arthena, 1983), pp. 130-31; Carlson and Ittmann, Regency to Empire (1984), pp. 292-93, no. 104; Michael Cole, ed., The Early Modern Painter-Etcher, exh. cat. (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006), pp. 170–71, no. 63 (entry by Isabel Suchanek)

25. Charles François Hutin (French, Paris 1715–1776 Dresden) Design for a Fountain, 1758 (?)

Etching, third state of three: plate, $8\frac{1}{4} \times 6^{1\frac{1}{16}}$ in. (21 × 17 cm); sheet, $13\%6 \times 10\%6$ in. (34.5 × 25.8 cm)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Bequest of Phyllis Massar, 2011 (2012.136.368)

Inscriptions: in plate, inside cartouche, "AQVA / [illegible] / 17[5?]8" (all in reverse), and at lower right, "C. HUTIN I [illegible] f"; in plate, below image, at lower left, "C", at center, "Donné à l'École par Mr. Goupy Secretaire du Roy", and at lower right, "5"

Selected references: Baudicour, Le Peintre-graveur français continué (1859-61), vol. 2, pp. 126-27, no. 21

26. Jean Jacques Lagrenée (French, Paris 1739–1821 Paris) Two Figures in the Style of Red-Figure Vase Painting and The Holy Family with Angels, possibly from "Recueil de différentes compositions, frises et ornements dessinées et gravées à la manière du lavis" (Collection of Different Compositions, Friezes, and Ornament Drawn and Etched in the Wash Manner), ca. 1784 Etching and aquatint, printed in color: overall dimensions of bound volume, $16\frac{1}{8} \times 21^{13}\frac{1}{16} \times \frac{9}{16}$ in. $(41 \times 55.4 \times 1.5 \text{ cm})$

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Purchase, The Arthur Ross Foundation Gift and Charles Z. Offin Fund, 1999 (1999.2[11-13])

Selected references: Baudicour, Le Peintre-graveur français continué (1859-61), vol. 1, p. 222, no. 37; Marc Sandoz, Les Lagrenée (Paris: Éditart-Les Quatre Chemins, 1984), vol. 2, p. 246, no. 177

27. Jacques François Joseph Saly (French, Valenciennes 1717–1776 Paris)

Design for a Vase with Two Mermaids, from the "Vases" series, 1746 Etching: overall dimensions of bound volume, $11\% \times 9^{11/16} \times \%$ in. (29.5 × 22.8 × 1.7 cm)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1954 (54.636.6)

Inscriptions: in plate, below image, at left, "J. Saly Inv. et Sculp.", and at right, "7."

Selected references: Couturier, Drawn to Art (2011), pp. 170-71, no. 65

28. Claude Gillot (French, Langres 1673-1722 Paris)

Festival of Bacchus, Celebrated by Satyrs and Bacchantes, from the "Festivals" series, printed before 1728

Etching with some engraving: plate, $8^{11/16} \times 11^{13/16}$ in. (22 × 30 cm); sheet, $11^{13}/16 \times 17\%$ in. (30 × 44.7 cm)

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; Bequest of William Perkins Babcock (B1692)

Inscriptions: below image, at lower left, "Inventé peint et gravé par C. Gillot.", centered, "Feste de Bacchus, celebrée par des Satyres et des Bacchantes", and at bottom right, "A Paris chez P. de Rochefort graveur rüe St Jacques au Palmier."; below title, at left, "Que l'on n'accuse point Bacchus / D'avoir avec l'Amour une éternelle guerre, / Lors qu'il vainquit toute la terre / Au Dieu d'amour il livra les vaincus", at center, "La paix fut le doux fruit d'une telle conqueste, / Et pour signaler ce grand jour / Bacchus voulut qu'en célébrant sa Feste / On rendit homage à l'Amour.", at right, "Le Dieu du Vin l'ordonne, et l'on voit la Bacchante / Du Satyre effronté prenant ce jus divin, / Pour se montrer obeissante / Lui donner plus d'amour qu'elle n'a pris de vin.", and at lower right, "Dubruit'

Selected references: Bernard Populus, Claude Gillot (1673-1722): Catalogue de l'oeuvre gravé (Paris: Rousseau, 1930), pp. 76-77

29. Claude Gillot (French, Langres 1673-1722 Paris) Festival of Faunus, God of the Forest, from the "Festivals" series, printed before 1728

Etching with some engraving: plate, $8\% \times 14^{13}\%$ in. $(22.2 \times 37.7 \text{ cm})$; sheet, $11\frac{7}{16} \times 17\frac{7}{16}$ in. $(29 \times 44.4 \text{ cm})$ Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; Bequest of William Perkins Babcock (B1693)

Inscriptions: below image, at lower left, "Inventé peint et gravé par C. Gillot.", centered, "Feste de Faune, Dieu des Forests", and at bottom right, "A Paris chez P. de Rochefort graveur rüe St Jacques au Palmier."; below title, at left, "Nimphes, Sylvains redoublez vos efforts, / Chantez Faune, chantez sa gloire; / Mais éuitez ces hauts chants de Victoire, / Ce Dieu goutera mieux vos champestres accords.", at center, "Venez, venez Bergers fidels, / Cessez s'il ce peut vos regrets, / Oubliez un moment vos Bergeres cruelles : / Célébrez le Dieu des forests.", at right, "Dans ces lieux êcartez il est peu d'inhumaines, / Il les y conduira pour combler vos désirs : / Et s'il fut témoin de vos peines / Il le sera de vos plaisirs.", and at lower right, "Dubruit"

Selected references: Bernard Populus, Claude Gillot (1673–1722): Catalogue de l}oeuvre gravé (Paris: Rousseau, 1930), pp. 77-78

30. Joseph Fratrel (French, Épinal 1730–1783 Mannheim) The Arts and Sciences Honoring Their Protector Charles Theodore,

Etching with drypoint, first state of two: plate, $18\frac{1}{16} \times 10\frac{3}{16}$ in. $(45.8 \times 25.9 \text{ cm})$; sheet, $18\frac{3}{16} \times 10\frac{1}{2}$ in. $(46.2 \times 26.6 \text{ cm})$ The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Gift of Georgiana W. Sargent, in memory of John Osborne Sargent, 1924 (24.63.1116[6])

Inscriptions: in plate, below image, "Les Sciences les Arts dans leur brillant Destin; / S'empressent a l'envi de former son Cortége; / Tandisque les Vertus, qu'il aime, qu'il protége, / Lui méritent le Nom de Titus Palatin."

Selected references: Baudicour, Le Peintre-graveur français continué (1859-61), vol. 2, pp. 196-97, no. 11; Alfried Wieczorek, Hansjörg Probst, and Wieland Koenig, Lebenslust und Frömmigkeit: Kurfürst Carl Theodor (1724–1799) zwischen Barock und Aufklärung (Regensburg: Verlag Friedrich Pustet, 1999), vol. 2, p. 318, no. 5.3.1

31. Baron Dominique Vivant Denon (French, Givry 1747-1825 Paris) after Jacques Louis David (French, Paris 1748–1825 Brussels) Judge, 1794

Etching on pale green paper: plate, $13\%6 \times 7\%$ in. (34.1 × 19.7 cm); sheet, $17\frac{5}{16} \times 11\frac{1}{16}$ in. $(44 \times 28.1 \text{ cm})$

Philadelphia Museum of Art; Gift of an anonymous donor, 1999 (1999-109-1)

Selected references: Pierre Rosenberg and Louis-Antoine Prat, Jacques-Louis David, 1748–1825: Catalogue raisonné des dessins (Milan: Leonardo Arte, 2002), vol. 1, pp. 150, 153, fig. 138a

32. Baron Dominique Vivant Denon (French, Givry 1747-1825 Paris) after Jacques Louis David (French, Paris 1748–1825 Brussels) Municipal Officer with a Sash, 1794

Etching on pale blue-green paper: plate, $13\% \times 7\%$ in. $(33.9 \times 19.7 \text{ cm})$; sheet, $17\frac{5}{16} \times 11\frac{1}{16}$ in. $(44 \times 28.1 \text{ cm})$ Philadelphia Museum of Art; Gift of Dean Walker, 1999 (1999-169-2)

Selected references: Pierre Rosenberg and Louis-Antoine Prat, Jacques-Louis David, 1748-1825: Catalogue raisonné des dessins (Milan: Leonardo Arte, 2002), vol. 1, pp. 150, 154, fig. 139a

33. Charles Thévenin (French, Paris 1764-1838 Paris) The Storming of the Bastille on 14 July 1789, 1790 Etching, first state of two: sheet, $16^{15}/_{16} \times 24^{1}/_{16}$ in. $(43.1 \times 61.1 \text{ cm})$ The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Purchase, Bequest of W. Gedney Beatty, by exchange, 2008 (2008.592)

Inscriptions: below image, at right, in pen and ink, "Thevenin"; in plate, on rocks at lower left, "CT" (in reverse); in foreground, "CT" (correct orientation)

Selected references: Baudicour, Le Peintre-graveur français continué (1859-61), vol. 2, pp. 313-14; Carlson and Ittmann, Regency to Empire (1984), pp. 298-99, no. 107; François Macé de Lépinay, "Autour de La Fête de la Fédération, Charles Thévenin et la Révolution 1789-1799," Revue de l'art, no. 83 (1989), pp. 52-54

34. Claude Gillot (French, Langres 1673-1722 Paris) The Fish and the Fireworks, from Antoine Houdar de La Motte's "Fables nouvelles, dediées au roy," 1719 (published by Gregoire

Etching: overall dimensions of bound volume, $10\frac{1}{16} \times 8\frac{1}{16} \times 1\frac{1}{16}$ in. $(25.5 \times 20.6 \times 3.7 \text{ cm})$

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1934 (34.15)

Inscriptions: at lower left, "Gillot Inv. & Sculp."

Selected references: Émile Dacier, "Le Premier Livre illustré du XVIIIe siècle: Les 'Fables' de La Motte et les vignettes de Claude Gillot," in Les Trésors des bibliothèques de France, vol. 2 (Paris: G. Van Oest, 1929), pp. 1–14; Bernard Populus, *Claude Gillot* (1673-1722): Catalogue de l'oeuvre gravé (Paris: Rousseau, 1930), pp. 100-16, nos. 31-98; Carlson and Ittmann, Regency to Empire (1984), pp. 52-53, no. 4

35. Charles Germain de Saint-Aubin (French, Paris 1721–1786 Paris) The Dressing Table (La Toilette), from "Essai de papilloneries humaines" (Ideas for Scenes with Butterflies Masquerading as Humans), 1748

Etching, first state of two: plate, $13\frac{1}{16} \times 9\%$ in. $(33.2 \times 23.8 \text{ cm})$; sheet, $15\frac{1}{2} \times 10\frac{1}{2}$ in. (39.4 × 26.6 cm)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund and Rogers Fund, 1982 (1982.1101.6)

Inscriptions: in image, "La Toilette"; below image, in lower left corner, "Inventé et Gravé Par Saint aubin"

Selected references: Baudicour, Le Peintre-graveur français continué (1859-61), vol. 1, pp. 91-92, no. 12; Carlson and Ittmann, Regency to Empire (1984), pp. 123–35, no. 35b; Patrick Mauriès, Sur les papillonneries humaines (Paris: Gallimard and Le Promeneur, 1996)

3 • FOUR EXCEPTIONAL PEINTRES-GRAVEURS

36. Gabriel de Saint-Aubin (French, Paris 1724–1780 Paris) Allegory of the Marriages Performed by the City of Paris in Honor of the Birth of the Duc de Bourgogne in 1751, 1751 Etching, first state of three: sheet, $6\% \times 5$ in. $(16.7 \times 12.8 \text{ cm})$ The Art Institute of Chicago; Gift of Dorothy Braude Edinburg to the Harry B. and Bessie K. Braude Memorial Collection (33.1996)

Inscriptions: in image, at lower left, "N° 600 / dot 300 [illegible]", and at lower right, "G de St aubin invenit"; below image, at center, "ALLÉGORIE DES MARIAGES FAITS PAR LA VILLE / de paris. à la naissanse de m^{gnr} le duc de Bourgogne en 1751"

Selected references: Émile Dacier, L'Oeuvre gravé de Gabriel de Saint-Aubin: Notice historique et catalogue raisonné (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1914), pp. 51–53, no. 5; Victor Carlson, Ellen D'Oench, and Richard S. Field, Prints and Drawings by Gabriel de Saint-Aubin, 1724–1780, exh. cat. (Middletown, Conn.: Davison Art Center, Wesleyan University, 1975), p. 36, nos. 4-5

37. Gabriel de Saint-Aubin (French, Paris 1724–1780 Paris) View of the Salon of 1753, 1753

Etching and drypoint, fourth state of five: sheet, $6\frac{1}{4} \times 7\frac{5}{8}$ in. $(15.8 \times 19.3 \text{ cm})$

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Wrightsman Fund, 2006 (2006,84)

Inscriptions: in image, at lower left, "gabriel de St aubin"; below image, at center, "VÜE DU SALON DU LOUVRE EN LANNÉE 1753"

Selected references: Émile Dacier, L'Oeuvre gravé de Gabriel de Saint-Aubin: Notice historique et catalogue raisonné (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1914), pp. 59-60, no. 10; Victor Carlson, Ellen D'Oench, and Richard S. Field, Prints and Drawings by Gabriel de Saint-Aubin, 1724-1780, exh. cat. (Middletown, Conn.: Davison Art Center, Wesleyan University, 1975), pp. 38-39, nos. 12–13; Carlson and Ittmann, Regency to Empire (1984), pp. 120-21, no. 33; Colin B. Bailey et al., Gabriel de Saint-Aubin, 1724–1780, exh. cat. (New York: The Frick Collection; Paris: Musée du Louvre; Somogy, 2007), pp. 266-67, no. 69, and pp. 272-73, no. 71 (both entries by Perrin Stein)

38. Gabriel de Saint-Aubin (French, Paris 1724–1780 Paris) The Four Vases, 1754

Etching and drypoint, first state of two: sheet, $9^{11/16} \times 6^{7/16}$ in. (24.6 × 16.4 cm)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Purchase, Mr. and Mrs. Robert J. Massar Gift and The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1988 (1988.1021)

Inscriptions: in image, under each vase, "gabriel", at lower left, "Cabinet de M. de Lalive de July, introducteur des ambassadeurs. 1754" [date is given as transcribed in Émile Dacier, L'Oeuvre gravé de Gabriel de Saint-Aubin (1914), p. 63, no. 12; it is illegible in the exhibited impression], and at lower right, "Courses / du lor powers [illegible] / 1754"

Selected references: Émile Dacier, L'Oeuvre gravé de Gabriel de Saint-Aubin: Notice historique et catalogue raisonné (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1914), pp. 62-64, no. 12; Victor Carlson, Ellen D'Oench, and Richard S. Field, Prints and Drawings by Gabriel de Saint-Aubin, 1724-1780, exh. cat. (Middletown, Conn.: Davison Art Center, Wesleyan University, 1975), p. 50, no. 16; Colin B. Bailey et al., Gabriel de Saint-Aubin, 1724-1780, exh. cat. (New York: The Frick Collection; Paris: Musée du Louvre; Somogy, 2007), pp. 138–39, no. 14 (entry by Perrin Stein)

39. Gabriel de Saint-Aubin (French, Paris 1724–1780 Paris) The Spectacle of the Tuileries: The Watering Cart and The Chairs, 1760-63

Etching and drypoint, second state of two: plate, $8\frac{1}{8} \times 7^{11}\frac{1}{16}$ in. $(20.7 \times 19.5 \text{ cm})$; sheet, $8\frac{7}{16} \times 8\frac{1}{16}$ in. $(21.4 \times 20.5 \text{ cm})$ The Art Institute of Chicago; Robert Alexander Waller Fund

Inscriptions: in top image, at lower left, "gabriel de S^{t} aubin f^{t} 1760 anée des fruits", and at lower right, "novembre 1762"; in lower image, at lower left, "retouché a la pointe seche 1763"; below lower image, at left, "gabriel de St aubin ft 1760", and at center, "SPECTACLE DES TUILERIES"

Selected references: Émile Dacier, L'Oeuvre gravé de Gabriel de Saint-Aubin: Notice historique et catalogue raisonné (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1914), pp. 72-76, nos. 18-19; Victor Carlson, Ellen D'Oench, and Richard S. Field, Prints and Drawings by Gabriel de Saint-Aubin, 1724-1780, exh. cat. (Middletown, Conn.: Davison Art Center, Wesleyan University, 1975), p. 52, nos. 19-21; Carlson and Ittmann, Regency to Empire (1984), pp. 158-59, no. 49; Colin B. Bailey et al., Gabriel de Saint-Aubin, 1724-1780, exh. cat. (New York: The Frick Collection; Paris: Musée du Louvre; Somogy, 2007), pp. 190–91, no. 41 (entry by Perrin Stein)

40. Gabriel de Saint-Aubin (French, Paris 1724–1780 Paris) Design for Trade Card for Périer, Ironmonger, 1767 Black chalk, pen and black and brown inks, brush and gray and brown wash, verso covered with red chalk, 415/16 × 6% in. (12.5 × 17.5 cm) Private collection

Inscriptions: recto, in image, at top center, in reverse, "QUAY", at upper right, in reverse, "A LA T.", and at lower left, on base of counter, in reverse, "G. D. / S. A. / 1767"; recto, at lower right, collector's stamp of Georges Dormeuil (Lugt 1146a); verso, across top, "[?] et ... [p ... rec] fait ... 1767 plus la prime ... [?] sa valleur [?] [?] . . . vivre et les frais de l'imprimerie pour les Épreuves ainsy que ceux de la grav[ure] en lettre[s] que je paiery en Sols le mot / [?] [AC?] Perrier."

Selected references: Émile Dacier, L'Oeuvre gravé de Gabriel de Saint-Aubin: Notice historique et catalogue raisonné (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1914), pp. 125-26, no. 44; Colin B. Bailey et al., Gabriel de Saint-Aubin, 1724-1780, exh. cat. (New York:

The Frick Collection; Paris: Musée du Louvre; Somogy, 2007), pp. 214-19, nos. 51 and 52 (entries by Kim de Beaumont and Perrin Stein, respectively)

41. Gabriel de Saint-Aubin (French, Paris 1724–1780 Paris) Trade Card for Périer, Ironmonger, 1767 Etching and drypoint, first state of three, reworked with pen and brown ink: sheet, $6\frac{1}{8} \times 9\frac{1}{4}$ in. (15.5 × 23.5 cm) The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1979 (1979.650) Inscriptions: in image, across top, "A LA TESTE NOIRE PERIER M^D QUAY DE LA MÉGISSERIE", at lower left, along bottom of fireplace screen, "g.d.s.a.", and at lower right, on base of counter,

Selected references: Émile Dacier, L'Oeuvre gravé de Gabriel de Saint-Aubin: Notice historique et catalogue raisonné (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1914), pp. 125–26, no. 44; Carlson and Ittmann, Regency to Empire (1984), pp. 162-63, no. 51; Colin B. Bailey et al., Gabriel de Saint-Aubin, 1724-1780, exh. cat. (New York: The Frick Collection; Paris: Musée du Louvre; Somogy, 2007), pp. 214-19, nos. 51 and 52 (entries by Kim de Beaumont and Perrin Stein, respectively)

"G D / S A / 1767"

42. Gabriel de Saint-Aubin (French, Paris 1724–1780 Paris) Trade Card for Périer, Ironmonger, 1767 Etching and drypoint, third state of three: plate, $5\frac{1}{16} \times 7\frac{5}{16}$ in. (12.8 × 18.6 cm) Private collection

Inscriptions: in image, across top, "A LA TESTE NOIRE PERIER M^D QUAY DE LA MÉGISSERIE", at lower left, along bottom of fireplace screen, "g.d.s.a.", and at lower right, on base of counter, "G D / S A / 1767"

Selected references: Émile Dacier, L'Oeuvre gravé de Gabriel de Saint-Aubin: Notice historique et catalogue raisonné (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1914), pp. 125-26, no. 44; Colin B. Bailey et al., Gabriel de Saint-Aubin, 1724–1780, exh.cat. (New York: The Frick Collection; Paris: Musée du Louvre; Somogy, 2007), pp. 214-19, nos. 51 and 52 (entries by Kim de Beaumont and Perrin Stein, respectively)

43. François Boucher (French, Paris 1703-1770 Paris) The Laundress, 1756 Etching, first state of two: plate, $12\% \times 8\%$ in. (31.5 × 22.3 cm); sheet, $18\% \times 13\%$ in. $(48 \times 35 \text{ cm})$ The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1955 (55.503.31) Inscriptions: in image, at lower left, "f. Boucher 1756"

Selected references: Jean-Richard, L'Œuvre gravé de François Boucher (1978), p. 32, no. 32; Carlson and Ittmann, Regency to Empire (1984), pp. 130-31, no. 38

44. Jean-Baptiste Le Prince (French, Metz 1734-1781 Saint-Denisdu-Port)

The Washerwomen, 1771

Etching and aquatint printed in brown ink: sheet, $13\% \times 9\%$ in. $(34 \times 24.3 \text{ cm})$

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 2010 (2010.543)

Inscriptions: in plate, "Le Prince 1771"

45. Jean-Baptiste Le Prince (French, Metz 1734-1781 Saint-Denisdu-Port)

Design for title plate from "Varie vedute del gentile mulino" (Various Views of the Genteel Mill), ca. 1755

Brush and brown and gray wash over black chalk, $5\frac{1}{16} \times 7\frac{5}{16}$ in. $(12.8 \times 18.5 \text{ cm})$

The Art Institute of Chicago; Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Leigh B. Block

Signed: at lower right, in brown ink, "le prince"

46. Jean Claude Richard, abbé de Saint-Non (French, Paris 1727-1791 Paris), after Jean-Baptiste Le Prince (French, Metz 1734-1781 Saint-Denis-du-Port)

Title plate from "Varie vedute del gentile mulino" (Various Views of the Genteel Mill), 1755

Etching: plate, $5^{11/16} \times 8^{1/16}$ in. (14.5 × 20.5 cm); sheet, $8\frac{1}{16} \times 11^{1/16}$ in. $(20.6 \times 29 \text{ cm})$

Collection of John W. Ittmann

Inscriptions: in image, at center, "Varie Vedute del Gentile mulino / dissegnate d'appresso natura dal / Principe ed intagliate dal abate / de Sannone, Dedicate au amabile / et Leggiadra Mulinaia 1755"

Selected references: Charlotte Guichard, Les Amateurs d'art à Paris au XVIIIe siècle (Seyssel: Champ Vallon, 2008), pp. 270-76

47. Jean-Baptiste Le Prince (French, Metz 1734-1781 Saint-Denisdu-Port)

Woman of the People, title plate from "Suite de divers habillements des peuples du nord" (Suite of Various Costumes of the People of the North), 1765

Etching: plate, $8\% \times 7$ in. (22.3 × 17.8 cm); sheet, $21\% \times 15^{11/16}$ in. $(55 \times 39.9 \text{ cm})$ (printed on same sheet as cat. 48)

The Art Institute of Chicago; Gift of Dorothy Braude Edinburg to the Harry B. and Bessie K. Braude Memorial Collection (116.4.1998)

Inscriptions: above image, at left, "1"; in image, at left, "SUITE / DE DIVERS / HABILLEMENTS / DES PEUPLES DU NORD / Dessinés d'Après Nature", and at lower left, "J B Le Prince 1765"; below image, at center, "FEMME DU PEUPLE / Dediée à Mr. Cochin Ecuyer Chevalier de l'Ordre du Roi, et / Secrétaire de son Academie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture / Par son très Humble et tres Obeissant Serviteur Le Prince"

Selected references: Madeleine Pinault Sørensen et al., Jean-Baptiste Le Prince (Metz, 1734–Saint-Denis Du Port, 1781): Le Voyage en Russie, exh. cat. (Rouen: Musée des Beaux-Arts, 2004), p. 90, no. 28a

48. Jean-Baptiste Le Prince (French, Metz 1734-1781 Saint-Denisdu-Port)

The Young Shepherdess, plate 2 from "Suite de divers habillements des peuples du nord" (Suite of Various Costumes of the People of the North), 1765

Etching: plate, $8\frac{3}{4} \times 7$ in. (22.3 × 17.8 cm); sheet, $21\frac{5}{8} \times 15^{11}/16$ in. $(55 \times 39.9 \text{ cm})$ (printed on same sheet as cat. 47)

The Art Institute of Chicago; Gift of Dorothy Braude Edinburg to the Harry B. and Bessie K. Braude Memorial Collection

Inscriptions: above image, at left, "No. 2"; in image, at lower left, "Le Prince 1765"; below image, at center, "La Jeune Bergere."

Selected references: Madeleine Pinault Sørensen et al., Jean-Baptiste Le Prince (Metz, 1734-Saint-Denis Du Port, 1781): Le Voyage en Russie, exh. cat. (Rouen: Musée des Beaux-Arts, 2004), p. 90, no. 28b

49. Jean-Baptiste Le Prince (French, Metz 1734-1781 Saint-Denisdu-Port)

O farmers, happy beyond measure, could they but know their blessings, 1768

Aquatint and etching printed in brown ink, fourth state of four: plate, $15\%6 \times 21\%6$ in. (39.2 × 54.8 cm); sheet, $15\%6 \times 21\%6$ in. $(40.5 \times 55.7 \text{ cm})$

The Art Institute of Chicago; Gift of Dorothy Braude Edinburg to the Harry B. and Bessie K. Braude Memorial Collection (13.1998)

Inscriptions: below image, at left, "Le Prince 1768", and at center, "O fortunatos nimium, sua si bona nôrint, / Agricolas: / Virg. Georg. II"

50. Jean-Baptiste Le Prince (French, Metz 1734-1781 Saint-Denisdu-Port)

The Fishermen, 1771

Etching and aquatint printed in brown ink: plate, $14^{15}/_{16} \times 12$ in. $(38 \times 30.5 \text{ cm})$; sheet, $16\frac{34}{4} \times 12^{11}/16 \text{ in.} (42.6 \times 32.3 \text{ cm})$ National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.; Ailsa Mellon Bruce Fund (1990.134.5)

Inscriptions: in image, at lower left, "Le Prince 1771"; below image, at center, "les Pêcheurs"

Selected references: Emmanuelle Delapierre et al., Quand la gravure fait illusion: Autour de Watteau et Boucher, le dessin gravé au XVIIIe siècle, exh. cat. (Valenciennes: Musée des Beaux-Arts, Montreuil: Gourcuff-Gradenigo, 2006), p. 140, nos. 79 and 80; Margaret Morgan Grasselli, Colorful Impressions: The Printmaking Revolution in Eighteenth-Century France, exh. cat. (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 2003), pp. 72-73, no. 21

51. Jean-Baptiste Le Prince (French, Metz 1734-1781 Saint-Denisdu-Port)

The Repose, 1771

Etching and aquatint printed in brown ink, second state of two: plate, $17\% \times 13\%$ in. $(45 \times 34.8 \text{ cm})$; sheet, $17\% \times 13\%$ in. $(45 \times 35 \text{ cm})$

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Purchase, Phyllis D. Massar Gift, 2011 (2011.280)

Inscriptions: in image, at lower left, "Le Prince 1771"; below image, at center, "Le Repos / Se vend à Paris chés l Auteur, Cour du Vieux Louvre'

52. Louis Jean Desprez (French, Auxerre 1743–1804 Stockholm) The Chimera (La Chimère de Monsieur Desprez), before 1771 Etching, second or third state of five: sheet, $11\frac{5}{16} \times 14\frac{7}{16}$ in. (28.8 × 36.6 cm)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Purchase, 1998 (1998.248)

Inscriptions: below image, at left, "Desprez Inv. et Sculp." Selected references: Carlson and Ittmann, Regency to Empire (1984), pp. 236-37, no. 80; Ulf Cederlöf et al., La Chimère de Monsieur Desprez, exh. cat. (Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1994), pp. 6-14, 61, 140, 160, 165, 180-81, 201-5

53. Louis Jean Desprez (French, Auxerre 1743-1804 Stockholm) Antoine de Chésie, ca. 1772–76

Etching: plate, $9\%6 \times 7\%6$ in. (23.9 × 18.3 cm); sheet, $11\%6 \times 8\%6$ in. $(28.4 \times 20.5 \text{ cm})$

Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven; Everett V. Meeks, B.A. 1901, Fund (2007.204.2)

Inscriptions: in image, at lower left, "desprée del. et Sculp"

54. Louis Jean Desprez (French, Auxerre 1743–1804 Stockholm) Tomb with Death Seated, ca. 1779-84

Etching and aquatint printed in brown ink, second state of two: sheet, $13\frac{1}{4} \times 19\frac{7}{16}$ in. $(33.7 \times 49.3 \text{ cm})$

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Purchase, Janet Lee Kadesky Ruttenberg Fund, in honor of Colta Ives, 2012 (2012.189)

Inscriptions: in image, at lower left, "despres invenit"

Selected references: Carlson and Ittmann, Regency to Empire (1984), pp. 238-39, no. 81; Robert Kozérawski, "Les 'Tombeaux': Quatre aquatintes de Louis-Jean Desprez," Histoire de l'art 5/6 (1989), pp. 75–86; Ulf Cederlöf et al., La Chimère de Monsieur Desprez, exh. cat. (Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1994), pp. 155-60 and 163

55. Louis Jean Desprez (French, Auxerre 1743–1804 Stockholm) The Capture and Burning of Selinus by Hannibal, ca. 1779-84 Etching, aquatint, and drypoint, second state of three: sheet, $20^{15/16} \times 29^{1/16}$ in. $(53.2 \times 73.8 \text{ cm})$

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Gift of Hill-Stone Inc., 2002 (2002.155.1)

Inscriptions: below image, at center, "PRISE & EMBRAZEMENT DE SÉLINONTE PAR ANNIBAL / Dedié a Son Excellence Monsieur le Marquis de Clermont Damboise Ambassadeur Extraordinaire de Sa Majesté Tres / Chretienne Prés le Roy des deux Siciles", and at bottom right, "Par Son tres humble & tres obeissant Serviteur Despres / psr. Du Roy"

Selected references: Ulf Cederlöf et al., La Chimère de Monsieur Desprez, exh. cat. (Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1994), pp. 61, 104 and 181-82

56. Jean Étienne Liotard (Swiss, Geneva 1702–1789 Geneva) Self-Portrait, ca. 1731

Etching, second state of three: plate, $4\% \times 3^{15}/6$ in. (11.7 × 10 cm); sheet, $7\frac{5}{16} \times 6$ in. (18.6 × 15.2 cm)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Janet Lee Kadesky Ruttenberg Fund, in honor of Colta Ives, 2009 (2009.229)

Inscriptions: in image, at lower right, "dapres / nature"

Selected references: Marcel Roethlisberger and Renée Loche, Liotard: Catalogue, sources, et correspondance, 2 vols. (Doornspijk: Davaco Publishers, 2008), vol. 1, pp. 244-45, no. 18; Huigen Leeflang, "A Self-Portrait by Jean-Étienne Liotard from the Artist's Family Holdings," The Rijksmuseum Bulletin 59 (2011), pp. 204-7

57. Jean Étienne Liotard (Swiss, Geneva 1702-1789 Geneva) The Archduchess Maria Anna of Austria, ca. 1778-81 Mezzotint, roulette, engraving, and drypoint: sheet, $14\% \times 9\%$ in. $(36.5 \times 25.1 \text{ cm})$

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; Fund in memory of Horatio Greenough Curtis (55.625)

Selected references: Perrin Stein, "A Rediscovered Liotard," Print Quarterly 27 (2010), pp. 55-60

58. Jean Étienne Liotard (Swiss, Geneva 1702–1789 Geneva) Self-Portrait, ca. 1778-81

Mezzotint, roulette, and etching: sheet, $8\%6 \times 7\%$ in. $(21.4 \times 18.7 \text{ cm})$

Collection of David P. Tunick

Inscriptions: below image, at left, "No. I.", at right, "gravé par lui meme", and at center, "I E LIOTARD / Effet. Clair obscure sans

Selected references: Jean-Étienne Liotard, Traité des principes et des règles de la peinture (Geneva, 1781; reprinted Geneva: Éditions Notari, 2007), pl. 1, pp. 11, 23, 24, 25, 39, 48; Marcel

Roethlisberger and Renée Loche, Liotard: Catalogue, sources, et correspondance, 2 vols. (Doornspijk: Davaco Publishers, 2008), vol. 1, pp. 648-49, nos. 522-23, and vol. 2, p. 756

4 • ETCHING IN THE ETERNAL CITY

59. René Michel (called Michel-Ange) Slodtz (French, Paris 1705-1764 Paris)

Figure and Head Studies, ca. 1732-36

Etching: sheet, $6^{11}/_{16} \times 4^{5}/_{16}$ in. (17 × 11.7 cm)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Purchase, Janet Ruttenberg Gift, 2005 (2005.156)

Inscriptions: at lower left, "M.A. SlodtzF."

60. Pierre Charles Trémolières (French, Cholet 1703-1739 Paris) The Baptism, ca. 1734

Etching: plate, $11^{15}/_{16} \times 17^{1/4}$ in. (30.3 × 43.8 cm); sheet, $16^{15}/_{16} \times$ 221/8 in. (43 × 56.2 cm)

Blanton Museum of Art, The University of Texas at Austin; Archer M. Huntington Museum Fund, 2000 (2000.21)

Selected references: Jean-François Méjanès, Pierre-Charles Trémolières (Cholet, 1703-Paris, 1739), exh. cat. (Cholet: Musée de Cholet, 1973), p. 122, nos. 9 and 10 (entries by Jacques Vilain); Maîtres Français 1550–1800: Dessins de la donation Mathias Polakovits à l'École des Beaux-Arts, exh. cat. (Paris: École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, 1989), pp. 218–21, nos. 89 and 90 (entries by Jean-François Méjanès)

61. Jean-Baptiste Marie Pierre (French, Paris 1714–1789 Paris) The Chinese Masquerade, 1735

Etching: sheet, $12 \times 16^{11}/_{16}$ in. $(30.5 \times 42.4 \text{ cm})$

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1953 (53.600.4449)

Inscriptions: at lower left, "Pierre Sculp."; below image, "Mascarade Chinoise faite a Rome le Carnaval de l'année M.D.CCXXXV. Par Mrs les Pensionaires du Roy de France en son Academie des arts / DEDIÉE / a Son Excellence Mong. Le Duc de S. Aignan Pair de France Chevallier des Ordres du Roy et Son Ambassadeur Extraordinaire a Rome"

Selected references: Carlson and Ittmann, Regency to Empire (1984), pp. 94-95, no. 21 (entry by Victor Carlson); Nicolas Lesur and Olivier Aaron, Jean-Baptiste Marie Pierre, 1714-1789: Premier Peintre du roi (Paris: Arthena, 2009), p. 478, no. G.1; Couturier, Drawn to Art (2011), pp. 194–95, no. 76 (entry by Françoise Joulie)

62. Jean-Baptiste Marie Pierre (French, Paris 1714–1789 Paris) Country Dance, ca. 1735-40

Etching, proof state: plate, $12\frac{1}{16} \times 16\frac{9}{16}$ in. (30.7 × 42 cm); sheet, $12\%6 \times 16^{15}\%6$ in. (31.9 × 43.1 cm)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1949 (49.50.249)

Selected references: Nicolas Lesur and Olivier Aaron, Jean-Baptiste Marie Pierre, 1714–1789: Premier Peintre du roi (Paris: Arthena, 2009), p. 479, no. G.5

63. Jean-Baptiste Marie Pierre (French, Paris 1714–1789 Paris) Adoration of the Shepherds (Shepherd with a Bagpipe?), ca. 1740 Etching: sheet, $9\frac{5}{16} \times 6\frac{3}{4}$ in. (23.7 × 17.1 cm) Philadelphia Museum of Art; The Muriel and Philip Berman Gift, acquired from the John S. Phillips bequest of 1876 to the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, with funds contributed by Muriel and Philip Berman, gifts (by exchange) of Lisa Norris Elkins, Bryant W. Langston, Samuel S. White 3rd and Vera White, with additional funds contributed by John Howard McFadden, Jr., Thomas Skelton Harrison, and the Philip H. and A.S.W. Rosenbach Foundation, 1985 (1985-52-35942)

Inscriptions: at lower left, "P f."

Selected references: Nicolas Lesur and Olivier Aaron, Jean-Baptiste Marie Pierre, 1714–1789: Premier Peintre du roi (Paris: Arthena, 2009), p. 491, no.*G.37 (as unlocated)

64. Pierre Hubert Subleyras (French, Saint-Gilles-du-Gard 1699-1749 Rome)

The Banquet in the House of Simon the Pharisee, 1738 Etching printed in red-brown ink, fourth state of five: sheet, $9\% \times 24\%$ in. (25.1 × 61.3 cm)

Philadelphia Museum of Art; Bequest of Anthony Morris Clark, 1978 (1978-70-653)

Inscriptions: below image, "Ill^{mo} ac Ex.^{mo} D. D. Paulo Hippolito Bauvillier Duci Sancti Aniani Pari Franciae Equiti Ordinum Regis ejusque apud Sanctam Sedem Oratori Extraordinario / Lacrymis coepit rigare pedes eius, et Capillus capitis sui tergebat, et osculabatur pedes eius, et unguento ungebat et & Luc. Caput VII P. Subleyras inven. Pinxit, et Sculp. Romae 1738."

Selected references: Carlson and Ittmann, Regency to Empire (1984), pp. 96-97, no. 22 (entry by Victor Carlson); Michel Olivier and Pierre Rosenberg, eds., Subleyras, 1699–1749, exh. cat. (Paris: Éd. de la Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1987), pp. 196-203

65. Joseph Marie Vien (French, Montpellier 1716-1809 Paris) after Jean François de Troy (French, 1679-1752)

Lot and His Daughters, 1748

Etching: plate, 13 \times 16¼ in. (33 \times 41.3 cm); sheet, 16½ \times 21½ in. $(41.7 \times 55.7 \text{ cm})$

The Art Institute of Chicago; Suzanne Lord Folds Memorial Endowment (2002.464)

Inscriptions: below image, at lower left, "Eques Io. F. de Troy invent et Pinxit", at lower right, "Ios. Vien Scul. Romae 1748", and at center, "Dixit major filiarum Lot ad minorem demus patri bibere vinum etiam hac nocte, et dormies cum eo, / ut Salvemus Semen de patre nostro Gen. Cap. XIX .v. 34"

Selected references: Thomas W. Gaehtgens and Jacques Lugand, Joseph-Marie Vien: Peintre du Roi (1716-1809) (Paris: Arthena, 1988), p. 284, no. G.39; Christophe Leribault, Jean-François de Troy (1679-1752) (Paris: Arthena, 2002), p. 396

66. Joseph Marie Vien (French, Montpellier 1716-1809 Paris) Lot and His Daughters, 1748

Etching: plate, $8^{15}/_{16} \times 10\%$ in. (22.6 × 27.7 cm); sheet, $9\% \times 11\%$ in. (24.7 × 28.5 cm)

The Art Institute of Chicago; Suzanne Lord Folds Endowment

Inscriptions: below image, "Dixit major filiarum Lot ad minorem: Pater noster senex est, veni inebriemus cum vino, dormiamusque cum eo, / ul servare polsimus ex patre nostro semen Gen. Cap. XIX.V.31.32.", at lower left, "Ios. Vien invent. et scul.", and at lower right, "Romae. 1748."

Selected references: Thomas W. Gaehtgens and Jacques Lugand, Joseph-Marie Vien: Peintre du Roi (1716–1809) (Paris: Arthena, 1988), p. 281, no. G.1

67. Joseph Marie Vien (French, Montpellier 1716–1809 Paris) Four plates from the series "Caravanne du Sultan à la Mecque" (Caravan of the Sultan to Mecca), 1748

Cooper-Hewitt, National Design Museum, Smithsonian Institution, New York; Museum purchase through gift of Eleanor G. Hewitt (1962-195-22, 1962-195-23, 1962-195-31, 1962-195-42)

a. The Chief of the Indians (plate 8)

Etching: plate, $8\frac{1}{6} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$ in. (20.5 × 13.4 cm)

Inscriptions: below image, "J.V.del.Sc. Chef des Indiens. 8"

b. The Priest of the Law (plate 9)

Etching: plate, $8\frac{1}{16} \times 5\frac{5}{16}$ in. (20.4 × 13.5 cm)

Inscriptions: below image, "J.V.del.Sc. Prestre de la Loy. 9"

c. The Sultan (plate 17)

Etching: plate, $8\frac{1}{16} \times 5\frac{5}{16}$ in. (20.4 × 13.5 cm)

Inscriptions: below image, "J.V.del.Sc. Le Grand Seigneur. 17"

d. The Black Sultana (plate 28)

Etching: plate, $8\frac{1}{16} \times 5\frac{5}{16}$ in. (20.4 × 13.5 cm)

Inscriptions: below image, "J.V.del.Sc. Sultane Noire. 28"

Selected references (for the series): Carlson and Ittmann, Regency to Empire (1984), pp. 106-8, no. 27; Thomas W. Gaehtgens and Jacques Lugand, Joseph-Marie Vien: Peintre du Roi (1716-1809) (Paris: Arthena, 1988), pp. 281-84, nos. 2-33; Fragonard et le dessin français au XVIIIe siècle dans les collections du Petit Palais, exh. cat. (Paris: Éditions Paris-Musées, 1992), pp. 37-75 (entries by José-Luis de Los Llanos); Couturier, Drawn to Art (2011), pp. 196–99, no. 77 (entry by Sonia Couturier)

68. Louis Joseph Le Lorrain (French, Paris 1715–1759 St. Petersburg) Project for the Chinea of 1744: The Glorification of Virgil, 1744 Etching: sheet, $15\frac{3}{16} \times 17\frac{1}{2}$ in. (38.6 × 44.5 cm) Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; Harvey D. Parker Collection (P14546)

Selected references: Mario Gori Sassoli, Della Chinea e di altre "Macchine di Gioia": Apparati architettonici per fuochi d'artificio a Roma nel Settecento, exh. cat. (Milan: Charta, 1994); John E. Moore, "Prints, Salami, and Cheese: Savoring the Roman Festival of the Chinea," Art Bulletin 77, no. 4 (December 1995), pp. 584-608

69. Louis Joseph Le Lorrain (French, Paris 1715–1759 St. Petersburg) Project for the Chinea of 1748: Strength Generates Strength, 1748 Etching: plate, $15\% \times 17^{11}/16$ in. (39 × 45 cm) Print Collection, Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Division of Art, Prints

and Photographs, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations

Inscriptions: below image, at lower left, "L. Le Lorrain. In et.cut. 1748.", and at lower right, "8"; below image, "FORTES CREANTUR FORTIBUS / Prospettiva della prima Macchina con la quale s'intende rappresentare il Nascimento d'un Figlio di Venere, e Marte, e premendo à Genitori che ilmed, modivenga un prode Campione si consegna però ad educare alla Dea Minerva come Maestra di tutte / le pui nobili Virtù che possono formarlo un perfetto Eroe, s'imprende una somigliante Idea per ricavarne allusion alla recente lietissima Nascita del REALE PRINCIPE PRIMOGENITO che il Cielo hà concesso à i Voti delle MAESTÀ del / RÈ e REGINA delle due Sicilie, di Gerusaleme &c.&c.&c. ed a quelli pure intensi de fedelissimi suoi Popoli che non cessano di farne Festa, e pregargliene perenne preservazione. Incendiata d.ta Macchina con vaghi, e copiosi Fuochi d'ar- / tificio per ordine de S. Ecc. za il Sig. Pnpe, DON FABRIZIO COLONNA Gran Contestabile del Regno di Napoli, Grande di Spagna di Prima Classe, Gentiluomo della Camera Reale, Cavaliere degl'Insigni ordini de S. Gennaro, e del Toson d'oro, / come Ambasciatore Estraordinario della MAESTÀ SUA à presentare il Censo, e Chinea, doppo il Vespero della Vigilia de Gloriosi SS. PIETRO, e PAOLO APOSTOLI a Sua Beatitudine BENEDETTO XIV, l'anno 1748 / Michelangelo Specchi Architetto [. . .] Francesco Scardovelli Càpo Bombard.^e e Capo suo carolo di Castel S.

Selected references: Carlson and Ittmann, Regency to Empire (1984), pp. 109-11, no. 28; Mario Gori Sassoli, Della Chinea e di altre "Macchine di Gioia": Apparati architettonici per fuochi d'artificio a Roma nel Settecento, exh. cat. (Milan: Charta, 1994); John E. Moore, "Prints, Salami, and Cheese: Savoring the Roman Festival of the Chinea," Art Bulletin 77, no. 4 (December 1995), pp. 584-608

70. François Hutin (French, ca. 1685–1758 Paris) Visiting Prisoners, from the Seven Acts of Mercy, 1740-60 Etching, second state of two: plate, $8^{15}/_{16} \times 6^{13}/_{16}$ in. (22.7 × 17.3 cm); sheet, $9^{3}/4 \times 7^{11}/16$ in. (24.7 × 19.6 cm)

Blanton Museum of Art, The University of Texas at Austin; The Leo Steinberg Collection, 2002 (2002.1508.6/7)

Inscriptions: at lower left, "C [over an effaced "F"] HVTIN IN. INC / a", and at lower right, "6"

Selected references: Baudicour, Le Peintre-graveur français continué (1859-61), vol. 2, p. 139, no. 6

71. Ennemond Alexandre Petitot (French, Lyon 1727–1801 Parma) Elevation in Perspective of a Column Intended as the Tomb for a Oueen, 1746-50

Etching: plate, $9\%6 \times 12^{13}\%6$ in. (24 × 32.5 cm); sheet, 11% × 18¹³/₁₆ in. (29.6 × 47.8 cm)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Purchase, Adrian T. Eeles Gift, 2010 (2010.257)

Inscriptions: below image, "Elevation en perspective d'une Colonne Funeraire destinée pour la Sepullture d'une Reine. / a Paris chez Fessard rue de la Harpe vis a vis la ruë Serpente"; at lower left, "E.A. Petitot inv. et Sculp. Romae"

Selected references: Petitot: Un artista del Settecento europeo a Parma, exh. cat. (Parma: U. Guanda, 1997), pp. 70, 74

72. Jean Barbault (French, Viarmes 1718–1762 Rome) The Excavation of the Obelisk from the Campo Marzo, 1748 Etching: plate, $7\frac{1}{2} \times 11\frac{1}{4}$ in. (19.1 × 28.6 cm); sheet, 10×13^{13} /16 in. $(25.4 \times 35.1 \text{ cm})$

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1962 (62.661.36)

Inscriptions: in image, in center foreground, "Barbault del. sculpsit / Romae"; below image, at left, "A.B.C.D. Pezzo dell'obelisco che sitira su. / E. 4. Capre.F. Code delle capre. G. Traverse."; at center, "Alzata dell'Obelisco di Campo Marzo / R. Maestro Nicola Zabaglia Ingeniere de S. Pietro"; at right, "H.I. Altra traversa L. Pollee legate a / linea del tiro. N.O.P.Q. Quattro argani."

Selected references: Carlson and Ittmann, Regency to Empire (1984), pp. 112-13, no. 29

73. Joseph Vernet (French, Avignon 1714–1789 Paris) Return from Fishing, before 1752

Etching: plate, $11\% \times 8\%$ in. (30.2 × 21.9 cm); sheet, $13^{11}/_{16} \times 10$ in. $(34.8 \times 25.4 \text{ cm})$

Minneapolis Institute of Arts; The Ethel Morrison Van Derlip Fund (P.75.21)

Inscriptions: in image, at bottom center, "Joseph Vernet fecit" Selected references: Carlson and Ittmann, Regency to Empire (1984), pp. 114-15, no. 30

74. Hubert Robert (French, Paris 1733-1808 Paris)

"Les Soirées de Rome," ca. 1763-65

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1929 (29.55.1–10)

a. Title page

Etching, first state of three: plate, $6\frac{1}{16} \times 3\%$ in. (15.4 × 9.9 cm); sheet, $6\% \times 4\%$ in. (16.9 × 10.9 cm)

Inscriptions: on stone plinth, "LES / SOIREÉS DE ROME / DÉDIÉES / A M. DE LE COMTE / des Académies / de S Luc de Rome, / des Sciences et Arts / de Bologne, Florence &c."; below image, "Suite de Dix Planches dessinées et gravées par M." / Robert, Pensionaire du Roi de France à Rome . / A Paris chés Wille Graveur du Roi Quay des Augustins."

b. The Bust

Etching, second state of four: plate, $5\% \times 3\%$ in. (13.6 × 9.9 cm); sheet, $5^{15}/_{16} \times 4^{3}/_{16}$ in. (15.1 × 10.6 cm)

Inscriptions: in image, at lower right, "1764 H. ROBERTI ROMA"

c. The Statue Before the Ruins

Etching, second state of four: plate, $5\% \times 3^{11/16}$ in. (13.6 × 9.4 cm); sheet, $5^{15}/_{16} \times 4^{1}/_{18}$ in. (15.1 × 10.5 cm)

d. The Stairs by the Four Posts

Etching, second state of four: plate, $5\% \times 3^{11}/_{16}$ in. (13.6 \times 9.3 cm); sheet, $6 \times 4\%$ in. (15.2 × 10.6 cm)

Inscriptions: in image, at bottom center, "1763 H. ROBERTI"

e. The Ancient Temple

Etching, second state of four: plate, $5\%6 \times 3\%$ in. (13.8 × 9.6 cm); sheet, $6 \times 4^{3/16}$ in. (15.2 × 10.6 cm)

f. The Sarcophagus

Etching, second state of four: plate, $5\% \times 3^{11/16}$ in. (13.6 × 9.3 cm); sheet, $6 \times 4\frac{1}{8}$ in. (15.3 × 10.4 cm)

g. The Well

Etching, second state of four: plate, $5\frac{5}{16} \times 3\frac{9}{16}$ in. (13.5 × 9.1 cm); sheet, $5\% \times 4$ in. (15 × 10.2 cm)

Inscriptions: in image, at lower right, "Roberti ROMA"

h. The Triumphal Arch

Etching, second state of four: plate, $5\% \times 3\%$ in. (13.6 × 9.5 cm); sheet, $5^{15}/_{16} \times 4^{3}/_{16}$ in. (15.1 × 10.6 cm)

Etching, second state of four: plate, $5\% \times 3^{11/16}$ in. (13.7 × 9.3 cm); sheet, $5^{15}/_{16} \times 4^{1/_{8}}$ in. (15.1 × 10.5 cm)

Inscriptions: in image, at lower right, "ROBERTI ROMA"

j. The Ancient Gallery*

Etching, second state of four: plate, $5\frac{1}{2} \times 3\frac{5}{2}$ in. (13.9 × 9.2 cm); sheet, $6\frac{1}{16} \times 4\frac{1}{16}$ in. (15.4 × 10.3 cm)

* Based on an inscription on the first state of this print (cat. 75), this plate was etched by either Barbe Sophie or Louis Dominique Honoré Digne after Hubert Robert.

Selected references (for the series): Carlson and Ittmann, Regency to Empire (1984), pp. 168-71, no. 54; Couturier, Drawn to Art (2011), pp. 144–47, no. 55c (entry by Sonia Couturier)

75. Barbe Sophie or Louis Dominique Honoré Digne (1735–1792) after and possibly with the assistance of Hubert Robert (French, Paris 1733-1808 Paris)

The Ancient Gallery, ca. 1763-64

Etching, first state of four: plate, $5\% \times 3\%$ in. (13.8 × 9.2 cm); sheet, $5\frac{1}{2} \times 3\frac{3}{4}$ in. (14 × 9.4 cm)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Bequest of Phyllis Massar, 2011 (2012.136.41.10)

Inscriptions: at lower left, "Rober. Del. Roma" and "Digne Sc."

76. Charles Joseph Natoire (French, Nîmes 1700–1777 Castel Gandolfo)

The Holy Family, ca. 1764

Etching, proof state: sheet, $6\% \times 4\%$ in. (17.2 × 12.3 cm) Blanton Museum of Art, The University of Texas at Austin; The Leo Steinberg Collection, 2002 (2002.695)

Inscriptions: at lower right, "c natoire f."

77. Simon Julien (French, Toulon 1735–1800 Paris) Sheet of Studies: Flora, Cupids, and Heads, 1764 Etching on light gray paper: plate, $4\frac{5}{16} \times 6^{15}$ /16 in. (11 × 17.7 cm); sheet, 11 × 1711/16 in. (27.9 × 45 cm)

Philadelphia Museum of Art; The Muriel and Philip Berman Gift, acquired from the John S. Phillips bequest of 1876 to the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, with funds contributed by Muriel and Philip Berman, gifts (by exchange) of Lisa Norris Elkins, Bryant W. Langston, Samuel S. White 3rd and Vera White, with additional funds contributed by John Howard McFadden, Jr., Thomas Skelton Harrison, and the Philip H. and A.S.W. Rosenbach Foundation, 1985 (1985-52-20907)

Inscriptions: on helmet of figure at upper right, lettering in reverse, "S. Julien fecit / Roma 1764"

78. Jean Jacques Lagrenée (French, Paris 1739-1821 Paris) Fragments of Antiquity, 1765 Etching: sheet, $4^{15}/_{16} \times 7\%$ in. (12.5 × 19.3 cm)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1977 (1977.616.1)

Inscriptions: at lower right, "Lagrenée in. Romae. 1765"

Selected references: Michèle Hébert and Yves Sjöberg, Inventaire du fonds français: Graveurs du XVIIIe siècle, vol. 12, Janinet-Launay (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, 1973), p. 312, no. 27

79. Jean Bernard Restout (French, Paris 1732-1797 Paris) Saint Bruno, 1764

Etching, second state of two: sheet, $10\frac{1}{8} \times 11\frac{3}{16}$ in. (25.7 × 28.4 cm) The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Purchase, Phyllis D. Massar Gift, 2009 (2009.275)

Inscriptions: below image, "Rmo P. D. Andreae le Masson / Romanae Cartusiae Priori, totlus que ordinis Procuratori Generali, / veneratou virtutum dicat, offert au Consecrat, anno Salutis MDCCLXIV, Restout filius; Romae in Regia franciae Accademia Alumnus"; on rock at left, "Restout / [illeg.] / Roma."

5 • AMATEURS AND THE CULTURE OF ETCHING

80. Louis Carrogis, called Carmontelle (French, Paris 1717–1806

Louis Philippe, Duc d'Orléans, and His Son Louis Philippe Joseph, Duc de Chartres, 1759

Etching: plate, 11% \times 7% in. (29.5 \times 19.7 cm); sheet, 11 13 /16 \times 7% in. $(30 \times 20 \text{ cm})$

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1996 (1996.275)

Inscriptions: at lower left, "L.C.De Carmontelle. 1759."

Selected references: Carlson and Ittmann, Regency to Empire (1984), pp. 144-45, no. 43

81. Claude Henri Watelet (French, Paris 1718-1786 Paris) and Jean-Baptiste Marie Pierre (French, Paris 1714-1789 Paris)

Studies of Heads, ca. 1756

Etching: sheet, $8^{11}/_{16} \times 6^{11}/_{16}$ in. (22 × 17 cm)

Philadelphia Museum of Art; The Muriel and Philip Berman Gift, acquired from the John S. Phillips beguest of 1876 to the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, with funds contributed by Muriel and Philip Berman, gifts (by exchange) of Lisa Norris Elkins, Bryant W. Langston, Samuel S. White 3rd and Vera White, with additional funds contributed by John Howard McFadden, Jr., Thomas Skelton Harrison, and the Philip H. and A.S.W. Rosenbach Foundation, 1985 (1985-52-28855)

Inscriptions: at lower left, "C. H. Watelet / J.B.M. Pierre / una eademque die | sculpsere | in villa Moletrinae Gallice | Moulin Joli"

Selected references: Charlotte Guichard, Les Amateurs d'art à Paris au XVIIIe siècle (Seyssel: Champ Vallon, 2008), pp. 270-76; Nicolas Lesur and Olivier Aaron, Jean-Baptiste Marie Pierre, 1714-1789: Premier Peintre du roi (Paris: Arthena, 2009), p. 487, no. G.27

82. Claude Henri Watelet (French, Paris 1718-1786 Paris) The House of Marguerite Le Comte, ca. 1765 Etching: sheet, $5\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$ in. (13.9 × 19.1 cm) Collection of John W. Ittmann

Inscriptions: within border, at lower left, "CH WAL SC 1765"; below image, at center, "LA MAISON DE MARGUERITE / LE COMTE / MEUNIERE DU MOULIN JOLI / CUR VALLE PERMUT E M SABINA / DIVITIAS OPEROSIORES?" (letter "J" in "Joli" reversed)

83. Ange-Laurent de La Live de Jully (Paris 1725-1770 Paris) after Jacques François Joseph Saly (French, Valenciennes 1717–1776

Four plates from "Recueil de caricatures" (Collection of Caricatures), ca. 1754

Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven; Everett V. Meeks, B.A. 1901, Fund (2002.28.1.1, 2002.28.1.5, 2002.28.1.8, 2002.28.1.14)

a. An Artist at the Académie de France in Rome (?) (plate 1) Etching: sheet, $10\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{5}{16}$ in. (26.6 × 18.5 cm)

Inscriptions: on portfolio, "RECUËIL DE / CARICA-TURES / Dessinées Par J. SALY / et Gra-vées par / A.L. DE LALIVE / D.J."

b. An Artist at the Académie de France in Rome (?) (plate 5) Etching: sheet, $10\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{5}{16}$ in. (26.6 × 18.5 cm)

c. Jean François de Troy, Director of the Académie de France in Rome (plate 8)

Etching: sheet, $10\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{5}{16}$ in. (26.6 × 18.5 cm)

d. Nicolas Bremont, Cook at the Académie de France in Rome (plate 14)

Etching: sheet, $10\frac{5}{16} \times 7$ in. $(26.2 \times 17.8 \text{ cm})$

Selected references (for the series): Suzanne Boorsch, "The Recueil de Caricatures by La Live de Jully after Saly," Yale University Art Gallery Bulletin, 2004, pp. 68–83; Couturier, Drawn to Art (2011), pp. 210-13, no. 83 (entry by Catherine Loisel)

84. Nella venuta in Roma di madama le Comte e dei Signori Watelet, e Copette, 1764

Text by Louis de Subleyras (Italian, Rome 1742–1814 Rome) Etchings by Étienne de Lavallée-Poussin (French, Rouen 1733–1793 Paris), Hubert Robert (French, Paris 1733-1808 Paris), Franz Edmund Weirotter (Austrian, Innsbruck 1733-1771 Vienna), et al. Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge (Typ 725.64.812)

Selected references: Carlson and Ittmann, Regency to Empire (1984), pp. 172-73, no. 55; Couturier, *Drawn to Art* (2011), pp. 141-43, no. 76 (entry by Sonia Couturier)

85. Étienne de Lavallée-Poussin (French, Rouen 1733–1793 Paris) Marguerite Le Comte, 1764

Black chalk, pen and brown ink, brush and brown and gray wash, $5\% \times 4\%$ in. (15 × 11. 1 cm) (oval)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Purchase, PECO Foundation Gift, 2013 (2013.181)

Signed and dated: in pen and brown ink, at lower right, "Poussin /

Selected references: Dessins français, exh. cat. (Paris: Galerie Nicolas Schwed, 2013), part of no. 14, n.p.

86. Claude Henri Watelet (French, Paris 1718-1786 Paris) after Étienne de Lavallée-Poussin (French, Rouen 1733–1793 Paris) Marguerite Le Comte, 1764

Etching, second state of three: plate, $7\% \times 5\%$ in. (18.8 × 13.7 cm); sheet, $9^{13}/_{16} \times 7^{1}/_{2}$ in. (24.9 × 19 cm)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; A. Hyatt Mayor Purchase Fund, Marjorie Phelps Starr Bequest, 2012 (2012.384)

Inscriptions: on print on edge of table, "ALEX. ALB / CAR^{DE} / M. leComte Scu Rome 1764"; at lower left, "De Lav. Poussin del."; at lower right, "Watelet Scu Romae 1764"

Selected references: Carlson and Ittmann, Regency to Empire (1984), p. 172, under no. 55 (as attributed to Weirotter); Couturier, Drawn to Art (2011), under pp. 142 and 229, n. 12, under no. 54 (as by Weirotter)

87. Marguerite Le Comte (French, Paris 1717–1800 Paris) after Étienne de Lavallée-Poussin (French, Rouen 1733–1793 Paris) Cardinal Albani, 1764

Etching: plate, $7^{13}/_{16} \times 6$ in. (19.9 × 15.3 cm); sheet, $11 \times 7^{13}/_{16}$ in. $(28 \times 19.8 \text{ cm})$

Collection of John W. Ittmann

Inscriptions: in circular frame around portrait, "ALEXANDER • CARDINALIS • ALBANUS S•R•E • DIAC • ET • BIBLIOTHE CARIUS •"; below image, "DIGNUM LAUDE VIRUM / MUSA VETAT MORI / marguerite le comte sc romae anno 1764"; at lower left, "De Lav. Poussin Del."

88. Madame de Pompadour (Jean Antoinette Poisson, Marquise de Pompadour) (French, Paris 1721-1764 Versailles) after François Boucher (French, Paris 1703-1770 Paris)

The Young Savoyard, 1751

Etching: sheet, $7\frac{1}{8} \times 5^{13}$ /16 in. (18.1 × 14.8 cm); overall dimensions of bound volume, $11\frac{1}{16} \times 9\frac{14}{4} \times \frac{7}{8}$ in. $(28.2 \times 23.5 \times 2.2 \text{ cm})$ The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Gift of Robert Hartshorne, 1924 (24.33[56])

Inscriptions: at lower left, "Pompadour Sc 1751"

Selected references: Pascal Torres Guardiola, "Remarques sur la Suite d'estampes gravées par madame la marquise de Pompadour d'après les pierres gravées par Jacques Guay," in Madame de Pompadour et les arts, ed. Xavier Salmon, exh. cat. (Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 2002), pp. 214–36

89. Anne Claude Philippe de Tubières, comte de Caylus (French, Paris 1692-1765 Paris), after Edme Bouchardon (French, Chaumont 1698–1762 Paris), retouched by Étienne Fessard (French, Paris 1714-1777 Paris) Picture Seller, 1738

Etching with some engraving: sheet, $9\frac{5}{16} \times 7\frac{1}{16}$ in. (23.6 × 18 cm) The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1953 (53.600.588[25])

Inscriptions: in image, "Études prises dans le Bas Peuple ou les Cris de Fessard rue St Denis au Gd. St. Louis près le Sepulcre."; etched below preceding inscription, "pro noblis. A paris chez [illegible]"; below image, at left, "Bouchardon in", centered, "Marchand d'Images", and at right, "Gravé à l'Eau forte par C. et retouché par Et. Fessard"

90. Pierre Jean Mariette (French, Paris 1694-1774 Paris) after Guercino (Giovanni Francesco Barbieri) (Italian, Cento 1591-1666

Landscape with Figures and a Distant Town (plate inserted in Catalogue raisonné des differens objets dans . . . le Cabinet de feu Mr. Mariette [Catalogue d'Estampes, Paris, 1775]) Etching: plate, $5\% \times 9$ in. (14.8 × 22.8 cm); sheet, $7\% \times 9\%$ in.

(19.2 \times 24.5 cm); overall dimensions of bound volume, $7^{3}4 \times 5^{1}4 \times$ 1% in. (19.8 × 13.2 × 4.1 cm)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1936 (36.501)

Inscriptions: at upper right, "Page 195"; inside image, at lower left, "ieri Cent. dict Guercino del."; below image, "Ant.º Mar. ae Zanetti Veneto, redivivo Parmensi, hoc artis suae tirocinium, Amicus Amico, pro munere munusculum, / offerebat."

91. Claude Henri Watelet (French, Paris 1718–1786 Paris) after Jean-Baptiste Greuze (French, Tournus 1725–1805 Paris) Self-Portrait as Jan Six, ca. 1762-65 Etching: plate, $10\frac{1}{2} \times 7^{11}/16$ in. (26.6 × 19.6 cm); sheet, $11\frac{3}{8} \times$ 811/16 in. (28.9 × 22 cm)

Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, Williamstown; William J. Collins Collection (1960.19)

Selected references: Edgar Munhall, Jean-Baptiste Greuze, 1725-1805, exh. cat. (Hartford: Wadsworth Atheneum, 1976), pp. 87–88, under no. 35; Charlotte Guichard, Les Amateurs d'art à Paris au

92. Baron Dominique Vivant Denon (French, Givry 1747–1825 Paris) after Rembrandt (Rembrandt van Rijn) (Dutch, Leiden 1606-1669 Amsterdam) Death of the Virgin, 1783

Etching: sheet, $15\%6 \times 12\%6$ in. (39.5 × 31.2 cm) The Baltimore Museum of Art; Garrett Collection (BMA 1946.112.7843)

XVIIIe siècle (Seyssel: Champ Vallon, 2008), pp. 291-99.

Inscriptions: in plate, at lower left, "Rembrandt f. 1639", and at lower right, "Dn./1783"

Selected references: Petra ten-Doesschate Chu, French Masters of the Nineteenth Century: Dominique Vivant Denon, Illustrated Bartsch 121, part 1 (New York: Abaris Books, 1985), p. 344, no. 412 (B 99)

6 • ECHOES OF REMBRANDT AND CASTIGLIONE

93. François Boucher (French, Paris 1703–1770 Paris) after Abraham Bloemaert (Netherlandish, Gorinchem 1566–1651 Utrecht) Sheet of Sketches with a Woman Holding a Basket, ca. 1735 Etching: sheet, $5^{11}/_{16} \times 8^{1/_{4}}$ in. (14.5 × 21 cm)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1949 (49.95.476[9])

Inscriptions: in image, in upper right corner, "9", and in bottom right corner, "Boucher Sculpsit."

Selected references: Jean-François Méjanès, "Un Exercice hors règlement: Bloemaert, Boucher et Subleyras . . . mais pas Natoire," in Mélanges en hommage à Pierre Rosenberg: Peintres et dessins en France et en Italie XVII^e-XVIII^e siècles (Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 2001), pp. 298-317; Françoise Joulie, Boucher et les peintres du nord, exh. cat. (Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 2004), pp. 50-53

94. François Boucher (French, Paris 1703–1770 Paris) after Abraham Bloemaert (Netherlandish, Gorinchem 1566–1651 Utrecht)

Sheet of Sketches with a Boy Lying on the Ground, ca. 1735 Etching: sheet, $5^{34} \times 8^{14}$ in. (14.6 × 20.9 cm) The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; The Elisha Whit-

telsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1949 (49.95.476[5]) Inscriptions: in image, in upper right corner, "5"; below image, at

right, "Boucher Sculpsit"

Selected references: see under cat. 93

95. Jean Pierre Norblin de la Gourdaine (French, Misy-Fault-Yonne 1745-1830 Paris)

Self-Portrait with Etching Plate, ca. 1778

Etching, drypoint, and engraving: sheet, $5\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$ in. $(14.6 \times 15.8 \text{ cm})$

The Art Institute of Chicago; John H. Wrenn Memorial Endowment (2005.5)

Selected references: Carlson and Ittmann, Regency to Empire (1984), pp. 242–44, no. 83

96. Jean Jacques de Boissieu (French, Lyon 1736-1810 Lyon) Study of Thirteen Heads, ca. 1770

Etching, second state of three: sheet, $9\frac{7}{16} \times 7\frac{5}{16}$ in. (24 × 18.5 cm) The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Purchase, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1967 (67.793.25)

Inscriptions: at upper right, "DB. 1770"

Selected references: Marie-Félicie Pérez, L'Oeuvre gravé de Jean-Jacques de Boissieu, 1736-1810 (Geneva: Cabinet des Estampes, 1994), pp. 118-19, no. 49

97. Jean Honoré Fragonard (French, Grasse 1732–1806 Paris) after Johann Liss (German, Oldenburg ca. 1595/1600-1631 Verona) Saint Jerome, ca. 1761-65

Etching, first state of three: plate, $6\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$ in. (16.6 × 11.4 cm); sheet, $7\% \times 6\%$ in. (20 × 15.7 cm)

The Art Institute of Chicago; Stanley Field Fund (1967.33)

Selected references: Georges Wildenstein, Fragonard, aquafortiste (Paris: Les Beaux-Arts, 1956), p. 23, no. 14; Pierre Rosenberg, ed., Saint-Non · Fragonard, Panopticon Italiano: Un diario di viaggio ritrovato, 1759-1761, rev. ed. (Rome: Elefante, 2000), p. 386, no. 216

98. Jean Honoré Fragonard (French, Grasse 1732-1806 Paris) after Giovanni Battista Tiepolo (Italian, Venice 1696–1770 Madrid) The Feast of Anthony and Cleopatra, ca. 1761-65 Etching, first state of two: plate, $6\%6 \times 4\%$ in. (16.3 × 11.4 cm) National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.; Rosenwald Collection (1946.21.290)

Selected references: Georges Wildenstein, Fragonard, aquafortiste (Paris: Les Beaux-Arts, 1956), p. 21, no. XII; Pierre Rosenberg, Saint-Non · Fragonard, Panopticon Italiano: Un diario di viaggio ritrovato, 1759–1761, rev. ed. (Rome: Elefante, 2000) p. 386, no. 212

99. Jean Claude Richard, abbé de Saint-Non (French, Paris 1727-1791 Paris), after Jean Honoré Fragonard (French, Grasse 1732-1806 Paris)

Cain Killing Abel, plate 30 from "Fragments choisis, 3e suite" (Select Fragments, 3rd Suite), 1772

Etching and aquatint: plate, $8 \times 5^{11}/16$ in. (20.3 × 14.4 cm); sheet, $9\frac{1}{4} \times 6\frac{3}{4}$ in. $(23.5 \times 17.1 \text{ cm})$

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; Bequest of William Perkins Babcock $(B_{3320.4})$

Inscriptions: below image, "Nicolo Tornioli Eglise de Saint Paul a Bologne", at lower left, "frago del", and at lower right, "Saint Non

Selected references: Pierre Rosenberg, Saint-Non · Fragonard, Panopticon Italiano: Un diario di viaggio ritrovato, 1759-1761, rev. ed. (Rome: Elefante, 2000), p. 402, no. 279

100. Jean Claude Richard, abbé de Saint-Non (French, Paris 1727-1791 Paris), after Jean Honoré Fragonard (French, Grasse 1732-1806 Paris)

Jacob Wrestling with the Angel, plate 29 from "Fragments choisis, 3e suite" (Select Fragments, 3rd Suite), 1772

Etching and aquatint: plate, $8 \times 5^{11/16}$ in. (20.3 × 14.4 cm); sheet, $9\frac{3}{16} \times 6\frac{34}{4}$ in. (23.4 × 17.1 cm)

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; Bequest of William Perkins Babcock (B3320.3)

Inscriptions: below image, "Nicolo Tornioli Eglise de Saint Paul a Bologne", at lower left, "frago del", and at lower right, "Saint Non Sc 1772"

Selected references: Pierre Rosenberg, Saint-Non · Fragonard, Panopticon Italiano: Un diario di viaggio ritrovato, 1759-1761, rev. ed. (Rome: Elefante, 2000) p. 402, no. 280

101. Jean Honoré Fragonard (French, Grasse 1732-1806 Paris) Nymph Supported by Two Satyrs, 1763

Etching: sheet, $5^{15}/16 \times 8\%$ in. (15.1 × 21.3 cm)

The Cleveland Museum of Art; Severance and Greta Millikin Trust (2012.64.1)

Inscriptions: on rock in center foreground, "1763" (numeral 6 printed in reverse)

Selected references: Georges Wildenstein, Fragonard, aquafortiste (Paris: Les Beaux-Arts, 1956), pp. 11-14, nos. III-VI; Carlson and Ittmann, Regency to Empire (1984), pp. 152-55, no. 47

102. Jean Honoré Fragonard (French, Grasse 1732-1806 Paris) The Satyr's Family, 1763

Etching: plate, $5^{11/16} \times 8\%$ in. (14.5 × 21.4 cm); sheet, 7% in. $(18 \times 24.5 \text{ cm})$

The Cleveland Museum of Art; Severance and Greta Millikin Trust (2012.64.2)

Inscriptions: at lower left, "FRAGO" Selected references: see under cat. 101

103. Jean Honoré Fragonard (French, Grasse 1732-1806 Paris) Nymph Astride a Satyr, 1763

Etching: plate, $5\% \times 8\%$ in. (14.9 × 21.2 cm); sheet, $6\% \times 8\%$ in. $(15.8 \times 22.3 \text{ cm})$

The Cleveland Museum of Art; Severance and Greta Millikin Trust (2012.64.3)

Inscriptions: at lower edge of relief, "FRAG9O" (with the numeral 9 between the G and the O)

Selected references: see under cat. 101

104. Jean Honoré Fragonard (French, Grasse 1732–1806 Paris) The Satyrs' Dance, 1763

Etching: sheet, $5^{13}/_{16} \times 8\%$ in. (14.8 × 21.3 cm)

The Cleveland Museum of Art; Severance and Greta Millikin Trust (2012.64.4)

Inscriptions: on rock at lower left, "Frago"

Selected references: see under cat. 101

105. Jean Jacques Lagrenée (French, Paris 1739–1821 Paris) Sacrifice to the God Pan, ca. 1760-63

Etching, first state of two: plate, $10\% \times 12\%$ in. (26.4 × 32.4 cm); sheet, 1115/16 × 14% in. (30.4 × 37.8 cm)

Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven; Everett V. Meeks, B.A. 1901, Fund (2002.62.1)

Inscriptions: in cartouche in image, at lower left, "Lagrenée M" in. et scupl. Pet."

106. Philippe Jacques de Loutherbourg (French, Strasbourg 1740-1812 London)

"Première suite des soldats" (First Suite of Soldiers), 1755–71 The Baltimore Museum of Art; Garrett Collection (BMA 1946,112,3343-48)

a. Soldier Seated on a Rock with Shield (plate 1)

Etching, second state of three: plate, $4\% \times 3\%$ in. (12 × 8.6 cm); sheet, $5\%6 \times 3\%$ in. (13.2 × 9.5 cm)

Inscriptions: in plate, at upper right, "No. 1", and at lower center, "1ere Suite des Soldats dessinés et gravés par P. J. Loutherbourg / Peintre du Roy / Se vend ches l'Auteur rue du Bacq à côté des Missionaires Etrangers"

b. Soldier in Armor, Seen from Back, Resting on a Lance (plate 2) Etching, second state of three: plate, $4\% \times 3\%$ in. (12.1 × 8.5 cm); sheet, $5\frac{3}{16} \times 3^{11}\frac{1}{16}$ in. $(13.1 \times 9.4 \text{ cm})$

Inscriptions: in plate, at upper right, "No. 2"

c. Savage Soldier, Swinging a Club (plate 3)

Etching, second state of three: plate, $4^{13}/_{16} \times 3^{7}/_{16}$ in. (12.2 × 8.8 cm); sheet, $5\frac{5}{16} \times 3\frac{3}{4}$ in. (13.5 × 9.6 cm)

Inscriptions: in plate, at upper right, "No. 3"

d. Soldier Standing, Resting on a Flag (plate 4)

Etching, second state of three: plate, $4\% \times 3\%$ in. (12.1 × 8.9 cm); sheet, $5\frac{1}{4} \times 3^{15}/16$ in. (13.3 × 10 cm)

Inscriptions: in plate, at upper right, "No. 4"

e. Soldier with Lance, Holding Out One Arm (plate 5)

Etching, second state of three: plate, $4\% \times 3\%$ in. (12 × 8.4 cm); sheet, $5\frac{3}{16} \times 3^{11}/16$ in. (13.1 × 9.3 cm)

Inscriptions: in plate, at upper right, "No. 5"

f. Armed Warrior Standing over a Dead Soldier (plate 6) Etching, second state of three: plate, $4\% \times 3\%$ in. (12 × 8.8 cm); sheet, $5\% \times 3^{15}/16$ in. (13.6 × 10 cm)

Inscriptions: in plate, at upper right, "No. 6"

Selected references (for the suite): Le Blanc, Manuel de l'amateur d'estampes (1854-56), nos. 21-26; Baudicour, Le Peintre-graveur français continué (1859-61), nos. 1-6

107. Jean Denis Lempereur (French, Paris 1701–1779 Paris) after Giovanni Benedetto Castiglione (Il Grechetto) (Italian, Genoa 1609-1664 Mantua)

Landscape with a March of Animals, 1742 Etching: sheet, $11\%6 \times 16\%6$ in. (29.3 × 41.7 cm) The Baltimore Museum of Art; Garrett Collection (BMA 1946.112.11059)

Inscriptions: in plate, at lower left, "benedette Castiglione Delineavit L^r f^t 1742.

Selected references: Yves Sjöberg, Inventaire du fonds français: Graveurs du XVIIIe siècle, vol. 14, Legras (Les)-Lequien, ed. Françoise Gardey (Paris: M. Le Garrec, 1977), p. 248, no. 1

108. Louis Germain (French, 1733-ca. 1791) Studies of Heads, 1773 Etching: sheet, $4^{13}/_{16} \times 6$ in. (12.2 × 15.3 cm) The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Rogers Fund, 1969

Inscriptions: at lower left, "Dessiné et gravé par Germain à Neuilly 1773"

Selected references: Michèle Hébert et al., Inventaire du fonds français: Graveurs du XVIIIe siècle, vol. 10, Gaugin-Gravelot (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, 1968), p. 115, no. 30

109. Unknown artist (French, 18th century) Sketch Plate, ca. 1760-80

Etching: plate, $9\% \times 7\%$ in. (25.1 × 20 cm); sheet, $10\%6 \times 8\%$ in. $(26.2 \times 20.6 \text{ cm})$

Philadelphia Museum of Art; The Muriel and Philip Berman Gift, acquired from the John S. Phillips bequest of 1876 to the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, with funds contributed by Muriel and Philip Berman, gifts (by exchange) of Lisa Norris Elkins, Bryant W. Langston, Samuel S. White 3rd and Vera White, with additional funds contributed by John Howard McFadden, Jr., Thomas Skelton Harrison, and the Philip H. and A.S.W. Rosenbach Foundation, 1985 (1985-52-4859)

110. Joseph Marie Vien (French, Montpellier 1716–1809 Paris) Arrival at the Wine Vat, ca. 1755

Pen and brown ink, brush and brown wash, incised, verso covered in red chalk, $6\frac{5}{16} \times 16\frac{9}{16}$ in. (16 × 42 cm)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Purchase, Alain and Marie-Christine van den Broek d'Obrenan Gift, 2008 (2008.599)

Signed: in pen and brown ink, at lower right, "j.m. vien."

111. Joseph Marie Vien (French, Montpellier 1716–1809 Paris) Arrival at the Wine Vat, ca. 1755

Etching: sheet, $7\frac{1}{16} \times 17\frac{3}{8}$ in. (18 × 44.2 cm) The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; The Elisha

Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 2011 (2011.540)

Selected references: Baudicour, Le Peintre-graveur français continué (1859-61), pp. 70-71, no. 6

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

- 1. Pierre Jean Mariette's statement that Boucher was paid 24 livres a day to etch Watteau's drawings for Jullienne was quoted by Pierre Rosenberg in "The Mysterious Beginnings of the Young Boucher," in François Boucher, 1703-1770, exh. cat. (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1986), p. 43. For Jean de Jullienne as a collector, see Christoph Martin Vogtherr and Jennifer Tonkovich, Jean de Jullienne, Collector & Connoisseur, exh. cat. (London: The Trustees of the Wallace Collection, 2011).
- 2. On Boucher's alliance with Madame de Pompadour during the 1750s, see Jo Hedley, "Pompadour's Painter: 1750s," in François Boucher: Seductive Visions, exh. cat. (London: The Wallace Collection, 2004), pp. 98-129; for their etching project, see Pascal Torres Guardiola, "Remarques sur la Suite d'estampes gravées par Madame la marquise de Pompadour d'après les pierres gravées par Jacques Guay," in Madame de Pompadour et les arts, ed. Xavier Salmon, exh. cat. (Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 2002), pp. 214-36.
- 3. Salmon, Madame de Pompadour et les arts, pp. 148-50, no. 27. The etching is identified as Le Petit Savoyard in François Boucher, 1703-1770, p. 269, no. 64.
- 4. For a thoughtful consideration of the place of printmaking relative to Boucher's career and reputation, see Katie Scott, "Reproduction and Reputation: 'François Boucher' and the Formation of Artistic Identities," in Rethinking Boucher, ed. Melissa Hyde and Mark Ledbury (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2006),
- 5. Rena M. Hoisington and Perrin Stein, "Sous les yeux de Fragonard: The Prints of Marguerite Gérard," Print Quarterly 29 (2012), pp. 142-62.
- 6. Victor I. Carlson and John W. Ittmann, eds., Regency to Empire: French Printmaking, 1715–1814, exh. cat. (Baltimore: Baltimore Museum of Art; Minneapolis: Minneapolis Institute of Arts, 1984).
- 7. The broad sweep and deep scholarship of Regency to Empire spawned a series of exhibition projects that further explored certain aspects of reproductive printmaking. See Florian Rodari, ed., Anatomie de la couleur: L'Invention de l'estampe en couleurs, exh. cat. (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale de France; Lausanne: Musée Olympique, 1996); Margaret Morgan Grasselli, Colorful Impressions: The Printmaking Revolution in Eighteenth-Century France, essays by Ivan E. Phillips, Kristel Smentek, and Judith C. Walsh, exh. cat. (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 2003); Emmanuelle Delapierre et al., Quand la gravure fait illusion: Autour de Watteau et Boucher, le dessin gravé au XVIIIe siècle, exh. cat. (Valenciennes: Musée des Beaux-Arts; Montreuil: Gourcuff-Gradenigo, 2006); Pascal Torres Guardiola, Les Batailles de l'empereur de Chine: La Gloire de Qianlong célébrée par Louis XV, une commande royale d'estampes, exh. cat. (Paris: Musée du Louvre, 2009); and Marie-Catherine Sahut et al., Antoine Watteau et l'art de l'estampe, exh. cat. (Paris: Musée du Louvre, 2010). For a broader exhibition focused on commonalities among peintresgraveurs from throughout Europe from the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries, see Michael Cole, ed., The Early Modern Painter-Etcher, exh. cat. (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006).

- 8. Mercure de France, January 1751, pp. 118-20. The article concluded that prints will be judged "by an enlightened public."
- 9. "a aussi gravé une suite d'Académies, où sa pointe a répandu sous un trait plein d'esprit & de goût cette aimable irrégularité des tailles, ce brut pittoresque, dont sont caractérisées les gravures des grands Peintres, qui se sont quelquefois livrés à ces sortes d'amusemens," in Michel François Dandré-Bardon, Vie de Carle Vanloo (Paris: Chez Desaint, 1765), pp. 67-68. The phrase used by Dandré-Bardon, a "brut pittoresque," had been defined in Antoine Joseph Pernety's Dictionnaire portatif de peinture, sculpture et gravure . . . (Paris: Chez Bauche, 1757), p. 42: "BRUT PITTORESQUE, est une certaine dureté des traits & des tailles du burin ou de la pointe, qui montre la hardiesse, la fermeté, la liberté & la franchise de la main du Graveur. Les estampes gravées par les Peintres, sont communément recommandables par ce brut pittoresque, qui a pris
- 10. "M. Basan a aussi joint quelques gravures exécutés par seu M. Mariette, d'une pointe fine & légère. Ces gravures pourtout donner une idée du maniement facile de la pointe & de la plume de cet Amateur." Mercure de France, August 1775, p. 138. Mariette's estate sale was held in Paris from November 15, 1775, to January 30, 1776. A good example of how he (or Basan) grouped etchings according to the vocation of their makers is lot 875, which comprised assorted etchings by young painters associated with the Académie de France in Rome; another is lot 978, a gathering of etchings by various amateurs.
- 11. Susanne Anderson-Riedel, "The Prix de Rome de Gravure in Light of Artistic and Political Debate in 18th Century France," Studiolo 7 (2009), pp. 181–200. The denial of Natoire's request by the marquis de Marigny, directeur général of the Bâtiments du Roi, was especially ironic as one of Marigny's guides on his crown-sponsored grand tour was Charles Nicolas Cochin II, a successful engraver and high-ranking member of the Académie Royale.
- 12. Thomas E. Crow, Painters and Public Life in Eighteenth-Century Paris (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1985), and Thomas E. Crow, Emulation: Making Artists for Revolutionary France (New Haven and London: Yale University
- 13. Colin B. Bailey, Patriotic Taste: Collecting Modern Art in Pre-Revolutionary Paris (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2002), and Charlotte Guichard, Les Amateurs d'art à Paris au XVIIIe siècle (Seyssel: Champ Vallon, 2008).
- 14. Crow, Painters and Public Life, pp. 45-75, 134-74.
- 15. The decision of Fragonard, for whom hopes had run so high, not to submit a reception piece to the Académie is discussed in Jean-Pierre Cuzin, Jean-Honoré Fragonard, vie et oeuvre. Catalogue complet des peintures (Fribourg, 1987), pp. 92-95, and Pierre Rosenberg, Fragonard, exh. cat. (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1988), pp. 223–26.
- 16. As later recalled by his son; quoted and translated by Crow, Painters and Public Life, p. 214.
- 17. "Pour ne point réfroidir ses compositions, Rembrandt les dessinoit souvent directement sur ses planches, sans faire comme les autres Graveurs des Desseins arrêtés, pour les calquer ensuite." Edme François Gersaint, Catalogue raisonné de toutes les pieces

qui forment l'oeuvre de Rembrandt (Paris: Chez Hochereau, 1751), pp. xxxi-xxxii.

18. "[D]es eaux fortes pures des Peintres qui ont gravé, comme Benedette de Castillionne, Rimbrant, Berghem, &c. ou encore de nos Peintres modernes dont plusieurs ont gravé avec un esprit que les plus habiles Graveurs auroient peine à égaler." Abraham Bosse, De la maniere de graver a l'eau forte et au burin . . . new ed., ed. Charles-Nicolas Cochin (Paris: Chez Charles-Antoine Jombert, 1745), p. xxiv.

1 • LEARNING TO ETCH

- 1. Christian Michel, L'Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture (1648-1793): La Naissance de l'école française (Geneva: Librairie
- 2. The Salon was held in 1699, 1704, annually from 1737 to 1751 (except in 1744 and 1749), and then biennially. In general, the exhibition opened on August 25, the saint's day for Louis XV's namesake, but on occasion it opened a little earlier or later as necessary.
- 3. The authoritative source on this subject remains William McAllister Johnston, French Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture Engraved Reception Pieces: 1672-1789, exh. cat. (Kingston, Ontario: Agnes Etherington Art Centre, Queen's University, 1982). See, too, Michel, L'Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture, pp. 206-14.
- 4. See the meetings of March 31, 1787, and July 28, 1787, respectively (Anatole de Montaiglon, ed., Procès-verbaux de l'Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture, 1648-1793, vol. 9, 1780-1788 [Paris: Charavay Frères, 1889], pp. 315 and 329). Denon was sponsored by Johann Georg Wille; his reception piece was assigned by director Jean-Baptiste Marie Pierre. Johnston, French Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture Engraved Reception Pieces, no. 98, and Salon livret (1787) p. 56, no. 304.
- 5. Professional printmakers regularly showed their prints (and drawings related to prints) at the Salon, but their submissions were listed in the *livrets* after those of painters and sculptors.
- 6. "Article X. On engagera ceux dont les esquisses paroîtront passablement bonnes à les graver à l'eau forte. Ces petites planches seront de pareille grandeur et formeront insensiblement une suitte, qui aura quelque agrément pour l'histoire, quand même elle ne sera pas recommandable par l'exécution." Montaiglon, Procèsverbaux, vol. 6, 1745-1755 (1885), p. 148 (December 31, 1748). This idea was probably put forth by Jacques Dumont le Romain, the first governor of the École, or Charles Antoine Coypel, director of the Académie Royale, as both were peintres-graveurs. (Dumont le Romain resigned from his position a few months later and was replaced by Carle Vanloo at the Académie meeting of April 12, 1749; see Montaiglon, Procès-verbaux, vol. 6, p. 162.) The creation of a booklet of etchings after these compositions would have enabled the École Royale not only to broadcast its importance and accomplishments but also, by extension, to glorify the Académie Royale, the Bâtiments, and, ultimately, the monarchy. One imagines, however, that the students, focused on their Grand Prix submissions and other studies, would have been hard-pressed to work on their etchings. There was also the matter of who would orchestrate and oversee the project, not to mention obtain the necessary funds from the Bâtiments. The only etching we have found along these lines is Gabriel de Saint-Aubin's Réconciliation d'Absalom et de David of 1752, which he made after his submission for the Grand Prix competition that same year. Saint-Aubin also etched Laban cherchant ses dieux, but he made this print after his submission to a special competition held to fill a vacant spot in the École Royale in 1753. It seems most likely that Saint-Aubin took it upon himself to etch both of these paintings to revisit or publicize his creations.
- 7. For an overview of the subject, see Emmanuelle Brugerolles, L'Académie mise à nu: L'École du modèle à l'Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture, exh. cat. (Paris: Beaux-Arts de Paris, 2009).

- 8. There was a centuries-old tradition of illustrating drawing books with prints that artists could copy (Jonathan Brown, Jusepe de Ribera: Prints and Drawings, exh. cat. [Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University, 1973], p. 70, and Michael Cole, ed., The Early Modern Painter-Etcher, exh. cat. [University Park: Pennsylvania State University, 2006], pp. 57-61), and in late seventeenth-century France, the printmakers Jean Lepautre, Sébastien Le Clerc, and Jean-Baptiste Poilly produced several livres d'académies (Brugerolles, L'Académie mise à nu, pp. 71, 75 n. 109).
- 9. Premier livre de figures d'académies gravées en parties par les professeurs de l'Académie Royale (1737) and Second livre de figures d'académies gravées en partie par les professeurs de l'Académie Royale (1738). See Brugerolles, L'Académie mise à nu, pp. 71, 75 n. 111.
- 10. March 30, 1743, Montaiglon, Procès-verbaux, vol. 5, 1726-1744 (1883), pp. 340-41.
- 11. For reproductions of four of the extant red chalk drawings (Nationalmuseum, Stockholm) and all six etchings, see Marie Catherine Sahut, Carle Vanloo: Premier Peintre du roi (Nice, 1705-Paris, 1765), exh. cat. (Nice: Musée Chéret, 1977), nos. 567-70 and 626-31, respectively. Vanloo's prints are also catalogued in Prosper de Baudicour, Le Peintre-graveur français continué, ou catalogue raisonné des estampes gravées par les peintres et les dessinateurs de l'école française nés dans le XVIIIe siècle, 2 vols. (Paris: Mme Bouchard-Huzard, Rapilly, etc., 1859-61), vol. 2, pp. 106-8, nos. 1-6. The etching for the title plate has almost the same dimensions and design as the related drawing; the composition is reversed, however, and there are a handful of changes: the text on the tablet has been filled in—the publisher, Nicolas Beauvais, surely hired a professional letter engraver to do this—and the drapery has been extended to cover the model's genitalia for decorum's sake.
- 12. This information was reiterated in the advertisement for the prints that appeared in the Mercure de France, April 1743, p. 741.
- 13. Such prints were valued first and foremost for their pedagogical purposes but were also appreciated in and of themselves as sophisticated facsimiles of drawings. See Sophie Raux, "La Reconnaissance des institutions, de l'utilité des nouvelles techniques de fac-similés de dessins," in Emmanuelle Delapierre et al., Quand la gravure fait illusion: Autour de Watteau et Boucher, le dessin gravé au XVIIIe siècle, exh. cat. (Valenciennes: Musée des Beaux-Arts; Montreuil: Gourcuff-Gradenigo, 2006), pp. 75-80 and nos. 32-49.
- 14. Of foremost importance was Traicté des manieres de graver en taille douce (1645), the first manual on etching, which was written and illustrated by the French printmaker Abraham Bosse. It was reissued in three updated editions in the eighteenth century (1701, 1745, and 1758), the most important for this study being De la maniere de graver à l'eau forte et au burin, et de la gravûre en maniere noire avec la façon de construire les presses modernes, & d'imprimer en taille-douce: Nouvelle édition revûe, corrigée & augmentée du double et enrichie de dix-neuf planches en taille-douce (Paris: Chez Charles-Antoine Jombert, 1745). For this volume the draftsman and printmaker Charles Nicolas Cochin II revised and augmented Bosse's text. Watelet's lengthy discussion of "gravure" in Denis Diderot and Jean Le Rond d'Alembert's Encyclopédie, ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers, par une société de gens de lettres, 17 vols. (Paris: Briasson, 1751-65), vol. 7 (1757), pp. 877-90, is deeply indebted to this 1745 edition of Bosse's manual. There were also the definitions of print-related terminology that appeared in Antoine Joseph Pernety's Dictionnaire portatif de peinture, sculpture et gravure; avec un Traité pratique des differentes manieres de peindre, dont la théorie est développée dans les articles qui en sont susceptibles. Ouvrage utile aux artistes, aux eleves & aux amateurs (Paris: Chez Bauche, 1757).
- 15. Recueil de planches sur les sciences, les arts libéraux, et les arts méchaniques, avec leur explication, livr. 4 (Paris: Briasson, 1767), "Gravure," pl. 1. Richard N. Schwab and Walter E. Rex have noted that Defehrt's image is based on the vignettes (headpieces) that Charles Nicolas Cochin II designed (and Étienne Fessard etched

and engraved) for the 1745 edition of Bosse's treatise; see Schwab and Rex, "Inventory of Diderot's Encyclopédie. VII. Inventory of the Plates, with a Study of the Contributors to the Encyclopédie by John Lough," Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century 223 (1984), p. 29.

- 16. We have little information about where or from whom peintresgraveurs obtained their supplies for making etchings and can only assume that they acquired the necessary materials and tools from the same sources as did their professional print maker colleagues.
- 17. A wood frame covered with strained fabric, the scrim served to diffuse light from the window.
- 18. Bosse (De la maniere de graver à l'eau forte et au burin, pp. 57-62) describes various means of transferring one's design to a ground-covered plate.
- 19. Some of Liotard's other late mixed intaglio prints have small circles in their corners, including his large self-portrait and his portrait of Maria Theresa, both of which are reproduced in Marcel Roethlisberger and Renée Loche, Liotard: Catalogue, sources, et correspondance, 2 vols. (Doornspijk: Davaco Publishers, 2008), figs. 729 and 741. David Landau and Peter Parshall discuss comparable marks used by Mantegna in The Renaissance Print: 1470-1550 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), p. 112.
- 20. The third means of exposing the plate to acid was developed at the turn of the century and first published by Sébastien Le Clerc in his 1701 edition of Bosse's treatise. Watelet, in his entry on intaglio printmaking in Diderot and d'Alembert's Encyclopédie (vol. 7, pp. 885-86), proposed adding a glass cover to prevent the splashing of dangerous chemicals and the inhalation of noxious fumes.
- 21. "Les unes sont destinées par l'artiste à demeurer telles qu'elles sont; les eaux-fortes des peintres sont en général de cette classe. Les autres sont seulement les ébauches d'estampes qui doivent être ensuite terminées au burin; telles sont, en général, les eaux-fortes des graveurs." Levesque first published this entry on "eau-forte" in Claude Henri Watelet and Pierre Charles Levesque, Encyclopédie méthodique: Beaux-Arts, 2 vols. (Paris: Chez Panckoucke, 1788-91). vol. 1, pp. 205-6, and then in Watelet and Levesque, Dictionnaire des arts de peinture, sculpture et gravure, 5 vols. (Paris: L. F. Prault, 1792), vol. 2, pp. 1-6.
- 22. Such a comparison was part of a larger trope concerning the status of printmaking within the arts. See Michel, L'Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture, pp. 268-69.
- 23. This was especially so for reproductive engravers who employed apprentices to do this work or who contracted it out. See Antony Griffiths, "Proofs in Eighteenth-Century French Printmaking," Print Quarterly 21 (2004), p. 6.
- 24. The wedding of etching and engraving and the relative merits of each medium are discussed in the preface to Bosse, De la maniere de graver à l'eau forte et au hurin, pp. xxi-xxii: "On peut donc dire que si le Burin termine & perfectionne l'eau forte, il en reçoit aussi beaucoup de mérite & de goût; elle lui donne une ame qu'il n'avoit point ou du moins qu'il n'auroit que très difficilement sans elle: elle lui dessine ses contours avec sûreté & esprit, elle lui ébauche ses ombres avec un goût méplat & varié suivant les divers caracteres des sujets, comme terrains, pierres, paysages, ou étoffes de différente épaisseur, ce que le Burin ne fait qu'avec une égalité soit de ton, soit de couleur qui ne satisfait pas si bien: enfin elle lui prépare dans les chairs des points d'une forme différente de ceux du Burin qui sont longs & de ceux de la pointe séche qui sont trop exactement ronds; ceux que produit l'eau forte sont d'un rond plus irrégulier & d'un noir différent, & du mêlange des uns & des autres, il résulte un empâtement plein de goût; & il est certain qu'avant l'invention de l'eau forte il manquoit quelque chose à la Gravûre, surtout pour bien rendre les tableaux d'histoire lorsqu'ils sont peints avec facilité & hardiesse."
- 25. Griffiths, "Proofs," p. 6, and Antony Griffiths, Prints for Books: Book Illustration in France 1760–1800 (London: The British Library, 2004), pp. 27, 29.

- 26. "la première ébauche que l'on nomme eau-forte . . . ces sortes d'épreuves étant informes, et pouvant exposer la réputation de l'auteur." Montaiglon, Procès-verbaux, vol. 7, 1756-1768 (1886), pp. 171-72 (July 24, 1761). This definition of early, etched states came about when the reproductive printmaker Étienne Fessard asked Académie members to weigh in on the practice of retaining proofs pulled from plates in conjunction with his ongoing battle with the silversmith François Thomas Germain. (Germain, who had commissioned Fessard to engrave two of his father's designs, wanted the printmaker to relinquish all the proofs he had pulled from the plates.) Académie members ascertained that it was the prerogative of printmakers to print impressions during the course of etching and engraving the plate so as to check the progress of their work; these were considered working proofs. The academicians added, however, that "les dits Graveurs puissent tirer aucun profit des dites épreuves, mais pour pouvoir les montrer ou donner, soit aux artistes dont le suffrage établit leur réputation, soit à ceux qui sont à portée d'employer leurs talents." The survival of some of these impressions suggests that there were certain individuals—in addition to fellow artists—who were interested in collecting such etched-only proofs. See Griffiths, "Proofs," pp. 8-9 and 11, and Parshall in Peter Parshall, Stacey Sell, and Judith Brodie, The Unfinished Print, exh. cat. (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 2001), pp. 14 and 30. Griffiths also discusses the production and desirability of early, etched states of series of book illustrations for bibliophiles in Prints for Books, pp. 103-5.
- 27. In the listing of French etchings in the auction catalogue Description des objets d'arts qui composent le cabinet de feu M. le baron V. Denon, estampes et ouvrages à figures par aîné (Paris: Impr. d'Hippolyte Tilliard, 1826), pp. 165–66, Jean Duchesne noted: "Eaux-fortes, par divers artistes et amateurs. La plupart de ces pièces n'ayant jamais été dans le commerce sont très rares." Yet another illuminating example of the rarity of these works is the sale of Antoine Coypel's etchings at his son's posthumous auction (Catalogue des tableaux, desseins, marbres, bronzes, modeles, estampes, et planches gravées; ainsi que des bijoux, porcelaines, et autres curiosités de prix, du Cabinet de feu M. Coypel [Paris, 1753]). Whereas the plates for the artist's original etchings, such as Pan vaincu par les amours (no. 477), was listed with "26 épreuves," the plates for the reproductive prints after his paintings, including Démocrite, which was etched by Coypel and finished by Charles Simonneau the Elder (no. 457), was listed with "278 épreuves." See Nicole Garnier, Antoine Coypel (1661–1722) (Paris: Arthena, 1989), nos. 153 and 154, respectively.
- 28. See, for example, the press listed in the inventory of Joseph Parrocel in Jérôme Delaplanche, Joseph Parrocel, 1646-1704: La Nostalgie de l'héroïsme (Paris: Arthena, 2006), p. 338: "Item une presse de bois de chesne a imprimer des estampes prisée comme telle quelle huit livres." There is also a "petite Presse" cited among the belongings of Jean-Baptiste Le Prince in his posthumous sale (November 28, 1781), under lot 119, reprinted in Jules Hédou, Jean Le Prince et son oeuvre: Suivi de nombreux documents inédits (Paris: Chez J. Baur and Chez Rapilly, 1879), p. 312. Charlotte Guichard notes that Madame de Pompadour and Saint-Non each owned a press (see chapter 5 in this volume, n. 12).
- 29. For a broader discussion of non finito and printmaking, see Parshall in Parshall, Sell, and Brodie, Unfinished Print, pp. 9-54.
- 30. "Le peintre ne se proposant pas de revenir sur son ouvrage, doit y établir tous les travaux nécessaires pour produire l'effet qu'il a dans la pensée. . . . L'eau-forte du peintre peut donc avoir un effet très-piquant . . . Le peintre, n'ayant pas dessein de repasser sur les opérations de sa pointe avec un instrument plus inflexible, se permet tous les travaux que son goût lui inspire, il fait jouer à son gré sur le vernis une pointe libertine, il épargne, il mêlange, il prodigue les travaux: il en établit qu'il prévoit bien qui seront confondus & crévés par l'eau-forte, & se promet d'avance, de ces accidens, des effets piquans & pittoresques. Cette heureuse audace est interdite au graveur . . . L'eau-forte du peintre sera donc libre, ragoûtante,

- spirituelle." Watelet and Levesque, Encyclopédie méthodique, vol. 1, p. 205.
- 31. Madelein Viljoen also discusses this idea in her essay "Etching and Drawing in Early Modern Europe," in Cole, Early Modern Painter-Etcher, especially p. 68.
- 32. Two examples of history painters who collaborated with reproductive printmakers to replicate their work in the early eighteenth century are Nöel Nicolas Coypel and Jacques Dumont le Romain. See Jérôme Delaplanche, Noël-Nicolas Coypel (1690–1734) (Paris: Arthena, 2004), pp. 43, 47, nos. G.1-4, and Marcel Roux and Edmond Pognon, Inventaire du fonds français: Graveurs du XVIIIe siècle, vol. 8, Duflos (Claude)-Ferée. (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1955), p. 185, nos. 1 and 2, and p. 187, nos. 8 and 9.
- 33. Sirois published several reproductive prints after Watteau's compositions, a few of which bear the date of 1719. After Sirois died, in 1726, all of these plates were acquired by François Chereau. See Marie-Catherine Sahut et al., Antoine Watteau et l'art de l'estampe, exh. cat. (Paris: Musée du Louvre, 2010), pp. 77 and 111 n. 3.
- 34. It is even possible that The Recruits may have been after a painting that Sirois owned, and the first that Watteau sold. On this print, see Émile Dacier and Albert Vuaflart, Jean de Jullienne et les graveurs de Watteau au XVIIIe siècle, 4 vols. (Paris: Société pour l'Étude de la Gravure Française, 1929), vol. 3, no. 178; Margaret Morgan Grasselli and Pierre Rosenberg, Watteau, 1684-1721, exh. cat. (Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1984), no. 7 (entry by Nicolas Parmantier); and Sahut et al., Antoine Watteau et l'art de l'estampe, pp. 22-24 and 138, no. 20.
- 35. The composition is closest to the painting The Italian Actors (Waddesdon Manor, Aylesbury, inv. 2373). An incised drawing in red and black chalks, gray wash, and white heightening of this composition (Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz Berlin, inv. KdZ 26480) bears an impression of The Recruits retouched with red chalk on the verso, suggesting that Watteau may have been working on these two etchings at about the same time. On this print, see Dacier and Vuaflart, Jean de Jullienne, vol. 3, no. 130; Grasselli and Rosenberg, Watteau, nos. 8 and 55 (entries by Nicolas Parmantier and Margaret Morgan Grasselli, respectively); Victor I. Carlson and John W. Ittmann, eds., Regency to Empire: French Printmaking, 1715–1814, exh. cat. (Baltimore: Baltimore Museum of Art; Minneapolis: Minneapolis Institute of Arts, 1984), no. 2 (entry by Victor Carlson); and Sahut et al., Antoine Watteau et l'art de l'estampe, pp. 24 and 138, no. 21. Pierre Rosenberg and Louis-Antoine Prat (Antoine Watteau 1684-1721: Catalogue raisonné des dessins, 3 vols. [Milan: Leonardo Arte, 1996], vol. 3, p. 1164, no. R60) have argued that this drawing is not autograph.
- 36. If the initial idea had been for Watteau to etch the first state of several reproductive prints after his paintings, such a project ceased with his work on The Recruits and The Clothes Are Italian. Sirois published several other etching and engravings after Watteau's paintings, but none featured an etched foundation by the
- 37. On the Figures de modes, see Grasselli and Rosenberg, Watteau, pp. 227-35, no. 1 (entry by Victor Carlson), and Sahut et al., Antoine Watteau et l'art de l'estampe, pp. 19–22 (Marie-Catherine Sahut).
- 38. The red chalk additions to the Berlin impression of The Recruits (see above, n. 35) were presumably made for Thomassin but do not include alterations to the rainbow.
- 39. Several years earlier he had collaborated with the painter Antoine Coypel to reproduce three of his paintings. Garnier, Antoine Coypel, pp. 60-61, and pp. 184 no. 157 (Ecce Homo, 1692) and 185 nos. 159, 160 (Judith et Holopherne, 1694, and La Triomphe de Galathée, 1695).
- 40. These transformations of Watteau's etched designs, particularly in the case of the latter print, might surprise or disappoint the

- modern-day viewer, but as Peter Parshall, writing about two of the states for Charles Nicolas Cochin I's La Mariée de Village, reminds us: "We may well prefer one version above the other, but the criteria for judgement are necessarily different." Parshall in Parshall, Sell, and Brodie, Unfinished Print, p. 34.
- 41. Mercure de France, September 1734, p. 2026: "On trouve chez le même marchand [Huquier, au bas du Quay de la Mégisserie, vis-à-vis de la porte du Chatelet] une autre nouvelle Estampe en hauteur, représentant Andromede, qui a un très-grand débit; elle est dessinée et gravée par le sieur Boucher, de l'Académie Royale de Peinture dont les talens sont très-connus." On this print, see, too, Pierrette Jean-Richard, L'Oeuvre gravé de François Boucher dans la Collection Edmond de Rothschild (Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1978), p. 79 no. 203.
- 42. Mercure de France, July 1735, p. 1611: "Les Quatre Saisons, traitées de la maniere du monde la plus ingénieuse et la plus piquante, par M.C. Natoire, Adjoint à Professeur de l'Académie Royale de Peinture, d'après les Tableaux originaux qui sont dans le Cabinet de M. Orry, Contrôleur General des Finances. Ces quatre beaux Morceaux sont gravez à l'eau-forte par M. Natoire même, et terminez par le sieur P. Aveline. Ils se vendent chez Huquier, vis-à-vis le grand Châtelet."
- 43. Susanna Caviglia-Brunel reproduces all four prints in Charles-Joseph Natoire, 1700–1777 (Paris: Arthena, 2012), pp. 226–28, nos.
- 44. Did Aveline, the only printmaker whose name is listed in the advertisement, become so preoccupied with other work that Audran had to take over? The printmaker, after all, was involved in—and would continue to work on—several projects with Huquier. Or did the publisher, well aware of the time involved in engraving plates, decide to give two plates each to Aveline and Audran to finish?
- 45. The two would collaborate again in 1737, when Huquier published a large-scale reproductive print of a Crucifixion that was etched by Natoire after his painting of the subject and finished by Audran. See Mercure de France, April 1737, p. 766, and Caviglia-Brunel, Charles-Joseph Natoire, pp. 268-69, nos. P. 77 and D. 235.
- 46. On the Recueil Jullienne, see Dacier and Vuaflart, Jean de Jullienne; Isabelle Tillerot, "Graver les dessins de Watteau au XVIIIe siècle," in Delapierre et al., Quand la gravure fait illusion, pp. 27-31 and nos. 7-26; and Sahut et al., Antoine Watteau et l'art de l'estampe.
- 47. Presumably Liotard came to this work through his twin brother, the reproductive printmaker Jean Michel Liotard, who had already etched and engraved a few of Watteau's paintings for the Recueil Jullienne.
- 48. Jullienne also made etchings after the works of other artists, including Jean Restout, Egbert van Heemskerck I, and David Teniers the Younger. See Michèle Hébert and Yves Sjöberg, Inventaire du fonds français, vol. 12, Janinet-Launay (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1973), pp. 236-37.
- 49. Pierre Jean Mariette, Abecedario de P. J. Mariette et autres notes inédits sur les arts et les artistes, ed. Ph[ilippe] de Chennevières and A[natole] de Montaiglon, 6 vols. (Paris: J. B. Dumoulin, 1851-60), vol. 1, pp. 165-66: "Sa pointe légère et spirituelle sembloit faite pour ce travail."
- 50. On this drawing, see Rosenberg and Prat, Antoine Watteau 1684-1721: Catalogue raisonné des dessins, vol. 1, no. 310.
- 51. We also know that in at least a few cases Boucher etched plates of individual figures taken from drawings with multiple sketches. See Delapierre et al., Quand la gravure fait illusion, pp. 29 and 46-47, nos. 18 and 19, and Sahut et al., Antoine Watteau et l'art de l'estampe, pp. 42-43, figs. 27, 28, 31, and p. 49.
- 52. December 31, 1739; see Montaiglon, Procès-verbaux, vol. 5, pp. 265-66. These volumes are now in the collection of the École des Beaux-Arts.

- 53. Francis Haskell, The Painful Birth of the Art Book (London: Thames & Hudson, 1987), pp. 18–57; Benedict Leca, "An Art Book and Its Viewers: The 'Recueil Crozat' and the Uses of Reproductive Engraving," Eighteenth-Century Studies 38 (2005), pp. 623-49; Cordélia Hattori, "Le Recueil Crozat," in Delapierre et al., Quand la gravure fait illusion, pp. 17–22; Christiane Wiebel, Aquatinta, oder, "Die Kunst mit dem Pinsel in Kupfer zu stechen": Das druckgraphische Verfahren von seinen Anfängen bis zu Goya, exh. cat. (Coburg: Kunstsammlungen der Veste Coburg; Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2007), pp. 90-95; and Rochelle Ziskin, Sheltering Art: Collecting and Social Identity in Early Eighteenth-Century Paris (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2012), especially pp. 157-62.
- 54. With one exception, Nicolas Le Sueur made the woodcuts. In the introduction to Recueil d'estampes d'après les plus beaux tableaux et d'après les plus beaux desseins qui sont en France dans le cabinet du Roy, dans celuy de Monseigneur le duc d'Orléans, & dans d'autres cabinets, 2 vols. (Paris: De l'Imprimerie royale, 1729 and 1742), vol. 1, pp. vi-vii, one reads that this technique was employed in part for art-historical reasons. These plates emulated sixteenth-century chiaroscuro woodcuts, a technique that was developed to replicate wash drawings. When François Basan republished the *Recueil Crozat* in 1763, the woodcut components of these plates were replaced by aquatints made by François Philippe Charpentier. For a comparison of the plates from both editions, see Wiebel, Aquatinta, p. 93, figs. 64, 65, and pp. 128-29, figs. 87, 88, respectively.
- 55. A small number of the etchings after the drawings were executed by Charles Nicolas Cochin I and Paul Ponce Antoine Robert-de-Séri. Caylus's work on the "Cabinet du Roy" project was facilitated by the history painter (and occasional etcher) Charles Antoine Coypel, garde de dessins du Roi, who presented 223 of Caylus's etchings to the Académie Royale in 1747 (see Montaiglon, Procès-verbaux, vol. 6, p. 55 [27 May 1747]). At least a few of the etchings in this project were made by the abbé Jean Antoine de Maroulle, a mutual friend of both artists, and whose portrait Coypel etched in 1726 (see, for example, the signature "L'Abbe de M" in plate 133 and "L'Ab: De Mar" in plate 155, both after Parmigianino). On this portrait and the sitter, see Carlson and Ittmann, Regency to Empire, no. 10 (entry by Richard Campbell).
- 56. "Comme rien n'est plus propre que les Desseins, à faire bien connoistre le veritable caractere de chaque Maistre, & comme il y en a qui sont aussi agreables aux curieux & aussi utiles à ceux qui estudient la Peinture, que les Tableaux mesmes, on a inseré dans ce Recüeil plusieurs Estampes gravées d'après des Desseins. . . . On donne donc icy des Desseins de tous les grands Maistres, sur-tout de ceux qui on acquis le plus de reputation dans cette partie de leur Art, qu'on appelle le Dessein, & on la fait avec la plus scrupuleuse exactitude, c'est-à-dire, sans y rien obmettre, & sans y rien changer. Ainsi les Desseins à la plume ou au crayon ont esté gravez à l'eau forte dans l'esprit des originaux dont l'on a suivi les moindres traits." Recueil d'Estampes, vol. 1, pp. v-vi; translation from Haskell, Painful Birth of the Art Book, p. 32. Most scholars have ascribed the authorship of the Recueil Crozat to Mariette, although as Ziskin (Sheltering Art, p. 159) has pointed out, there were surely others who contributed ideas, and the text, accordingly, is better thought of as a "collaborative enterprise."
- 57. Charlotte Guichard, Les Amateurs d'art à Paris au XVIIIe siècle (Seyssel: Champ Vallon, 2008), chap. 5, and Charlotte Guichard, "Taste Communities: The Rise of the Amateur in Eighteenth-Century Paris," Eighteenth-Century Studies 45, no. 4 (Summer 2012), pp. 519-47.
- 58. For Boucher's drawing, see Sonia Couturier, French Drawings from the National Gallery of Canada (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 2004), pp. 60-61, no. 20.
- 59. On the long-standing, historic links between etching and landscape, see Peter Parshall, "Unfinished Business: The Problem of Resolution in Printmaking," in Parshall, Sell, and Brodie, Unfinished Print, p. 34, and Michael Cole and Larry Silver, "Fluid

- Boundaries: Formations of the Painter-Etcher," in Cole, Early Modern Painter-Etcher, pp. 27-28.
- 60. "C'est dans le paysage . . . que l'on peut se permettre une plus grande liberté dans les différens travaux des hachures. Le travail libre, varié, les hachures tremblantes, interrompues, redoublées & confondues, donnent à ce genre de gravure un effet piquant, qui plaît extrèmement aux connoisseurs, aux artistes, & souvent aux amateurs." Diderot and d'Alembert, Encyclopédie, vol. 7 (1757), p. 883. Watelet reiterated this point earlier on pp. 883 and 889 as well, in the latter case stressing that etching was better suited to the subject matter than engraving. Plate II of the illustrations made to accompany the term "gravure" reproduces a special tool (fig. 9 l) that facilitated the etching of landscape: "Autre espece de pointe, formée de trois & quelquefois quatre bouts d'aiguilles emmanchés ensemble en l, qui pourroit server à graver du paysage à l'eau-forte."
- 61. It is beyond the scope of this essay to examine in depth Wille's involvement in the world of eighteenth-century French etching. See Georges Duplessis, ed., Mémoires et journal de J.-G. Wille, graveur du roi, publies d'après les manuscrits autographes de la Bibliothèque Impériale, 2 vols. (Paris: Ve Jules Renouard, Libraire-Éditeur, 1857); Antony Griffiths and Frances Carey, German Printmaking in the Age of Goethe (London: British Museum Press, 1994), pp. 33-34; Elisabeth Décultot, Michel Espagne, and François-René Martin, eds., Johann-Georg Wille (1715–1808): Briefwechsel (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1999); and Elisabeth Décultot, Michel Espagne, and François-René Martin, eds., Johann Georg Wille (1715-1808) et son milieu: Un Réseau européen de l'art au XVIIIe siècle (Paris: École du Louvre, 2009).
- 62. Wille referred to the younger artist's beginnings as an etcher under his tutelage in 1759 in the daybook entry he wrote on the eve of Weirotter's departure for Rome: "Il grava sa première planche à l'eau-forte dans ma maison. . . . Depuis, il a toujours été fort attaché à ce genre de gravure." Duplessis, Mémoires et journal de Wille, vol. 1, p. 235 (October 18, 1763). On Weirotter, see Griffiths and Carey, German Printmaking in the Age of Goethe, pp. 37-39, and Thilo Winterberg, Franz Edmund Weirotter (1733–1771), der Landschaftsradierer: Das graphische Werk (Heidelberg: Galeria Palatina and Edition Winterberg, 1998).
- 63. Wille frequently describes his sketching expeditions with other artists (including Weirotter) in the outskirts of Paris. See, for example, his entry on September 8, 1765 (Duplessis, Mémoires et journal de Wille, vol. 1, p. 300).
- 64. Wille mentions Saint-Non's etchings in his journal on October 2, 1761, and June 27, 1763 (ibid., vol. 1, p. 180 and p. 225, respectively). Saint-Non also etched Wille's drawing Johann Georg Wille with a Student in 1755, as discussed by Christiane Wiebel, "An Etching by Abbé de Saint-Non after Wille," Print Quarterly 26 (2009), pp. 156-62.
- 65. Alexandre Ananoff, L'Oeuvre dessiné de Jean-Honoré Fragonard (1732-1806), 3 vols. (Paris: F. de Nobele, 1961-70), vol. 1, nos. 351, 352. Victor Carlson has discussed how the composition of Fragonard's etching is closest to the latter in Carlson and Ittmann, Regency to Empire, no. 45. There is also a retouched counterproof (Ananoff, L'Oeuvre dessiné de Fragonard, vol. 4, no. 2148), a painting (Wallace Collection, London), and a gouache (Morgan Library and Museum, New York, inv. 1997.85) that Fragonard made of this composition. See Pierre Rosenberg, Fragonard, exh. cat. (Paris: Editions de la Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1987), no. 66.
- 66. Saint-Non made more dramatic alterations to the composition in the second state, particularly by burnishing out the sculpture in the niche below and adding the trees to either side of the composition. Victor Carlson illustrates the first state in his entry on Fragonard's The Little Park in Carlson and Ittmann, Regency to Empire, no. 45, p. 151, fig. 1.
- 67. Winterberg, Franz Edmund Weirotter (1733-1771), p. 389, no. 184. There are three states for this composition; in the third, Weirotter darkened the area above the terrace and added plate number "11" at lower right.

- 68. Paul Prouté catalogued Abandoned Park in Les Eaux-fortes de Louis Moreau l'ainé: Essai de catalogue (Paris: Paul Prouté, 1956), no. 16, as state i/ii. On Moreau's etchings, see Georges Wildenstein, "Sur les eaux-fortes de Moreau l'aîné," Gazette des beaux-arts, ser. 6, 52 (1958), pp. 364-78, and Carlson and Ittmann, Regency to Empire, p. 234, no. 79 (entry by Victor Carlson).
- 69. Rena M. Hoisington and Perrin Stein, "Sous les yeux de Fragonard: The Prints of Marguerite Gérard," Print Quarterly 29 (2012), pp. 142-62.
- 70. On this Tiepolo-inspired etching, see Georges Wildenstein, Fragonard, aquafortiste (Paris: Les Beaux-Arts, Édition d'Études et de Documents, 1956), no. XXIV; Carlson and Ittmann, Regency to Empire, no. 77 (entry by Victor Carlson); Rosenberg, Fragonard, p. 241; and Hoisington and Stein, "Sous les yeux de Fragonard," pp. 143, 145.
- 71. Gérard based her first etching on Fragonard's much larger drawing The Cat in Swaddling Clothes (Musée du Louvre, Paris, inv. RF 42670); she probably used a pantograph to transfer a smaller version of the composition to her plate. The 1745 edition of Bosse's treatise (De la maniere de graver à l'eau forte et au burin, p. 60) describes such a device, called a singe, invented by M. Langlois ("une espece de machine extrêmement commode pour réduire les desseins de grand en petit, & de petit en grand, & pour les copier san sçavoir dessiner"). Guichard (Les Amateurs d'art, p. 254) also found mention of a "grand pantographe mécanique pour la reduction du dessein" in the posthumous inventory of Saint-Non's estate. On Gérard's etching, see Wildenstein, Fragonard, no. XXVI; Rosenberg, Fragonard, p. 239; and Hoisington and Stein, "Sous les yeux de Fragonard," pp. 143-47.
- 72. The drawing of this subject illustrated in Ananoff, L'Oeuvre dessiné, vol. 2, no. 623, fig. 196, does not appear to be by Fragonard.
- 73. Ananoff (ibid., vol. 2, nos. 683, 684 [both rejected attributions] and vol. 4, nos. 1985-87) lists several versions of Fragonard's Armoire drawing. Victor Carlson, in his entry on The Armoire in Carlson and Ittmann, Regency to Empire, no. 76, argued that Fragonard used no. 1985 (brown wash over black chalk, 33 × 46.5 cm, private collection) as his model. Not only is this work of similar dimensions to the etching, it was once owned by the printmaker Robert de Launay and bears an old inscription that reads: "Le present dessein a servi pour la gravure de M. Fragonard et appartient à M. De Launay." A few years later, however, Pierre Rosenberg published, for the first time, the information on the Hamburg Kunsthalle drawing of The Armoire (brown wash over black chalk, 34×46.5 cm, inv. 24005), which is similar in dimensions and detail to the etching. See Rosenberg, Fragonard, no. 238.
- 74. The model for Gérard's etching is the drawing in the White House, which likewise is almost the same size as the etched image. For a color reproduction, see William Kloss, Art in the White House: A Nation's Pride (Washington, D.C.: White House Historical Association, 2008), pp. 60-61.
- 75. "[O]n n'a desiré que d'exprimer par la pointe les touches hardies & spirituelles du dessin, avec la même rapidité, que le dessin lui-même a été exécuté, & il nous semble que l'on y a réussi" and "M. Fragonard, Auteur de cette composition, qu'il a gravée lui-même à la pointe, y a bien mis le cachet de son génie." The full advertisements are cited in French and English in Hoisington and Stein, "Sous les yeux de Fragonard," p. 158.

2 • SELLING ETCHINGS IN 18TH-CENTURY FRANCE

1. Schenau (né Johann Eleazer [Elias] Zeissig) studied under Johann Georg Wille (see chapter 1 in this volume), who detailed his friend's personal and professional history in an emotional journal entry written on the date of Schenau's departure for Dresden after his sojourn in Paris (Wille, "Le 10 mars 1770," in Mémoires et journal de J. G. Wille, graveur du roi [Paris: Ve Jules Renouard, 1857], vol. 1, pp. 428-31). For more on Schenau, see Antony Griffiths and

- Frances Carey, German Printmaking in the Age of Goethe, exh. cat. (London: The British Museum, 1994), pp. 42-43; and for his later career in Dresden, see Harald Marx, Sehnsucht und Wirklichkeit (Cologne: Verlag der Buchhandlung Walther König, 2009), pp. 115-20.
- 2. "Achetter mes pettites Eaux forttes." According to Andreas Andresen, the series was sold first through the Veuve Duchesne and then Louis Michel Halbou; see his Der deutsche Peintre-Graveur, oder die deutschen Maler als Kupferstecher nach ihrem Leben und ihren Werken, vol. 5 (Leipzig: Alexander Danz, 1878), pp. 364-66, nos. 7-12. Halbou was a professional printmaker who reproduced several of Schenau's paintings, often noting on his prints that he owned the painting depicted (several examples of these are collated in the folio CA-30[A] in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, Département des Estampes et de la Photographie). Andresen reads Schenau's series of young children in the context of poverty and charity, but considered as a foil to the tradition of "Cris de Paris" prints featuring street vendors, Schenau's series of amorous child vendors who eschew their work becomes immediately more humorous and provocative.
- 3. The identification of the author's commercial intent within the figure and attributes of a printseller was a familiar device that appeared in other etchings, such as Edme Bouchardon's design for Picture Seller (cat. 89), which also served as the title page for his suite etched by the comte de Caylus.
- 4. See Victor I. Carlson and John W. Ittmann, eds., Regency to Empire: French Printmaking, 1715–1814, exh. cat. (Baltimore: Baltimore Museum of Art; Minneapolis: Minneapolis Institute of Arts, 1984), p. 308.
- 5. Anatole de Montaiglon, ed., Procès-verbaux de l'Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture, 1648-1793, vol. 8, 1769-1779 (Paris: Charavay Frères, 1888), pp. 2-3.
- 6. Yves Sjöberg, Inventaire du fonds français: Graveurs du XVIIIe siècle, vol. 14, Legras (Les)—Lequien, ed. Françoise Gardey (Paris: M. Le Garrec, 1977), p. 436.
- 7. Antony Griffiths, "Proofs in Eighteenth-Century French Printmaking," Print Quarterly 21 (2004), p. 3.
- 8. The inscriptions could also refer to editions of an artist's prints issued after the plates were procured through methods other than sales after an artist's death. See Pierre Casselle, "Le Commerce des estampes à Paris dans la seconde moitié du XVIIIe siècle" (Thesis, École Nationale des Chartes, Paris, 1976), pp. 33-34.
- 9. "Observer que Subleyras n'a fait tirer à Rome que quelques épreuves de cette Planche qui furent mal imprimées. En 1787 on a fait tirer seulement cent épreuves pour multiplier l'admirable composition du sublime Tableau de même grandeur qui appartient actuellement au Roi."
- 10. See Corinne Le Bitouzé, "Le Commerce de l'estampe à Paris dans la première moitié du XVIIIe siècle" (Thesis, École Nationale des Chartes, Paris, 1986), vol. 1, p. 234.
- 11. Pierre Casselle, "Pierre-François Basan: Marchand d'estampes à Paris (1723-1797)," Paris et Île-de-France: Mémoires 33 (1982),
- 12. [Charles François] Joullain, Catalogue du fond de planches gravées et épreuves, outils . . . de feu M. Huquier, Graveur (Paris: Prault, sale, November 4-7, 1772). The annotated copy of this catalogue consulted for this essay is in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, Département des Estampes et de la Photographie (Yd-78-8).
- 13. "Le Sieur Joullain, Marchand d'Estampes . . . a augmenté le fonds considérable de Planches des meilleurs Maîtres qu'il a chez lui, du fonds de Madame Jeaurat, recommendable sur-tout par une partie des Planches de Sébastien le Clerc." "Peinture," L'Avant-coureur, no. 20 (June 2, 1760), p. 316. This sale, not catalogued by Lugt, consisted of the property of Marie Charlotte Jeaurat (née Leclerc) and included stock she had inherited in 1738 upon the death of her husband, the printmaker and dealer Edme Jeaurat. The

engraved plates of her father, Sébastien Leclerc, were part of her dowry when she married Jeaurat in 1722. See Maxime Préaud et al., Dictionnaire des éditeurs d'estampes à Paris sous l'Ancien Régime (Paris: Promodis, 1987), pp. 175–76.

- 14. "[C]e génie fécond & singulier, qui manie avec tant d'Art le Pinceau & le Burin." Mercure de France, August 1721, p. 83.
- 15. François Basan, Recueil de cent estampes diverses, sujets et paysages, gravées d'après les tableaux et desseins des plus grands peintres italiens, flamands, hollandois, et françois, vol. 3 (Paris: Chez l'auteur, n.d.), pls. 27-30.
- 16. Michèle Hébert, Edmond Pognon, and Yves Bruand, with Yves Sjöberg, Inventaire du fonds français: Graveurs du XVIIIe siècle, vol. 10, Gaugain-Gravelot (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, 1968), p. 247. The plates for the illustrations appear in the 1770 inventory catalogue of the Chéreau firm, which by that point had been sold by François II's widow, Geneviève Marguerite (known as the Veuve Chéreau), to her son, Jacques François. See Bernard Populus, Claude Gillot (1673-1722): Catalogue de l'œuvre gravé (Paris: Rousseau, 1930), p. 100. For more on the Chéreau dynasty of printsellers, see Préaud et al., Dictionnaire des éditeurs d'estampes, pp. 79-85.
- 17. "[Il] se livra... à l'eau forte, dans laquelle il sera à jamais celebre par l'intelligence et l'agrément de la composition auec lesquelles il a représenté la plus grande partie des fables de La Mothe." Comte de Caylus, La Vie de Antoine Watteau, ed. Charles Henry (Paris: E. Dentu, 1887), pp. 10-11.
- 18. "Un tel ouvrage est certainement un badinage pour un grand Sculpteur; cependant cette bagatelle indique, non-seulement un génie facile . . . mais encore une liberté de dessein." Mercure de France, February 1751, p. 154.
- 19. Legeay's etchings appeared in Italian books—including Giovanni Battista Falda's Il nuovo teatro delle fabriche et edificii in prospettiva di Roma moderna, vol. 5 (Rome: Giovanni Giacomo De Rossi, 1739)—during and after his tenure in Rome. His signature also appears in eight plates in Varie vedute di Roma antica e moderna disegnate e intagliate de celebri autori (Rome: Fausto Amidei, 1745). For more on Legeay's years in Rome and his etching activities there, see Gilbert Erouart, L'Architecture au pinceau: Jean-Laurent Legeay, un Piranésien français dans l'Europe des Lumières (Milan: Electa, 1982), pp. 21-45.
- 20. For a history of the firm and its activities in Rome, see Gilles Montègre, La Rome des français au temps des Lumières: Capitale de l'antique et carrefour de l'Europe, 1769-1791 (Rome: École Française de Rome, 2011), pp. 155-92. Evidence of the assistance Bouchard and Gravier provided to new pensionnaires is found in a page from Pierre Peyron's notebook, which dates from his early years in Rome. Although the previous page has been removed, a note at the top of a page at the end is suggestive: "correspondant de Bouchard et Gravier a Marseille chez Mr Joseph Guibert Negt a Marseille." Pierre Peyron, manuscript notebook, MS-38, fol. 121, Bibliothèque d'Art et d'Archéologie, Fondation Jacques Doucet, Paris. For a transcription of the majority of the other annotations in this notebook, see Pierre Rosenberg and Udolpho van de Sandt, Pierre Peyron, 1744–1814 (Neuilly-sur-Seine: Arthena, 1983), pp. 110-13.
- 21. Their compendium of prints from 1787, Compositions de grands peintres modernes, includes impressions of Louis Joseph Le Lorrain's etching after Pierre Subleyras's The Martyrdom of Saint Hippolyte (erroneously identified as Saint Erasmus) and Subleyras's own Moses and the Bronze Serpent. These impressions appear as plates 111 and 112 and are discussed in Olivier Michel and Pierre Rosenberg, eds., Subleyras, 1699-1749, exh. cat. (Paris: Ministère de la Culture et de la Communication, 1987), pp. 149, 157. Some of the etchings and aquatints in this publication are unsigned and could possibly be by Maddalena Bouchard.
- 22. For the genealogy of Bouchard's family, see Saverio Franchi, Le impressioni sceniche: Dizionario bio-bibliografico degli editori e stampatori romani e laziali di testi drammatici e libretti per mu-

sica dal 1579 al 1800, Sussidi eruditi 44 (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1994), p. 90, n. 3; and Renato Pasta, Editoria e cultura nel settecento, Accademia Toscana di Scienze e Lettere 'La Colombaria' / Studi 160 (Florence: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1997), p. 95, n. 22. Maddalena Bouchard's book of etchings, Recueil de centtrente-trois oiseaux des plus belles espèces gravés sur 87 planches et colorés d'après nature par d'habiles maîtres, was published in Rome by Bouchard and Gravier in 1784.

In spite of the exorbitant cost of producing large folio editions such as these, Bouchard and Gravier did not have exacting standards for the printing of the plates. (For a discussion of most of the illustrated folio editions published by Bouchard and Gravier, see Montègre, La Rome des français, pp. 172-74.) Numerous copies of the editions contain impressions that are blurry from having slipped during printing, indicating the publishers' acceptance of their printer's imperfect work. Bouchard and Gravier had their books printed by the Komarek press, which was run by the Giunchi family after 1770 (as noted in ibid., p. 173). Blurry impressions appear in books produced by both firms, even on the title pages of some of the copies sold by Bouchard and Gravier. Copies of their publications at the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., and Houghton Library, Harvard University, reveal several instances of this kind of messy printing. Two examples in Houghton Library with slip-printed vignettes on the title pages are Les Plus Beaux Monuments de Rome ancienne . . . (Rome: Bouchard & Gravier [Imprimerie Komarek], 1761) and Recueil de divers monumens anciens répandus en plusieurs endroits de l'Italie (Rome: Bouchard & Gravier [Imprimerie de Giunchi, heritiers de Komarek], 1770).

- 23. "Gravures. Antiquités Romaines," L'Avant-coureur, no. 48 (November 30, 1761), p. 765.
- 24. Barbault's scene representing the Arch of Trajan at Ancona, for instance, almost replicates Piranesi's image of the same scene in his Antichità romane de' tempi della repubblica, e de' primi imperatori (Rome, 1748). For a discussion of "Piranesism" and its diffusion in France, see Piranèse et les Français, 1740-1790, exh. cat. (Rome: Académie de France à Rome; Edizioni dell'Elefante, 1976).
- 25. Three of these etchings are catalogued in Piranèse et les Français, pp. 235-37. Two smaller etchings by Moreau, roughly a quarter of the size of the other plates, often appear along with the other four prints in Dumont's publications. Depicting a tomb with the medallion portrait of a warrior figure and a view into the interior of a building in which a full-size sculpture of the same warrior stands, they could have served as an introduction to the series by illustrating the corpse's final tomb and resting place, although their scale suggests otherwise.

The sequence of these four prints is not immediately obvious, as the series is not consistently ordered or enumerated. In the copy of Dumont's Œuvre from 1767, housed in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris (EST-107 [vol. 2]), the series is correctly printed but erroneously collated, so that the first two prints in Moreau's series appear after the second pair. The numbers 28 and 29, respectively, are inscribed on the plates of cats. 21 and 22 in the copy of Dumont's Recueil de plusieurs parties d'architecture de différents maîtres tant d'Italie que de France in Columbia University's Avery Library, New York, and a loose impression of the second plate (cat. 20) in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., bears the number 27, which was also inscribed in the plate. Despite the impediments of their inconsistent sequence in various publications, a linear narrative is suggested in these scenes by the repetition of details from one etching to the next: the figures with torches leading the exhumation group out of the temple in the first plate reappear in the foreground of the second, while the pair of onlookers on the stairs of the third plate peers over the wall at the ship below in the fourth and final plate.

26. For a discussion of one of Dumont's largest etchings projects, Détails des plus intéressantes parties d'architecture de la basilique de St Pierre de Rome, levés et dessinés sur le lieu, see Cara Denison, ed., Exploring Rome: Piranesi and His Contemporaries, exh. cat.

(New York: Pierpont Morgan Library; Montreal: Centre Canadien, 1993), pp. 205-7. Moreau's etchings first appeared along with etchings by Dumont, Legeay, and Giovanni Battista Natali as part of Dumont's Suite de ruines d'architecture mises au jour par le Sieur Dumont. In his later Recueil, the same plates appear under the title Suite de vues de divers edifices tant d'Italie que de France... on y joint des compositions libres dans le genre pittoresque.

Frequent announcements for Dumont's etchings, and particularly his Recueil, appeared in contemporary journals. Of particular interest are two announcements in L'Avant-coureur. In an issue from 1764, it was announced that he presented his Recueil to the Académie (no. 33 [August 13, 1764], pp. 524-25), and the following a year a long announcement listed all the suites within the Recueil along with their individual prices (L'Avant-coureur, no. 38 [September 23, 1765], pp. 604-5).

- 27. The camel seen from behind in the left corner of the first scene (cat. 19) replicates della Bella's depiction of the animal in his series Diversi animali (1641). See Phyllis Dearborn Massar, Presenting Stefano della Bella, Seventeenth-Century Printmaker (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1971), p. 113.
- 28. The previously cited impression of the second plate (cat. 20) in the National Gallery of Art has an additional inscription below the plaque in the composition: "3me Suite d'Antiquite de Naple[s], a Paris chez Patour rue Charone, prix 12S." Two impressions of the third plate (cat. 21), currently for sale in Paris, bear the inscription "A Paris, chez Naudet, au Louvre."
- 29. The legal administration of the book- and printselling trade in eighteenth-century Paris is examined in detail in two unpublished theses: Le Bitouzé, "Le Commerce de l'estampe à Paris dans la première moitié du XVIIIe siècle," and Casselle, "Le Commerce des estampes à Paris dans la seconde moitié du XVIIIe siècle."
- 30. Peter Fuhring, "The Print Privilege in Eighteenth-Century France—I," Print Quarterly 2 (1985), p. 182.
- 31. Jérôme Delaplanche, Joseph Parrocel, 1646–1704: La Nostalgie de l'héroïsme (Paris: Arthena, 2006), p. 338.
- 32. The recorded minutes of the meetings of the Académie list the benefits of membership as "privilèges, honneurs, et prérogatives." See, for instance, the reception of Louis Joseph Le Lorrain on July 24, 1756: "[La] Compagnie a reçu et reçoit ledit Sieur Le Lorrain Académicien, pour avoir séance dans les assemblées et jouir des privilèges, honneurs et prérogatives attribués à cette qualité, à la charge d'observer les Statuts et Règlemens de l'Académie." Montaiglon, Procès-verbaux de l'Académie, vol. 7, 1756-1768 (1886), p. 16. The meetings of the Académie are also filled with ubiquitous presentations by academic printmakers of the prints for which they were seeking the official sanction of the privilège. Among peintres-graveurs, however, Vanloo seems to have been the only one who presented his etchings to the Académie before putting them on the market with his asserted privilège. See chapter 1 in
- 33. The details of this process and its history are explicated in Fuhring, "Print Privilege in Eighteenth-Century France—I," pp. 175-93. On counterfeiting, see Katie Scott, "Authorship, the Académie, and the Market in Early Modern France," Oxford Art Journal 21, no. 1 (1998), pp. 29-41, and Katie Scott, "A Contradictory Union: Authors, Rights and Copyrights during the Consulat," Journal of Design History 13, no. 1 (2000), pp. 1-21.
- 34. Casselle, "Le Commerce des estampes à Paris," pp. 64-66.
- 35. "M. de Julienne lui [Boucher] donnoit 24 ∯ [livres] par jour, et tous deux étoient contents." Pierre Jean Mariette, Abécedario de P. J. Mariette et autres notes inédits sur les arts et les artistes, ed. Ph[ilippe] de Chennevières and A[natole] de Montaiglon, 6 vols. (Paris: J. B. Dumoulin, 1851-60), vol. 1, p. 166. For Jullienne's distribution of the Recueil through dealers and his eventual sale of the plates, see Isabelle Tillerot, "Engraving Watteau in the Eighteenth Century: Order and Display in the Recueil Jullienne," Getty Research Journal, no. 3 (2011), pp. 39, 47.

- 36. See Maurice Vloberg, Jean Houël, peintre et graveur, 1735–1813 (Paris: Imprimerie Frazier-Soye, 1930), p. 49.
- 37. Ibid., pp. 43-57. The announcement of every livraison of this publication in both the Mercure de France and the Journal de Paris can be seen as indicative of a desire to recuperate some of the investors' funds.
- 38. The printmaker and dealer Huquier is an example of someone who reaped the financial benefits of playing multiple roles in the printmaking process. See Yves Bruand, "Un Grand Collectionneur, marchand et graveur du XVIIIe siècle, Gabriel Huquier, 1695-1772," Gazette des beaux-arts, ser. 6, 37 (June 1950), p. 99. I would like to thank David Pullins for his input on my research into this artist's
- 39. On the dealer Nicolas Gautrot, see Préaud et al., Dictionnaire des éditeurs d'estampes, pp. 134–35. On Huquier, see ibid., p. 165, and Bruand, "Un Grand Collectionneur."
- 40. The first part of Paul Scarron's $\it Roman\ comique\ was\ published$ in 1651, the second in 1657, and there were numerous reeditions throughout the eighteenth century. Both Oudry's Roman comique illustrations and *Hunt* series prints were announced in the same issue of the Mercure de France (January 1736, pp. 133-34). Before abandoning the illustration project to Huquier, Oudry sold his ten illustrations at his studio and through the dealer Gaspard Duchange; earlier impressions of Oudry's illustrations bear the following address: "A Paris chez Oudry Peintre du Roy au Château des Thuilleries Cour des Princes, et chez Duchange graveur du Roy ruë St. Jacques." For a list of the subsequent places where the plates were reissued, see Hal N. Opperman, Jean-Baptiste Oudry (New York: Garland Publishing, 1977), vol. 2, pp. 886-87.

For an enumeration of the subsequent resale of the plates for this series and their reprinting, see Françoise Chaserant, De Vernie à Sans-Souci: "Le Roman Comique" illustré, exh. cat. (Le Mans: Éditions Cénomane; Musées du Mans, 2004), pp. 107–8. The entire suite is illustrated and catalogued in the same publication, pp. 116-25.

- 41. Mercure de France, August 1727, p. 1855.
- 42. Ibid., November 1727, p. 2491; ibid., January 1729, pp. 138-39.
- 43. Casselle, "Le Commerce des estampes à Paris," pp. 66-67.
- 44. The statutes of the Société are outlined in the publication of its prospectus, the first of which was published in 1790.
- 45. Société des Amis des Arts, Prospectus (Paris: Didot le jeune, 1790), p. 7.
- 46. See Rosenberg and Van de Sandt, Pierre Peyron, pp. 130-31.
- 47. See Jean Tulard, Jean-François Fayard, and Alfred Fierro, Histoire et dictionnaire de la Révolution française, 1789–1799, 2nd ed. (Paris: Éditions Robert Laffont, 1988), p. 662.
- 48. The time line of this process is summarized in Pierre Rosenberg and Louis-Antoine Prat, Jacques-Louis David, 1748-1825: Catalogue raisonné des dessins, vol. 1 (Milan: Leonardo Arte, 2002), p. 150. They mention two decrees, which can be found transcribed in the following publications. First, the Comité's invitation to David on May 14, 1794, to present his designs for new government costumes was reported in a contemporary newspaper the following month; see Gazette nationale, ou Le Moniteur universel, no. 263 (Tridi, 23 prairial, l'an 2 [June 11, 1794]), p. 1070. Second, the Comité's decree ten days later that the drawings be reproduced in prints is recorded in F.-A. Aulard, Recueil des actes du Comité de Salut Public, vol. 13 (April 23, 1794-May 28, 1794) (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1950), pp. 714–15.

The minutes from the meeting of the Société Républicaine des Arts on June 7, 1794, contain a reference to the production of David's designs by clothiers: "Un membre demande la parole et dit qu'il est inutile de s'occuper d'avantage du costume par ce que les étoffes sont taillés pour celui qui l'executte a present d'après les idées et suivant les dessins du représentant David." Henri Lapauze, "Séance de la Société républicaine des arts tenue le 19 prairial l'an 2^{eme} de la république française," in *Procès-verbaux de la Commune* Générale des Arts (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1903), p. 308.

This is noted in Jennifer Harris, "The Red Cap of Liberty: A Study of Dress Worn by French Revolutionary Partisans 1789-94," Eighteenth-Century Studies 14, no. 3 (Spring 1981), p. 306, n. 37.

- 49. See Casselle, "Le Commerce des estampes à Paris," pp. 73-81.
- 50. In the preface to the 1784 edition of his collected work, Watelet acknowledged that Silvie was first published by Pierre Prault in 1743. "Note sur Silvie," in Recueil de quelques ouvrages de M. Watelet, de l'Académie françoise et de celle de peinture (Paris: Prault, 1784), n.p. Watelet is known to have used false colophons in other publications as well; the 1784 edition of Watelet's work was published by the next generation of the Prault firm under Pierre's son and grandson (Laurent François I and Laurent François II). See the entries on all three generations of the Prault dynasty in Jean-Dominique Mellot, Élisabeth Queval, and Antoine Monaque, Répertoire d'imprimeurs/librairies (vers 1500-vers 1810), 4th ed. (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, 2004), p. 457.
- 51. For more on Hutin's tenure as director, see Marx, Sehnsucht und Wirklichkeit, pp. 113-15.
- 52. "Madame Huet, étant revenue de Dresde, où elle étoit allée pour son commerce de porcelaines de Saxe, m'a apporté de la part de M. Hutin, directeur de l'Académie de Dresde, toutes les estampes qu'il a gravées successivement à l'eau-forte, qui sont remplies d'esprit." Wille, "Le 13 avril 1765," in Mémoires, vol. 1, p. 286. "Répondu à M. Hutin, directeur de l'Académie électorale de Dresde. Je le remercie de son œuvre à l'eau-forte qu'il m'a envoyée." Wille, "Le 9 janvier 1766," in ibid., pp. 310-11.
- 53. Prosper de Baudicour, Le Peintre-graveur français continué, ou catalogue raisonné des estampes gravées par les peintres et les dessinateurs de l'école française nés dans le XVIIIe siècle, vol. 2 (Paris: Mme Bouchard-Huzard, Rapilly, etc., 1861), pp. 113-14.
- 54. "Donné à l'Ecole par Mr. Goupy Secretaire du Roy." See Christine Favre-Lejeune, Les Secrétaires du Roi de la Grande Chancellerie de France: Dictionnaire biographique et généalogique (1672–1789), vol. 1 (Paris: Sedopols, 1986), pp. 645–46. Baudicour describes this as the third state of the series (Le Peintre-graveur français continué, pp. 126–29). In addition to Design for a Fountain (cat. 25), impressions of two other fountain designs bearing this inscription can be found in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs ("Collection Maciet: Série graveurs et ornemanistes," pp. 108-9).
- 55. "Avertissement," Mercure de France, January 1726, pp. 7-8. References to the "curieux" abound in the Mercure de France; see Isabelle Tillerot, Jean de Jullienne et les collectionneurs de son temps: Un Regard singulier sur le tableau, Passages/Passagen 37 (Paris: Éditions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, 2010), pp. 296-97.
- 56. Each year of the journal concludes with a summary catalogue, which lists all of the publications alphabetically and identifies etched prints in a separate "Table des Estampes en Taille-Douce."
- 57. "On verra aisément par la quantité de nouvelles Estampes dont cet Article est rempli, que les Presses en taille-douce ne sont pas moins occupées à Paris que celles de la Librairie." Mercure de France, April 1737, p. 765. Also relevant to the subject of the discourse of prints in the Mercure after 1726 is Antoine Joseph Dezallier d'Argenville's famous letter enumerating his recommendations for how a private collection should be organized, two-thirds of which was dedicated to prints. *Mercure de France*, June 1727, pp. 1294-1330. Dezallier d'Argenville was a naturalist, art historian, and amateur whose collection was well known and celebrated. See Jacqueline Labbé and Lise Bicart-Sée, "Esquisse biographique," in La Collection de dessins d'Antoine-Joseph Dezallier d'Argenville, Notes et documents des musées de France 27 (Paris: Éditions de la Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1996), pp. 16-37.
- 58. Etchings by *peintres-graveurs* did not regularly appear under the "Gravure" section of L'Avant-coureur; instead, they were often included under the headings for painting or architecture, depending on the artist's specialty. Although the "Gravure" column did

- not run daily in the Journal de Paris, it appeared with regular frequency until 1789, when theater listings came to dominate the journal's arts coverage. During the revolutionary decade, the daily newspaper Gazette nationale, ou Le Moniteur universel also announced prints under the heading "Gravures," but not with great frequency.
- 59. For a close study of the evolution of the significance of the term "recueil" in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, see Jean-Gérald Castex, "D'un mot et ses usages: Le Recueil gravé," in À l'origine du livre d'art, ed. Cordélia Hattori, Estelle Leutrat, and Véronique Meyer (Milan: Silvana Editoriale, 2010), pp. 141-49.
- 60. See Benedict Leca, "An Art Book and Its Viewers: The 'Recueil Crozat' and the Uses of Reproductive Engraving," Eighteenth-Century Studies 38, no. 4 (Summer 2005), pp. 623-49, and Quand la gravure fait illusion: Autour de Watteau et Boucher; le dessin gravé au XVIIIe siècle, exh. cat. (Montreuil: Gourcuff-Gradenigo, 2006), pp. 17-22.
- 61. Indeed, the ambition of recasting the entire genre is poignantly reflected in the phrase "nouvelle recueil." This connotation of the term recueil in the work of Mariette is explored in Kristel Smentek, "Entrepreneurial Art History: Pierre-Jean Mariette and the Recueil d'estampes in Eighteenth-Century Europe," in À l'origine du livre d'art, pp. 131–39; and Smentek, "Pierre-Jean Mariette, le connaisseur d'estampes," in L'Estampe: Un Art multiple à la portée de tous?, ed. Sophie Raux, Nicolas Surlapierre, and Dominique Tonneau-Ryckelynck (Villeneuve d'Ascq: Presses Universitaires de Septentrion, 2008), pp. 171-89.
- 62. The book was announced in the Mercure de France, April 13, 1782, p. 92.
- 63. See Charles Azibert, Jacques Gamelin, 1738-1803: Son Oeuvre anatomique (Carcassonne, 1947), and Jacques Gamelin, 1738–1803, Les Collections du Musée des Beaux-Arts de Carcassonne 2 (Carcassonne, 1990), pp. 83-84.
- 64. Most of the plates were engraved by the professional printmakers Jacques Lavallée and an artist known only by his last name,
- 65. Jean Jacques Lagrenée, Recueil de compositions par Lagrenée Lejeune (Paris, 1782); and Jean-Jacques Lagrenée, Recueil de différentes compositions, frises et ornements: Dessinées et gravées a la manière du lavis par Lagrenée Jeune (Paris: Chez L'auteur, au Louvre, et chez Basan, rue et Hotel Serpente, 1784).
- 66. See Madeleine Gisler-Huwiler and Sebastian Schütz, The Complete Collection of Antiquities from the Cabinet of Sir William Hamilton (Cologne: Taschen, 2004), pp. 12-33.
- 67. Marc Sandoz, Les Lagrenée, vol. 2, Jean-Jacques Lagrenée, 1739–1821 (Paris: Éditart-Les Quatre Chemins, 1984), pp. 245–49.
- 68. Peter Fuhring, Juste-Aurèle Meissonnier (Turin: U. Allemandi, 1999), vol. 1, pp. 61–63.
- 69. Although further research is necessary, these verses, signed "Dubruit," could be by the playwright and librettist Pierre Dubruit de Charville. I am grateful to David Pullins for confirming this possibility recently by consulting a copy of the author's Les Deux Soeurs Rivales (Toulouse: P. Robert, 1729) at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, and for identifying passages of the divertissement de musique that are structurally and rhythmically identical to some of the couplets below Gillot's prints. For an analysis of the genre at the end of the seventeenth century, see John S. Powell, "Pourquoi toujours des bergers?': Molière, Lully, and the Pastoral Divertissement," in Lully Studies, ed. John Hajdu Heyer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 166–98. For several examples of divertissements contemporary to Gillot, see Jean-Joseph Mouret, Recüeil de tous les divertissements du Nouveau Theatre italien (Paris: Chez l'auteur, 1719).
- 70. It is worth noting that these prints were not always produced for the market. A notable instance is Georg Friedrich Schmidt's 1744 print reproducing Hyacinthe Rigaud's portrait of Pierre Mignard, whose announcement (Mercure de France, August 1744,

- p. 1852) stipulated explicitly that the print was not for sale because the copper plate was the property of the Académie. Impressions from it could thus be procured only through a favor from someone within that institution. For more on this print and copper plate, see W. McAllister Johnson, French Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture Engraved Reception Pieces, 1672-1789 (Kingston, Ontario: Agnes Etherington Art Centre, 1982), pp. 129-31.
- 71. According to Opperman (Jean-Baptiste Oudry, p. 99, no. 40), the other three paintings in the suite were most likely exhibited at the Salon as well. Both the painting and a preparatory drawing are in the Staatliches Museum Schwerin (inv. G184 and 7143HZ). Oudry's preparatory study for the etching has recently surfaced on the art market. See sale, Sotheby's, London, July 3, 2013, lot 68.
- 72. The drawing was the only work Lélu ever submitted to the Salon, made possible by the temporary suspension of competitive admittance in 1793. Salon livret (1793), no. 528. For more on this unique exhibition, see Philippe Bordes and Régis Michel, eds., Aux armes & aux arts! Les Arts de la Révolution, 1789-1799 (Paris: Éditions Adam Biro, 1988), pp. 40-51. Lélu's female figures, frieze composition, and etching style strongly recall the work of the peintre-graveur Pierre Brebiette, particularly the etched suite Twelve Large Friezes, which Brebiette made in Rome. Lélu could have studied impressions of these etchings in his brother's collection, which contained five hundred prints by contemporary peintres-graveurs; see F. L. Regnault, Catalogue de tableaux et dessins, collection d'estampes en recueils . . . qui composaint le cabinet du feu Fr. Hyp. Lélu (Paris, 1800), pp. 39, 41, nos. 136 and 145. He might have also been able to examine the copper plates of Brebiette's series in Paris, as they were owned by Basan, who reputedly treasured them alongside his plates etched by Rembrandt; see Seule la peinture . . . Pierre Brebiette (1598?-1642), exh. cat. (Orléans: Musée des Beaux-Arts, 2001), pp. 59-62, no. 24.
- 73. For a summary of Lélu's career, see Françoise Arquié-Bruley, Jacqueline Labbé, and Lise Bicart-Sée, La Collection Saint-Morys au Cabinet des Dessins du Musée du Louvre, Notes et documents des musées de France 19 (Paris: Éditions de la Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1987), vol. 1, pp. 31-32.
- 74. The drawings for these two etchings are housed in the Musée National du Château de Versailles (inv. R.F. 1923 M.V. 5292 Dess 831; inv. R.F. 1924 M.V. 5290 Dess 829).
- 75. As stipulated by the Comité de Salut Public, twenty thousand impressions of the civil uniforms were authorized and six thousand of each of the other designs. Aulard, Recueil des actes du Comité de Salut Public, vol. 13 (April 23 1794-May 28 1794), p. 715.
- 76. See Rosenberg and Van de Sandt, Pierre Peyron, pp. 124-31. See also Claudia Einecke and Pierre Rosenberg, Final Moments: Peyron, David, and "The Death of Socrates," exh. cat. (Omaha: Joslyn Art Museum, 2001).
- 77. Salon *livret* (1791), p. 34, no. 438: "La mort de Socrate. Estampe gravée d'après son Tableau. Par M. Peyron. Ac."
- 78. See Michael Cole, ed., The Early Modern Painter-Etcher, exh. cat. (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006), p. 171. The assertion that Peyron adopted this system of mark making because the freer styles of Watteau and Joseph Marie Vien did not suit his Neoclassical approach to form is not supported by his other etchings, which have looser lines and a generally freer style. These include the other prints he etched that reproduced his own paintings. Death of Socrates thus represents a stylistic departure for the artist, not an index of his approach to facture for Neoclassical compositions.
- 79. His commitment to the sale of this print seems to have been strong, as the etching was first listed for sale at three livres but roughly three weeks later was announced in a different journal for two livres. See "Arts, Gravures," Gazette nationale, ou Le Moniteur universel, no. 66 (March 7, 1790), p. 251; and Mercure de France, March 27, 1790, p. 143.

- 80. Thévenin showed the painting at two successive Salons. See Salon livret (1793), no. 541; Salon livret (1795), no. 484.
- 81. I am indebted to Antoine Cahen and Alvin L. Clark, Jr., for bringing to my attention one of the drawings for the etching, which was recently on the Paris market. I am particularly grateful to Clark for procuring a copy of the sales catalogue for the Salon du dessin of 1997, in which this drawing is illustrated; Salon du dessin 1997: Hôtel Georges V, Paris (Paris: Société du Dessin, 1997), p. 51. See also Claudette Hould, L'Image de la Révolution française, exh. cat. (Quebec: Musée du Québec, 1989), pp. 174-75, no. 16a.
- 82. Thévenin had been director of the Académie in Rome prior to this appointment in Paris (1816-29), and it was this administrative experience that won him the appointment as head of the Cabinet over Jean Duchesne; see Laure Beaumont-Maillet, Les Gardes et directeurs du Départment des Estampes de 1720 à 2006 (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, 2010), p. 7. A draft of a letter by Duchesne dated February 15, 1829, conserved in the Réserve of the Département des Estampes et de la Photographie (Boîte Ye-1 rés, pièce 673) reveals how desperately Duchesne desired the appointment, which he won only after Thévenin's departure from the post. I am grateful to Barbara Brejon de Lavergnée for alerting me to these two valuable sources.
- 83. See Émile Dacier, "Le Premier Livre illustré du XVIIIe siècle: Les 'Fables' de La Motte et les vignettes de Claude Gillot," in Les Trésors des bibliothèques de France, vol. 2 (Paris: Van Oest, 1929), pp. 1-14. Contrary to the small scale adopted by Gillot for his illustrations, Oudry worked in a large format for his Roman comique illustrations, discussed above. The impressiveness of their size situates his compositions in more of a hybrid category than Gillot's; in fact, at first glance they might be identified as single sheet prints or perhaps even reproductions of paintings.
- 84. For analysis of La Motte's fables, see Paul Dupont, Un Poètephilosophe au commencement du dix-huitième siècle: Houdar de La Motte (1672-1731) (Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1898), pp. 40-55.
- 85. Populus, Claude Gillot (1673-1722), p. 39.
- 86. See Rena Hoisington's description of this practice in chapter 1 in this volume. The drawing is in the Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques (inv. 26742).
- 87. For a discussion of Prud'hon's collaboration with Joursanvault, including transcriptions of several of their letters, see Louis Morand and Charles Saunier, "P.-P. Prud'hon et le Baron de Joursanvault," La Revue de l'art 17 (January-June 1910), pp. 377-88,
- 88. For a longer discussion of this etching and its iconography, see Elizabeth M. Rudy, "Pierre-Paul Prud'hon (1758-1823) and the Problem of Allegory" (PhD diss., Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., 2007), pp. 16-29.
- 89. The plate is in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Beaune (inv. 44.211).
- 90. See Nicolas Lesur and Olivier Aaron, Jean-Baptiste Marie Pierre, 1714-1789: Premier Peintre du roi (Paris: Arthena, 2009), pp. 372-73.
- 91. See especially Katie Scott, The Rococo Interior: Decoration and Social Spaces in Early Eighteenth-Century Paris (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), pp. 247-52; Fuhring, Juste-Aurèle Meissonnier; and Peter Fuhring, "The Print Privilege in Eighteenth-Century France—II," Print Quarterly 3 (1986), pp. 19-33.
- 92. On the seven drawings for these series (all Musée du Louvre, Paris), see Pierre Rosenberg, Le Livre des Saint-Aubin, Collection Solo 22 (Paris: Musée du Louvre, 2002), pp. 110–13.
- 93. Denis Diderot and Jean le Rond d'Alembert, Encyclopédie, ou Dictionnaire raisonnée des sciences, des arts et des métiers, vol. 5 (Paris: Briasson, 1751), p. 982.
- 94. Saint-Aubin, as an embroidery designer, made his living creating ornamentation for sale, and the production of this series coincided with another commercial venture: his collaboration with his brother Gabriel on an illustrated erotic novel, published in 1745.

Colin Jones and Juliet Carey, "Introduction," in The Saint-Aubin Livre de caricatures: Drawing Satire in Eighteenth-Century Paris, SVEC, vol. 6 (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2012), p. 8. The butterfly series also coincided with a playful drawing (dated 1742) in his manuscript Recueil de plantes copiées d'après nature (Oak Spring Garden Library, Upperville, Virginia). Leaf eight features a trompe l'œil drawing in pen and ink of an etching by Jacques Callot (plate four of Les Misères et les malheurs de guerre) wrapped around two honeysuckle sprigs. Collated on leaf 238 is Saint-Aubin's own etching of the same honeysuckle flowers, part of his sixteen-part series Les Fleurettes.

95. The inscribed first state is in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, Département des Estampes et de la Photographie (Ef-1 fol. rés.). For additional examples of Saint-Aubin's handwriting, see his Livre de caricatures (Waddesdon Manor, Buckinghamshire).

96. L'Avant-coureur, no. 40 (October 6, 1766), p. 626. While excusing the quality of the etching, the announcement also revealed that the prints were available both at Saint-Aubin's studio and through Veuve Chéreau: "Quoiqu'ils ne soient point parfaitement gravés, on y remarque cependant beaucoup de génie.... On trouvera ces divers objets chez l'Auteur, rue des Prouvaires, vis-à-vis une Marchande de Modes; & chez la veuve Chereau, rue S. Jacques, aux deux Piliers d'or."

97. "[F]essard, Graveur, vient de mettre en vente trois nouvelles Estampes . . . gravées par Mad. Louise D***, d'après les célebres Bouchardon & Pierre. Ces Estampes prouvent que les Dames pourroient exceller dans cet art." Mercure de France, January 1748, p. 150. This announcement most likely pertains to the etchings of Louise Le Daulceur, an amateur who was the sister of M. de Montigny of the Académie des Sciences. For a list of her work, see Yves Sjöberg, Inventaire du fonds français: Graveurs du XVIIIe siècle, vol. 13, Laurent-Le Grand, ed. Françoise Gardey (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, 1974), p. 491.

98. Cinquième suite de vases (Paris: Basan, 1771). Basan also published her landscape series, Differentes vuës dessinées d'après nature par Mrs. Robert et Fragonard peintres du Roy dans les environs de Rome et de Naples (Paris: Basan, 1771).

99. Suite de vases composés dans le goût antique, dessinées par Joseph Marie Vien . . . et gravées par Marie Thérèse Reboul, sa femme de la même Académie (Paris, 1760).

100. "Peinture," L'Avant-coureur, no. 20 (June 2, 1760), pp. 315-16. A comparable example by another female peintre-graveur is found in an announcement in the Journal de Paris in 1788: "Ier Recueil de Vases, Fragmens arabesques & Figures antiques, gravé par Mlle. Nery, femme de Sueur, & de J.-Ph. Marchand; prix 1 liv. A Paris, chez le Sueur, Peintre-Graveur, maison de M. Nery, Charron, rue des SS. Pères, & chez Vallée, Peintre-Doreur, porte royale du Louvre, au Maréchal des Logis." "Gravure," Journal de Paris, no. 345 (December 10, 1788), p. 1469.

101. "S. Aubin, (Charles-Germain de) frère du précédent, né à Paris en 1721, où il mourut en 1786, dessinateur de fleurs & d'ornemens, a gravé à l'eau-forte diverses petites suites de fleurs, & sujets de fantaisie, de sa composition." F[rançois] Basan, Dictionnaire des graveurs anciens et modernes depuis l'origine de la gravure, 2nd ed. [Paris: L'Auteur, 1789], vol. 2, pp. 150-51. Not even the Bibliothèque Nationale de France possesses impressions of all of Saint-Aubin's work, such is their scarcity.

102. In the preface to the 1810 catalogue of his collection, the peintre-graveur Pierre Bénard lauded Paignon-Dijonval's methodical organization of the collection, which reputedly required the full-time employment of three artists to maintain. See also the sale catalogues of the following collections: Duc de Tallard, Paris, March 22-May 13, 1756 (Lugt 910); Blondel d'Azincourt, Paris, February 10 and following days, 1783 (Lugt 3511); and the Bailli de Breteuil, Paris, January 16–25, 1786 (Lugt 3974).

103. Bénard, "Avant-Propos," in M. Bénard, ed., Cabinet de M. Paignon Dijonval (Paris: Imprimerie de Madame Huzard, 1810), pp. vi-vii.

104. C[harles] F[rançois] Joullain, Réflexions sur la peinture et la gravure (Paris: Claude Lamort, 1786), pp. 203-28.

105. "Il seroit difficile d'entreprendre de persuader à un amateur qu'une belle pièce à l'eau forte, de nos grands Maîtres Italiens, Flamands & François, est préférable à toutes ces Estampes pointillés." Basan, "Avertissement," in Dictionnaire des graveurs anciens et modernes, vol. 1, p. 2. This passage does not appear in the first edition of the text from 1765.

106. "Le faire libre et mâle, a toute la franchise qu'une peinte spirituelle, une eau forte vigoureuse, peuvent seules donner, et qu'on attendrait vainement du burin froid, par cela même qu'il est pur." "Arts, Gravures," Gazette nationale, ou Le Moniteur universel, no. 66 (March 7, 1790), p. 251.

107. "Un Monstre à trois têtes désignant les trois Etats de l'Aristocratie s'occupe à dévorer le reste du Cadavre du peuple. . . . " See M99988 in the following folio in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Département des Estampes et de la Photographie: Qb-1, 1790 (Juin). See Nils G. Wollin, Gravures originales de Desprez ou exécutées d'après ses dessins (Malmö: J. Kroon, 1933), p. 19, and Hould, L'Image de la Révolution française, pp. 220-21, no. 43.

108. Hébert, Pognon, and Bruand, Inventaire du fonds français: Graveurs du XVIIIe siècle, vol. 10, p. 272.

109. "Gravures," Gazette nationale, ou Le Moniteur universel, no. 10 (Decadi, 10 vendémiaire, l'an 4 [October 2, 1795]), p. 37.

3 • FOUR EXCEPTIONAL PEINTRES-GRAVEURS

1. Saint-Aubin appears to have taught himself etching. The earliest date that appears on his prints is 1750, found on Le Marche de boeuf gras and Vue de la foire de Bezons. (His interest in etching predates that of his older brother Charles Germain, a designer of embroidery patterns who later on occasionally took up the etching needle [cat. 35].) On Saint-Aubin's prints, see Émile Dacier's two catalogues raisonnés, L'Oeuvre gravé de Gabriel de Saint-Aubin: Notice historique et catalogue raisonné (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1914) and Gabriel de Saint-Aubin, peintre, dessinateur et graveur, 1724-1780, 2 vols. (Paris: G. van Oest, 1929-31); Victor I. Carlson, Ellen D'Oench, and Richard S. Field, Prints and Drawings by Gabriel de Saint-Aubin, 1724-1780, exh. cat. (Middletown, Conn.: Davidson Art Center, 1975); Victor I. Carlson and John W. Ittmann, eds., Regency to Empire: French Printmaking, 1715-1814, exh. cat. (Baltimore: Baltimore Museum of Art; Minneapolis: Minneapolis Institute of Arts, 1984), nos. 32-34 and 48-51 (all entries by Victor Carlson); and Colin Bailey et al., Gabriel de Saint-Aubin, 1724–1780, exh. cat. (New York: The Frick Collection; Paris: Musée du Louvre; Somogy, 2007).

2. Dacier, L'Oeuvre gravé, pp. 51-53, no. 5; Dacier, Gabriel de Saint-Aubin, vol. 2, pp. 17-18, no. 86; Carlson, D'Oench, and Field, Prints and Drawings by Gabriel de Saint-Aubin, nos. 4, 5; and Bailey et al., Gabriel de Saint-Aubin, p. 136, under no. 13 (entry by Kim de Beaumont).

3. The weddings took place at various churches in Paris on November 9, 1751.

4. In the years to come, Saint-Aubin would make drawings and paintings of the space of the Salon itself and fill the margins of his Salon livrets with minuscule drawings of the works on view. See Colin Bailey's essay, "The Indefatigable, Unclassifiable Art Lover': Saint-Aubin's Curiosité," in Gabriel de Saint-Aubin, pp. 70–107; and ibid., p. 299, and nos. 70 and 72 (entries by Colin B. Bailey and Marie-Catherine Sahut, respectively).

5. Émile Dacier's first catalogue raisonné of Saint-Aubin's prints lists three states for View of the Salon of 1753, while his second catalogue raisonné lists four. More recently, as part of an exhibition of the artist's work, Perrin Stein identified yet another, underscoring the complexity of differentiating states for his graphic oeuvre. Dacier, L'Oeuvre gravé, pp. 59-60, no. 10; Dacier, Gabriel

- de Saint-Aubin, vol. 2, no. 794; and Bailey et al., Gabriel de Saint-Aubin, no. 69 (entry by Perrin Stein).
- 6. Saint-Aubin may have taken up this subject because his younger brother, Louis Michel, began working for the Sèvres porcelain factory that same year. He might also have been inspired by the etched vase designs of other artists, including his contemporary Jacques François Joseph Saly (cat. 27; see Bailey et al., Gabriel de Saint-Aubin, no. 14 [entry by Perrin Stein]) or the seventeenthcentury artist Stefano della Bella, especially his series Collection of Fantastic Vases (ca. 1646), which is animated by an array of fanciful motifs, creatures, and mythological figures.
- 7. For more information on these tiny sketches, see Dacier, L'Oeuvre gravé, pp. 62-64, no. 12.
- 8. Bailey et al., Gabriel de Saint-Aubin, p. 205, under no. 47 (entry by Kim de Beaumont).
- 9. We know that Saint-Aubin reworked the compositions between 1760 and 1763, as he documented his modifications to the plate. In The Chairs, he signed his name followed by "f. 1760" just below the image at left but then added "retouché à la pointe sèche 1763" (retouched in drypoint 1763) above. For comparative reproductions of the states of The Chairs and The Watering Cart, see Dacier, L'Oeuvre gravé, nos. 18, 19, pls. XV, XVI.
- 10. As Stein suggested in Bailey et al., Gabriel de Saint-Aubin, no. 41, the artist did not leave sufficient space to render or at least suggest the presence of the grande allée in the center of the joined compositions, which would have led the eye back to an octagonal reflecting pool and a bridge at the western end of the Tuileries.
- 11. This is the second trade card that Saint-Aubin is known to have worked on, the earlier one dating to 1752 (Dacier, L'Oeuvre gravé, no. 6). His brother Augustin regularly made them, and his etched composition for the bookseller Jacques François Quillau from 1761 probably served as a model here. See Bailey et al., Gabriel de Saint-Aubin, nos. 51 and 52a-b (entries by Kim de Beaumont and Perrin Stein, respectively).
- 12. Even if Saint-Aubin did not have access to the painting, he surely knew the composition through the reproductive print that Pierre Alexandre Aveline made in 1732 for the Recueil Jullienne. For a reproduction of both the print and the painting, see Marie-Catherine Sahut et al., Antoine Watteau et l'art de l'estampe, exh. cat. (Paris: Musée du Louvre, 2010), figs. 122, 123.
- 13. The drawing also has a handwritten note on the reverse, signed by Périer himself, with specific information pertaining to the commission. In particular, Périer wanted the inscription (which would include his name and address) to be executed by a professional letterer; this text presumably would have been added to the area of drapery at the top center of the composition. Bailey et al., Gabriel de Saint-Aubin, no. 51 (entry by Perrin Stein).
- 14. In eighteenth-century Paris, shop addresses usually referred to a visual motif that in most cases appeared on the actual shop signs.
- 15. On Le Prince's prints, see Jules Hédou, Jean Le Prince et son oeuvre: Suivi de nombreux documents inédits (Paris: Chez J. Baur and Chez Rapilly, 1879), and Yves Sjöberg, Inventaire du fonds français: Graveurs du XVIIIe siècle, vol. 14, Legras (Les)-Lequien, ed. Françoise Gardey (Paris: M. Le Garrec, 1977), pp. 435-82. See, too, Mary-Elizabeth Hellyer, "Recherches sur Jean-Baptiste Le Prince, 1734-1781" (thesis, Université Paris Sorbonne, Paris IV, 1982).
- 16. On Boucher's The Laundress, see Pierrette Jean-Richard, L'Oeuvre gravé de François Boucher dans la Collection Edmond de Rothschild (Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1978), p. 32, no. 32, and Carlson and Ittmann, Regency to Empire, pp. 130-31, no. 38 (entry by Victor Carlson).
- 17. Watelet began building this haven in 1754. See Françoise Arquié-Bruley, "Watelet, Marguerite Le Comte et le Moulin Joli d'après les Archives Nationales," Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français, 1998, pp. 131-57, and Michel Baridon, Jean-Louis Haquette, and Christine Dessemme, Moulin Joly, un jardin

- enchanté au siècle des Lumières, exh. cat. (Colombes: Musée Municipal d'Art et d'Histoire de Colombes, 2006). See, too, Charlotte Guichard's discussion of the Moulin Joli and Saint-Non's series in Les Amateurs d'art à Paris au XVIII^e siècle (Seyssel: Champ Vallon, 2008), pp. 270-71, and chapter 5 in this volume.
- 18. Jean de Cayeux, "Introduction au catalogue critique des griffonis de Saint-Non," Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français, 1963, pp. 327-29; most are after drawings dated between 1755 and 1757. Of the etchings in the series Varie vedute del gentile mulino, two are dated 1755.
- 19. It is unclear if Le Prince learned how to etch from Boucher or, possibly, from Saint-Non and/or Watelet. Hédou (Jean Le Prince et son oeuvre, nos. 87, 177, and 178) cites three undated etchings by Le Prince, one in the manner of Boucher and two after Boucher's designs.
- 20. Hédou (ibid., no. 85) catalogues one of Le Prince's etchings, Jésus dans le Temple, as signed and dated to 1760. On Jean Jacques Lagrenée's etchings, see ibid., pp. 167 and 206 nn. 48, 49.
- 21. Le Prince was agréé as a "Peintre dans le genre des vües et paysages ornés de figures" on February 4, 1764, and reçu on August 23, 1765. See Anatole de Montaiglon, ed., Procès-verbaux de l'Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture 1648–1793, vol. 7, 1756-1768 (Paris: Charavay Frères, 1889), pp. 243 and 304, respectively.
- 22. Kimerly Rorschach, Drawings by Jean-Baptiste Le Prince for the Voyage en Sibérie, exh. cat. (Philadelphia: The Rosenbach Museum & Library, 1986), and Madeleine Pinault Sørensen et al., Jean-Baptiste Le Prince (Metz, 1734–Saint-Denis Du Port, 1781): Le Voyage en Russie, exh. cat. (Rouen: Musée des Beaux-Arts, 2004).
- 23. He may have begun work on this project the year before, as one of the etchings in his series Divers habillements des femmes de Moscovie is dated 1763 (Hédou, Jean Le Prince et son oeuvre, no. 29).
- 24. "M. Le Prince vient de donner 5 suites d'habillemens, gravés d'après les figures dessinées en Russie." L'Avant-coureur, December 10, 1764, p. 792. In the text of the title plate for his 1764 series *Div*ers ajustements et usages de Russie, too, he states that the prints are "Dessinées en Russie d'après Nature / et Gravés à l'Eau forte / par J. B. le Prince."
- 25. It is interesting that Le Prince dedicated several of his Russian series to well-placed artists and amateurs, including those who made etchings (such as the comte de Caylus and Lagrenée). Not surprisingly, one of his first series, Divers ajustements et usages de Russie, was dedicated to his teacher Boucher.
- 26. "Lettre de M. Le Prince, Peintre du Roi, de l'Académie Royale de Peinture & de Sculpture, à M. de La Place," Mercure de France, October 1764, pp. 168-71: "je continuai avec tout le soin possible un genre d'étude aussi nouveau qu'intéressant, puisque je puis dire que de tous les Etrangers qui ont été appellés dans ce pays, je suis le premier qui me suis avisé de trouver des beautés dans la simplicité & le pittoresque des habillemens du Peuple."
- 27. For an overview of the development and use of aquatint in the second half of the eighteenth century in Europe, see Christiane Wiebel, Aquatinta, oder, "Die Kunst mit dem Pinsel in Kupfer zu stechen": Das druckgraphische Verfahren von seinen Anfängen bis zu Goya, exh. cat. (Coburg: Kunstsammlungen der Veste Coburg; Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2007).
- 28. The publisher François Basan acquired all of Le Prince's plates from his posthumous sale and reprinted them in the volume Oeuvres de Jean-Baptiste Le Prince: Contenant plus de cent soixante planches gravées à l'eau-forte & à l'imitation des dessins lavés au bistre, le tout d'après ses compositions représentant divers costumes & habillemens de différens peuples du Nord (Paris: Basan & Poignant, 1782). The wear on the plates, the use of black ink, and the less than thoughtful printing do not, however, do justice to Le Prince's achievements as a printmaker.
- 29. Carlson and Ittmann, Regency to Empire, no. 90 (entry by John Ittmann), and Margaret Morgan Grasselli, Colorful Impressions:

The Printmaking Revolution in Eighteenth-Century France, exh. cat. (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 2003), p. 28, no. 36.

30. On the work of these artists and Le Prince's development of his own special aquatint process, see Antony Griffiths, "Notes on Early Aquatint in England and France," Print Quarterly 4 (1987), pp. 255-62; Carlson and Ittmann, Regency to Empire, nos. 60, 61 (entries by John Ittmann); Grasselli, Colorful Impressions, p. 29, nos. 10, 11, 20, 21; Sophie Raux, "La Main invisible: Innovation et concurrence chez les créateurs des nouvelles techniques de fac-similés de dessins au XVIIIe siècle," in Quand la gravure fait illusion: Autour de Watteau et Boucher, le dessin gravé au XVIIIe siècle, exh. cat. (Valenciennes: Musée des Beaux-Arts; Montreuil: Gourcuff-Gradenigo, 2006), pp. 62-64; and Wiebel, Aquatinta, pp. 121-63. The first advertisement in which Le Prince mentions his "maniere du lavis" appeared in L'Avant-coureur, February 20, 1768, pp. 113-14.

- 31. Montaiglon, Procès-verbaux, vol. 8, 1769-1779 (1888), pp. 2-3 (January 28, 1769).
- 32. "Gravure au Lavis," in Claude Henri Watelet and Pierre Charles Levesque, Encyclopédie méthodique: Beaux-Arts, 2 vols. (Paris: Chez Panckoucke, 1788-91), vol. 2, pp. 622-25, reprinted by Hédou, Jean Le Prince et son oeuvre, pp. 179-88, which is too lengthy to be quoted in detail here.
- 33. Salon livret (1769), no. 79: "Vingt-neuf Estampes gravées à l'imitation du Lavis, par un procédé qui est particulier à cet Artiste. On cherche depuis long-temps les moyens de bien rendre le Lavis, & de plusieurs Artistes l'ont fait avec assez de succès par différens procédés; mais ils paroît que celui de M. le Prince est supérieur par sa facilité, la promptitude de son exécution, & la justesse de l'imitation du Lavis, soit au Bistre, soit à l'Encre de la Chine."
- 34. Salon livret, 1771, no. 78: "Plusieurs Estampes gravées par son procédé, sous le même numéro."
- 35. The prints appear to have been well received. Diderot (Salons IV. Héros et martyrs: Salon de 1769, 1771, 1775, 1781 [Paris: Hermann, 1995] p. 72) wrote that "les Vingt-neuf estampes qu'il a exposées sont à faire illusion." And Daudé de Jossan, in his Sentimens sur les tableaux exposés au Salon ([N.p., 1769], p. 14), admired in particular "une petite Synagogue à la maniere du Bistre," most likely referring to Le Prince's 1768 etching and aquatint Jésus dans le Temple (Hédou, Jean Le Prince et son oeuvre, no. 144).
- 36. "O fortunatos nimium, sua si bona norint, agricolas!" It may well have been Watelet who inspired Le Prince to take up such bucolic subject matter, as the amateur was interested in and, in fact, wrote pastoral poetry (Guichard, Les Amateurs d'art, pp. 271-72). Indeed, Watelet paraphrases these two very lines in his 1774 publication Essai sur les jardins. The translation of the title of this print is taken from Virgil, *Eclogues, Georgics, Aeneid 1–6*, trans. H. Rushton Fairclough, rev. G. P. Goold, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999), book 2, lines 458-59, as cited in Claude Henri Watelet, Essay on Gardens: A Chapter in the French Picturesque, ed. and trans. Samuel Danon (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), p. 78 n. 13.
- 37. L'Avant-coureur, April 29, 1771, pp. 257-58: "Si cet Artiste n'en est pas l'inventeur il est du moins celui qui lui a donné le degré de perfection dont elle est susceptible."
- 38. "Un peintre, quand son tableau est prêt à sortir de ses mains, en fait souvent un dessin, pour en conserver l'idée: il fera plus, il la multipliera lui-même, & tirera par-là un nouveau profit de son Ouvrage. Quel agrément, par exemple, pour le Public, s'il pouvoit, à chaque Sallon, acquérir dans le même-tems des dessins estampés de tous les morceaux exposés!... Quand il seroit question de Monumens Publics, par cette manière aussi prompte que le lavis, on veroit paroître dans le même tems & sur le même Monument nombre de projets de tous nos habiles Architectes, dont beaucoup de plans restent ignorés par l'impossibilité de fournier aux frais de la gravure en taille-douce . . . Tous les Amateurs de l'un & l'autre sexe, qui emploient leurs loisirs à l'exercice des Arts, pourroient se donner le plaisir de répandre leurs productions chez leurs amis."

- See Mercure de France, August 12, 1780, pp. 91–94, for the entire prospectus, which is also reprinted in Hédou, Jean Le Prince et son oeuvre, pp. 189-95. Le Prince's attempt to sell his aquatint process by subscription followed his unsuccessful endeavor to sell it to the Académie Royale for an exorbitant fee. In 1782, after Le Prince's death, his niece turned the process over to the Académie Royale in exchange for a much smaller sum than the artist had proposed; it was finally published in 1791 (see above, n. 30).
- 39. We know from the inventory of Le Prince's house that he himself had several of his etching and aquatints framed and hanging, undoubtedly to showcase his own work for visitors. Hédou, Jean Le Prince et son oeuvre, p. 206. Le Prince also mentions in the "Plan du Traité de la Gravure en lavis" of his prospectus that "Les estampes seront encadrées à l'imitation des dessins collés." Mercure de France, August 12, 1780, p. 94.
- 40. Salon livret (1767), no. 93: "Une jeune Fille endormie, surprise par son Père & sa Mère."
- 41. Diderot, for one, recognized Le Prince's emulation of the seventeenth-century Dutch artist, although he did not think that Le Prince's contrasts of light and dark were particularly effective in this painting. Denis Diderot, Diderot on Art II: The Salon of 1767, trans. John Goodman (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995), pp. 183-84.
- 42. On June 4, 1779, the abbé de Saint-Non wrote to the comte d'Angiviller, director of the Bâtiments du Roi, and referred to Desprez as "un homme d'une vaste imagination." See Régis Michel et al., La Chimère de Monsieur Desprez, exh. cat. (Paris: Ed. de la Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1994), p. 217.
- 43. "Chimere de M. Desprez d'une planche 8 sols" is the last print listed in the advertisement placed in L'Avant-coureur, November 4, 1771, p. 690; all of the prints were available for sale "à Paris chez Panseron Graveur . . . & chez les Marchands ordinaires d'Estampes." Victor Carlson (see Carlson and Ittmann, Regency to Empire, no. 80), like Nils G. Wollin (Gravures originales de Desprez ou exécutées d'après ses dessins [Malmö: J. Kroon, 1933], pp. 18-20 and p. 55, no. 22), has argued that Desprez made the Chimera later in his career in Rome, citing an impression of an early, unrecorded state in the Bonafous-Murat collection (which I have not been able to see) that bears the inscription "del Rom" after the artist's signature. However, as Régis Michel has pointed out (in "De la chimère au fantasme," in La Chimère de Monsieur Desprez, p. 8), the 1771 advertisement for this etching supports the case that Desprez created the *Chimera* in Paris; such a view is also supported by the etching's reprinting in Paris (it would be included, along with several of Desprez's architectural designs, in the 1781 publication L'Ouvrage d'architecture des Sieurs Desprez et Panseron) as well as the stylistic similarities between this work and other prints he made in the 1760s and early 1770s.
- 44. After arriving in Paris about 1755, Desprez spent time in the studio of the draftsman and printmaker Charles Nicolas Cochin II and then studied with the architect, printmaker, and publisher Jacques François Blondel and the architect Pierre Desmaison. His tutelage under Cochin and Blondel undoubtedly provided opportunities for the young artist to familiarize himself with etching. For an introduction to Desprez's printmaking, see Wollin, Gravures originales de Desprez; Marcel Roux and Edmond Pognon, Inventaire du fonds français: Graveurs du XVIIIe siècle, vol. 7, Deny (Melle Jeanne)-Du Puy-Delage (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, 1951), pp. 119-31; Ragnar von Holten, "Grafikern," in Louis Jean Desprez: Tecknare, Teaterkonstnär, Arkitekt, exh. cat. (Stockholm: Nationalmuseum, 1992), pp. 133-44; and Ragnar von Holten, "Desprez graveur original," in Michel et al., La Chimère de Monsieur Desprez, pp. 179–90.
- 45. Desprez probably made these two portraits between 1772 and 1776, as they were not listed for sale in *L'Avant-coureur* in 1771 nor do they bear prices in the lettering, as do the other prints included in this advertisement. On these two portraits, see Wollin, Gravures originales de Desprez, p. 18 and p. 50, nos. 20 and 21.

- 46. On the complicated and tumultuous genesis, financing, evolution, and oversight of this project, see Antony Griffiths, "The Contract between Laborde and Saint-Non for the Voyage Pittoresque de Naples et de Sicile," Print Quarterly 5 (1988), pp. 408-14, and Petra Lamers-Schütz, Il viaggio nel Sud dell'Abbé de Saint-Non: Il Voyage pittoresque à Naples et en Sicile; la genesi, i disegni preparatori, le incisioni (Naples: Electa Napoli, 1995).
- 47. In Pompeii, for example, Desprez re-created the death of Pliny the Elder during the eruption of Mount Vesuvius in A.D. 79. Marie-Anne Dupuy-Vachey, Vivant Denon et le Voyage pittoresque: Un Manuscrit inconnu (Paris: Fondation Custodia, 2009), p. 90.
- 48. Desprez presented two large drawings to members of the Académie Royale d'Architecture in April 1774, for which the artist's ability to excel in "le genre théâtral" was recognized (Michel et al., La Chimère de Monsieur Desprez, p. 212). Then, in 1784, Desprez twice designed the decoration of the Aliberti Theater (ibid., pp. 219-20). It was during this same year that Desprez met King Gustav III of Sweden, who while visiting Rome was so impressed by Desprez's work that he offered the artist the position of directing the stage design of the Stockholm opera. Desprez left for Sweden in July 1784 and lived there the rest of his life. See Barbro Stribolt and Ulf Cederlöf, "Desprez scénographe," in Michel et al., La Chimère de Monsieur Desprez, pp. 31-46.
- 49. According to the correspondence of the Swedish artist Louis Masreliez, who was spending time in Rome, Desprez and Piranesi began working on this project in September 1781 (Michel et al., La Chimère de Monsieur Desprez, pp. 20 and 218). When Desprez and Francesco Piranesi published the prospectus for this project in July 1783, they described the works as a "suite de dessins coloriés." In actuality, Piranesi etched Desprez's designs and then Desprez himself hand-colored the impressions with watercolor. For information on these prints, see Wollin, Gravures originales de Desprez, pp. 109-15, and Magnus Olausson, "Desprez et Piranèse fils: De l'original à la reproduction," in Michel et al., La Chimère de Monsieur Desprez, pp. 47-50.
- 50. On Desprez's four tomb prints, see Wollin, Gravures originales de Desprez, pp. 56-58, nos. 26-29; Carlson and Ittman, Regency to Empire, no. 81 (entry by Victor Carlson); Michel et al., La Chimère de Monsieur Desprez, pp. 155-60, figs. 35-38.
- 51. Like the headdress, Desprez probably concocted these fanciful Egyptian motifs from objects he could easily see in Rome (cat. 72).
- 52. In 1766, Desprez won one of the monthly prix d'émulation competitions for his "Projet d'un Temple funéraire Destiné à honorer les Cendres des Rois et des Grands Hommes," complete with a large, central pyramid flanked by obelisks. The designs were subsequently engraved by the printmaker Louis Gustave Taraval and dedicated to Voltaire, who wrote Desprez on July 6, 1770, to thank him: "... et moi j'eus la vanité de vouloir être enterré au plus vite dans ce beau monument." Theodore Besterman, ed., Voltaire's Correspondence, 107 vols. (Geneva: Institut et Musée Voltaire, 1953-65), vol. 76, pp. 9-10, no. 15473, cited in Michel et al., La Chimère de Monsieur Desprez, pp. 210-11. For Taraval's prints, see Wollin, Gravures originales de Desprez, pp. 51-53, nos. 1-5, illus. p. 141.
- 53. Like the Chimera, Desprez's tomb prints may have drawn on a wide range of possible influences. See Robert Kozérawski's discussion in "Les 'Tombeaux', quatre aquatintes de Louis-Jean Desprez," Histoire de l'art: Bulletin d'information de l'Institut National d'Histoire de l'Art publié en collaboration avec l'Association des Professeurs d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art des Universités 5/6 (1989), pp. 75-86.
- 54. Although Desprez may have seen examples of aquatint in Paris, he probably learned this printmaking technique in Italy, where a handful of artists were using aquatint in the late eighteenth century (see Wiebel, Aquatinta, pp. 283-300, for a discussion of their work). It is particularly tempting to think that Desprez may have been familiar with Giovanni David's prints, several impressions of which were owned by Denon, including David's series of twelve etching and aquatints entitled Divers portraits gravés à l'eau-forte

- et dediés à M. Dominique Corvi, published in 1775 in Venice. See Jean Duchesne, Description des objets d'arts qui composent le cabinet de feu M. le baron V. Denon: Estampes et ouvrages à figures par Duchesne aîné (Paris: Impr. d'Hippolyte Tilliard, 1826), pp. 57–58,
- 55. Four drawings in the collection of the Cooper-Hewitt, National Design Museum, New York, correspond to each of the tomb prints. The work that corresponds to the print illustrated here is Tomb with Death Seated (pen and black ink, brush and brown, gray, and blue-gray wash, traces of graphite on off-white paper, $7\frac{1}{16} \times 11\frac{5}{16}$ in. [18 × 28.7 cm]; 1938-88-3951). In addition, the Musée Sainte-Croix, Poitiers, has a related drawing for Tomb with Death Standing that is larger in scale (although not of comparable dimensions to the etching and aquatint) and slightly different in detail and media from the Cooper-Hewitt drawing of this composition. For color reproductions of all five drawings for the tomb prints, see Michel et al., La Chimère de Monsieur Desprez, pp. 156-57, figs. 30-34.
- 56. For reproductions of these drawings, see Nils G. Wollin, Desprez en Italie: Dessins topographiques et d'architecture, décors de théâtre et compositions romantiques, exécutés 1777–1784 (Malmö: A.-B. Malmö Ljustrycksanstalt, 1935), nos. 130, 186, and 183, respectively.
- 57. Wollin (*Gravures originales de Desprez*, p. 58, no. 30) describes three states (of which he illustrates two on p. 145) for this composition; the third is said to be inscribed "Emo 16" at upper right. This inscription is in fact a stamp ("Em.") with a handwritten number ("16"), an example of the mark that was added to works on paper seized from émigrés by the French government in the late eighteenth century (Lugt 881). A corresponding list in the Département des Estampes et de la Photographie, Bibliothèque Nationale, reveals that "Nr. 16" refers to works from the collection of "Clermont d'Amboise," the man who also owned the preparatory drawing for The Capture and Burning of Selinus by Hannibal and to whom Desprez dedicated his print. My thanks to Peter Fuhring for helping to unravel this mystery.
- 58. François Marandet, "The Formative Years of Jean-Étienne Liotard," Burlington Magazine 145 (2003), pp. 297-300.
- 59. The magisterial publication of Marcel Roethlisberger and Renée Loche, Liotard: Catalogue, sources, et correspondance, 2 vols. (Doornspijk: Davaco Publishers, 2008), encapsulates all of the primary documentation on the artist as well as a catalogue raisonné of his—and his twin brother's—work. For more information on Liotard's two early portrait prints, see ibid., no. 13, fig. 12, and no. 20.
- 60. Ibid., no. 18. This self-portrait has been traditionally dated to about 1733 because of an inscription on the impression in the collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale. The text of the inscription, however, states that Liotard made this print in 1733 while studying under Massé, which the discovery of the documents pertaining to Liotard's apprenticeship prove to be untrue (see above, n. 59). Accordingly, I am proposing a new date of about 1731 for this selfportrait, particularly as the web of lines and dashes that the artist used to model his face are comparable to the mark making he employed in Hérault's portrait.
- 61. Liotard also made portrait drawings of the Archdukes Ferdinand and Maximilian during this visit. On the eleven drawings he made of the imperial children in 1762, see Roethlisberger and Loche, Liotard, nos. 401-11, figs. 572-93; on the portraits he executed in 1778 of Emperor Joseph II and the Archdukes Maximilian Franz and Ferdinand Karl, see ibid., nos. 515-17, figs. 725, 726.
- 62. Liotard to his wife, February 14, 1778, ibid., p. 750: "l'Imperatrice et ses filles je crois craignent que je ne les fasse pas assez belles c'est je crois pourquoi on ne m'en fait peindre aucune[.]'
- 63. Beginning in December 1778, extant correspondence between Liotard's wife and son make repeated reference to the artist's "gravure" work. Liotard's wife expressed her disappointment on multiple occasions that the artist was so engrossed with printmaking that it superseded most of his other activities, including work

on a family portrait. See mother to son, December 2, 1778, ibid., pp. 811-12; son to mother, December 17, 1778, ibid., p. 812; mother to son, March 31, 1779, ibid., p. 814; and mother to son, November 16, 1779, ibid., p. 819. One of Madame Liotard's letters to her son tantalizingly suggests that he may have also worked on prints of the Archdukes Ferdinand and Maximilian, but there are no known prints of those sitters today. Madame Liotard to son, March 31, 1779, ibid., p. 814: "il [Liotard] est toujours occupé de sa gravûre, pr le Portraits de l'Empereur, & des Archiducs." On Liotard's portraits of the archdukes, see above, n. 61.

64. Maria Christina's portrait measures 35.6 \times 25 cm and Maria Anna's portrait measures 36.5 × 25.1 cm; both are cut within the platemark. The platemark for Joseph II's portrait measures 34.4 × 26.9 cm.

65. The prints of Maria Anna and Maria Christina are relatively close in dimensions to the Geneva drawings, albeit in reverse orientation. The print of Joseph II is smaller than the Amsterdam drawing but has the same orientation. In making the print of Joseph II, Liotard presumably relied on a graphite and red chalk drawing in the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Geneva, which has graphite squaring and traces of transfer on the verso. That preparatory line drawing is much closer in size to the print. Ibid., no. 524, fig. 732.

66. The 1745 and 1758 editions of Bosse's treatise (see chapter 1 in this volume, n. 14) describe mezzotint, known in France as the la manière noire or la manière anglaise (see Abraham Bosse, De la maniere de graver à l'eau forte et au burin, et de la gravûre en maniere noire avec la façon de construire les presses modernes, & d'imprimer en taille-douce . . . , new ed., ed. Charles-Nicolas Cochin [Paris: Chez Charles-Antoine Jombert, 1745], pp. 117–23). The entry on printmaking in Denis Diderot and Jean Le Rond d'Alembert's Encyclopédie, ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences. des arts et des métiers, par une société de gens de lettres (17 vols. [Paris: Briasson, 1751-65], vol. 7 [1757], pp. 902-3) includes a discussion of mezzotint, where it is noted that the technique is particularly well suited for portraits. In addition, it is possible that Liotard familiarized himself with mezzotint while traveling, particularly during his two trips to England, where the medium was most commonly used. (Roethlisberger and Loche, Liotard, p. 646, list some of the earliest examples of mezzotints being made after Liotard's work.) Perhaps, too, in the process of looking back over the course of his career and all the reproductive prints that had been made after his work, Liotard was seduced by the medium's distinctive velvety appearance—reminiscent of pastels—and its tonal rather than linear means of replicating imagery.

67. Maria Anna's portrait was overlooked in Roethlisberger and Loche, Liotard. See Perrin Stein, "A Rediscovered Liotard," Print Quarterly 27 (2010), pp. 55-60.

68. Roethlisberger and Loche, *Liotard*, no. 521. The impression in the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Geneva (ibid., fig. 728), is printed

69. These appear to be the result of irregular spacing between

70. Liotard, it seems, was aware of this issue and tried to compensate by adding the swag of drapery—a traditional prop used to lend a sense of monumentality to portrait compositions—to the left side of Maria Anna's portrait.

71. Ibid., nos. 522-28, figs. 729-45. The prints of the Venus Kallipygos and the artist's daughter are dated to 1780.

72. Jean Étienne Liotard, "Explication des différents jugemens sur la peinture," Mercure de France, November 1762, pp. 172-90, reprinted in Roethlisberger and Loche, *Liotard*, pp. 167-72.

73. Son to mother, September 6, 1779, Roethlisberger and Loche, Liotard, p. 817, and mother to son, December 28, 1779, ibid., p. 820. The possibility of a "Traité de la peinture" was also mentioned by the Genevan J. Vial in a letter written to Liotard's son on May 24, 1774. See ibid., pp. 172-79, for an overview of the genesis, evolution, and production of this publication.

74. Jean Étienne Liotard, Traité des principes et des règles de la peinture (Geneva, 1781; Geneva: Éditions Notari, 2007), pp. 11-12.

75. Ibid., pp. 48-49, and Roethlisberger and Loche, Liotard, no. 447, figs. 658, 659 (both dated to ca. 1770). Liotard made two versions of this self-portrait print (Roethlisberger and Loche, Liotard, nos. 522, 523; for a side-by-side comparison, see figs. 733 and 734). Both have the same numbering and lettering, but one is notably larger in size and more experimental in technique. It is unclear why Liotard decided to make two or which print came first, although in the smaller version the composition feels slightly more resolved, particularly in terms of how the artist rendered the back of the chair at lower right. It is the smaller version, however, that Liotard mentions having in his possession in Lyon when overseeing the printing of the book and plates: "... je le taterai en lui faisant inprimer mon petit portrait que jay icy." Liotard to François Tronchin, April 6, 1781, in Roethlisberger and Loche, Liotard, p. 756.

76. Liotard, Traité des principes et des règles de la peinture, p. 23: "c'est l'art de choisir et de saisir les moments où la nature est éclairée de la manière la plus avantageuse."

77. Ibid.: "Rembrandt, dans les grandes compositions, est de tous les peintres celui qui a mis le plus sensible et le plus agréable clair-obscur: mais on peut justement lui reprocher d'avoir trop dégradé des clairs, qui quelquefois sont plus bruns que des ombres." Aside from the general interest in Rembrandt's work in the eighteenth century (see chapters 5 and 6 in this volume), we know that Liotard could have seen many examples of Rembrandt's work in the collection of his patron François Tronchin. In 1757, in fact, Liotard made a pastel portrait of Tronchin appreciating one of the Rembrandt paintings in his collection (Cleveland Museum of Art; see Roethlisberger and Loche, Liotard, no. 349, fig. 499), which he cites in his treatise on p. 49.

78. Liotard, Traité des principes et des règles de la peinture, p. 23: "Voyez n. 1 mon portrait: j'ai tâché d'y mettre un bon clair-obscur; et quoique mes ombres soient fortes, elles sont Cependant douces, n'ayant fait aucun sacrifice de clairs."

79. Ibid., p. 11: "Les estampes ne sont cependant point tellement dépendantes de l'ouvrage, qu'on ne puisse acheter l'un sans l'autre." When one Parisian bookseller received shipment of the books in June 1784, he expressed confusion over the inclusion of the prints ("Il y a dans cette balle de livres quelques exemplaires de figures en manière noire") and wanted to know their price. Roethlisberger and Loche, Liotard, p. 174.

80. For a survey of other artists who employed mezzotint in tandem with other intaglio techniques in the eighteenth century, see Carol Wax's excellent The Mezzotint: History and Technique (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1990).

4 • ETCHING IN THE ETERNAL CITY

- 1. Isabelle Tillerot, "Graver les dessins de Watteau au XVIIIe siècle," in Quand la gravure fait illusion: Autour de Watteau et Boucher, le dessin gravé au XVIIIe siècle, exh. cat. (Valenciennes: Musée des Beaux-Arts de Valenciennes; Montreuil: Gourcuff-Gradenigo, 2006), pp. 27-55. See also chapter 1 in this volume, pp. 28-29.
- 2. Henry Lapauze, Histoire de l'Académie de France à Rome, vol. 1 (Paris: Plon-Nourrit, 1924), p. xiii.
- 3. Quoted and translated in Sonia Couturier, ed., Drawn to Art: French Artists and Art Lovers in 18th-Century Rome, exh. cat. (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 2011), p. 217, n. 1.
- 4. See Bernard Hercenberg, Nicolas Vleughels, peintre et directeur de l'Académie de France à Rome, 1668-1737 (Paris: L. Laget, 1975), pp. 13-30, and Françoise Joulie and Nicolas Lesur, "Le Modèle italien et les artistes français au XVIII^e siècle," in *L'Appel de l'Italie: Les* Échanges artistiques en Europe à l'époque modern; les Français et les Flamands en Italie (Grenoble: Centre de Recherche d'Histoire de l'Italie et Pays Alpines, 2009), pp. 101-37.

- 5. Correspondance des directeurs de l'Académie de France à Rome avec les surintendants des bâtiments, ed. Anatole de Montaiglon and Jules Guiffrey, 18 vols. (Paris: Charavay Frères, 1887-1912).
- 6. For a discussion of the exchange of artworks and favors within the community of amateurs in Rome, see Charlotte Guichard, Les Amateurs d'art à Paris au XVIIIe siècle (Seyssel: Champ Vallon, 2008), pp. 198-203.
- 7. Correspondance des directeurs de l'Académie de France à Rome, vol. 1, 1666-1694 (1887), p. 137: "une prèse. Pour des estampes."
- 8. "Une presse qui servoit a contrepreuver les dessins des pensionnaires," from a manuscript inventory, "Etat général des meubles appartenant à la République qui sont dans le Palais de la ci-devant Académie de France à Rome fait par le citoyen Vien, Directeur l'année de son départ 1781" (copy made during the Republic), Archives de l'Académie de France à Rome, carton 2, Inventaire de l'Académie de France à Rome, no. 7, fol. 10v (citation courtesy of Charlotte Guichard).
- 9. Hercenberg, Nicolas Vleughels, p. 20.
- 10. Jean-François Méjanès, Les Collections du comte d'Orsay: Dessins du Musée du Louvre, exh. cat. (Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1983). See the discussion of counterproofing on pp. 130-31.
- 11. Transcribed in Hercenberg, Nicolas Vleughels, p. 203.
- 12. Daniel Chol, Michel François Dandré-Bardon, ou l'apogée de la peinture en Provence au XVIIIe siècle (Aix-en-Provence: Édisud, 1987), pp. 116-17, nos. 161-66.
- 13. Quoted in Alvin L. Clark Jr., ed., Mastery & Elegance: Two Centuries of French Drawings from the Collection of Jeffrey E. Horvitz, exh. cat. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Art Museums, 1988), p. 234, no. 63 (entry by Jean-François Méjanès). See also Éric Pagliano, Plis & drapés dans les dessins français des XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles du Musée des Beaux-Arts d'Orléans, exh. cat. (Orléans: Musée des Beaux-Arts, 2005), pp. 38-41.
- 14. See, for example, Pierre Rosenberg, with the collaboration of Laure Barthélemy-Labeeuw, Les Dessins de la collection Mariette: École française, vol. 2, F–W (Milan: Electa, 2011), nos. F2761-F2763, pp. 1050-52, and Guilhem Scherf, "Un Sculpteur qui dessine: Michel-Ange Slodtz," in Dessins français aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles: Actes du colloque, École du Louvre, 24 et 25 juin 1999, ed. Nicolas Sainte Fare Garnot (Paris: École du Louvre, 2003), pp. 351-66.
- 15. Jeune homme déguisé en Turc, marchant vers la gauche, une épée sur l'épaule, attributed to Edme Bouchardon (inv. 35030) and the counterproof of Turc assis dans un fauteuil, de face, by Carle Vanloo (inv. 33163). The circumstances in which these drawings were made, their use by printmakers, the practices of exchange, and the resulting challenges of attribution are discussed by Jean-François Méjanès in Collections du comte d'Orsay, pp. 84-86. The style of these two sheets can also be compared to that of Slodtz himself. For examples, see Scherf, "Un Sculpteur qui dessine,"
- 16. In his monograph on the Slodtz, François Souchal wrote that he had seen only a single impression, in the Bibliothèque Municipale, Rouen. François Souchal, Les Slodtz: Sculpteurs et décorateurs du Roi (1685-1764) (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1967), p. 709, no. 39.
- 17. Ibid., pp. 654-65, no. 145, pl. 24a.
- 18. Maîtres français 1550–1800: Dessins de la donation Mathias Polakovits à l'École des Beaux-Arts, exh. cat. (Paris: École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, 1989), p. 218 (under no. 89, entry by Jean-François Méjanès).
- 19. See Andrea Emiliani and August Rave, eds., Giuseppe Maria Crespi, 1665-1747, exh. cat. ([Bologna]: Nuova alfa editoriale, 1990), illus. p. 87.
- 20. Correspondance des directeurs de l'Académie de France à Rome, vol. 9, 1733-1741 (1899), letter 3913, p. 154.

- 21. "la Renommée lui crie les noms de Subleras, de Vernet & de Pierre, Michel-Ange Slodtz & autres Artistes distingués, . . . déjà il est leur ami. Cette union était plus que suffisante pour le guider dans le choix de la superbe Collection qu'il devait remporter dans son retour . . . il les a consultés, & leurs conseils sont ses oracles." Quoted in Nicolas Lesur and Olivier Aaron, Jean-Baptiste Marie Pierre, 1714–1789: Premier Peintre du roi (Paris: Arthena, 2009), p. 26.
- 22. Ibid., p. 21.
- 23. Ibid., pp. 32-38.
- 24. See chapter 5 in this volume, pp. 140-42.
- 25. Souchal, Les Slodtz, p. 717.
- 26. Lesur and Aaron, Jean-Baptiste Marie Pierre, p. 212, no. P.5.
- 27. The print was catalogued, but not illustrated or dated, in ibid., p. 491, no. *G.37. The idea of a playful, ambiguous subject was suggested by Nicolas Lesur (email correspondence, April 25, 2012), who also drew my attention (email, July 16, 2012) to an untraced red chalk drawing of "un Berger qui joue de la Cornemuse" in the collection of Blondel d'Azincourt (Lesur and Aaron, Jean-Baptiste Marie Pierre, no. *D.491). Lesur also concurs with our proposed date of ca. 1740 based on the style and the format of the signature, an uppercase "P" that also appears in Saint Charles Borromée donnant la communion aux pestiférés (ibid., p. 479, no. G.5).
- 28. Olivier Michel and Pierre Rosenberg, eds., Subleyras, 1699-1749, exh. cat. (Paris: Ministère de la Culture et de la Communication, 1987), pp. 196-202, nos. 33, 34; Victor I. Carlson and John W. Ittmann, eds., Regency to Empire: French Printmaking, 1715–1814, exh. cat. (Baltimore: Baltimore Museum of Art; Minneapolis: Minneapolis Institute of Arts, 1984), pp. 96-97, no. 22 (entry by Victor Carlson).
- 29. In this state, a new caption was added at the lower margin: "Observer que Subleyras n'a fait tirer à Rome que quelques épreuves de cette Planche qui furent mal imprimées. En 1787, on en a fait tirer seulement cent épreuves pour multiplier l'admirable composition du Sublime Tableau de même grandeur qui appartient actuellement au Roi." An impression of this state is in the Département des Estampes, Bibliothèque Nationale de France (AA-4 rés). See also Louis Dimier, Les Peintres français du XVIII^e siècle (Paris and Brussels: Van Oest, 1930), vol. 2, p. 90, no. 5.
- 30. "[L]'ambassadeur du Roy ou par des prélats de la nation résidens à Rome." Correspondance des directeurs de l'Académie de France à Rome, vol. 9, 1733-1741 (1899), letter 4103, p. 316.
- 31. "avec toute la décence que leur dignité exige." Ibid., p. 317.
- 32. Christophe Leribault, Jean-François de Troy (1679–1752) (Paris: Arthena, 2002), pp. 111-61.
- 33. "la gravure est un talent qui est presque perdu dans ce pays-ci." Correspondance des directeurs de l'Académie de France à Rome, vol. 9, letter 4354, p. 473.
- 34. Jean François de Troy estate sale, Pierre Remy, Paris, April 9-May 5, 1764 (Lugt 1372), lots 312-21.
- 35. Leribault, Jean-François de Troy, p. 201.
- 36. Ibid., pp. 200-203, and Michel and Rosenberg, Subleyras, p. 121. In addition to Vien and Gallimard, Louis Joseph Le Lorrain, François Hutin, and Jean-Baptiste Hutin also etched plates after de Troy's paintings.
- 37. The two paintings shared the dubious distinction of being rejected by their original patrons. See Leribault, Jean-François de Troy, pp. 396-97, no. P.313, and Thomas W. Gaehtgens and Jacques Lugand, Joseph-Marie Vien: Peintre du Roi (1716-1809) (Paris: Arthena, 1988), p. 135, no. 26.
- 38. For the full set, see Couturier, *Drawn to Art*, pp. 196–99, no. 77, and Gaehtgens and Lugand, Joseph-Marie Vien, pp. 281-84, nos. G.2-.33; and for further discussion, see Leribault, Jean-François de Troy, pp. 141-46, and Sarah Boyer, "De Jean Barbault à Jean-Robert Ango: Quelques précisions autour de la Caravane du sultan

- à la Mecque," in Jean Barbault, (1718-1762): Le Théâtre de la vie italienne, exh. cat. (Strasbourg: Musées de la Ville de Strasbourg,
- 39. For his description of the project's genesis, see his Mémoires, reprinted in Gaehtgens and Lugand, Joseph-Marie Vien, pp. 296-97.
- 40. An announcement in the Mercure de France (January 1751, p. 120) lavished praise on Vien's series.
- 41. On the reception of the embassy in France, see Perrin Stein, "Exoticism as Metaphor: Turquerie in Eighteenth-Century French Art" (PhD diss., New York University, 1997), pp. 129-58; on the gifts exchanged, see John Whitehead, "Royal Riches and Parisian Trinkets: The Embassy of Saïd Mehemet Pacha to France in 1741-42 and Its Exchange of Gifts," The Court Historian 14, no. 2 (December 2009), pp. 161-75.
- 42. Such conceits were pervasive in the literature of the period. See Julia V. Douthwaite, Exotic Women: Literary Heroines and Cultural Strategies in Ancien Régime France (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992), especially chap. 2, "The Exotic Other Becomes Cultural Critic," pp. 74-139.
- 43. De Troy described this benefit to the pension naires in a letter to Tournehem: "chacun en a fait des desseins à part qui peuvent leur servir d'étude pour les habillemens des Orientaux, qui étoient conformes à toutes les qualités des personnages qu'ils représentoient avec une très exacte recherche," published in Correspondance des directeurs de l'Académie de France à Rome, vol. 10, 1742–1753 (1900), letter 4629, pp. 146-47.
- 44. Seth Gopin et al., Jean Baptiste Vanmour: Peintre de la Sublime Porte, 1671–1737, exh. cat. (Valenciennes: Musée des Beaux-Arts, 2009), especially pp. 101-71.
- 45. De Troy estate sale, 1764, lot 240.
- 46. For Vien's drawings, see José-Luis de Los Llanos in Fragonard et le dessin français au XVIIIe siècle dans les collections du Petit Palais, exh. cat. (Paris: Musée du Petit Palais, 1992), pp. 37–75.
- 47. An interesting pair of prints inspired by Vien, each pairing a copy of a male figure with a female figure, is in the collection of the British Museum (2011,7059.28 and 2011,7059.29), with a pagoda and kiosk added in the background of the plate featuring the Chinese ambassador.
- 48. "s'est amusé pendant ses vacances à dessiner et graver toutes les figures qui composoient la mascarade." Correspondance des directeurs de l'Académie de France à Rome, vol. 10, letter 4659, p. 165.
- 49. See Mario Gori Sassoli, Della Chinea e di altre "Macchine di Gioia": Apparati architettonici per fuochi d'artificio a Roma nel Settecento, exh. cat. (Milan: Charta, 1994), and John E. Moore, "Prints, Salami, and Cheese: Savoring the Roman Festival of the Chinea," Art Bulletin 77, no. 4 (December 1995), pp. 584-608.
- 50. Gori Sassoli, Della Chinea e di altre "Macchine di Gioia," pp. 107-11, nos. 31-36. Le Lorrain's preparatory drawing was sold at Christie's, Paris, on March 23, 2006 (lot 293), and was acquired by the Musée du Louvre, Paris (RF 54415).
- 51. "des talens infinis dans tous les genres de peinture. . . ." Correspondance des directeurs de l'Académie de France à Rome, vol. 10, letter 4672, p. 172.
- 52. Hutin was an exceptional case. He came to Rome in 1737 to accompany his son, Charles François Hutin, and, once there, was himself named pensionnaire. He is recorded as having been a painter and a sculptor, but nothing is known of his production beyond the etchings he made in Rome.
- 53. Piranèse et les Français, 1740-1790, exh. cat. (Rome: Académie de France à Rome; Edizioni dell'Elefante, 1976).
- 54. Petitot: Un artista del Settecento europeo a Parma, exh. cat. (Parma: U. Guanda, 1997), pp. 70-72, 74-75.
- 55. "quand les Architectes voudront se donner la peine de graver eux-mêmes leurs pensées, ils seront toujours les meilleurs Graveurs en ce genre. . . . " Mercure de France, January 1751, p. 119.

- 56. See Piranèse et les Français, p. 47; J. Wilton-Ely, The Mind and Art of Giovanni Battista Piranesi (London: Thames & Hudson, 1978), p. 12; and Edgar Peters Bowron and Joseph J. Rishel, eds., Art in Rome in the Eighteenth Century, exh. cat. (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 2000), pp. 565-66.
- 57. Les Plus Beaux Monuments de Rome ancienne (Rome, 1761) and Les Plus Beaux Edifices de Rome moderne (Rome, 1763).
- 58. Gilles Montègre, La Rome des Français au temps des Lumières: Capitale de l'antique et carrefour de l'Europe, 1769–1791 (Rome: École Française de Rome, 2011), pp. 160-66; Piranèse et les Français, p. 36, no. 3. Bouchard and Gravier also frequently sent shipments of prints and books to clients in France, and works by the pensionnaires were sometimes included in these shipments. The Correspondance paints a picture of a long-standing, close relationship between the Académie and the libraire. See Correspondance des directeurs de l'Académie de France à Rome, vol. 10, p. 172; vol. 11, pp. 307, 317; vol. 13, p. 255; vol. 14, pp. 178, 195, 207, 271, 450; vol. 15, pp. 34-35, 179, 293-94; vol. 16, p. 392.
- 59. Carlson and Ittmann, Regency to Empire, pp. 112-13, no. 29 (entry by Victor Carlson).
- 60. Vernet's estate sale, held in Paris on April 20, 1790 (Lugt 4572), included paintings by Dughet and Panini as well as two copies after Rosa by Vernet (lot 16). The preface (p. 4) emphasized his debt to Italian art, citing Solimena, Panini, Locatelli, and Rosa as influences.
- 61. The dates of Vernet's two prints are not known, but they are assumed to have been made while he was in Italy; the impression exhibited here is printed on paper with a watermark associated with Naples between 1745 and 1752. See Carlson and Ittmann, Regency to Empire, pp. 114-15, no. 30 (entry by Richard Campbell). Interestingly, a copy of Return from Fishing exists, not noted in the literature, that emulates closely the verve and speed of the lines in the original, suggesting that a work such as this-which celebrated a certain freedom of draftsmanship and is quite distinct from the many reproductive prints made after Vernet's work—was in enough demand to warrant copying. The copy (or version?) was exhibited in The Early Modern Painter-Etcher, Philadelphia, Sarasota, and Northampton, in 2006 (see Michael Cole, ed., The Early Modern Painter-Etcher, exh. cat. [University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006], pp. 158–59, no. 56 [entry by Madeleine Viljoen]). Another impression of the copy is in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (M5141).
- 62. On Natoire's second Roman period, see Susanna Caviglia-Brunel, Charles-Joseph Natoire, 1700-1777 (Paris: Arthena, 2012), pp. 115-65.
- 63. "une infinité d'abus. . . ." Correspondance des directeurs de l'Académie de France à Rome, vol. 10, letter 4892, p. 364.
- 64. Ibid., letter 4892, pp. 364–65. In a later letter, Vandières would go further, referring to de Troy as negligent and inattentive; ibid., letter 4913, p. 390.
- 65. Perrin Stein, "Copies and Retouched Drawings by Charles-Joseph Natoire," Master Drawings 38, no. 2 (Summer 2000), pp. 167-86; Caviglia-Brunel, Charles-Joseph Natoire, pp. 137-39, and 497-507.
- 66. See chapter 5 in this volume.
- 67. Guichard, Les Amateurs d'art à Paris, pp. 201-3.
- 68. In the final state of Watelet's print, which was bound in the Italian edition of Nella venuta, the cutting required to reduce the format of the plate removed the signature. For the etched copy by Weirotter in the later French edition, see Carlson and Ittmann, Regency to Empire, pp. 172-73, although at that time the Italian version was also considered to be by Weirotter, based on an indistinct signature on an even earlier state in the Houghton Library, Harvard University.
- 69. See ibid., pp. 168-71, no. 54 (entry by Victor Carlson), and Couturier, Drawn to Art, pp. 144-47, no. 55c (entry by Sonia Couturier).

- 70. Christian Michel, "Les Strategies économiques et sociales de Wille," in Johann Georg Wille (1715–1808) et son milieu: Un Réseau européen de l'art au XVIIIe siècle, Rencontres de l'École du Louvre 23 (Paris, 2009), p. 86.
- 71. The print was bequeathed by Phyllis Massar, who recognized the importance of the inscription and published a brief note on it in Print Quarterly 3 (1986), pp. 60-61. The "Sc" stands for sculpsit, derived from Latin and meaning "[he/she] engraved it."
- 72. Anne Mézin, Les Consuls de France au siècle des Lumières (1715–1792) (Paris: Direction des Archives et de la Documentation, Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, 1998), p. 248.
- 73. This information on the conversazione of Madame Digne was kindly offered by Charlotte Guichard (email of February 5, 2012), who also supplied the following references: Richard, M. L'Abbé, Description historique et critique de l'Italie (Dijon: Des Ventes, 1766), vol. 5, pp. 151-52, and Jean-Marie Roland de la Platière, Lettres écrites de Suisse, d'Italie, de Sicile et de Malthe (Amsterdam, 1780), vol. 5, p. 57. See also Montègre, La Rome des Français, pp. 63, 76. In a letter to Marigny of September 14, 1763, Natoire mentions Digne and his wife having their double portrait painted by Hugues Taraval, a pensionnaire who took up residence at the Académie in the same year as Robert. See Correspondance des directeurs de l'Académie de France à Rome, vol. 11, 1754–1763 (1901), letter 5695,
- 74. For more on their connections, see Couturier, Drawn to Art,
- 75. The caption for pl. XI in the Italian edition reads, "Scherzo poetico in congiuntura, che la da Signora, e Madama Digne si trovarono in Tivoli e veder la Caduta del Fiume Aniene."
- 76. Interestingly, this plate is missing from the set of early (pre-Wille) impressions in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, where a similar but previously unpublished plate is incorrectly catalogued as La Galerie antique (Baudicour 10), DC 12 (A) fol., feuille 2, fig. 10. In addition to these two etched versions, one can point to at least four drawn variants of the subject. See Jean de Cayeaux, Les Hubert Roberts de la Collection Vegrene au Musée de Valence (Valence: Musée de Valence, 1985), no. 65 and figs. 87, 88. A sanguine version was sold in Paris in 2009 (sale, Beaussant Lefèvre, Paris, June 10, 2009, lot 55).
- 77. The drawing is dated 1760-65 in Caviglia-Brunel, Charles-Joseph Natoire, p. 420, no. D.565.
- 78. Julien may have been aware of similar sketch plates by Boucher and Fragonard; see chapter 6 in this volume, pp. 158-60 and 163-66.
- 79. For an earlier etching made in Russia, see chapter 6 in this volume, pp. 167 and 173; for his later aquatints of Neoclassical ornament, see chapter 2 in this volume, pp. 51-52.
- 80. For Houdon's Saint Bruno (Church of Santa Maria degli Angeli, Rome), see the entry for the related plaster in Anne L. Poulet, Jean-Antoine Houdon, Sculptor of the Enlightenment, exh. cat. (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 2003), pp. 77-80, no. 4.
- 81. A proof-state impression in the British Museum, London (1971, 0515.15), gives a sense of the repeated bitings that were necessary to create a tonal range equivalent to that of the painting.

5 • AMATEURS AND THE CULTURE OF ETCHING

- 1. "La nécessité, que je crois presque indispensable à l'amateur, de copier en tout genre, de dessiner et de peindre même d'après la nature, enfin de pratiquer toutes les opérations de ce bel art." Comte de Caylus, Vies d'artistes du XVIIIe siècle: Discours sur la peinture et la sculpture. Salons de 1751 et de 1753—Lettre à Lagrenée, ed. André Fontaine (Paris: H. Laurens, 1910), p. 122.
- 2. Ann Bermingham, Learning to Draw: Studies in the Cultural History of a Polite and Useful Art (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000); Charlotte Guichard, Les Amateurs d'art à Paris au

- XVIIIe siècle (Seyssel: Champ Vallon, 2008); Alexander Rosenbaum, Der Amateur als Künstler: Studien zur Geschichte und Funktion des Dilettantismus in 18. Jahrhundert (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 2010).
- 3. On this notion, see Antoine Lilti, Le Monde des salons: Sociabilité et mondanité à Paris au XVIIIe siècle (Paris: Fayard, 2005).
- 4. "amateur éclairé des arts." Louis Petit de Bachaumont, Mémoires secrets pour servir à l'histoire de la république des lettres en France depuis MDCCLXXII jusqu'à nos jours; ou, Journal d'un observateur (London: Chez John Adamson, 1777), vol. 7, pp. 3ff. (June 1773).
- 5. Laurence Chatel de Brancion, Carmontelle's Landscape Transparencies: Cinema of the Enlightenment (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2008).
- 6. "Dainville m'amène mon fils qui vient prendre . . . une leçon de dessin d'une heure; pendant ce temps j'écris toujours: on m'apporte les yeux, les nez & les profils qu'on a fait, je blâme ou j'approuve." Madame de Genlis, Adèle et Théodore, ou, Lettres sur l'éducation (Paris: M. Lambert, 1782), vol. 1, letter 7, p. 31.
- 7. Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart et al., The Letters of Mozart and His Family, ed. and trans. Cecil Bernard Oldman, 3 vols. (London: Macmillan, 1938), vol. 2, pp. 784-85.
- 8. William Weber, "Did People Listen in the Eighteenth Century?" Early Music 25, no. 4 (1997), pp. 678-91.
- 9. Quand la gravure fait illusion: Autour de Watteau et Boucher; le dessin gravé au XVIIIe siècle, exh. cat. (Montreuil: Gourcuff-Gradenigo, 2006); Antony Griffiths, "Notes on Early Aquatint in England and France," Print Quarterly 4 (1987), pp. 255-70.
- 10. "une table contenant différents ouvrages pour l'usage de la presse et l'impression à l'eau forte." Estate inventory of Jean Claude Richard, abbé de Saint-Non, XVIII/899 (December 21, 1791), Archives Nationales, Paris, Minutier Central.
- 11. "environ cent pointes, limes, grattoirs et ustensiles pour la gravure; trois boîtes de Pastel, une Boête à couleur dans laquelle se trouve un grand pain d'encre de la Chine, et trois autres; un chevalet de bois d'acajou et divers objets utiles à la Peinture et au Dessin." Estate inventory of Claude Henri Watelet, T 978 (January 13-August 9, 1786), Archives Nationales, Paris.
- 12. The estate inventory of Madame de Pompadour reveals that she had a press at her home; see Pascal Torres Guardiola, "Remarques sur la suite d'estampes gravées par madame la marquise de Pompadour d'après les pièces gravées par Jacques Guay," in Madame de Pompadour et les arts, ed. Xavier Salmon, exh. cat. (Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 2002), pp. 215-36. Similarly, during Benjamin Franklin's visit to the abbé de Saint-Non, "he had provided himself with a press; you pull an impression, and a charming print emerges, on which you see the genius of Franklin floating over the hemisphere of the New World, crowned with the hands of Liberty"; Gabriel Brizard, Notice sur Jean-Claude Richard de Saint-Non (Paris: Impr. De Clousier, 1792).
- 13. Nicolas Lesur and Olivier Aaron, Jean-Baptiste Marie Pierre, 1714-1789: Premier Peintre du roi (Paris: Arthena, 2009), p. 34.
- 14. "Si ce poème m'appartenait, je couperais toutes les vignettes, je les mettrais sous des glaces, et je jetterais le reste au feu." Denis Diderot, Oeuvres complètes, vol. 13, Arts et lettres (1739-1766), (Paris: Hermann, 1980), p. 128.
- 15. "pour se donner un air de cour ou l'air amateur." Correspondance littéraire, philosophique et critique, par Grimm, Diderot, Raynal, Meister, etc., rev. ed., vol. 10 (Paris: Garnier Frères, 1879), D. 522.
- 16. Michel Baridon, Jean-Louis Haquette, and Christine Dessemme, Moulin Joly, un jardin enchanté au siècle des Lumières, exh. cat. (Colombes: Musée Municipal d'Art et d'Histoire, 2006).
- 17. Souvenirs de Madame Vigée Le Brun (Paris: Charpentier, 1869), vol. 1, p. 103: "Robert, le peintre de paysage, et moi, nous retrouvâmes encore tout l'enchantement que ce lieu nous avait fait éprouver. C'est pendant ce voyage que je fis un de mes meilleurs

- portraits, celui de Robert, la palette à la main." ("Robert, the landscape painter, and I found once again the full sense of enchantment this place produced in us. It was during that trip that I did one of my best portraits, of Robert, palette in hand.")
- 18. Guichard, Les Amateurs d'art, p. 274.
- 19. Françoise Arquié-Bruley, "Watelet, Marguerite Le Comte et le Moulin Joli d'après les Archives Nationales," Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français, 1998, pp. 131-57.
- 20. "Varie vedute del gentile mulino dissegnate d'appresso natura dal Principe ed intagliate del abbate di Sannone. Dedicate al amabile e leggiadra Mulinaia."
- 21. Claude Henri Watelet, Essay on Gardens, trans. and ed. Samuel Danon (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003). See also Dora Wiebenson, The Picturesque Garden in France (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1978).
- 22. Sonia Couturier, Pour l'amour de l'art: Artistes et amateurs français à Rome au XVIIIe siècle, exh. cat. (Milan: Silvana; Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada; Caen: Musée des Beaux-Arts de Caen, 2011).
- 23. Colin B. Bailey, Patriotic Taste: Collecting Modern Art in Pre-Revolutionary Paris (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002).
- 24. Suzanne Boorsch, "The Recueil de Caricatures by La Live de Jully after Saly," in "Recent Acquisitions, 2001–2003," Yale University Art Gallery Bulletin, 2004, pp. 68-83.
- 25. The drawing is signed and dated "Poussin / 1764" and is inscribed on the mount "dessiné à rome / par La vallée Poussin / Md Le Comte." See Dessins français, exh. cat. (Paris: Galerie Nicolas Schwed, 2013), no. 14.
- 26. "Raccolta di Vasi dedicata all ill^{ma} signora GEOFFRIN Delle Arti Amante riamata."
- 27. For example, in the collection etched by La Live de Jully: "Studio di paesi dedicato al III.^{mo} Dupin de Franceuil sig^{re} virtuosissimo ed amicissimo del autore La Live de J." The artist's graphic oeuvre is in the Cabinet des Estampes, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (Ad-16-Fol).
- 28. Charles Philippe Campion de Tersan's etching is dedicated to the abbé de Saint-Non: "Al signore abbate di Saint-Non, dilettante diletto"; Guichard, Les Amateurs d'art, p. 283.
- 29. Ewa Lajer-Burcharth, "Pompadour's Touch: Difference in Representation," Representations 73, no. 1 (Winter 2001), pp. 54-88. On the marquise de Pompadour's suite of prints, see Torres Guardiola, "Remarques sur la suite d'estampes," pp. 215-36.
- 30. For example, Jacopo da Pontormo's portrait of Alessandro de' Medici (ca. 1534–35, Philadelphia Museum of Art), in which the prince is shown drawing.
- 31. "un petit ouvrage fait à l'occasion du voyage en Italie de M. Watelet, lequel j'ai vu vendre cher dans plusieurs vente parce que pendant son vivant il n'en avait voulu donner aucun exempl. qu'à des amis très intimes." Letter from Basan to the younger Anisson, March 4, 1788, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, Cabinet des Estampes, Réserve, Yd-84, Nella venuta.
- 32. Letter from Charles Joseph Natoire to the marguis de Marigny, March 13, 1765. In Correspondance des directeurs de l'Académie de France à Rome avec les surintendants des bâtiments, vol. 12, 1764-1774, ed. Anatole de Montaiglon and Jules Guiffrey (Paris: Charavay Frères, 1902), pp. 73-74.
- 33. Pierre Rosenberg, "Les Bergeret en Italie, 1773-1774," in Fragonard et le voyage en Italie, 1773–1774: Les Bergeret, une famille de mécènes, exh. cat. (Paris: Somogy, 2001), p. 51.
- 34. "On ne peut exiger d'un Antiquaire, de manier le crayon avec élégance, ni de composer comme un Artiste; ces talens lui seroient inutiles: je demande seulement qu'il ait assez travaillé dans ce genre, pour avoir acquis la justesse de l'oeil." Anne Claude Philippe de Tubières, comte de Caylus, Recueil d'antiquités égyptiennes, étrusques, grecques et romaines, vol. 3 (Paris: Chez Desaint & Saillant, 1759), preface, p. xix.

- 35. Joachim Rees, Die Kultur des Amateurs: Studien zu Leben und Werk von Anne Claude Philippe de Thubières, Comte de Caylus (1692-1765) (Weimar: VDG, 2006).
- 36. Roseline Bacou and Françoise Viatte, Le Cabinet d'un grand amateur P.-J. Mariette, 1694–1774: Dessins du XV^e au XVIII^e siècle (Paris: Ministère des Affaires Culturelles, 1967); Pierre Rosenberg, in collaboration with Laure Barthélemy-Labeeuw, Les Dessins de la collection Mariette: École française, 2 vols. (Milan: Mondadori Electa, 2011); Kristel Smentek, "Art, Commerce, and Scholarship in the Age of Enlightenment: Pierre-Jean Mariette and the Making of Art History" (PhD diss., University of Delaware, 2008).
- 37. "copié par M. Mariette, supérieurement bien." François Basan, Catalogue raisonné des différens objets de curiosités dans les sciences et arts, qui composoient le Cabinet de feu Mr. Mariette (Paris: Chez l'Auteur, rue et Hôtel Serpente, November 15, 1775-January 30, 1776 [Lugt 2453]), lot 153. See also Rosenberg with Barthélemy-Labeeuw, Les Dessins de la collection Mariette, cited in vol. 2, pp. 891-93, n. 33.
- 38. "Ant." Mar. ae Zanetti Veneto, redivivo Parmensi, hoc artis suae tirocinium, Amicus Amico, pro munere munusculum offerebat."
- 39. "génie plein de feu qui n'avait nulle élévation." Jean-Baptiste Descamps, La Vie des peintres flamands, allemands et hollandois, avec des portraits gravés en taille-douce, vol. 2 (Paris: Chez Jombert, 1754), p. 93.
- 40. Ellen G. D'Oench, "A Madness to Have His Prints': Rembrandt and Georgian Taste, 1720-1800," in Rembrandt in Eighteenth-Century England, ed. Christopher White, David Alexander, and Ellen D'Oench (New Haven: Yale Center for British Art, 1983), pp. 63-81.
- 41. Giulio Lorenzetti, Anton-Maria Zanetti: Un dilettante incisore veneziano del XVIII secolo (Venice: La Società, 1917).
- 42. Cabinet des Estampes, Réserve, Ad-8-pet.fol, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris,
- 43. Katie Scott, "Chardin Multiplied," in Pierre Rosenberg, Chardin, exh. cat. (London: Royal Academy of Arts; New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1999), pp. 65-66; Juliet Carey, Taking Time: Chardin's Boy Building a House of Cards and Other Paintings, exh. cat. (London: Rothschild Foundation, Waddesdon Manor, 2012), p. 94.
- 44. "Il est très intéressant, par plusieurs motifs, qu'un graveur voie imprimer ses ouvrages, soit pour connoitre d'instant en instant les progrès de la planche à laquelle il travaille, soit pour, sans perdre de tems, remarquer et empêcher les défauts dans lesquels l'imprimeur tomberoit par négligence surtout dans le genre nouveau de graver dont le suppliant est l'inventeur, et qui exige, par la délicatesse des travaux, une attention particulière sur l'imprimeur qui tire les estampes." "Requête d'Antoine de Marcenay de Ghuy, écuyer, peintre et graveur, au lieutenant général de police, sollicitant l'autorisation d'avoir une presse chez lui," August 1764 (Parcheminiers, papetiers, imprimeurs en taille-douce, graveurs, dominotiers, marchands d'estampes [1599-1771], fol. 69), Cabinet des Manuscrits, Fonds français 22120, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris. See also Guichard, Les Amateurs d'art, pp. 292-94.
- 45. On this point, see Charlotte Guichard, "Taste Communities: The Rise of the Amateur in Eighteenth-Century Paris," Eighteenth-Century Studies 45, no. 4 (Summer 2012), pp. 519-47.
- 46. "Je me suis assuré, par des observations très répétées & faites avec la loupe, qu'il n'employait que l'eau-forte, la pointe sèche, & quelquefois peut-être des tailles & des touches de burin peu soignées." On Rembrandt's technique, see Christopher White, Rembrandt as an Etcher: A Study of the Artist at Work (London: A. Zwemmer Ltd., 1969), vol. 1, pp. 9-21.
- 47. Jean de Cayeux, "Watelet et Rembrandt," Bulletin de la Société d'Histoire de l'Art Français, 1965, pp. 131-62.
- 48. The painting (inv. 2744) was exhibited in 1976-77, at which point it was in a private collection. See Edgar Munhall, Jean-Baptiste

- Greuze, 1725-1805, exh. cat. (Hartford: Wadsworth Atheneum, 1976), pp. 87-88, under no. 35.
- 49. Lise Bicart-Sée and Marie-Anne Dupuy, "Dessins des diverses Écoles," in Dominique-Vivant Denon: L'Oeil de Napoléon, exh. cat. (Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1999), p. 452.
- 50. Collection des livrets des anciennes expositions, depuis 1673 jusqu'en 1800, 8 vols. (1869-72; facsimile, Nogent-le-Roi: J. Laget, 1990-91), vol. 6, p. 57.
- 51. Dominique Vivant Denon, Lettres à Bettine, ed. Fausta Garavini (Arles: Actes Sud, 1999), p. 372, letter of March 1, 1795, to Isabelle Teotochi Marin.
- 52. Carlo Ginzburg, "Style, inclusion et exclusion," in À distance: Neuf essais sur le point de vue en histoire (Paris: Gallimard, 2001), pp. 117-46.
- 53. See Alison McQueen, The Rise of the Cult of Rembrandt: Reinventing an Old Master in Nineteenth-Century France (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2003).
- 54. Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre: Ein Roman (Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1801), vol. 4, book 7, chap. 8: "Wer sie [die Kunst] halb kennt, ist immer irre und redet viel; wer sie ganz besitzt, mag nur tun und redet selten oder spät." And yet they are testaments to a learning process within the scholarly milieu close to the Académie Royale: the constitution of a new visual knowledge that combined the pastimes of high society with the expertise of connoisseurship and the pleasures of artistic practice.

6 • ECHOES OF REMBRANDT AND CASTIGLIONE

- 1. Margaret Morgan Grasselli, ed., Colorful Impressions: The Printmaking Revolution in Eighteenth-Century France, exh. cat. (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 2003); Quand la gravure fait illusion: Autour de Watteau et Boucher; le dessin gravé au XVIIIe siècle, exh. cat. (Montreuil: Gourcuff-Gradenigo, 2006).
- 2. The complexity of the relationship between etching and drawing from the Renaissance through the nineteenth century is explored by Madeleine Viljoen in "Etching and Drawing in Early Modern Europe," in Michael Cole, ed., The Early Modern Painter-Etcher, exh. cat. (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006), pp. 53-73.
- 3. For a broader view of this aesthetic, see Peter Parshall, "Unfinished Business: The Problem of Resolution in Printmaking," in Peter Parshall, Stacey Sell, and Judith Brodie, The Unfinished Print, exh. cat. (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 2001), pp. 9-54.
- 4. See Guillaume Faroult, "Marble and Fire: European Painting and Its Ouest for 'Grandeur' between the Aspiration to Perfection and the Fire of Enthusiasm (1747–1789)," in Guillaume Faroult et al., Antiquity Revived: Neoclassical Art in the Eighteenth Century, exh. cat. (Paris: Gallimard, 2011), pp. 24-33.
- 5. L'Apothéose du geste: L'Esquisse peinte au siècle de Boucher et Fragonard, exh. cat. (Strasbourg: Les Musées de Strasbourg, 2003).
- 6. Quoted by Marianne Roland Michel, "Le Trésor de leurs études," in L'Apothéose du geste, p. 58. See also Uwe Fleckner, "Pourquoi une belle esquisse nous plaît-elle plus qu'un beau tableau?': Fragonard, Diderot et l'éloquence du pinceau dans quelques portraits du XVIIIe siècle," in L'Art et les normes sociales au XVIIIe siècle, ed. Thomas W. Gaehtgens et al. (Paris: Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, 2001), pp. 509-33.
- 7. This analogy was drawn by Christian Michel in "Imagination et feu: L'Esquisse dans la pensée du XVIIIe siècle," in L'Apothéose du
- 8. Charlotte Guichard, Les Amateurs d'art à Paris au XVIIIe siècle (Seyssel: Champ Vallon, 2008), pp. 286-96.

- 9. Frances L. Preston, "Gersaint on Rembrandt: À son seul génie," Dutch Crossing: A Journal of Low Countries Studies 25, no. 2 (Winter 2001), pp. 200-220.
- 10. Vicomte de Fonspertuis Angran estate sale, E. F. Gersaint, Paris, March 4, 1748 (Lugt 682), pp. 258–59.
- 11. Erik Hinterding, "The History of Rembrandt's Copperplates, with a Catalogue of Those That Survive," Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art 22, no. 4 (1993–94), pp. 253–315.
- 12. Quoted in Guichard, Les Amateurs d'art, p. 293.
- 13. "a l'eau-forte, par Benedette, Castiglione & autres/...." Carle Vanloo estate sale, Paris, September 12, 1765 (Lugt 1476), lot 48.
- 14. Jean-Baptiste Le Prince estate sale, Paris, November 28, 1781, and days following (Lugt 3322), lots 85 and 86, reprinted in Jules Hédou, Jean Le Prince et son oeuvre: Suivi de nombreux documents inédits (Paris: P. Baur, 1879), pp. 297-313.
- 15. François Boucher estate sale, Paris, February 18, 1771, and days following (Lugt 1895), lots 525, 525 bis, 526, 527, and 534.
- 16. Françoise Joulie et al., Boucher et les peintres du nord, exh. cat. (Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 2004).
- 17. One can trace the influence of Boucher's example in the oeuvre of his student Jean-Baptiste Le Prince; see chapter 2 in this volume.
- 18. See Katie Scott, "Reproduction and Reputation: 'François Boucher' and the Formation of Artistic Identities," in Rethinking Boucher, ed. Melissa Hyde and Mark Ledbury (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2006), pp. 91-132, and Perrin Stein, "Repackaging China for France: The Collaboration of François Boucher and Gabriel Huquier," The French Porcelain Society Journal 4 (2011),
- 19. The most thorough study of this complex body of work is Jean-François Méjanès, "Un Exercice hors règlement: Bloemaert, Boucher et Subleyras . . . mais pas Natoire," in Mélanges en hommage à Pierre Rosenberg: Peintres et dessins en France et en Italie XVII^e-XVIII^e siècles (Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 2001), pp. 298-317.
- 20. The announcement was worded, "Livres d'Etude, d'après les desseins Originaux de Bloemart, gravez par François Boucher, Peintre de l'Académie Royale de Peinture et Sculpture." Mercure de France, June 1735, p. 1382. See also Pierrette Jean-Richard, L'Oeuvre gravé de François Boucher dans la Collection Edmond de Rothschild, Inventaire général des gravures, École française 1 (Paris: Éditions des Musées Nationaux, 1978), pp. 69–72, nos. 176–86.
- 21. See chapter 1 in this volume; see also Isabelle Tillerot, "Graver les dessins de Watteau au XVIIIe siècle," in Quand la gravure fait illusion, pp. 26-55.
- 22. Our understanding of Boucher's working process vis-à-vis his Northern sources was greatly expanded by Françoise Joulie in Boucher et les peintres du nord.
- 23. Jean-Pierre Cuzin, Katharina Schmidt, and Sophie Raux, Jean-Honoré Fragonard (1732–1806): Orígenes e influencias: De Rembrandt al siglo XXI, exh. cat. (Barcelona: Fundación "La Caixa," 2006), p. 203.
- 24. Anne Röver, In Rembrandts Manier: Kopie, Nachahmung und Aneignung in den graphischen Künsten des 18. Jahrhunderts, exh. cat. (Bremen: Kunsthalle Bremen, 1986); Guichard, Les Amateurs d'art, pp. 291-99.
- 25. Uwe Westfehling and Françoise Clercx Léonard-Étienne, Jean-Pierre Norblin, ein Künstler des Revolutionszeitalters in Paris und Warschau: Zeichnungen und Druckgraphik, exh. cat. (Cologne: Das
- 26. Victor I. Carlson and John W. Ittmann, eds., Regency to Empire: French Printmaking, 1715–1814, exh. cat. (Baltimore: Baltimore Museum of Art; Minneapolis: Minneapolis Institute of Arts, 1984), pp. 242-44, no. 83.

- 27. Stacey Sell, "Quicke to Invent & Copious to Expresse': Rembrandt's Sketch Plates," in Parshall, Sell, and Brodie, Unfinished
- 28. Marie-Félicie Pérez, L'Oeuvre gravé de Jean-Jacques de Boissieu, 1736-1810 (Geneva: Cabinet des Estampes, 1994).
- 29. Ibid., pp. 118-19, no. 49.
- 30. In the theatrical sphere, the taste for the fragment manifested in the performances of discrete acts from ballets and operas, a practice reflected in François Boucher and Charles Antoine Coypel's tapestry series Fragments d'Opéra; see Edith A. Standen, "The 'Fragments d'Opéra': A Series of Beauvais Tapestries after Boucher," Metropolitan Museum Journal 21 (1986), pp. 123-37. The appeal of ruins was similarly a "catalyst of the imagination," according to Nina L. Dubin, Futures & Ruins: Eighteenth-Century Paris and the Art of Hubert Robert (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2010). She also quotes Charles de Brosses's statement that an isolated column "gives me as much and perhaps more satisfaction than the view of any complete building" (p. 2). See also Parshall, "Unfinished Business: The Problem of Resolution in Printmaking," p. 36.
- 31. Comte de Caylus, Vies d'artistes du XVIIIe siècle: Discours sur la peinture et la sculpture; Salons de 1751 et de 1753—Lettre à Lagrenée, ed. André Fontaine (Paris: H. Laurens, 1910), pp. 211–24.
- 32. Correspondance des directeurs de l'Académie de France à Rome, vol. 10, 1742–1753, ed. Anatole de Montaiglon and Jules Guiffrey (Paris: Charavay Frères, 1900), pp. 396-99, no. 4918. Both letters, from Caylus and from Marigny, are cited in Christophe Leribault, Jean-François de Troy (1679–1752) (Paris: Arthena, 2002), p. 129.
- 33. Carlson and Ittmann, Regency to Empire, pp. 188-89, no. 60 (entry by John Ittmann), and Jean de Cayeaux, "Introduction au catalogue critique des griffonis de Saint-Non," Bulletin de la Sociéte de l'Histoire de l'Art Français, 1963, pp. 297-384.
- 34. We lack documentary evidence that would allow us to state decisively how and by whom the specific subjects and details were chosen. It is not unlikely that the two men, Saint-Non and Fragonard, shared the taste for artists such as Castiglione and Tiepolo. In a journal entry written in Genoa, Saint-Non rhapsodized, "A master whose works are extremely rare elsewhere, but abundant here, is Benedetto, or rather Greghetto, as he is called in Genoa, his birthplace. He is a painter who is full of fire, genius, and taste, especially in the pictures of bacchanalia and animals that he liked to paint and in which he excelled." Quoted and translated in Pierre Rosenberg, ed., Fragonard, exh. cat. (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1988), p. 140.
- 35. "For several months I remained in a state of apathy that I was unable to overcome, until I resolved to study the painters whom I felt I had a chance of rivaling: and so I turned my attention to Barocci, Pietro da Cortona, Solimena, and Tiepolo." Quoted and translated in ibid., p. 61.
- 36. It is possible that Fragonard was inspired by the abbé's interest in etching and the fact that Saint-Non owned a printing press. See chapter 5 in this volume, n. 12.
- 37. Compare the angel's face to that of the boy in Monsieur Fanfan (cat. 15). Some of the changes from Liss's painting were done in the chalk sketch made on the spot. Certain details and compositional features were then further altered back in Paris before the etching of the plate. See Saint-Non • Fragonard, Panopticon Italiano: Un diario di viaggio ritrovato, 1759-1761, ed. Pierre Rosenberg with the collaboration of Barbara Brejon de Lavergnée (Rome: Elefante, 2000), p. 386, no. 216.
- 38. Keith Christiansen, ed., Giambattista Tiepolo, 1696–1770, exh. cat. (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1996), p. 282, fig. 100. In Tiepolo's fresco, the allegorical figures depict Pluto's Rape of Persephone, although they had shed their attributes in Fragonard's etching. For the black chalk sketch, see Saint-Non • Fragonard, Panopticon Italiano, p. 386, no. 212.
- 39. Carlson and Ittmann, Regency to Empire, pp. 188–89, no. 60; Antony Griffiths, "Notes on Early Aquatint in England and France,"

- Print Quarterly 4 (1987), pp. 255-70; and Christiane Wiebel, "Jean-Claude Richard, abbé de Saint-Non," in Aquatinta, oder, "Die Kunst mit dem Pinsel in Kupfer zu stechen": Das druckgraphische Verfahren von seinen Anfängen bis zu Goya, exh. cat. (Coburg: Kunstsammlungen der Veste Coburg; Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2007), pp. 134-49.
- 40. For instance, Fragonard's black chalk sketch alters the positions of the heads in Jacob Wrestling with the Angel. See Saint-Non • Fragonard, Panopticon Italiano, p. 402, nos. 279, 280, and Carlo Cesare Malvasia, Le pitture di Bologna, ed. Andrea Emiliani (1686; Bologna: ALFA, 1969), p. 328, no. 198/15.
- 41. Carlson and Ittmann, Regency to Empire, pp. 152-55, no. 47.
- 42. Catherine Monbeig Goguel, "Benedetto Castiglione et le goût français. Un point d'enquête: Les Dessins pour la suite gravée par Guillaume Chasteau," in Mélanges en hommage à Pierre Rosenberg, pp. 337-43.
- 43. Lina Christina Frerichs, "Mariette et les eaux-fortes des Tiepolo," Gazette des beaux-arts 78 (1971), pp. 233-49, and H. Diane Russell, Rare Etchings by Giovanni Battista and Giovanni Domenico Tiepolo (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1972), pp. 15-16 and
- 44. For example, see André Bancel, Jean-Baptiste Deshays, 1729-1765 (Paris: Arthena, 2008), pp. 77–82; Margaret Morgan Grasselli, Renaissance to Revolution: French Drawings from the National Gallery of Art, 1500-1800, exh. cat. (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 2009), pp. 164-65, no. 71; Olivier Lefeuvre, "Philippe-Jacques de Loutherbourg et Jean-Baptiste Deshays: Un Problème d'attribution," La Revue des musées de France: Revue du Louvre 57, no. 2 (April 2007), pp. 37-41; and Dominique Jacquot, ed., Jean Barbault, 1718–1762, exh. cat. (Strasbourg: Musée de la Ville de Strasbourg, 2010), pp. 28-30. Jean-Baptiste Le Prince's early work, made before he traveled to Russia, is also strongly imprinted with the manner of Castiglione filtered through Boucher; see, e.g., Landscape with Peasants Fording a Stream, 1756 (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; 2005.168).
- 45. For example, Grasselli, Renaissance to Revolution: French *Drawings*, pp. 226–27, no. 98, and Jacob Bean, with the assistance of Lawrence Turčić, 15th-18th Century French Drawings in The Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1986), pp. 136-37, no. 144.
- 46. On Lagrenée at Sèvres, see Selma Schwartz, "The 'Etruscan' Style at Sèvres: A Bowl from Marie-Antoinette's Dairy at Rambouillet," Metropolitan Museum Journal 37 (2002), pp. 259-66, and Marc Sandoz, Les Lagrenée (Paris: Éditart-Les Quatre Chemins, 1988), vol. 2, Jean-Jacques Lagrenée (le jeune), 1739-1821, pp. 112-17 and 255-60.
- 47. Patrick Ramade, Le Fuite en Egypte de Lagrenée le jeune (1739– 1821), exh. cat. (Rennes: Musée des Beaux-Arts de Rennes, 1986).
- 48. Prosper de Baudicour, Le Peintre-graveur français continué, ou catalogue raisonné des estampes gravées par les peintres et les dessinateurs de l'école française nés dans le XVIIIe siècle, vol. 1 (Paris: Mme Bouchard-Huzard, Rapilly, etc., 1859), pp. 200-230, nos. 9, 10, 11, 12, 17, 18, 23, 30, 31, and 33.
- 49. Although it is not indicated either in Baudicour or Michèle Hébert and Yves Sjöberg, Inventaire du fonds français: Graveurs du XVIIIe siècle, vol. 12, Janinet-Launay (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1973), p. 311, no. 24, there are two states of this print, and at some point approximately 10 centimeters were cut off the top of the plate. It is not clear whether this was done out of a desire to create a more horizontal, relieflike composition or because the upper part of the copper plate had been damaged. Catalogue number 105 is an impression of the first state, before the plate was cut down. Baudicour gives the height of the plate as 22.5 centimeters and the Inventaire du fonds français gives it as 23.5. The height of the Yale impression is 26.4 centimeters.
- 50. Richard W. Wallace, The Etchings of Salvator Rosa (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1978).

- 51. Brenda D. Rix, French Printmaking of the Eighteenth Century, exh. cat. (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 1988), pp. 22-23, no. 28.
- 52. G. K. Nagler, Neues allgemeines Künstler-Lexicon (Munich: E. A. Fleischmann, 1841), vol. 10, p. 548, nos. 19-24.
- 53. Peter Fuhring and Hans Buijs, "Quelques relations de Wille en Hollande: Lecture préliminaire d'un volume du Journal récemment apparu," in Johann Georg Wille (1715–1808) et son milieu: Un Réseau européen de l'art au XVIII^e siècle, Actes du colloque, January 19-20, 2007 (Paris: École du Louvre, 2009), p. 235 and figs. 18-22.
- 54. Jean-Baptiste Denis Lempereur was involved in the negotiation of the sale of the Pierre Jean Mariette collection. However, the date and manner of the inscription on Landscape with a March of Animals (cat. 107) leave no doubt that the print is the work of the father. For the most up-to-date biographical information on both father and son, see the "depuis 2010" information on Lempereur's collector's mark (L.1740) at www.marquesdecollections.fr/detail. cfm/marque/8236/total/1, accessed September 28, 2012.
- 55. "Un autre suberbe dessein à la plume & au bistre, représentant une marche d'animaux; il a été gravé par M****." The collection was described on the title page, as was often the case in eighteenthcentury sales, only as "du cabinet de M***." See Lempereur sale catalogue, Paris, May 24-June 28, 1773 (Lugt 2171). For works by Castiglione, see lots 7 and 259-63.
- 56. The print is catalogued in Yves Sjöberg, Inventaire du fonds français: Graveurs du XVIIIe siècle, vol. 14, Legras (Les)-Lequien, ed. Françoise Gardey (Paris: M. Le Garrec, 1977), pp. 248-49, no. 2. Lempereur's sale, ibid., included fifty-one prints by and after Castiglione as lot 887.
- 57. An impression in the British Museum, London (1907, 0326.19), was originally part of a series of twelve etchings, Varii capricci e paesi, executed about 1758-59. See Dario Succi, Da Carlevarijs ai Tiepolo: Incisori veneti e friulani del Settecento, exh. cat. (Venice: Albrizzi, 1983), nos. 632-36.
- 58. The drawing is known by a counterproof in the University Library, Warsaw, and was published in Saint-Non • Fragonard, Panopticon Italiano, pp. 434, 439, and 441, fig. 8. The painting is now in a private collection.
- 59. Germain sometimes etched the designs of others as well as his own designs. Forty-four plates are catalogued in Michèle Hébert, Edmond Pognon, and Yves Bruand, with Yves Sjöberg, Inventaire du fonds français: Graveurs du XVIIIe siècle, vol. 10, Gaugain-Gravelot (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes, 1968), pp. 113–16.
- 60. This format, in which studies of heads ranging from conventional to caricatural cover a plate, can be traced back to drawings by Agostino Carracci and by the mid-eighteenth century was in wide circulation through prints such as William Hogarth's Characters and Caricaturas (1743). See Constance McPhee and Nadine Orenstein, Infinite Jest: Caricature and Satire from Leonardo to Levine, exh. cat. (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2011), pp. 32-33, no. 11 (entry by Constance McPhee).
- 61. Boucher also made drawings after two heads from della Bella's series. See Françoise Joulie and Jean-François Méjanès, François Boucher: Hier et aujourd'hui, exh. cat. (Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 2003), p. 57, no. 19.
- 62. In addition to cats. 106a–f, see Loutherbourg's Deuxième suite des figures en hauteur; Baudicour, Le Peintre-graveur français continué, vol. 2 (1861), pp. 242-43, nos. 7-12.
- 63. One print in Rosa's Figurine series features Roman soldiers with a shield with the head of Medusa. See Wallace, Etchings of Salvator Rosa, no. 62.
- 64. F. de Polignac, J. Raspi Serra, et al., La Fascination de l'antique 1700-1770: Rome découverte, Rome inventée, exh. cat. (Lyon: Musée de la Civilisation Gallo-Romaine, 1998), and Pascal Griener, La

- République de l'oeil: L'Expérience de l'art au siècle des Lumières (Paris: O. Jacob, 2010).
- 65. The Salon livret of 1755 lists six entries by Vien, described as "peints en cire, selon la découverte de M. le Comte de Caylus, nommé Peinture à l'Encaustique." Reprinted in the Collection des livrets des anciennes expositions depuis 1673 jusqu'en 1800, vol. 3, Exposition de 1755 (Paris, 1869), pp. 16-17, nos. 41-45. Five of the six owners are listed, including La Live de Jully and Pierre Crozat's nephew, Louis Antoine Crozat, baron de Thiers. See also Faroult et al., Antiquity Revived, pp. 50, 56, 77, and 78, and fig. 37, and Thomas W. Gaehtgens and Jacques Lugand, Joseph-Marie Vien: Peintre du Roi (1716-1809) (Paris: Arthena, 1988), pp. 74-78.
- 66. Salon livret of 1753, reprinted in the $Collection\ des\ Livrets\ des$ anciennes expositions depuis 1673 jusqu'en 1800, vol. 2, Exposition de 1753 (1869), pp. 32-33, under no. 164.
- 67. "[A]utre suite de neuf Dessins à la plume, légèrement lavés de bistre, offrant une agréable variété de sujets de Bacchanales, dont plusieurs ont été gravés à l'eau forte par Marie-Joseph Vien. Ils sont forme de Frise." See Vien's estate sale, Paillet, Paris, May 17, 1809, and following days (Lugt 7591), p. 27, lot 134. The prints that Paillet is referring to may be those listed as "sept autre Pièces de ses Bacchanales," under lot 168. It is worth noting that Vien's relatively small collection of prints also included copies of Lagrenée's Recueil de frises et ornemens, arabesques, Saly's Vases series, and Caylus's Recueil d'antiquités (lots 170 and 177).
- 68. Baudicour, Le Peintre-graveur français continué, vol. 1 (1859), pp. 68-69, no. 3. He writes, "[s]ur le piédestal, on lit en caractères assez mal tracés: Jo. M. vien in et f. ANNO 1750 in Roma."
- 69. Four of Vien's bacchanals, including ibid., no. 3, are in the collection of Dorothy Braude Edinburg, which are on deposit at the Art Institute of Chicago as a promised gift (1-4.38.1999).
- 70. For examples of drawings in a similar style, see Gaehtgens and Lugand, Joseph-Marie Vien, pp. 239-40, nos. 56-63, 67, 67a, and 67b, all of which are dated (or dated to) 1753-55.
- 71. The watermark is of the Strasbourg bend and lily type. See William Algernon Churchill, Watermarks in Paper in Holland, England, France, etc., in the XVII and XVIII Centuries and Their Interconnection (Amsterdam: Hertzberger, 1935), pp. 84-85, nos. 429-37.
- 72. See Gaehtgens and Lugand, Joseph-Marie Vien, pp. 233-37, nos. 16-50.
- 73. Of course, many amateurs held official positions in the Académie Royale, and their prints were even exhibited in the biennial Salons beginning in 1787, although Guichard characterizes this as a late institutional recognition of an existing practice. See Guichard, Les Amateurs d'art, p. 256.
- 74. It is worth recalling, in this context, that Jean-Baptiste Descamps, in his 1753 biography of Rembrandt, made a point that the artist's talent owed nothing to the academy, writing, "Ce grand peintre [qui] devoit son talent à son genie & ses défauts à son education." Quoted in Beverly Schreiber-Jacoby, "Boucher et Rembrandt," in Joulie, Boucher et les peintres du nord, p. 14.
- 75. See Perrin Stein, "Les Chinoiseries de Boucher et leurs sources: L'Art de l'appropriation," in Pagodes et dragons: Exotisme et fantaisie dans l'Europe rococo 1720-1770, ed. Georges Brunel, exh. cat. (Paris: Paris-Musées, 2007), pp. 86–100.
- 76. Sophie Raux, "Fragonard et les maîtres du Nord," in Cuzin, Schmidt, and Raux, Jean-Honoré Fragonard, pp. 203-5.
- 77. Ibid., pp. 84-85, no. 32.
- 78. See Rena M. Hoisington and Perrin Stein, "Sous les yeux de Fragonard: The Prints of Marguerite Gérard," Print Quarterly 29 (2012), p. 144, fig. 117.

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