# The "Etruscan" Style at Sèvres: A Bowl from Marie-Antoinette's Dairy at Rambouillet

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In 1997, CLARE LE CORBEILLER ACQUIRED for The Metropolitan Museum of Art a bowl from the extraordinary Sèvres service made for Marie-Antoinette's dairy at Rambouillet (Figures 1, 2).<sup>1</sup> The acquisition is of particular interest because of the rarity of pieces from this service (this shape was previously not known to have survived) and the enigma surrounding the production of the service, which is known mainly through some designs in the Sèvres archives. Most important, the object is an extremely rare document of a revolutionary change of style at Sèvres and a testament that the roots of this style emerged during the reign of Louis XVI and not under the French Republic, as is commonly thought.

## THE RAMBOUILLET DAIRY

Shortly after acquiring the Rambouillet property from the duc de Penthièvre in December 1783 for use as a hunting property, Louis XVI decided to have a dairy built on the grounds for Marie-Antoinette. It was intended as a surprise gift to the queen, possibly as an inducement to visit Rambouillet, an old-fashioned château that held no charms for her. Marie-Antoinette already greatly enjoyed the pleasure dairy she had had built in the model village on the grounds of the Petit Trianon, the small castle at Versailles, which was furnished with porcelain from the Paris manufactory of LeBeuf, of which she was the patron.<sup>2</sup> The pleasure dairy had become an integral element of the French picturesque garden in the 1770s and 1780s, one of many pavilions or follies encountered by visitors to the gardens. In the gardens, which were composed as an unfolding series of paintinglike views, these small buildings served as focal points toward which the visitor moved before the next view and destination were revealed. Rambouillet already had a jardin

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anglo-chinois, as these picturesque gardens with their exotic pavilions were known in France, that had been created in 1779. The addition of a dairy to the Rambouillet garden would increase its similarity to Marie-Antoinette's garden at the Petit Trianon and, perhaps, encourage her to visit Louis XVI's property.

The project came under the direction of the comte d'Angiviller, the directeur général des Bâtiments du Roi. He was not only Louis XVI's minister of buildings but also supervisor of the royal manufactories and academies of art and architecture. He was, therefore, singularly placed to employ the finest artists and craftspeople, as well as to influence every aspect of the Rambouillet project: architecture, sculpture, furniture, and porcelain. He seized the opportunity to impose his stylistic vision on the entire project. The complete story of the dairy is difficult to piece together because many essential documents are missing. Ones that do exist, however, demonstrate that the Rambouillet dairy service was to exemplify a revolutionary style that d'Angiviller was keen to introduce to France. This was the style étrusque, an archaeological Neoclassical style based on actual objects that were being excavated in southern Italy in the second half of the eighteenth century and that were incorrectly believed to have been made by the Etruscans.

All the principals employed on the project had been in Italy, whether as students of the French Academy in Rome or independently, and had firsthand knowledge of the excavations. The painter and landscape designer Hubert Robert (known as "the painter of ruins") was given an overall advisory capacity, probably because of his intimate and extensive knowledge of Roman ruins and the Italian excavations. In addition to approving the building's plans and probably suggesting the thematic subjects for the sculpture, he designed the furniture made for the dairy by Georges Jacob. d'Angiviller also specifically instructed the Sèvres manufactory that Robert would advise on the designs for the porcelain.<sup>3</sup>

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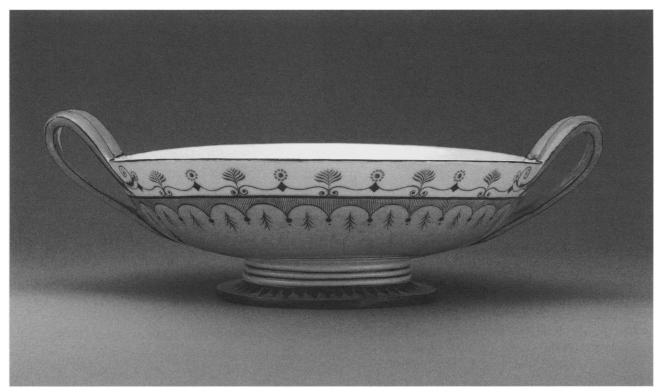


Figure 1. Bowl, French, Sèvres, 1787. Hard-paste porcelain, Gr. H. 3<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (8.6 cm), Gr. W. 9<sup>1</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (24.1 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Mrs. Sid R. Bass Gift, in honor of Mrs. Charles Wrightsman, and Anonymous Gift, 1997 (1997.518)

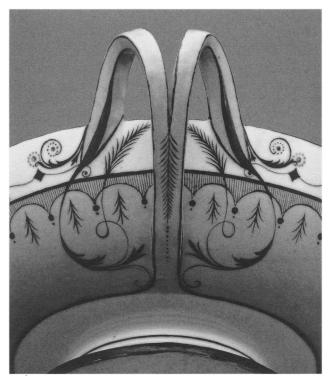


Figure 2. Side view of the bowl in Figure 1, showing handles and decoration around handles

#### THE "ETRUSCAN" STYLE AT SÈVRES

The Sèvres manufactory had come under d'Angiviller's control in 1779. From the outset he was determined to make its products compete at the forefront of the commercial market and to reflect contemporary stylistic trends. A belief that good taste and true beauty relied on antiquity governed his direction. Reviewing the history of the manufactory during the 1780s makes clear that d'Angiviller had a master plan. Various documents attest to the outdated style of the products and the factory's reluctance to change. For example, in 1783 the architect Louis Le Masson was commissioned to design a distinctly Neoclassical service, known as the Arabesque Service. D'Angiviller's commissioner in charge of the factory, Jean-Étienne Montucla, wrote to the factory's director, Antoine Régnier, to overcome his doubts about the style of the new service.<sup>4</sup> He emphasized how committed d'Angiviller was to this new style and that any commercial failure would be due to the consumers' lack of good taste.

To impose his vision on the manufactory, d'Angiviller made a few clever appointments. Jean-Jacques Hettlinger, a Swiss scientist, was appointed in 1784 as

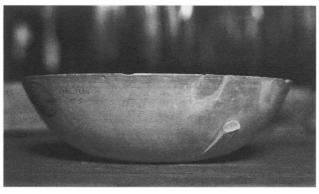


Figure 3. Plaster model for the bowl in Figure 1, lacking foot and handles. Manufacture Nationale de Sèvres, Archives

codirector. His brief specified that he was to take charge of the artistic, as opposed to the financial or technical, side of the manufactory.<sup>5</sup> As d'Angiviller's man, he was able to counter Régnier's reluctance.

In March 1785 d'Angiviller hired the painter Jean-Jacques Lagrenée as co-artistic director of the manufactory to produce new designs for shapes and decoration. Lagrenée had spent four years in Rome, particularly studying the wall decoration of the Roman monuments. The paintings he submitted to the Salon of 1785 were described in the catalogue as "in the style of those excavated in the ruins of Herculaneum."<sup>6</sup> Lagrenée's 1821 obituary emphasized his passion for "the works of antiquity, the paintings of the [Roman] Baths . . . etruscan vases and arabesques."7 On Lagrenée's appointment to the manufactory, his brother, then director of the French Academy in Rome, wrote to d'Angiviller that Jean-Jacques's involvement would certainly add an "Italian" element to the products, which they had lacked thus far.8

Soon after his appointment Lagrenée supplied the designs for the painted decoration of a cup and saucer that can be seen as the first step toward a Neoclassical style based on direct sources from antiquity. It had a black ground and reddish yellow figures in imitation of Greek vase painting. Hettlinger recommended that it not be gilded, again in reference to its sources, which was a dramatic departure from one of the factory's signature attributes.<sup>9</sup> He also commented that this type of decoration applied to objects of an antique shape would certainly be sought after by the public. It was only with the Rambouillet service that these two elements—decoration and shape—were combined to create the new style.

Several acquisitions by the factory furthered d'Angiviller's intentions, including the 1786 purchase of d'Hancarville's Antiquités etrusques, grecques et romaines tirées du cabinet de M. Hamilton.<sup>10</sup> This work, illustrating the Greco-Roman vases in the collection of Sir William Hamilton, the British ambassador to Naples, had been published in 1767–69. One of its principal aims was to reform taste, that is, to promote the style of excavated objects and to aid commercial manufacturers in doing so. The engraved plates were meticulously produced, including exact measurements, making the vases easy to copy. The potter Josiah Wedgwood was already in possession of some of the Hamilton engravings before 1769, when his factory produced an exact reproduction of one of Hamilton's vases. This is a full seventeen years before Sèvres acquired the volumes, a measure of the manufactory's failure to respond to stylistic developments.

In 1787 Lagrenée himself purchased three sets of engravings of Raphael's decoration of the Vatican *stanze*. Raphael's frescoes represented another strain of decoration based on antiquity, although a somewhat secondhand Renaissance interpretation of Roman wall decoration.<sup>11</sup>

A final element supporting d'Angiviller's strategy, and particularly timely in its influence on the design of the Rambouillet pieces, was his purchase in 1785 of a collection of Greco-Roman pottery formed by Vivant Denon in Naples. This collection of 525 pieces, similar in range to that assembled by Hamilton, was intended for the new museum d'Angiviller was planning in the Louvre. Like Hamilton, whose intention in publishing his collection was to reform taste and influence style, Denon wrote of the benefits to good taste offered by his collection.<sup>12</sup> Until the museum was ready, d'Angiviller decided to deposit the collection at

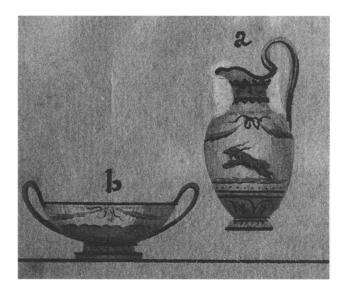


Figure 4. Working drawing for the bowl in Figure 1. Manufacture Nationale de Sèvres, Archives

Hande Terrine a pieto de Cherren Palain a and releve Pot a lain a Que teste or Chener Lot alan ation anded. 7 Gobelda a anses selevia avec land Tatter a Jain aver lour Gobelite ca Talled a Sie ( a ansa alonger ) are la Gobeleto es Concoupes de deux fa Jucaning tondos. Beniero, compan Tatta Tetanda and land p 1. mile

Figure 5. Floor plan of the dairy's rotunda showing placement of the porcelain, titled *Plan de la Laiterie de Rambouillet avec L'arrangement des pièces de Porcelaine de la Manufacture du Roy*. Manufacture Nationale de Sèvres, Archives. This was the intended arrangement in 1787, after the initial numbers had been reduced. It also notes substitutions that were made to arrive at the final composition

Sèvres, expecting it to be a useful inspiration for new shapes<sup>13</sup> and for charming new ideas of decoration.<sup>14</sup>

Régnier, the factory's director, continued to be skeptical about the "Etruscan" style at the time of the Rambouillet commission. d'Angiviller wrote to Régnier urging his cooperation in the face of his opposition to the style and its "barbaric" qualities.<sup>15</sup> He advised Régnier that everyone needed to accustom himself to the new style and that, in the end, he would see that d'Angiviller was justified in his beliefs.

#### PRODUCTION OF THE RAMBOUILLET SERVICE

With all the elements of d'Angiviller's scheme in place, work seems to have begun on the service in October 1786.<sup>16</sup> An air of secrecy and urgency pervaded the project, which may be why so much crucial documentation is missing. That the project was to be a groundbreaking turn in stylistic direction for the factory is confirmed by d'Angiviller's command to Régnier: he wished the project to be conducted in secret to preserve the effect of novelty.<sup>17</sup> A first delivery of the incomplete service was made to Rambouillet on May 25, 1787, probably in anticipation of a visit by the queen that month. (Louis XVI's diary shows that the court habitually went to Rambouillet in the summer months.) The remainder was delivered a year later, on May 15, 1788.

Originally intended to consist of 108 pieces, the service was reduced to 65 pieces by the time of the second delivery to Rambouillet in 1788. Scaling down the numbers may have been motivated by production

and financial considerations, as well as by the impracticality of some shapes that were exact copies of classical examples.

The composition of the service was not novel, though Sèvres had not previously produced a dairy service. It was dictated by its intended use: to store and cool milk and other dairy products as well as to serve and taste the milk. Sugar bowls were also provided, as the soft cheese that was served was sweetened to taste. The greatest number of pieces were cups and saucers (of four designs), followed by individual serving bowls (three designs) and ewers (three designs). The layout of the service at the Rambouillet dairy was dominated by four large basins for settling milk and two large pails (the only items not decorated in an "Etruscan" style) set on each side of the first rotunda room with the smaller elements interspersed symmetrically among them. Six large vases of two designs stood in niches around the room. In the center of the room stood a table from the suite of solid mahogany furniture by Georges Jacob; atop the table stood a large basin and six cups and saucers (Figure 5).

Uncertainty has surrounded the identity of the designer of the service, with most historical sources attributing it to Hubert Robert with the assistance of Lagrenée and possibly the director of the sculptors' workshop, Louis-Simon Boizot. As with the other areas of the project, Robert seems to have been employed in a supervisory or advisory capacity. In d'Angiviller's letter to Régnier of October 1786, Robert's role is mentioned in connection with the vases.<sup>18</sup> There is no doubt that Lagrenée was the designer of the decoration; in the Sèvres archives are several watercolor

drawings by him for Rambouillet shapes with decoration corresponding to known examples. It is also likely that he suggested designs for shapes, as other drawings by him are for shapes that were never executed. Boizot, as technical director responsible for the successful firing of the shapes, probably had the definitive say in their design. At least three of the service's shapes can be attributed to him on documentary evidence.

Clearly the shapes were strongly influenced by the Denon collection and the Hamilton engravings and generally relied on classical prototypes. Only the milk pails and sugar bowls cannot be associated with antique examples. Very few of the shapes, other than some of the ewers and the vases, are direct copies, however. Most relied on the classical principles of simple shapes but had additional elements, such as feet or handles, that were copied from the antique examples.

Following Hettlinger's opinion that it was desirable to put classical decoration on shapes of classical design and forgo gilding, the Rambouillet pieces are all decorated in the manner of Greek vases and drinking vessels. Most pieces have a central band running all the way around the object, with figures and animals relating to pastoral pursuits aligned in a single plane and lacking any depth of field, as on Greek vases. Borders of decorative motifs amalgamated from antique sources define the central area. Although the figures are in classical dress and strike classical poses, they and the animals and plants that accompany them are painted in vivid, lifelike colors on a white ground, in the long-established Sèvres tradition. Even the borders are rarely in "Etruscan" colors but instead use a large palette of pale colors: lilac, gray, blue, green, and yellow-the colors very much in fashion for contemporary interiors. Only on about half the pieces are the borders, referred to as ground (fond) colors in the documents, either "étrusque" (orange-red and black) or "grès" (the color of sandstone, a pale golden-orange). The decorative motifs that would usually have been gilded are painted in black or carmine.

The most surprising decoration is that on the vases. They are described as "peinte à l'huile"—painted in oils. The most probable explanation, given that the vases have not as yet been found, is that they were decorated using the revived encaustic technique of painting with colored wax. Wedgwood had already introduced a modified version of the technique in 1769. Earlier in the century, the antiquary the comte de Caylus published a discourse advocating the revival of encaustic painting in France. Given the ideology governing the production of the Rambouillet service, as well as the fact that Wedgwood's wares were being sold in Paris by 1787, it is probable that Sèvres employed the encaustic technique.

#### LATER HISTORY

Marie-Antoinette may have seen the Rambouillet dairy only once, though this cannot be established because of a lack of documents, but subsidiary documents point to a visit by the court in late May or early June of 1787. There is no record of her returning in 1788 to see the completed service. After the Revolution of 1789 there were no more opportunities for visits.

In August 1792 the Assembly nationalized all the royal property. Teams of commissioners inventoried the contents of the palaces with a view to separating what would be kept for a planned museum (if considered of artistic merit, a decision made on ideological grounds) from what would be sold. A visit to Rambouillet made in September 1793 attested that the sculpture was still in place in the dairy and that the furniture and porcelain had been moved to the château.<sup>19</sup> By this time all the cups and saucers were missing, as were the sugar bowls and the service's extraordinary bowls made in the shape of a woman's breast. The remaining objects were intended to be reserved for the state and sent to a depot. This was not methodically carried out, as came to light when Napoléon's consort Josephine requested that the Rambouillet sculpture and porcelain be transferred to her estate at Malmaison in 1803.<sup>20</sup> It was then discovered that some of the items had been sent to the newly formed museum storehouses at Versailles while others remained at Rambouillet. Further losses had occurred: now all the ewers and bowls were also missing.

No further trace of the service's movements can be found until the middle of the nineteenth century, when the two milk pails were in the possession of the dowager duchess of Bedford in London.<sup>21</sup> The large central basin and several cups and saucers, as well as three of the breast-shaped bowls with stands, have surfaced in European museums.<sup>22</sup> Until recently, the small number of known pieces has remained constant. In the last few years, however, six new pieces have surfaced, bringing the total of known pieces to fifteen.

#### THE METROPOLITAN'S BOWL

Three different shapes of bowls were made for the service. All of them were intended as stands for the largest cup (gobelet cornet, "e" on the Profile List, Figure 6), which was made without a saucer. Known variously in the production records as the jatte à anses de cuire (bowl with leather handles), jatte à anses de cuire refendu (bowl with split leather handles), jatte à anses relevées (bowl with raised handles), and jatte écuelle (simple bowl), this was the most expensive of the service's bowls.<sup>23</sup> Many

more blanks were made than were needed for the service, particularly bowls and cups, indicating that these new shapes were thought to be commercially viable. Forty-eight blanks of the Museum bowl's shape were made, with the original intention of decorating four for the Rambouillet service. Ultimately only two examples of this shape were included. Among the workers listed as making this shape is the *repareur* Ravinet, responsible for smoothing out the shape before firing as well as attaching the handles. The Museum's bowl bears the incised mark "*Rn*," which is likely to be Ravinet's.

No single antique shape can be identified as the source for the design of the bowl. The distinctive handle, which rises from the base then splits into two to attach to the rim, is not found on classical pottery. The bowl's curious title—with (split) leather handles would suggest that the designer was looking at a specific prototype, but none has so far been discovered. The foot with three coils, however, is derived from classical pottery and is a distinctive feature of many of the Rambouillet pieces.

The shape is well documented in the Sèvres archives. There is a plaster model (without foot or handles, Figure 3) that is listed in the 1814 inventory of models as "Écuelle de la Laiterie 1786."<sup>24</sup> A working drawing for the shape also exists, with the inscription "jatte a Lait de la laiterie No. 4 avec le pied Elargie pour quelle reusire mieux Le 15 May 1787" (Figure 4). Together these documents show that the shape was designed in 1786, then altered with an enlarged foot in 1787. In the hard-paste workers' records for 1791 is mention of a bowl with split handles (ecuelle Boizot anse fendu) suggesting the possibility that Boizot was responsible for the original design.<sup>25</sup>

The bowl is simply decorated with a pale blue ground color and decorative motifs executed in carmine and black, colors found on all the other known pieces. A leitmotif of the decorative vocabulary on the service is the circle of dots enclosing a larger dot, which derives from classical pottery. Other signature elements are the feathery anthemion motif and the scrolling arabesques, both found in many of Lagrenée's designs.

There is no doubt that the Metropolitan's bowl was made for the Rambouillet dairy, only whether it was in place after the final adjustments and reductions of 1788. At the outset two examples of this shape were intended to stand on the consoles on each side of the dairy, making a total of four. The delivery document of May 25, 1787, which is the only document to describe the color and decoration of each individual piece, indicates that this shape was painted only with decorative motifs (ornement étrusque), as seen on the Museum's bowl.<sup>26</sup> Two bowls of this shape, in the sandstone (grès) color, were delivered for one of the consoles and two others, in pale blue with "Etruscan" ornament (fond petit bleu ornements étrusques), were ready for the second console on the opposite side of the room. One of these must be the Museum's bowl, as the color and decoration correspond exactly to the description.

Two documents that summarize the deliveries of 1787 and 1788 agree that six bowls of three types (two of each) were delivered in 1787 and a further two in 1788. The last two are described as "jattes à anses étrusques" (bowls with "Etruscan" handles). This generic term could apply to any of the bowl shapes, but one in particular was usually known as "jatte à anses étrusques" (shape "c" on the Profile List, Figure 6). The question remains whether the two that were ready in 1787, one of which was the Museum's bowl, or whether two types of bowls were grouped under the



Figure 6. Profile list showing scale drawings of the pieces and what is most likely the final composition of the service. The bowl in Figure 1 is shape "b." Manufacture Nationale de Sèvres, Archives

"anses étrusques" title. According to the Profile List, only two examples of the "jatte écuelle" (shape "b" on the Profile List, Figure 6), the shape corresponding to the Museum's bowl, were delivered. This list appears to be the definitive record of the composition of the service, as all known pieces have corresponded in decoration and size (the drawings are made to a minute but accurate scale). If, therefore, only two examples of this shape were delivered, they would probably be in the *grès* color described in the 1787 delivery document. Thus, although the Museum's bowl and its mate were originally made for the Rambouillet dairy and intended for the second console, it is likely that, with the reduction in scale of the project, they were never used.

#### CONCLUSION

The dairy service for Rambouillet, including the Metropolitan Museum's bowl, marks a turning point in the development of style and production at the Sèvres manufactory. Ideological tenets and political reigns tend to identify this new style with the French Republic, but the Rambouillet service proves that the creative forces of change had already begun in the 1780s, resulting in the design of the service in 1786, in the reign of Louis XVI. The confusion was perpetuated by Alexandre Brongniart, administrator of the factory from 1800 to 1857, who wrote that the Denon collection, with its simple and pure shapes, served to change the inappropriate direction under which shapes had been designed in the reign of Louis XVI.<sup>27</sup> The revolutionary committee placed in charge of the Sèvres production reiterated the sentiments that had already been expressed by d'Angiviller and Hettlinger:

C'est par l'imitation de l'antique que nos bons artistes nous ont ramené à ces formes simples, pures et élégantes qui font le charme et les délices des vrais conneusseurs . . . C'est particulierement dans les Vases étrusques que l'artiste habil et l'homme de gout savent puiser d'utiles leçons, que le genie sait choisir les formes, ou partie des formes pour les approprier a nos Vases d'usages, ou d'economie domestique . . . On y parviendra en mettant sous les yeux des artistes . . . surtout les ouvrages qui representent des suites d'antiquités d'ont l'imitation appliqué apropos étendra et perfectionera chez nous le gout épuré affin de maintenir nôtre superiorité.<sup>28</sup>

According to the committee, imitation of antiquity was the ideal: it would encourage refined taste as well as maintain the nation's superiority. It was according to these principles that the Rambouillet service was reserved for the state and regarded as possessing artistic merit.

### APPENDIX: LIST OF KNOWN PIECES FROM THE RAMBOUILLET SERVICE

(shape names and quantities taken from the Profile List, Figure 6)	2 <i>jattes écuelles</i> (simple bowls) 1 in Metropolitan Museum of Art, though probably not one of the two in the final composition
2 tinettes et passoires (milk pails with sieves)	
2 sold Sotheby's, Mentmore, 1977, now in a private collection	4 <i>jattes à anses étrusques</i> (bowls with "Etruscan" handles) none known
1 grande terrine basse (large, low basin)	
1 in Frankfurt Museum for Applied Arts (inv. 9717)	2 <i>jattes à bandeau</i> (bowls with protruding rim) none known
4 grandes terrines et pieds de vache (large basins on cow's-leg	
stands)	8 gobelets cornets (tall, flared drinking cups)
none known	1 in the Musée National de Céramique, Sèvres (inv. 6795;
	incorrectly paired with a saucer belonging to a gobelet à anses
4 <i>pots à anse têtes de chèvres</i> (ewers with goat's-head handles) 2 in a private collection	relevées)
•	6 gobelets à anses relevées avec ses soucoupes (cups with raised
4 pots à anse relevée (ewers with raised handle)	handles and saucer)
none known	1 saucer in the Musée National de Céramique, Sèvres (inv. 6795; incorrectly paired with a <i>gobelet cornet</i> )

8 gobelets à anses étrusques (cups with "Etruscan" handles [and saucer])

1 in the Musée National de Céramique, Sèvres (inv. 6796, yellow ground [fond jonquille])

1 in a private collection, blue-green ground (fond verd anglais)

1 in the trade

6 gobelets à bandeau (cups with protruding rim [and saucer]) 1 sold Piasa, Paris, June 23, 2000, now in a private collection, pale violet ground (fond violet tendre) 4 tétons avec ses pieds à têtes de chévres (bowls in the shape of a woman's breast on a stand with goat's heads)

2 in the Musée National de Céramique, Sèvres (inv. 23.399, 23.400)

1 in the Museo Duca di Martina, Naples (inv. 2208)

4 sucriers (sugar bowls) none known

6 vases (vases, of two designs) none known

#### NOTES

- 1. The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin 56, no. 2 (Fall 1998), entry by Clare Le Corbeiller, p. 39, ill. in color.
- Christian Baulez, "Deux terrines de la Manufacture de la Reine," Versalia 4 (2001), pp. 16–17.
- 3. Manufacture Nationale de Sèvres, Archives (hereafter AMNS), H 3, L 4, 1786, no. 79. Two undated drawings by Robert, of vase, ewer, and cup shapes, may be preparatory sketches for the service. See Un album de croquis d'Hubert Robert (1733-1808) (Geneva, 1979), nos. 94, 95, and Rome 1760-1770: Fragonard, Hubert Robert et leurs amis (Paris, 1983), no. 49.
- 4. "Je vous dirai maintenant d'amité que vous ne scauriez mieux faire votre cour à M. le comte qu'en mettant beaucoup de zele pour la reussite du ce projet. J'ai cru m'appercevoir par quelques choses que vous m'avez dites que vous prevoiyez des difficultés considerables ou que vous doutiez du succez, mais ca n'est plus votre affaire. If faut faire tous les efforts pour surmonter les difficultés. Quant au succéz, je seroit porté a penser si le service n'ena pas ce seroit uniquement parceque ce genre de beauté est trop au dessus du gout de la plupart des consommateurs. Ce n'est plus au reste notre affaire. M. le comte y prend un vif interet et comme vous etes son premier lieutenant, je crois que vous lui ferez beaucoup votre cour en mettant tout le zele et l'achevete don't vous etes capable pour l'execution." AMNS, H 3, no. 12. Letter dated February 2, 1783.
- 5. Paris, Archives Nationales, O120612, no. 430.
- 6. Marc Sandoz, Les Lagrenées (Paris, 1988), vol. 2, Jean-Jacques Lagrenée (le jeune), 1739–1821, p. 57.
- 7. Ibid., p. 62.
- 8. Paris, Archives Nationales, O'2062<sup>1</sup>, no. 182. Letter dated April 20, 1785.
- 9. Paris, Archives Nationales, O<sup>1</sup>2061<sup>2</sup>, no. 300. Letter from Hettlinger to d'Angiviller dated May 24, 1785.
- 10. AMNS, Vf 36 (1786), f. 11r, no. 172. Possibly the second edition of the volumes published 1785–88.
- 11. Ibid., Vf 37 (1787), f. 10r, no. 163, August 13, 1787. Three sets of engravings were published in 1782, 1786, and 1787. They were engraved by Ottaviani after the drawings of Savorelli and Camporesi. The engravings are still in the Sèvres archives.
- 12. "La découverte d'un vase grec ou d'un vase quelconque, d'une forme nouvelle, me paraissait un service signalé que je rendais au bon goût." Madeleine Massoul, *Corpus vasorum antiquorum: France, Musée national de Sèvres* (Paris, 1934), p. xi.

- 13. Paris, Archives Nationales, O'1179, no. 274. Letter from d'Angiviller to Hettlinger dated April 19, 1786.
- 14. Paris, Archives Nationales, O<sup>1</sup>2061<sup>2</sup>, no. 391. Letter from d'Angiviller to Denon dated May 24, 1786.
- 15. AMNS, H 3, L 4, no. 79. Letter dated October 16, 1786.
- 16. Mention of "des vases qui doivent être executés pour une laiterie" (vases to be made for a dairy) in a letter from d'Angiviller to Régnier dated October 16, 1786. AMNS, H 3, L 4 (1786), no. 79. These must be pieces for the Rambouillet service, as no other dairy objects were made by Sèvres in the eighteenth century.
- 17. Ibid. "Je veut que cela se fasse en secret. . . . On parle, et cela détruit tout l'effet. Le secret est un des grands pivots des manufactures."
- 18. Ibid. "Je marque à M. Hettlinger que j'ai chargé M.r Robert de se concerter pour des vases qui doivent être executés pour une laiterie."
- 19. Paris, Archives Nationales, F<sup>17</sup> 1036<sup>A</sup>.
- 20. Paris, Musée du Louvre archives, M.12. Letter from Chaptal, minister of the interior, to Denon, director general of museums, dated 4 fructidor an[née] 11 (August 21, 1974), and other correspondence.
- 21. Farebrother, Clark & Lye, Catalogue of the Valuable Contents of Bedford Lodge, Campden Hill, Kensington, The Property of the Late Duchess Dowager of Bedford (London, July 11, 1853), p. 62, lot 1378: "A pair of REMARKABLY FINE DRESDEN CHINA PAILS, 20 in high, with goats'-head handles, on stands; formerly the property of Marie Antoinette, and removed from the Swiss Dairy at the Trianon."
- 22. Selma Schwartz, "The Sèvres Porcelain Service for Marie-Antoinette's Dairy at Rambouillet: An Exercise in Archaeological Neo-Classicism," *French Porcelain Society Journal* 9 (1992), passim.
- 23. AMNS, Eb1, D.12. List of pieces made in the hard-paste workshop for the queen's dairy in 1787 and ready for firing, with cost of each shape.
- 24. AMNS, U<sup>3</sup>.
- 25. Ibid., Va (1790-92), record for Lepin.
- 26. Ibid., Eb1, D.12. Pieces de la Laiterie envoyées a Rambouillet le 25 Mai 1787.
- 27. A. Brongniart and D. Riocreux, Déscription méthodique du Musée Céramique de Sèvres, 2 vols. (Paris, 1845), vol. 1, p. ii.
- 28. Paris, Archives Nationales, F12 1495, IV, dossier 3.