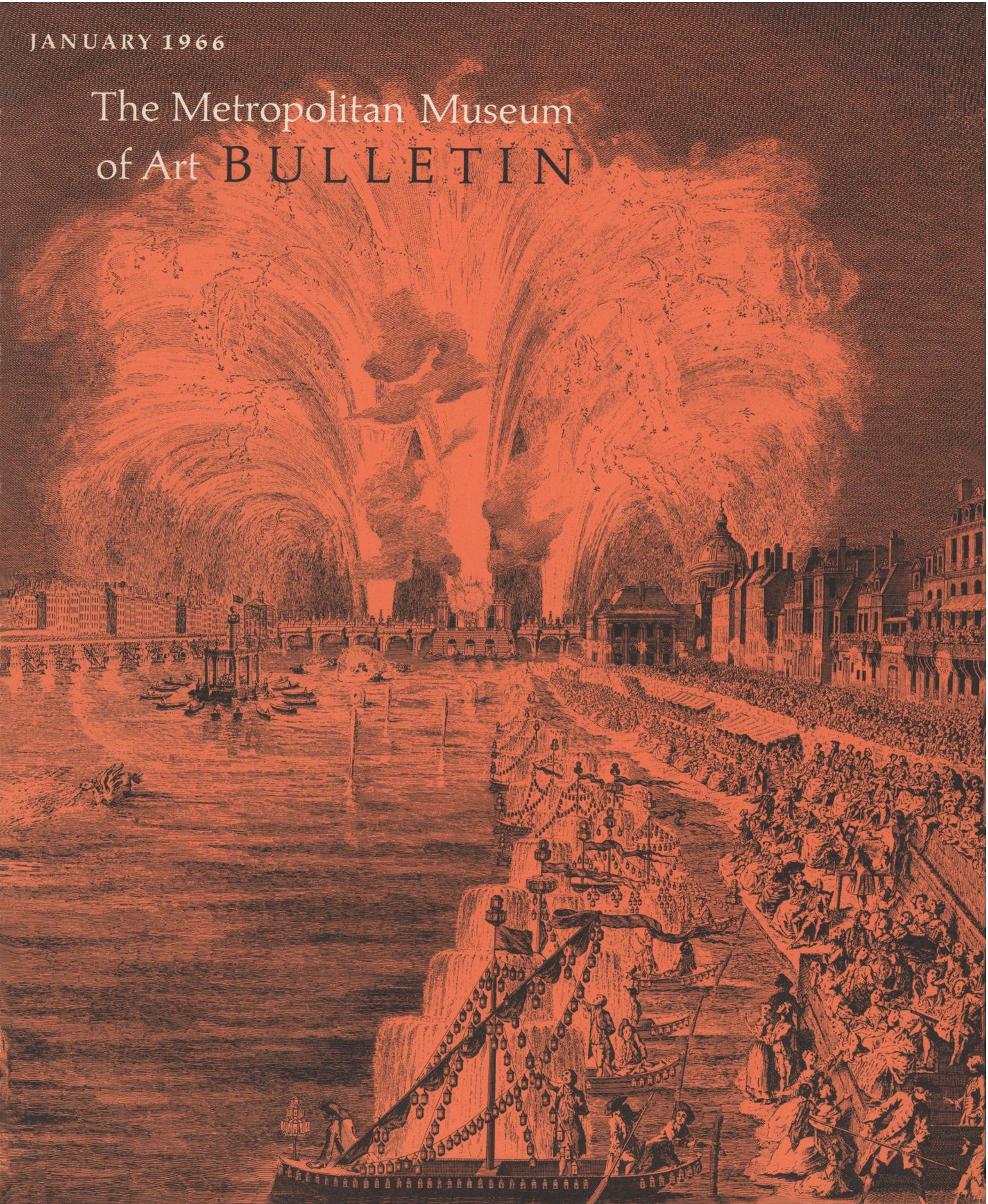


JANUARY 1966

The Metropolitan Museum
of Art BULLETIN





A. Walleau pinxit

Tardieu Sculp

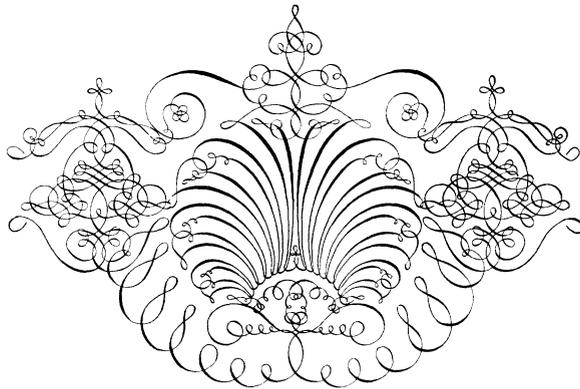
*Assis, au près de toy, sous ces charmans Ombrages,
Du temps, mon cher Walleau, je crains peu les outrages;
Trop heureux ! si les Traits, d'un fidelle Burin,*

*En multipliant les Ouvrages,
Instruisoient l'Univers des sinceres hommages
Que je rends à ton Art divin !*

à Paris Avec Privilège du Roy.

Two Immortalized Landscapes — Watteau and the Recueil Jullienne

COLIN EISLER *Associate Professor, Institute of Fine Arts, New York University*



Aware of the need for master drawings as well as paintings for the recently established Metropolitan Museum of Art, Cornelius Vanderbilt, Jr., a trustee of the new museum, purchased for presentation in 1872 a group of 670 drawings assembled by that most discerning and audacious of American collectors and writers on art, James Jackson Jarves. These were first exhibited in 1888, together with an additional 180 drawings given by Cephas G. Thompson in the preceding year. This enormous display — one of the first in this country and among the largest recorded exhibitions of old master drawings ever held — met with considerable criticism, as many of the works shown had inflated attributions. The most severe reviewer, James W. Stillman, a lifelong enemy of Jarves's, was an influential New York journalist who did all he could to discredit the quality of the drawings in the exhibition, questioning the authenticity of every work of art in the fledgling museum as well.

Since then, the Vanderbilt and Thompson collections have not been the subject of much attention — critical or other — and two small landscape drawings, listed as the works of Antoine Watteau in the handbook of the Vanderbilt collection of 1888, have long since been demoted to cautious anonymity. Attributed to the French school of the eighteenth century, *The Cottage and Garden* (Figure 8) and *The Rural Cottage* (Figure 1), executed in natural red chalk, still arouse interest for their unusually fine, strong yet delicate draughtsmanship. Such drawings have long been difficult to classify, as they stem from the early eighteenth century, when French art, fusing Italian and Netherlandish conventions, was moving away from the landscape modes of the preceding century toward the more decorative and fanciful approach of the Enlightenment.

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FRONTISPIECE:

*Watteau and Jullienne, from
Volume III of the Recueil
Jullienne. 16 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 12 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches.
Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Herbert N.
Straus, 28.113(1)*

ON THE COVER:

*Display of fireworks celebrating
the marriage of Madame Louise
Elisabeth of France to Don
Philip of Spain. Detail of an
engraving from Description des
festes données par la ville de
Paris (Paris, 1740). Dimensions
of whole 16 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 31 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches.
Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 41.68.2*

1. *The Rural Cottage*, by Antoine Watteau (1684-1721), French. Red chalk, $3\frac{5}{16} \times 5\frac{5}{8}$ inches. Gift of Cornelius Vanderbilt, 80.3.524

2. *L'Abreuvoir*, from Volume IV of the *Recueil Jullienne*. $10\frac{1}{16} \times 12\frac{7}{8}$ inches. Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Herbert N. Straus, 28.113(2)

Only recently, studies devoted to the early work of Watteau, one of the greatest French artists of this time, have shown how very much the young painter used the works of Northern artists as a bridge toward the creation of the rococo. Watteau was long celebrated for his incomparable depictions of *fêtes galantes* and his captivating scenes of the *commedia dell'arte*, as well as for the consummate mastery and endless delights of his figure studies, but his early works have tended to be ignored. These were drawn from the art of Dutch and Flemish painters whose works impressed the young artist growing up in the northern French town of Valenciennes, where he was born in 1684 and first apprenticed to the local, truly provincial painters. Even after going to Paris in 1702, he first found himself working for painters in the still fashionable Flemish manner, and it was only several years after his arrival there that he evolved his own art.

Illuminating and illuminated by the vagaries of the human spirit, shimmering in the lights and shades of gaiety and melancholy, Watteau's genius was at its height in the years following the long-awaited sunset of the *Roi Soleil*, Louis XIV. With the passing of the tiresome and increasingly puritanical King, French culture slipped off the formal robes of late baroque splendor to reveal the calculated negligée of the rococo. Watteau's art, like that of the Italian comedians banished during the old age of Louis XIV, came into its own during the productive years between the King's death in 1715 and the painter's own, five years later. During this lamentably brief

time, Watteau executed his greatest works, including the Museum's *Mezzetin* (Figure 3) and *The French Comedians* (Figure 5).

The fusion of delicacy and strength of the Museum's drawings, their deft summation of Flemish art of the preceding century and anticipation of the rococo would seem to proclaim them as coming from Watteau's hand on a stylistic basis alone. Their freshness and informality point toward his major, later work. Evidence of another sort will vindicate the earlier collectors' attribution of these drawings to Watteau, determining their position in his oeuvre with precision.

Both drawings have a narrow strip of paper added to the top, so as to enlarge the sky area. Although differing somewhat in color and texture from the paper below, these strips appear to have been attached long ago, probably by the artist himself, as the lines of red chalk forming the tree at the upper right of *The Rural Cottage* extend beyond the main sheet onto the addition above. If the drawing was begun prior to this enlargement, it may be that the artist attempted to convert the extremely oblong sheet, so characteristic of a Rembrandt etching, into a more conventional format. A study by Watteau in the Lepeltier collection, showing the same cottages as those in the Museum's sketches, has the same strip added along the top. A fourth landscape (in a private collection), showing a river, known to have belonged to a patron at whose house Watteau resided for some time, is also close to the Museum's drawings in size. According to Count Caylus, the art collector and scholar who studied drawing under Watteau's tute-

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3. *Mezzetin*, by Antoine Watteau. Oil on canvas, 21 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 17 inches. Munsey Fund, 34.138

4. *The Thatched Cottage with Cherry Pickers*, by Antoine Watteau. Red chalk, 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 8 $\frac{7}{8}$ inches. British Museum



lage, the painter carried around with him a bound, pocket-sized sketchbook that would agree in size with the Museum's sheets, and it may well be that all four came originally from the same sketchbook.

Related to these in style, but slightly larger, is a drawing by Watteau made in an equally rustic setting – *The Thatched Cottage with Cherry Pickers* (Figure 4), in the British Museum. Here the inclusion of figures in the middle ground indicates that it is closer to a finished composition, preparatory to a painting, than are the Museum's more preliminary sketches.

The general provenance of the entire Vanderbilt collection, to which the landscapes belonged, was given in the handbook published in 1888 when they were first exhibited. It was stated that the "collection was begun in the latter part of the last century by Count Carlo Maggiore, of Bologna, a learned scholar and connoisseur and a member of the Academy of Sciences in that city. It has gradually been increased by additions from the celebrated collections of Signor Marietta, Professor Angelini, Dr. Guastella, and Mr. James Jackson Jarves, our Vice-Consul in Florence." The small *m* in a circle, stamped near the lower corner of each landscape, was placed there when owned by the enigmatic "Signor Marietta," none other than Pierre Jean Mariette, a brilliant print dealer, connoisseur, and publisher. He was a close friend of Watteau and probably introduced him to the circle of erudite, talented collectors whose tastes and interests were so closely connected with the artist's career.

Representing generations of brilliant acquisitions by his father and grandfather, who were printmakers and vendors as well as booksellers, Mariette's collection of drawings was second only to that of the great Crozat. Commenting on Mariette's collector's mark, an author noted: "This stamp, simple, modest, discreet – if I may say so, is the most sought after and respected by collectors. All want to have it on some print or drawing in their possession. Some cherish it for its association, out of respect; others consider it proof of authenticity; as an infallible guarantee. The



5. *The French Comedians*, by Antoine Watteau. Oil on canvas, 22½ x 28¾ inches. The Jules S. Bache Collection, 49.7.54

ignorant collector finds it a certificate of *expertise*. The true *amateur* prizes it as a relic.” The brief biography of Mariette accompanying the sale catalogue of his great collection, prepared after his death in 1775, notes: “A beautiful drawing or fine print sent him into transports of excitement and an infectious enthusiasm inspiring others to emulation placed him in the forefront of all the connoisseurs of Europe for more than sixty years.”

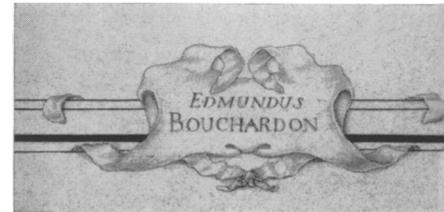
The Museum’s drawings would have been among those described in the sale catalogue, and there were, indeed, some landscape drawings by Watteau itemized: Lot 1392 included “four landscape studies of the environs of Paris, in sanguine.”

The rococo border framing the title page of the Mariette catalogue was probably inspired by those surrounding the labels on the beautifully made blue mats upon which his drawings were mounted. The Museum’s landscapes, when they were in his possession, were almost certainly kept on a tinted blue ground with very similarly ornamented borders, such as

those still retained by a series of six projects for medals designed by Edmé Bouchardon from Mariette’s collection (Figure 6).

The style, paper size, and collector’s mark are all strong indications that the Museum’s drawings are by Watteau. But it is by consulting the uniquely lavish publication known as the *Recueil Jullienne* that their subject and authorship may be securely identified.

Dedicated by the artist’s friend Jean de Jullienne to the perpetuation of all of Watteau’s paintings and major drawings in print form, the *Recueil* proved to be a massive undertaking. Jean de Jullienne as a young man had planned to become a painter, but was dissuaded by Watteau. Despite his extremely demanding administrative career as director of the great weaving and dye works at Gobelins, he found time to be an amateur etcher. He also owned what may well have been the largest single assemblage of Watteau’s drawings, four hundred of them, including seventy-three landscape studies. More cultural commissar than creator, Jullienne devoted much



6. *Label on the mat of a Bouchardon drawing formerly in the collection of Pierre Jean Mariette. Rogers Fund, 61.165.5*



7. *Le Marais*, from Volume IV of the *Recueil Jullienne*. 10⁵/₈ x 12³/₄ inches. Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Herbert N. Straus, 28.113(2)

of his wealth and industry to the hundreds of plates after Watteau's works. Thanks to his discrimination and energy, a group of talented graphic artists was assembled to undertake the immense task.

Jullienne's planning and even partial execution of the monumental print project must have been meant as a votive labor of love commemorating his friend's genius. A print in one of the early volumes of the *Recueil* shows Watteau painting in a parklike setting, while Jullienne plays the cello (Frontispiece). It suggests the understanding friendship enjoyed by both men—the rather withdrawn, introspective artist and the dynamic, tireless Jullienne. The verse inscribed below the print describes Jullienne's hopes for the *Recueil*:

Seated beside thee, beneath these charming shades

I little fear, my dear Watteau, the ravages of time;
 Only too happy if the impress of a faithful burin,
 By multiplying thy works,
 Proclaim to the universe the sincere homage
 I render thy divine art.

According to Jullienne, more than eighteen years were needed to finish the five handsome volumes published in a limited edition of one hundred. The first two volumes, issued in 1726 and 1727, consisted of 351 etchings after the artist's figure and landscape drawings. The other volumes, containing 271 prints based on paintings and decorative panels, calling for far more elaborate reproductive techniques than those required for the drawings, were begun in 1727, and terminated in 1735. Most of the prints were made by a combination of

etching and engraving, a few by etching alone, and a single example by engraving alone.

Of the 150 of Watteau's paintings reproduced in the *Recueil*, only about 80 are known today. Among the missing works are two landscapes (reproduced in reverse), entitled L'Abreuvoir (The Watering Place, Figure 2) and Le Marais (The Market Garden, Figure 7). A glance at these prints will show that they represent the final compositions suggested by the Museum's drawings.

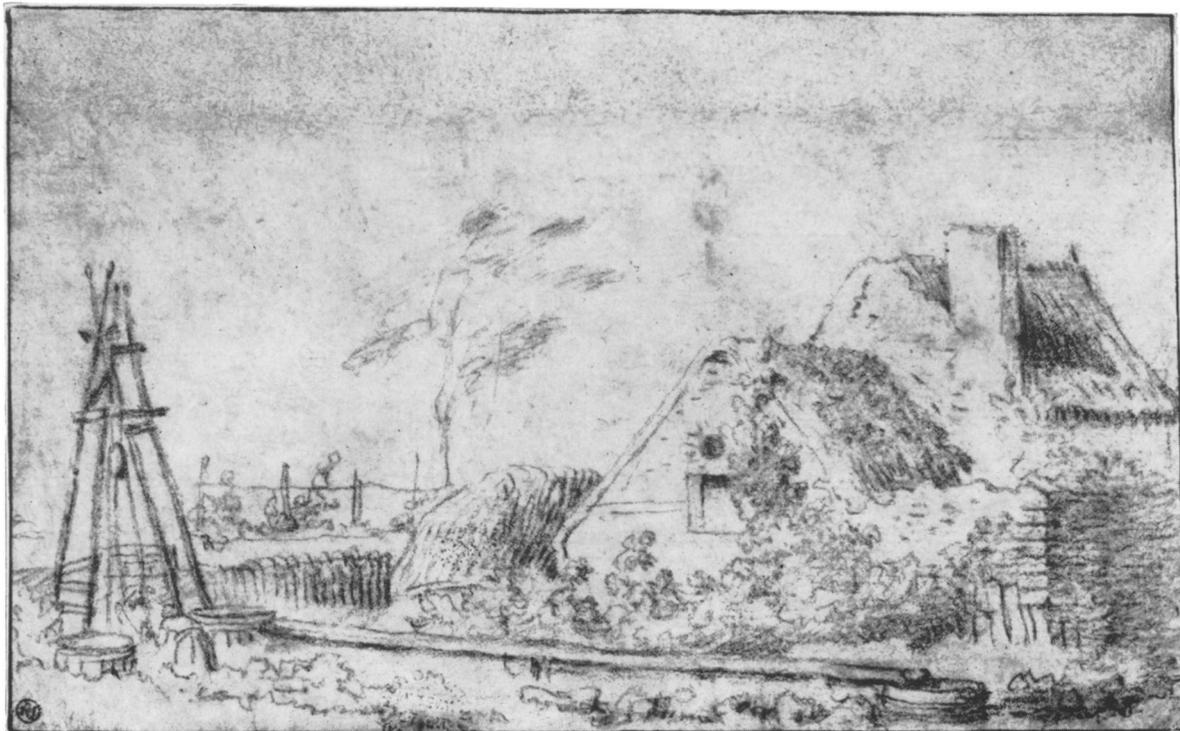
Comparing the drawings with the prints, the difference between the spontaneous, direct approach of Watteau's draughtsmanship and his far more conventional rendering in paint is at once apparent. The lost paintings, as shown by the prints, were peopled by small figures typical of those used to enliven academic landscapes of the later seventeenth century. The expanded and formalized "finished" compositions have lost the quality of immediate observation of the drawings in favor of a more orthodox approach.

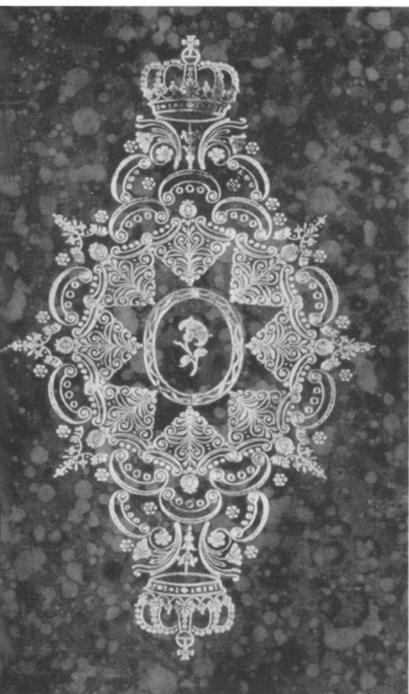
According to Gersaint, the art dealer for whom Watteau painted his largest work, a breathtakingly beautiful signboard (now in

Berlin), Watteau preferred his drawings to his paintings. No doubt he savored the immediate correspondence of model to line found in a sketch, which is lost in the deliberate and laborious process of elaborating first impressions into finished work. A letter from Watteau to Jullienne, describing his typical day, states that the artist spent his mornings making sketches – for which he used the beautiful phrase "*pensées à la sanguine*," "thoughts in red chalk."

Jullienne's plan to publish the "entire oeuvre of Watteau" may have been inspired by that singular album, the *Liber Veritatis*, which came to Paris from Rome in 1720 from the estate of the French landscape painter Claude Lorrain. Composed of 195 numbered drawings, this was a bound pictorial record compiled and illustrated by the artist himself between 1636 and his death in 1682, in which each of his major paintings was carefully recorded, to guard against forgeries and copies. The album was kept up to date by Claude's heirs, who added information concerning the changing ownership of the paintings. Brought to France, the manuscript was offered for sale to the King,

8. *The Cottage and Garden*, by Antoine Watteau. Red chalk, $3\frac{5}{16} \times 5\frac{5}{8}$ inches. Gift of Cornelius Vanderbilt, 80.3.522





9. Design on the binding of the *Recueil Jullienne*

who seems to have been uninterested in the somewhat lackadaisical draughtsmanship reserved by Claude for reproductive rather than original drawings. It was examined by Watteau's friend and biographer D'Argenville, who may have mentioned the manuscript to Jullienne. By 1728 the *Liber Veritatis* had come into the possession of the second Duke of Devonshire at Chatsworth, where it remains today.

Among the first major ventures in "art publishing," and certainly the most ambitious, the *Recueil Jullienne* was not a financial success. By 1735 the expensive project was foundering for lack of subscribers able to purchase the entire set of volumes, and four years later Jullienne sold all the plates and prints to the widow of the printseller Chéreau, making them available individually. Despite its comprehensive goal, the *Recueil* is, unfortunately, incomplete. This first ripple of the tidal wave of artists' monographs omits some of Watteau's most inspired paintings, such as the Louvre's *Gilles*, and includes some works that may not have been by the painter himself.

The five beautifully bound volumes of the *Recueil* among the treasures of the Museum's print collection may have been owned by Jullienne himself. Stamped within the stars on the bindings are small flowers resembling the sweet William or rocket (Figure 9), whose French name is *julienne*, and whose leaves Jullienne adopted for a coat of arms in 1736 and had placed upon the binding of the *Recueil* he presented to the Académie Royale, which thereupon proclaimed him *honoraire amateur*. The state of the prints in the Museum's *Recueil* is very close to that of the ones given to the Académie. The Museum's volumes were owned formerly by the Jan Six van Hillegom family, descendants of Rembrandt's great patron.

Jullienne's approach to Watteau's art, uniting admiration and affection with scholarship, was perhaps first possible in the eighteenth century, with the rise of the amateur, whose ability to know both art and what he liked, combined with the means to collect wisely and well, formed a cornerstone of the Enlightenment. The French term *connoisseur* is still the only one at hand to describe the peculiar

combination of intuition and erudition constituting the ideal collector, dealer, curator, or scholar. With the early years of the rococo, when men of the stature of Jean de Jullienne and Pierre Jean Mariette could rise from the mercantile class to become affluent art advisers and collectors, such a lavish (and, alas, unprofitable) project as the *Recueil Jullienne* was first realized.

Once the circumstances in which the Museum's landscapes were drawn are known, their Rembrandtesque quality will be seen to be far from coincidental. According to a manuscript, now at the Bibliothèque Nationale, written by Mariette, the two paintings *L'Abreuvoir* and *Le Marais* were "painted by Watteau from nature, at the time he was living at the Faubourg des Porcherons." This was probably on the property of that great financier and art collector, Pierre Crozat, who had one of the finest assemblages of Rembrandt drawings ever known, over three hundred of them. The months during which Watteau lived at Crozat's estate were of great significance for the development of his art. It was then he had the opportunity to study intimately and at length the superb drawings of the Venetian, Dutch, and Flemish masters that were so amply represented in Crozat's collection – perhaps the greatest single gathering of master drawings of all time, 19,000 works. Its owner was known humorously as "Crozat le Pauvre" to distinguish him from his brother, who, reputedly the richest man in France, underwrote much of the colonization of Louisiana.

The great octagonal room modeled on the Tribune Gallery of the Uffizi, where Crozat kept his choicest works of art, was the setting in which Watteau was introduced to the major amateurs. It may have been here that the painter first met Mariette, Crozat's friend and adviser. The date of the meeting of Crozat and Watteau is still a matter of conjecture. According to Hélène Adhémar, author of a fine study of Watteau, Crozat first met the artist in 1715 on returning from an Italian journey he had made to purchase the collection of Queen Christina of Sweden for the Prince Regent. Other scholars, Parker and

Mathey, believe the paintings of L'Abreuvoir and Le Marais to have been done in 1712, suggesting that Watteau may have lived in the Faubourg des Porcherons even before staying *chez Crozat*.

The young painter must have welcomed the country-like atmosphere of the Faubourg, then on the outskirts of Paris, as it afforded him rural vistas. Watteau seems to have lived in a small garden house, preferring its relative isolation to the constant social whirl of Crozat's mansion. A tunnel went below the boulevard, separating the formal gardens from the market gardens where Watteau's cottage was located, near what is today the rue Richelieu. An eighteenth-century map of Paris shows the striking contrast between the formal splendor of Crozat's grounds and the Parisian market gardens beyond (Figure 10). This section of Paris, close to the present location of the Opéra-Comique, is described vividly in a poem by Jean François Regnard, author of many comedies whose leading character was Mezzetin:

. . . S'élève une maison, modeste et retirée,
Dont le chagrin sur-tout ne connoît point
l'entrée;
L'oeil voit d'abord ce Mont, dont les antres
profonds
Fournissent à Paris l'honneur de ces plafonds;
Où de trente moulins les ailes étendues,
M'apprennent chaque jour quel vent chasse
les nues.
Le jardin est étroit, mais les yeux satisfaits
S'y promènent au loin sur de vastes marais.
C'est là qu'en mille endroits laissant errer ma
vue,
Je vois croître à plaisir l'oseille et la laitue:
C'est là, que dans son temps, des moissons
d'artichaux,
Du jardinier actif secondent les travaux,
Et que de champignons une couche voisine
Ne fait, quand il me plait, qu'un saut dans
ma cuisine . . .

(. . . stands a plain secluded house to which care has no key. From it I see Montmartre, whose quarries provide plaster for Paris. Thirty windmills show me which breeze chases the clouds. The garden is narrow but pleasing to my eye, which may roam beyond its confines, over the broad market gardens beyond.



10. Map showing Crozat's house and the market gardens. From J. Herrold and A. Vuaflart, *Jean de Jullienne et les Graveurs de Watteau au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1929). Library of The Metropolitan Museum of Art

Looking over a thousand different places I see the fresh growth of sorrel and lettuce. It is there that the artichoke harvests are gathered, rewarding the busy gardener for his labors. And there the mushrooms, in a field nearby, are but a leap from my kitchen . . .).

This surprisingly bucolic *quartier*, with its harvests and windmills, suggests a Dutch landscape. Thus Crozat's grounds as well as his many drawings by Rembrandt provided a constant inspiration and stimulus to his resident artist.

Another source for the Netherlandish approach to landscape in the Museum's drawings may have been Watteau's interest in a publication first printed and sold in 1669 by Mariette's father. *Veüe de diverses paisages au naturel d'alentour de Paris*, one of a series, consisted of oblong scenes of the rustic landscapes surrounding the French capital, executed by Albert Flamand, a talented artist from Bruges. Flamand's art had a certain informality and spontaneity, which the French always pre-

11. Vignette from the title page of *Veüe de diverses paisages au naturel d'alentour de Paris* (Paris, chez Mariette, n. d.), by A. Flamand (Flamand). Etching, 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 36.82(1)



ferred to import from the north, schooling their own painters in a more classical, conservative spirit. The title page of Flamand's brisk series (Figure 11) shows that sense of improvisation and nonchalance that, when taken over by the French forty years later, contributed to the caprice of the rococo.

The drawings for *Le Marais* and *L'Abreuvoir* may perhaps have been owned first by



12. Sheet of studies, including *La Fileuse*, by Antoine Watteau. Red and brown chalk, $6\frac{7}{16} \times 4\frac{13}{16}$ inches. Bequest of Anne D. Thompson, 23.280.5



13. *La Fileuse*, from Volume I of the *Recueil Jullienne*, by François Boucher. Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 28.100(1)

14. *La Fileuse*, from Volume IV of the *Recueil Jullienne*. Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Herbert N. Straus, 28.113(2)

Crozat, whose four hundred Watteaus included many of the artist's more naturalistic studies. The sale catalogue of his collection, prepared by Mariette a year after the banker's death in 1740, is not sufficiently specific to identify the drawings precisely but is nonetheless the first carefully prepared catalogue of drawings to have been printed. Item no. 1069 includes nine works, "the drawings that the Painter left on his deathbed to M. Crozat, in recognition of all the good offices that he had received from him." The artist divided his remaining drawings among four friends, including Jullienne and Gersaint, in whose arms he died.



Watteau's tragically early death, of tuberculosis, took place when he was thirty-seven, in 1721. Authors always seem to point out that Watteau died at the same age as Raphael, but there, apart from their both being the very greatest of artists, the resemblance ends. The French artist's withdrawn and difficult temperament was totally opposed to that of Raphael, a consummate courtier, whose pleased and pleasing personality could never entertain the regrets of that exquisitely observed, compassionate tragicomedy of love that was Watteau's *The Departure from Cythera* – the *Isle of Venus*. (This painting has long been wrongly known as *The Embarkation for Cythera*.)

Watteau's death was hastened by a disastrous journey to England, where he hoped to earn enough in commissions to recoup his recent losses in speculation. He also hoped to be cured of his malady by the celebrated doctor Richard Meade, Francophile and host of Voltaire, who was almost as famous for his connoisseurship and large art collection as for his medical skills, and whose portrait was included by Watteau in *L'Amour Paisible*. Needless to say, that winter in England was the beginning of the end.

Enthusiasm for Watteau's works is a unique chapter in the history of taste. The *Recueil* is itself ample testimony to the extraordinary regard in which his art was held by Watteau's contemporaries and the succeeding generation. The zealous concern for the preservation of Watteau's drawings in print form may be observed in Boucher's etching, for the *Recueil*, of a woman spinning (Figure 13). This figure is taken from a sketch, now in the Museum's collection, on which another study also appears (Figure 12). The figure of the spinner was selected for reproduction because Watteau had himself employed it for his painting *La Fileuse*, now lost and known only from the print for the *Recueil* (Figure 14). Like all French painters of the rococo, Boucher exploited Watteau's art as a point of departure for his own – his contribution to the *Recueil* was in fact a basic contribution to his own style.

Boucher etched a touching personal tribute from one artist to another in a frontispiece to

one of the five volumes of the *Recueil* (Figure 15): "The Graces who, in Watteau's incomparable works, offer the eye their smiling likeness everywhere, now shed their tears upon his tomb." Weeping at Watteau's tomb, the Graces are shown below a portrait of the artist about to be crowned with a wreath, to a fanfare from the trumpets of Eternal Fame. His sudden death is indicated by the toppled

15. *Frontispiece by François Boucher to Volume II of the Recueil Jullienne.*
13¹⁵/₁₆ x 9¹/₁₆ inches.
Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 28.100(2)



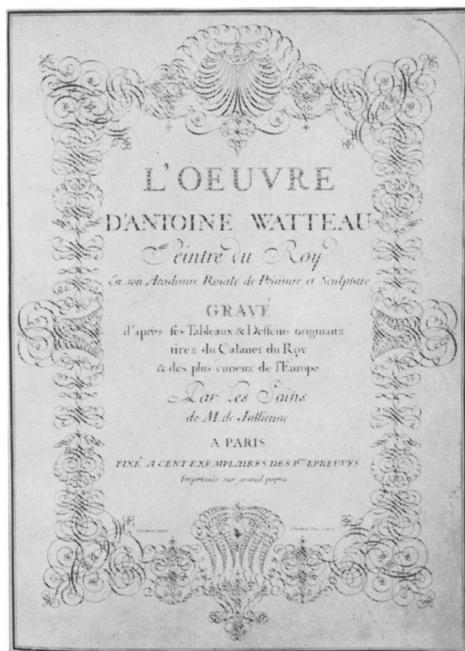
easel by the tomb, which supported a canvas showing a detail from his *The Departure from Cythera*, the presentation piece that he finally gave to the Académie Royale five years after his admission in 1712, when he was the first artist received as a painter of *fêtes galantes*.

Twenty years after the artist's death, Frederick the Great instructed his agent, Count Rothenberg, to seek out all Watteau's works available for purchase throughout Europe. The brilliant French art critic Voyer d'Argenson, writing at the same time that the King of Prussia's agents were snapping up what often amounted to custom-made forgeries for the decoration of their royal employer's palaces, noted that "within twenty years the

French will be swapping two paintings of Raphael for a fan painted by Watteau." But such enthusiasm did not last long. Diderot stoutly declared that he would exchange any Watteau in the world for a small Teniers. It is ironic that Teniers, whose relatively minor talents provided the springboard for some of Watteau's loveliest works, should have had the last word in the French artist's century, from the most influential critic of the Enlightenment.

All who admire the "charming shades" of the Museum's landscapes must be indebted to Jullienne's *Recueil*. He himself prophesied that this publication would preserve Watteau's works from the ravages of time. Even when his drawings survive, especially early ones seemingly uncharacteristic of his best-known mature manner, such as the Museum's, it is only with the help of the *Recueil* that they may be reinstated in the artist's oeuvre on the basis of documentation, rather than the fallible intuition of the connoisseur. It is hoped that by reproducing the great artist's first "thoughts in sanguine" and reuniting them with their final form, as shown by Jullienne, that present-day studies may continue to contribute to Jullienne's commemorative labor of love – "teaching the universe of the sincere homage which I render thy divine art."

16. Title page of Volume III of the *Recueil Jullienne*. 24 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 17 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Herbert N. Straus, 28.113(1)



NOTES

I am much indebted to Rayanne Lowenthal for her help in studying the heraldic forms on the bindings of the *Recueil*.

Mariette's *Notes mss. sur les graveurs*, IX, folio 192, in the Cabinet des Estampes, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, identifies the location of the two paintings. It is quoted by Dacier and Vuafart (see References), III, p. 69.

The poem by Regnard, "Épître à Monsieur," was first printed by F. and C. Parfait, *Histoire du théâtre français*, IV (Paris, 1748), p. 296.

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French Eighteenth-Century Furniture Depicted on Canvas

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On the evening of August 29, 1739, the city of Paris stood sponsor to a spectacular fête celebrating the marriage of Louis XV's eldest daughter, Madame Louise Elisabeth, to Don Philip, youngest son of Philip V, king of Spain. This fête took the form of an aquatic pageant that unfolded along a nine-hundred-yard stretch of the river Seine between the Pont Neuf and the Pont Royal (a section of the river not yet encumbered by two subsequently built bridges, the Pont des Arts and the Pont du Carrousel). In order better to observe the spectacle Louis XV occupied a balcony of the Louvre especially decorated for the purpose, on the floor below the Galerie d'Apollon. He was accompanied by the Queen and Dauphin, by his six daughters, including Louise Elisabeth, who had been married by proxy three days before, and by a few high officials of the court. The fête, which commenced with musical selections and fanfares by an orchestra playing on an artificial island in midstream, reached a climax after nightfall with a display of fireworks that must have appeared to set fire to the Seine (Cover). A huge shower of sparks emerged from three hundred rockets planted on the Pont Neuf, an effect compounded by the exploding water-borne charges, including thirty-two fountains of fire (*cascades de feu*), barges loaded with sprays and Catherine wheels, and simulated sea monsters spitting fireworks. The flowing waters of the Seine reflected these illuminations together with a twenty-four-foot-high device of interlaced L's, the monogram of Louis XV, which blazed all night on the spur of the Pont Neuf. This was not the extent of the celebration, however, for the following evening, the city fathers underwrote a ball at the Hôtel de Ville, attended by 14,000 masked guests, which lasted until 8 o'clock the following morning. The bill for these entertainments came to 360,000 livres, a heavy drain on the municipal budget of that time. Worried city officials might have been consoled, however, had they known that they would never be obliged to repeat their generous gesture. The occasion never arose for another such celebration, since Madame Louise Elisabeth was the only daughter of Louis XV ever to be married.

The fault seems not to have been with her five eligible younger sisters, who, if Nattier's portraits are to be believed, grew up into sugar-and-spice princesses. Their collective single state seems partly to be explained by a shortage of princely suitors who could have provided them with thrones befitting their rank, and partly by the lack of enthusiasm with which Louis XV set about finding husbands for his daughters. His apathy and the lack of suitable *partis* sufficed to discourage matrimonial negotiations. A further deterrent to marriage for Mesdames, as they were called, was the unfortunate example of their elder sister, Madame Louise Elisabeth, who had made a far from brilliant match.

"Babet," as her father called her, was barely twelve years old when she was married to eighteen-year-old Don Philip, her cousin once removed. The morning after the ball given by the city of Paris, her father accompanied her on the first leg of her journey to join her husband in Madrid, and imparted his final instructions in the carriage: she was to refrain from asking any favor, no matter how small, from her father-in-law, until she was twenty-five ("Je vous ordonne de ne pas demander au roi d'Espagne aucune grâce, quelque petite qu'elle puisse être, jusqu'à ce que vous avez vingt-cinq ans"). Such were the rather forlorn circumstances under which this princess, hardly more than a child, left to assume the responsibilities of marriage. It was customary at that time, when women were still subject creatures, and an early and unintelligible death could put an end to the fondest dynastic ambitions, for arranged marriages of this sort to be consummated as soon as possible. Therefore no one was surprised when Louise Elisabeth (who was to die of smallpox aged thirty-two) became pregnant at thirteen, and gave birth to her first child, Isabel, on December 31, 1741.

In that year her husband marched away to war, and she did not see him again for seven years. The war of the Austrian Succession, in which Don Philip was to take an inglorious part, had broken out in Europe over the question of the partition of Austrian territory. The kings of Spain and France, Philip V and Louis XV, had formed an alliance in this war,

partly for the purpose of obtaining for Don Philip a share in the disputed territories. The Marquis d'Argenson's memoirs describe Louis XV's attitude: "The one overriding objective of the king in the present war is that Don Philip and Madame Louise Elisabeth shall have a kingdom in Italy consisting either of Savoy or of the Duchy of Parma; they say that there is nothing that the king is not prepared to do in order to accomplish this." As it turned out, the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, signed on October 18, 1748, awarded Don Philip three adjoining duchies in northern Italy: Parma, Piacenza, and Guastalla (the former two had been Austrian property since 1734).

This was far from a handsome endowment for so highly connected a prince: "We have only obtained a small establishment for Don Philip, best suited to a pope's bastard, such as the one to whom it originally belonged." However, as the youngest son of Philip V, born after his half-brother (crowned Ferdinand VI of Spain in 1746) and his far more able brother Charles (who had reigned over the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies since 1734), Don Philip stood to inherit little from his father, and was perhaps fortunate to have shared to such an extent in the spoils of war, particularly since it was said that he had merited Louis XV's disfavor by unvalorous conduct in battle: "Le roi n'aime pas non plus, dit-on, son gendre Don Philippe, parce qu'il ne s'est pas montré assez valeureux dans la guerre d'Italie. . . ." At any rate he and Louise Elisabeth had their long-coveted establishment, though it might lack importance and a few of the amenities of living.

When his wife heard the news, she hastened not to Parma but to Versailles, to spend the first of three long visits at her father's court. D'Argenson's memoirs offer further acerbic comment on the purpose of this visit: "It is said that *Madame Infante* is going to spend a long time here, possibly even several years. The reason for this is that the palace of Parma is empty, that there is no furniture, not even a staircase, and that much time will be needed to repair these deficiencies." It was a fact that the palace that the new sovereigns of Parma

were to inhabit was in a derelict condition. Fifteen years earlier, when Don Philip's brother Charles had transferred his seat of government from Parma to Naples, capital city of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, he had directed that the palace be stripped of its contents, including the famous Farnese collections of paintings and sculpture, to be shipped to Naples. Apparently nothing that might be useful was left behind, for with this loot went architectural elements, windows, doors, and the marble steps of a staircase, which Charles had ordered dismantled from the palace itself. Reports that she had heard of these matters accounted in part for Louise Elisabeth's decision to undertake the trip to Versailles. She hoped to persuade her father to contribute largely to restore the fallen fortunes of Parma, and establish the prestige of the throne that she was to share with her husband.

The first visit lasted less than a year, from December 31, 1748, until October 6, 1749. Though her objective had been partially gained by February 1749, when Louis XV awarded her an annual grant of 200,000 livres, Louise Elisabeth prolonged her sojourn. It was during this period that she won 2,000 louis at cards, giving rise to a scandalous rumor that she had resorted to gambling to pay for furnishing her new residence: "There, according to malicious tongues, is the wherewithal for furnishing her house in Italy." Such gossip implied that she was occupied with outfitting this palace, and it must have been at this time that she commissioned the first pieces of furniture to be made in Paris. These may have been transported to Parma in the baggage train of thirty-four wagons that accompanied her when she set out for her new domain in October.

It is possible that this first shipment of furniture to Parma included an armchair now at the Metropolitan Museum (Figure 3). It was given to the Museum by J. Pierpont Morgan in 1906, who acquired it that year with the collection of the Paris dealer Georges Hoentschel. This chair of carved and gilded oak bears no signature (the statute obliging furniture makers to sign their output was not ratified by Parlement until 1751), but is branded

twice, once on the underside of the front seat rail and again on the wood frame of the slip seat, with a mark consisting of the letters CR separated by a crown and the number 4865 (Figure 1). This number probably corresponded with an item in an inventory of the contents of the royal palaces in Parma (the initials CR stand for *Casa Reale*, "Royal Household"). The back, seat, and armrests of the armchair at the Museum are removable, and are covered with the original upholstery: red velvet worn down to the nap, now protected by modern netting attached to the chair last year, to which the original gold galloon, cleaned and refurbished at the same time, was applied. Seat upholstery is notably perishable, and the presence of the original covers, no matter how worn, on a single example such as that at the Museum would be considered an amazing if not unique survival, were it not that another armchair from the same set is known to exist, which has also retained its original red velvet and gold galloon upholstery. This chair is also branded with the CR mark and is in the Hermitage Museum, Leningrad. A third chair from this set is illustrated in the sale catalogue of Mme Camille Lelong's collection (Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, April 27-May 1, 1903, no. 389) and is now in a French private collection. It bears the same inventory mark, but has lost its original red velvet upholstery with gold galloon of a more elaborate pattern than that on the Museum's armchair (these covers, illustrated in the sale catalogue, have been replaced with modern velvet). At the time it was executed the set probably comprised more than these three armchairs, and may have included settees, stools, and even a firescreen. The solid, strong oak construction of the chairs points to the possibility that some equally sturdy pieces from this set may come to light in the future.

A date of about 1749 can plausibly be assigned to the chairs. The symmetry, weight, and projection of the carving, the rich variety of decorative motifs, and the ample proportions retain an aura of baroque grandeur, and indicate a date just before 1750. The extraordinarily high quality of the workmanship permits mention of the name of Nicolas Quini-



1. Mark under the armchair illustrated in Figure 3



2. *Maria Luisa of Parma*,
1765, by Laurent
Pécheux (1729-1821),
French. Oil on canvas,
89 x 65 inches. Bequest
of Annie C. Kane,
26.260.9

3. *Armchair, possibly by Nicolas Quinibert Foliot, French, about 1749. Carved and gilded oak, with original upholstery. Height 43½ inches. Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 07.225.57*



bert Foliot as the maker of the set. A member of a famous family of chairmakers (*menuisiers*), he assumed his father's functions as *menuisier attiré du Garde-Meuble de la Couronne* in 1749. The red velvet covers, furthermore, may have been supplied and attached by Sallior, the upholsterer to the Crown between 1735 and 1755.

An extraordinary piece of evidence partially confirming the history of the set of furniture as it is described above also exists at the Metropolitan Museum. This is a full-length portrait of the third child and second daughter of Madame Louise Elisabeth and Don Philip, painted at Parma in January 1765 (Figure 2). The subject of this portrait was born on December 9, 1751, and christened Louise Marie Thérèse, since French was the prevailing language at the court of Parma, but she is better known by the Spanish form of her name, Maria Luisa, bestowed on her after she married the heir to the throne of Spain. She is portrayed standing in a scignorial but not very clearly defined interior, holding a snuffbox, its lid open to display a painted miniature of her fiancé, the Prince of the Asturias (son of Charles III, the same man who had despoiled the palace of Parma thirty-odd years before), later Charles IV of Spain. Although the interior architecture is shadowy and indistinct, the accessories in the foreground of this painting emerge with surprising clarity, and one of them is immediately recognizable. This is the armchair at the right, on which Maria Luisa must have been sitting, since part of the train of her dress is still piled on the seat. The carved and gilded motifs of the Museum's armchair appear again in this painted image, and there can be no doubt that one of the chairs from the same set is represented. The chair in the painting appears to be covered with red velvet bordered by gold galloon. There are, however, two noticeable differences between the two-dimensional chair and the Museum's three-dimensional one: first, the presence of a row of brass-headed nails around the upholstery of the back and armrest of the chair in the portrait, lacking on the existing chair, indicates that this upholstery may not originally have been *à chassis*

(that is, tacked invisibly to the underside of removable back, seat, and armrest pieces), but might have been attached directly to the frame. Secondly, the elaborate pattern of the gold galloon on the chair in the painting does not conform to the simple wavy band sewn to the upholstery of the Museum's armchair (this need raise no serious question, however, since the galloon pattern seems never to have been identical on any of the three surviving armchairs from the set). To allow for easier comparison, the portrait, set in a magnificent carved and gilded beechwood frame of about 1740 lent by Mr. and Mrs. Charles B. Wrightsman, and the chair are displayed together on the first floor of the Museum.

Other aspects of furniture of the period are disclosed in the small portion of an interior setting depicted in this portrait. The square cushion, or *carreau*, which rests on a stool or low stand (*porte-carreau*) in the left-hand corner, is also covered in red velvet trimmed with scalloped gold galloon somewhat similar to the trim on the Museum's armchair. It was probably one of a number of similar cushions that were supplied for the room and adapted to the different uses prescribed by court etiquette: it may have supported a crown or piece of court regalia, or might equally well have served as a seat for a prominent court official, whose rank entitled him to such a distinction (courtiers of lesser rank had to be content to sit on such cushions placed directly on the floor). The dark red and blue arabesque patterns of the rug have enabled it to be identified as a Ushak carpet, a type known to have been exported from Turkey to Europe in considerable quantities in the eighteenth century. The gilded console table is French in style, and may have been executed in Paris and shipped to Parma, as was the case with the set of armchairs, or it might have been the work of the small colony of French woodworkers, with such names as Marc Vibert, Victor Priez, and J. B. Anet, that Louise Elisabeth and Don Philip had established at Parma. The ducal couple also patronized a French clockmaker, Nicolas la Fontaine, resident in Parma, and the gilt-bronze clock of distinctly French inspiration, shown on the

console table, may have come from his workshop. After 1753 the court of Parma was supplied with snuffboxes directly from Paris, and the snuffbox that Maria Luisa holds was almost certainly of French manufacture. Lavish pieces of furniture and accessories such as these were not the only imports from France, however, for the sovereigns of this small Italian duchy regarded Paris as the source for articles as prosaic and diverse as mirror glass, sewing needles, and cosmetics. The demand for French goods was so great, in fact, that a French purchasing agent for the court of Parma was permanently posted in Paris.

The choice of an artist to paint the portrait of Maria Luisa did not accord entirely with this predominance of French-directed taste, for Laurent Pécheux, though born in Lyons in 1729, had received almost all his artistic training in Italy. He had been a pupil of Anton Raphael Mengs and Pompeo Battoni in Rome, and had settled for many years in that city, from which he set out for Parma on January 8, 1765, to paint the portrait of the princess. The artist's journal recounts incidents of the voyage, which included an unscheduled three-day stopover in Florence necessitated by wintry conditions, and an entry into Parma late at night, after the city gates had been locked. The following morning Pécheux received an audience from Don Philip (Louise Elisabeth had died in 1759), after which he was conducted to Maria Luisa's apartment, where he set about preparations for the portrait, sketching in the head at the first sitting. During a subsequent sitting, after the body had been outlined, Don Philip requested that the artist measure his sketch against the living model, a comparison that satisfied all present by establishing that the two measurements corresponded closely. Unfortunately the pages of Pécheux's journal for the rest of his sojourn in Parma are missing, but there is a strong presumption that the painting he writes about in its early stages is the one at the Metropolitan Museum. Toward the end of his life the artist himself drew up a summary catalogue of his works, in which he narrated the circumstances of his trip to Parma and briefly described this painting: "In January 1765 I was

called to Parma by Duke Don Philip to execute 24 1. The *Portrait of the Princess Louise* his daughter, who was promised as a bride to the Prince of the Asturias, the present King of Spain. This painting, large and of rich effect, was sent to Madrid in about May of that year, and was received with acclaim by the King, thereby procuring me the high opinion of this sovereign, who immediately asked me to undertake his own portrait." It seems that Pécheux jumbled his allusions to royalty in the last sentence, for the "sovereign" referred to is not the "King" of the preceding phrase (Charles III of Spain), but Don Philip, since the following number in the painter's catalogue designates a full-length portrait of the Duke of Parma: "25 1. The *standing portrait of Duke Don Philip*, dressed in a fur-lined coat. . . ." This portrait, inscribed "Laur. Pecheux lugd. [Lyonnais] P[inxit]. Parmae 1765," is now in the Galleria Nazionale at Parma, together with a portrait that Pécheux painted slightly later in the same year of Maria Luisa's brother, Don Ferdinando, the heir to the throne of Parma. The measurements of these two paintings correspond very closely with the measurements of the portrait at the Metropolitan Museum, indicating that they may all have been part of the same series. Moreover, since Pécheux specifically states that his portrait of Maria Luisa was sent to the court of Spain, it follows that a Spanish provenance should be associated with the portrait now at the Metropolitan. This is, in fact, the case, for the author of an article published in 1897 states that the portrait belonged at that time to the counts of El Asalto, and describes it as having been acquired from the Marchesa de Griny, a Spanish governess of Maria Luisa, who had received it as a gift from her former charge.

It remains to determine the location of the scene represented in the portrait. Pécheux's journal specifies that the lodgings assigned to him in Parma were in the "ducal palace," and it seems likely that the setting for Maria Luisa's portrait was in a part of her quarters at this palace. To be sure, Don Philip and his family inhabited other palaces: there was the so-called Palazzo del Giardino, named for the

park in which it was situated on the west bank of the Parma river, and the summer palace, the villa of Colorno, some ten miles to the north. It does not seem likely, however, that either of these contained the setting represented in the portrait. According to a journal kept by the Abbé Richard of a trip to Italy that he took in 1761, the Palazzo del Giardino, the residence of Maria Luisa's older sister, Isabel, until her marriage in 1760, had been stripped of its contents by this time and was no longer habitable. It is, furthermore, ex-



tremely improbable that the court would have taken up residence at Colorno in mid-winter (January was a bitterly cold month, as we learn from the journal of Pécheux, who painted Don Philip in a fur-lined coat in the same season). There are grounds, therefore, for supposing that the principal other royal palace provided the setting for Maria Luisa's portrait. Evidence that this palace contained velvet-covered furniture of the kind that has been discussed occurs in a passage from the Abbé Richard's journal, describing Don Philip's apartments in the palace: "The furniture and wall coverings of the apartment of Don Philip are of crimson velvet with gold

embroidery (*velours cramoisi brodé en or*)." This structure, which stood on a site adjoining the existing Palazzo della Pilotta, had been remodeled for Don Philip in 1750 by the French architect François Antoine Carlier, when the interior was decorated with Italian stuccowork. The foundations of this spreading, unfinished mass of buildings proved to be unsound, and the whole structure had to be pulled down in 1766, the year following Don Philip's death. Its site is now a garden not far from the Galleria Nazionale.

Although in itself a very considerable relic of what must have been an interior decoration of the greatest richness, the Museum's armchair is, of course, not the only vestige of Louise Elisabeth's and Don Philip's efforts to furnish the palaces of their Italian establishment. Two other objects, also bearing the inventory mark of CR accompanied by a crown, are in the Wallace Collection, London. These are two magnificent gilt-bronze chandeliers signed by Jacques Caffieri, one of them dated 1751, both of which must at one time have hung from the ceilings of royal residences in Parma. Though almost all of the other furnishings of these palaces have been dispersed, some of them have remained in Italy. Several pieces from sets of French tapestry ordered by Louis XV's daughter and son-in-law for the Palazzo del Giardino are now in the Palazzo Pitti, Florence, while a store of clocks, andirons, and pieces of furniture made for Colorno has recently been identified in the Palazzo del Quirinale, Rome.

To judge by the relics that survive, the residences of the Duke and Duchess of Parma must have been as richly adorned as any of the royal palaces of Europe. There was, however, little power or prestige behind this show of magnificence, for Parma remained a meager, insignificant establishment, with only a small voice in European politics of the period. Though obliged to put up with their lot as petty sovereigns, Don Philip and Louise Elisabeth cherished larger ambitions for their children. Louise Elisabeth, in particular, exerted herself to find a suitably endowed husband for her eldest daughter, Isabel. These efforts were rewarded during the third and last visit

that Louise Elisabeth paid to her father's court, where she remained from September 3, 1757, until her death on December 6, 1759. In August 1759, several months before her mother's death, Isabel was betrothed to Archduke Joseph of Hapsburg, the eldest son of Maria Theresa and heir to the throne of Austria (a throne that Isabel was destined never to share with her husband, for she was to die of smallpox in 1763). An ambitious destiny was also reserved for the second daughter, the subject of the Museum's portrait, who was engaged before she was three years old to her first cousin on her mother's side, the Duc de Bourgogne, heir presumptive to the throne of France. Her fiancé, an older brother of Louis XVI, died at the age of nine in 1761, and in the following year Maria Luisa was again engaged, this time to her first cousin on her father's side, Charles, the heir to the Spanish throne. At the time Pécheux painted her, his subject had barely turned thirteen, but she had already given signs of the deplorable character for which she was to be known. An anecdote records that, at the time of her engagement, when she was only twelve, this spoiled and conceited girl insisted upon receiving the honors due to a future queen of Spain. All her ambitions were destined to be fulfilled, however, for in June 1765 she left Parma for Madrid, to become the bride of Prince Charles, who succeeded his father as king of Spain on December 23, 1788.

It was at this epoch that Goya painted a portrait of Maria Luisa standing in an attitude close to that in which Pécheux depicted her (Figure 4). Early in February 1789, Goya received the commission to execute this and its companion, a portrait of her husband, and he completed both by early April. In the picture of the newly proclaimed queen, which now hangs in the Prado Museum, the body of the subject is turned sideways as in Pécheux's portrait, while the arms are held away from the waist in the same way. These points of similarity indicate that Goya may have had an opportunity to see Pécheux's picture before he undertook to paint the Queen, who is wearing a wide-pannered court dress of the same type and the Order of the Starry Cross



4. *Maria Luisa of Parma, queen of Spain, 1789, by Francisco de Goya (1746-1828), Spanish. Oil on canvas, 86 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 55 $\frac{1}{8}$ inches. Prado Museum*



5. *Maria Carolina, queen of the Two Sicilies, 1787, by Landini, Italian. Oil on canvas, 52½ x 40⅞ inches. Capodimonte Museum. Photograph: Soprain-tendenza alle Gallerie, Naples*

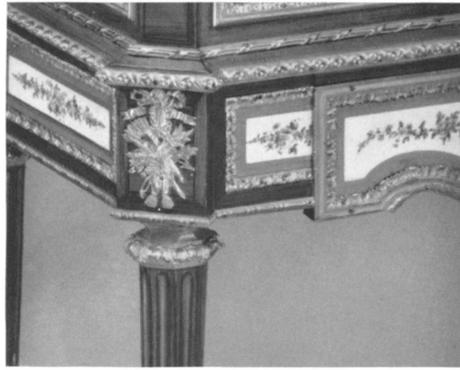


6. *Detail of Figure 5*

(shown pinned to the left side of her bodice) in both paintings. The new features of Goya's portrait include the Queen's towering head-dress of lace and feathers, and the Spanish royal crown depicted upon a cushion above her right arm. This solitary symbol has replaced the accurately observed detail in the foreground of Pécheux's painting. The most striking aspect of Goya's portrait, however, is the Queen's expression, a frightening blend of craft and corruption. In the twenty-four years since the earlier portrait was painted, Maria Luisa had become a creature of evil and destructive purpose, and Goya's portrayal may have been his attempt to paint the character of this woman, who was to be implicated in much scandal and responsible for many of the ignorant and repressive policies that marked her husband's twenty-year reign. Baedeker's description of one of Goya's portraits of the royal family applies equally well to this: ". . . a satire, which suggests and renders credible the most disreputable chronicles of the secret history of the times."

In addition to Pécheux's portrait of the young Maria Luisa, there are other portraits of slightly later date that cast light upon pieces of French furniture at the Metropolitan Museum. One of these portraits represents Queen Maria Carolina of the Two Sicilies, painted by a little-known Italian artist named Landini (Figure 5). This portrait, which now hangs in the Capodimonte Museum, Naples, is inscribed with the date 1787 in addition to Landini's signature. The subject was a sister-in-law of Maria Luisa, for in 1768 Maria Carolina had married Ferdinand I, king of the Two Sicilies, a brother of Maria Luisa's husband; there was also a family connection through Maria Luisa's older sister and brother, Isabel and Don Ferdinand, who had married respectively the eldest brother and an elder sister of Maria Carolina. She is shown in the portrait sitting at a small writing table, her left elbow resting on the pages of a letter placed on the table in front of a pile of books. The front leg of this table bears a rather startling resemblance to the leg of an upright secretary, signed by the French cabinetmaker Martin Carlin, part of the gift from the Samuel H.

Kress Foundation to the Museum in 1958 (Figure 8). The shape of the gilt-bronze collar above the shaft of the leg of the secretary is reflected in the painting, and a duplicate of the gilt-bronze mount of a ribboned trophy consisting of superimposed bow and arrow, quiver, and torch, fitted to the canted corner of the secretary, seems to be somewhat sketchily indicated on the corner of the table depicted in the painting. On the basis of this correspondence of details, one would feel justified in assuming that if the table in the painting were to have survived, it would also prove to be a product of Martin Carlin's workshop. Such is, in fact, the case, since this table, which bears the signature of Martin Carlin, is now part of the collections of the Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, and is at present on display in the museum that this foundation has recently opened in the Palácio Pombal, at Oeiras, near Lisbon. It is fitted with blue-enameled metal plaques on the sides and around the edges of the top, and with a large oval Sèvres porcelain plaque, painted with a *turquerie* scene, set into the center of the top. The porcelain painter Dodin, who was employed at Sèvres between 1754 and 1802, signed his name with the date 1771 on the upper surface of this plaque. If this date serves as an indication, the Gulbenkian Foundation's table must have been produced slightly earlier than the secretary at the Metropolitan Museum, which is set with ten Sèvres porcelain plaques, all of which bear on the back the date letter for the year 1773, as well as the marks of three flower painters employed at Sèvres, Bulidon, Guillaume Noël, and Mlle Xhrouet, who were individually responsible for painting the floral decoration on some of the plaques. The three-dimensional table now in Portugal presents more points of resemblance to this secretary than did its abbreviated image on canvas. The tripartite gilt-bronze mount set into the drawer front of the table must have been cast from the same mold as the mount framing porcelain plaques on the lower drawer front of the Museum's secretary, and the feet of both pieces are shod with gilt-bronze sabots of the same model. In fact, the shape of the lower portion of the secretary



7. Detail of Figure 8

8. Upright secretary, signed by Martin Carlin, French. Oak, veneered with tulipwood and purplewood; set with green-bordered Sèvres plaques, all dated 1773 and some with the marks of Bulidon, Guillaume Noël, and Mlle Xhrouet. Height 47 inches. Gift of the Samuel H. Kress Foundation, 58.75.44



largely conforms to the outline of the table. Though they may be comparable in appearance, the two pieces differ in the extent of their documentation. Whereas no exact history of early ownership has been traced for the secretary at the Museum, Landini's portrait has conferred a royal provenance upon the Gulbenkian Foundation's table.

The architectural background of Maria Carolina's portrait is not clearly defined, so it is doubtful whether the setting of the table she owned will ever be identified. It is likely, however, that the Queen would have wanted to be portrayed in one of the apartments of the royal palace in the capital city of Naples. Carlin's table might have been part of a lot of furniture that the Queen had ordered for

9. Armchair, possibly by Georges Jacob, French, about 1785. Gilded beechwood. Height 38¾ inches. Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 07.225.106



this palace, or it is possible that it might have been a gift to Maria Carolina from another sister, Marie Antoinette, dauphine and future queen of France, who was in the custom of giving diplomatic presents of this sort. These points may be settled if a description applying to this table occurs among the manuscript registers of French royal presents in the archives of the Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, Paris, or if Dodin's account for the porcelain plaque comes to light among the records of the Manufacture Royale de Sèvres.

In spite of these lacunae in its history, Maria Carolina's table is a signal addition to the list of Martin Carlin's achievements. Like many other cabinetmakers living in the Faubourg Saint-Antoine, Carlin was a German by birth. He became a *maître ébéniste* in 1766 and from that time until his death in 1785 provided the great French dealers, *marchands merciers* like Poirier, Daguerre, and Darnault, with furniture that they sold to such clients as Marie Antoinette, Mesdames de France, Mme du Barry, and Louis XVI's brothers, the Comte de Provence and the Comte d'Artois. His furniture is distinguished by gilt-bronze mounts of the highest quality, some of which were supplied by a *bronzier* named Joachim Provost, and for the rich materials with which the surface is decorated, including lacquer, *pietra dura*, and porcelain plaques.

One other piece of furniture rendered by an artist's brush is also in the Museum's collections. It is a gilded beechwood armchair (Figure 9), dating from about 1785. This chair is not signed, but on the evidence of style and quality can be attributed to Georges Jacob, *maître menuisier* from 1765 until his death in 1814, a chairmaker who enjoyed an unparalleled reputation for his output in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. Like the Parma armchair, this piece was bought with the Hoenschel collection by J. Pierpont Morgan for the Metropolitan Museum. Unlike the earlier chair, however, it is a unique example, for no other chairs from the same set have come to light (a closely comparable armchair in the Wallace Collection is distinguished from the one at the Museum by differences in the carv-

ing of a few conspicuous details; the two cannot, therefore, have been made for the same set). Although the Museum's armchair bears no inventory mark, there is evidence implying that it belonged at one time to one of Louise Elisabeth's unmarried sisters, Marie Adélaïde, known as Madame Adélaïde. This evidence appears in a portrait that depicts this princess standing in front of a chair, the frame of which seems to be a painted image of the carved and gilded chair frame at the Museum (Figure 10). Only the covers differ: when acquired, the Museum's armchair had lost its original upholstery, and was recovered in 1961 with an eighteenth-century light blue silk fabric brocaded with sprays of white flowers, while the covers of its reflection in the painting seem to be of blue-green velvet. The artist of Madame Adélaïde's portrait was Adélaïde Labille-Guiard, who together with another better-known female painter, Marie Louise Elisabeth Vigée-Le Brun, received some of the most important portrait commissions of the day. The artist has signed her name and the date 1787 in the lower left-hand corner of the picture, which now hangs in the recently opened galleries of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century art at the Château de Versailles.

When this picture was painted, Madame Adélaïde was fifty-five years old, the older of two surviving daughters of Louis XV (the other, Madame Victoire, was to be painted by the same artist in the following year). At this period of their lives "Mesdames Tantes," as they were called, spent a small part of each year at the court of their nephew, Louis XVI, at Versailles, where they occupied adjoining apartments on the ground floor. The remainder of the time they passed at their various other residences, among them the Château de Bellevue, bought for them in 1775, which overlooked the Seine not far from Paris. The influence that Mesdames had commanded at court during the lifetime of their father had vanished after his death, and these two aging spinsters passed their lives in semi-seclusion.

The appearance and character of Madame Adélaïde have been well delineated by her contemporaries in memoirs of the period. She



10. *Madame Adélaïde of France, 1787, by Adélaïde Labille-Guiard (1749-1803), French. Oil on canvas, 106¾ x 76½ inches. Château de Versailles. Photograph: Réunion des Musées Nationaux*

was tall and awkward – her father’s nickname for her had been “Torche” – had bad teeth, suffered from a poor complexion, and spoke in a low grating voice. Though kindly and well-meaning, she was indiscreet, lacked the persistence necessary to carry out her projects, and attributed too much importance to the forms of court etiquette and address (it was said that she strongly objected to the title of “Altesse Royale” or “Your Royal Highness,” and insisted that she be addressed only as “Madame”). The Comtesse de Boigne wrote



a description of her as she appeared when she posed for her portrait: “I can see her still with her tall skinny frame, purple dress . . ., and butterfly cap (*bonnet à papillon*); and two large teeth, her only remaining ones. She had been pretty, but at that time was quite ugly and seemed so to me.”

Such was the princess whom Mme Labille-Guiard depicted standing in the imposing setting of a Corinthian-columned hall or room. It is probable that this was an invention of the artist, for no such room has ever been identified in Madame Adélaïde’s apartments at Versailles or Bellevue. The artist did not, however,

improvise her subject’s clothes, which are obviously those worn on the occasion. She is dressed in a magnificent red velvet open robe over a petticoat of pearl-gray silk embroidered with gold flowers, and wears a lace and ribbon fichu around her neck, with a butterfly cap of the same material on her head. The furniture is rendered with the same faithfulness to texture and detail. In addition to the armchair, the stool in front of it, the perfume-burner on a pedestal behind, and the easel before which the princess is standing are realistically painted and convey the impression that actual pieces of furniture and sculpture provided the models for them. It is therefore possible that these originals may come to light some day, as might the oval portrait that rests upon the easel. Madame Adélaïde is represented holding a painter’s cloth and the brush with which she has inscribed this monochrome portrait, presumably her own work, along the lower edge: “Leur image est encore le charme de ma vie” (“Their image is still the charm of my life”). She is thus shown engaged in an act of filial and sisterly devotion, for the portrait consists of the three superimposed profiles of her father, Louis XV, her mother, Marie Leczinska, and her brother, the dauphin, all of whom had been dead for many years. The scene appearing in the relief above Madame Adélaïde’s head alludes to another act of devotion performed by Mesdames. It represents an incident of Louis XV’s last illness from the smallpox he had contracted in April 1774. The King is shown on his deathbed at the right, while his daughters enter the sickroom from the left, brushing aside the doctors’ warning gestures in order to attend their father. The three sisters (of the four surviving daughters of Louis XV at this time, only three were present; the fourth and youngest, Madame Louise, had taken the vows of a Carmelite nun in 1771) suffered the penalty of their courageous action, for each subsequently contracted the disease, and was destined to make a slow and painful recovery.

A few years after the portrait was painted, Madame Adélaïde had to give renewed proof of her courage and stamina under trial, for

in March 1791 the threat of the Revolution forced her to leave France with her sister, Madame Victoire, and to embark on a long, hazardous exile, which was only to end with her death in Trieste nine years later. So this daughter of Louis XV, whose career bears little resemblance to that of a fairy-tale princess, finished her days far from the splendors she had known in her native country, far from her home and effects, some of which are shown in the portrait at Versailles.

By a curious coincidence, the armchair in this picture reappears in another portrait by the same artist. Charles Roger, prince de Bauffremont, is the subject of the second portrait, which also hangs in the galleries at Versailles (Figure 11). The signature and date "Labille Guiard 1791" appear on the baseboard of the door behind the sitter in this painting, which was exhibited at the Louvre in 1791, but is known to have been completed by the artist in the previous year, well before Mesdames' departure for Italy. Since no connection has been established between the subjects of the two pictures, it is difficult to explain the recurrence of the armchair, which is covered in the same blue-green velvet as the chair in the earlier portrait. The artist may, however, have made preliminary sketches of the chair before she painted Madame Adélaïde, and may have been able to make use of these sketches for the later portrait.

In 1790, the year he was painted, the Prince de Bauffremont was seventy-seven years old. He is portrayed wearing the orders of the Golden Fleece and of Malta, dressed in a crimson mantle that falls over the arm of the chair, and resting his right hand on an architectural elevation. A deputy to the Estates General who barely escaped the guillotine after the fall of the monarchy, he died two years later at his château in Burgundy.

The plainness of the background betrays the chastening effects of the French Revolution. The Prince's surroundings appear cramped and meager compared to the luxury and scope of the painted setting in Madame Adélaïde's portrait, and almost the sole reminder of past grandeur is the delicately chiseled armchair.



11. Charles Roger, prince de Bauffremont, 1791, by Adélaïde Labille-Guiard. Oil on canvas, 88¼ x 58 inches. Château de Versailles. (Figure 2 on page 219 of *La Revue du Louvre et des musées de France*, no. 5, 1962)

NOTES

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The description of the celebration sponsored by the city of Paris in 1739 is taken from a book entitled *Description des festes données par la ville de Paris à l'occasion du mariage de Madame Louise-Elisabeth de France, & de Dom Philippe, infant & grand amiral d'Espagne* (Paris, 1740). The principal source of information about Louis XV's daughter is a book entitled *Mesdames de France, Filles de*

Louis XV by Casimir Stryienski (Paris, 1911), while Don Philip and Madame Louise Elisabeth are the subject of another book by the same author: *Le Gendre de Louis XV, Don Philippe, infant d'Espagne et duc de Parme* (Paris, 1904). The quotations from the Marquis d'Argenson's memoirs occur in *Journal et Mémoires du Marquis d'Argenson, publiés . . . par E. J. B. Rathery* (Paris, 1859-1867).

The principal published sources on the furnishings of the palaces of Parma are a book entitled *Parme et la France de 1748 à 1789* by Henri Bédarida (Paris, 1928), and a magazine article: "Comment Madame Infante, fille aînée de Louis XV, a meublé sa résidence princière de Parme" by Chiara Briganti in *Connaissance des arts*, no. 161 (July 1965), pp. 48-59. The journal of Abbé Richard's voyage to Italy is entitled *Description historique et critique de l'Italie, ou Nouveaux Mémoires sur l'état actuel de son gouvernement, des sciences, de arts, du commerce, de la population & de l'histoire naturelle* (Dijon-Paris, 1766). A book entitled *Lorenzo Pécheux, Maestro di pittura nella R. Accademia delle Belle Arti di Torino* by Luigi Cesare Bollea (Turin, 1936) gives the fullest account of this artist. Ramón de Morenes gives the provenance of Pécheux's portrait in "Retrato de Doña Maria Luisa de Parma, reina de España (Obra de Mengs)" in *Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Excursiones*, no. 56 (October 1897), pp. 135-138, and attributes this picture to Anton Raphael Mengs. Though their styles were similar, it now seems more likely that it was painted by Mengs's pupil, Laurent Pécheux. Goya's portrait is discussed in "Los Retratos de Carlos IV y Maria Luisa, por Goya" by Valentín de Sambricio in *Archivo Español de Arte*, no. 118 (1957), pp. 88-90. In his book *The Bourbons of Naples* (London, 1956) Harold Acton writes about Queen Maria Carolina. Mme Labille-Guiard's portrait of the Prince de Bauffremont is fully described, and her portrait of Madame Adélaïde is mentioned in "Le Portrait du Prince de Bauffremont par Madame Labille-Guiard" by Marguerite Jallut in *La Revue du Louvre et des musées de France*, no. 5 (1962), pp. 217-222.

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