

Painting as Social Conversation: The *petit sujet* in the Ancien Régime

by

Ryan Lee Whyte

A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
Graduate Department of Fine Art
University of Toronto

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Abstract

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This dissertation analyzes the *petit sujet*, a type of painting and printmaking whose subjects were popular and non-literary in origin, low in social status, contemporary, French, and anonymous, and that developed through and in response to the eighteenth-century Paris Salon du Louvre, the public exhibition of the more or less contemporary works of the Académie royale de peinture et de sculpture. The dissertation contextualizes the *petit sujet* by analyzing the structures of the social and artistic world of the Salon, focusing on the circulation of reproductive prints and of interpretive texts, to argue that the *petit sujet* was a *public* art form in both structural and interpretive terms: just as its artists adapted their practice to a newly public artworld, critics crafted a new means of interpreting their works. The dissertation conceptualizes the *petit sujet*, and the new

interpretive model it generated, through comparative, hermeneutic readings of artworld documentation: criticism, print Annonces, print letters, etc., and treats reproductive prints, or rather their non-letter component, as both pictorial and conceptual *interpretations* of the paintings or drawings they reproduced. This dissertation conceives of the *petit sujet* as a *vehicle of transmission* of social and aesthetic ideals, and relies on a semiotic model of the art object while understanding the art object as circulating and in contact with a heterogeneous audience. This dissertation argues that, although the elite controlled the textual interpretation of the *petit sujet*, the mode of engagement they crafted for it was public in that it treated the *petit sujet* as a catalyst for the refinement of a vision of society. Through comparative, hermeneutic, semiotic, stylistic, social-contextual and iconographic readings of the work of J.-F. de Troy, J.-B.-S. Chardin, J.-B. Greuze, E. Jeaurat, P.-A. Baudouin, their reproductive printmakers, and dozens of other academic and non-academic artists, the dissertation argues that the productive freedom and interpretive ease of the *petit sujet* ran counter to academic principles that aimed to stabilize both iconography and interpretation.

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Abbreviations

A.A.F.	<i>Archives de l'art français</i>
Abécédario	<i>Abécédario de P. J. Mariette et autres notes inédites de cet amateur sur les arts et les artistes.</i> Ph. de Chennevières and A. de Montaiglon, édés. Paris: J.-B. Dumoulin, 1851-1853. 6 vols.
A-C	<i>L'Avant-coureur</i>
AL	<i>L'Année littéraire</i>
BnF Est.	Département des Estampes et de la Photographie, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.
B.S.H.A.F.	<i>Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de l'art français.</i>
CD	Georges Duplessis. <i>Catalogue de la collection des pièces sur les beaux-arts imprimées et manuscrites, recueillie par Pierre-Jean Mariette, Charles-Nicolas Cochin et M. Deloynes, Auditeur des Comptes, et acquise récemment par le Département des Estampes de la Bibliothèque Nationale.</i> Paris: Alphonse Picard, 1881. [Collection Deloynes]
De Vinck	<i>Bibliothèque Nationale. Département des Estampes. Un siècle d'histoire par l'estampe, 1770 – 1871. Collection De Vinck. Inventaire analytique.</i> Paris: 1909 –.
DBF	<i>Dictionnaire de biographie française.</i> M. Prevost & Roman d'Amat, édés. Paris: Librairie Letouzey et Ané, 1933 –.
DLF	<i>Dictionnaire des lettres françaises: le XVIIIe siècle,</i> François Moureau, éd. Paris: Fayard, 1995.
Encycl.	<i>Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire raisonné des Sciences, des Arts et des Métiers par une société de gens de lettres. Mis en ordre & publié par M. DIDEROT de l'Académie Royale des Sciences & des Belles-Lettres de Prusse ; & quant à la Partie Mathématique, par M. D'ALEMBERT, de l'Académie Royale des Sciences de Paris, de celle de Prusse, & de la Société Royale de Londres.</i> Paris: Briasson, David l'aîné, Le Breton, Durand: 1751-1772. 21 vols. text, 12 vols. plates, 2 vols. index.
JE	<i>Journal encyclopédique</i>
G.B.A.	<i>Gazette des Beaux-Arts</i>

- Hennin *Bibliothèque Nationale. Inventaire de la collection d'estampes relatives à l'histoire de France léguée en 1863 à la Bibliothèque Nationale par M. Michel Hennin. Paris: 1877 –*
- Inv. 17e s. *Bibliothèque Nationale. Département des Estampes. Inventaire du fonds français. Graveurs du XVIIe siècle. Paris: 1939 –*
- Inv. 18e s. *Bibliothèque Nationale. Département des Estampes. Inventaire du fonds français. Graveurs du XVIIIe siècle. Paris: 1930 –*
- JdP *Journal de Paris*
- MdF *Mercure de France*
- N.A.A.F. *Nouvelles archives de l'art français*
- Oa22 Oa 22 fol: "Mœurs-France." Département des Estampes et de la Photographie, Bibliothèque Nationale de France
- Qb1 Qb 1 fol: "Histoire de France." Département des Estampes et de la Photographie, Bibliothèque Nationale de France
- Salons I Denis Diderot, *Diderot. Salons I*, eds. J. Seznec & J. Adhémar. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975. (Salons de 1759, 1761, 1763)
- Salons II Denis Diderot, *Diderot. Salons II*, eds. J. Seznec & J. Adhémar. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975. (Salon de 1765)
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Figures should, in fact, be depicted in such a way that people looking at a painting wish they could change places with them.

The Mustard Seed Garden Manual of Painting

Introduction

How does art develop in response to its audience? What are the social and artistic institutions, conventions and conversations that connect public taste to artistic practice? In art historical terms, this dissertation is about the relationship between production and reception. Its object of study is the *petit sujet*, a type of painting and printmaking that developed through and in response to the eighteenth-century Paris Salon du Louvre, the public exhibition of the more or less contemporary works of the Académie royale de peinture et de sculpture.¹ Its subjects were popular and non-literary in origin, low in social status, contemporary, French, and anonymous. Today we would class the *petit sujet* as ‘genre’, by which is generally meant ‘pictures of everyday life’. Modern scholarship uses the term ‘genre’ to designate what the eighteenth century called variously *petit sujet*, *bambochade*, *genre particulier*, *sujet familier*, *sujet populaire*, and so forth.² I shall argue that the *petit sujet*, of all the genres, was uniquely situated in eighteenth-century French painting and printmaking to respond to its audience. If so, it follows that the *petit sujet* can lend the weight of historical example to understanding artistic innovation in a contextual way, in particular in relation to social and artworld institutions and public and popular taste.

This dissertation draws two conclusions. The first is that the *petit sujet* was a *public* art form. As I shall argue, it emerged with the first periodic Salons of the late 1730s. Its subjects were rooted in popular sensibility and their treatment drew the interest of a new audience that was in large part without artistic formation. Its artists exploited the

¹ On the Salon and the Académie see Crow 1985, Paris 1984, Locquin 1912, Tours 2000, McAllister Johnson 1982, Courboin 1914, Zmijewska 1970, Sandt 1986, Legrand 1995.

² Anderman 2000 reviews the terminology in various contexts; see also Anderman 2004.

newly public situation created by the Salon through the systematic engraving of *petits sujets* shown there. Through the Salon as a major, periodic European cultural event, and through art criticism and the more or less synchronous dissemination of reproductive prints and print advertisements (*Annonces*) the *petit sujet* passed into public consciousness.

The second conclusion is that the *subject* of the *petit sujet* was the revelation of character that in turn triggers an encompassing and idealizing social vision. Critics of the *petit sujet* sought to uncover not merely the mood but the enduring nature, the character, of the figure(s) depicted. Character is a normative concept. Thus the *meaning* of the *petit sujet* was basically social. Where modern subject matter reveals character, as I shall argue it did through the *petit sujet*, it becomes a means of visualizing ethical concepts with a directness, currency, suppleness and urgency impossible in history painting constrained by its subject matter drawn from Ancient and Biblical history.

The *petit sujet* was a public art form in both structural and interpretive terms. Just as its artists adapted their practice to a newly public artworld, critics crafted a new means of interpreting their works. Public access to artworks through the Salon and prints accompanied a critic's new interpretive model, designed in response to the *petit sujet*, in which emotional identification rather than theoretical knowledge or connoisseurship reigned supreme. Unlike earlier, private art forms, the zone of intelligibility and interest of the *petit sujet* in its public context transcended the narrow circles of private collectors and the general elite of art associated with the Académie and its critics. It fixed the attention of artists, critics and audiences. As I shall argue, the elite controlled the textual interpretation of the *petit sujet*, yet the mode of engagement they crafted for it was public

in that it treated the *petit sujet* as the embodiment of a vision of society. Thus the *petit sujet* generated conversation about society, what I call social conversation.

(‘Conversation’ in this sense differs from that conceived by Mary Vidal in *Watteau's painted conversations: art, literature, and talk in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century France* (1982); Vidal’s focus is on the depiction and embodiment of sociability in the work of Watteau in relation to a broader social and cultural history, while my focus is on the embodiment of a social vision in the depiction of social types.)

The *petit sujet* and Culture

At a fundamental level this dissertation is a story of hybridity and cultural mediation. As I shall argue, the *petit sujet* was a hybrid form, as was much eighteenth-century French genre painting. A. Watteau’s *fête galante*; J.-F. de Troy’s *tableau de mode*; J.-B.-S. Chardin’s adaptation of the Northern School; E. Jaurat’s melange of the Northern School, the *genre poissard*, and history painting; P.-A. Baudouin’s reworking of academic language, J.-B. Greuze’s uneasy marriage of *sensibilité*, history painting, and rustic subjects—all suggest a general departure from the types of subjects offered by the traditional genres. More generally, they suggest a downward mixing of cultural forms at the highest levels of European culture. On the side of reception, critics tried to carry out the elite task of stabilizing interpretation of the *petit sujet* even as social mixing in the Salons and the diffusion and mediation of the press and prints made stabilization impossible. This analysis of the production and reception sides of the *petit sujet* suggests that the relaxation of the hierarchy of genres in the first half of the century was bound up

with the new role of art after 1737 as a vehicle of cultural mediation rather than mere cultural stabilization.

Larger questions about the relationship between innovation and stability in culture underlie this rather technical focus on hybridity and cultural mediation. What can be learned from ‘slumming it’? On the basis of my analysis of the *petit sujet* I shall argue that downward social mixing tends to maintain the social order. It can act as a release valve, preventing the clash between elite institutions and public taste from becoming catastrophic. It allowed the escape from oppressive etiquette to remain a vacation rather than an end in itself. Nevertheless, ‘slumming it’ tends to cause the relaxation of cultural rules. Thus it might teach lessons about how to flourish within the confines of an institution, and how to reinvigorate a hierarchical culture.

Elite vs. Popular Cultures

The *petit sujet*, more than any other type of painting of its period, harmonized the elite and the popular. In the elite context of the Salon, academic printmaking, and art criticism, it introduced subject matter deriving neither from hallowed literary sources nor from academic theory. It depicted anonymous social types, often of low status, and it was resolutely contemporary in its subject matter. As such, the heterogeneous Salon and print audience understood it. Its most concrete measure of success in the Salon—and in the marketplace in general—was its popularity. Although commissions were significant in the careers of Chardin and Greuze, the *petit sujet* was largely speculative in its production, that is, produced in the hope that a buyer could be found. Therefore it needed

to be attuned to public currents of taste rather than the idiosyncratic and often retardataire vision of individual patrons. Finally, it adapted culturally 'low' sources, such as fashion prints, Dutch and Flemish painting, and popular theatre, to the canon-making project of the Salon.

Subject matter in Ancien Regime painting was ranked hierarchically. One of the key ways the Académie exerted control of the production and reception of artworks was through its institutional adherence to and perpetuation of the hierarchy of genres. André Félibien's definition of the hierarchy of genres, published in the preface to his *Conférences* of 1667, remained unchallenged until the end of the Ancien Régime. Félibien's hierarchy of subjects ran, from lowest to highest: still life, landscape, living animals, portraiture, history and fable.³ There was no category for other kinds of figure painting, and the word *genre* was absent. Nevertheless, *genre* was sometimes used in the Ancien Régime. It derived from the academic category *peindre dans un genre particulier*, which in practice tended to mean painter of still life as well as what we call 'genre' today. This is the origin of the modern confusion between 'genre of painting', meaning 'type of painting,' and 'genre painting', meaning 'scene of everyday life'.

'Genre painting' was viewed as inferior because it was restricted to one class of object, while history painting theoretically included all genres. The Académie received Greuze in 1769 as a *peintre de genre*, conveying, one might presume, lasting authority upon that term rather than one of its many cognates or relatives. Yet eight years after Greuze's reception, the art dealer Le Brun noted in his listing of painters that their works are "peut-être très-improprement dénommés *Tableaux de genre*."⁴ These included the

³ Félibien 1996.

⁴ Le Brun 1972, p. 89.

still life painters Anne Vallayer-Coster and Van Spoenhoek, as well as Etienne Aubry and P.-A. Wille fils (in the “genre de Greuze”), Théolon (a Greuze satellite described as a “Peintre dans le genre des scènes galantes”), Le Prince, Greuze, de Machy, and Hubert Robert.⁵

What does it mean that Le Brun, the dealer, found the term ‘genre’ inadequate as a descriptor of content, while the Académie found the same term useful as a descriptor of rank? The hierarchy of genres, exclusive and top-heavy in its distribution of privilege and prestige was clearly a metaphorical parallel to the Three Orders of Ancien Régime society: nobility, clergy, third-estate. The contrast between Le Brun and the Académie’s understanding of genre, I would argue, is symptomatic of a general shift in artistic engagement after 1737, where the hierarchy of genres weakened as a social metaphor while it became important as a means of managing the rapidly expanding discourse and production of art.

I shall argue that the real threat to the hierarchy of genres came with the periodic Salon and the emergence of the *petit sujet*. This innocuous term was conveniently ambiguous. In its most strictly understood definition, it meant ‘anything other than *grand sujet*’, the ubiquitous eighteenth-century term for history painting. In practice critics applied it to the work of Chardin in his earliest Salon years, culminating in the first mature *interpretive* use of the term in a Salon review of 1741. I shall argue that the productive freedom and interpretive ease of the *petit sujet* ran counter to academic principles that aimed to stabilize both iconography and interpretation. For example, academic regulations restricted the professional options of painters of ‘genre’ pictures. Greuze wanted above all to be received in the Académie as a painter of *history*, not

⁵ Ibid, pp. 98-92.

genre. The former title carried financial and professional perquisites (only history painters could become professors in the Académie, for instance) not to mention prestige, opening the door to the positions of Directeur of the Académie or the Rome School, even First Painter to the King. Nevertheless, every painter showing in the Salon was aware of the demand for non-historical subjects. Moreover, no artist survived on State commissions alone. Only the State could purchase the kinds of pictures that the Académie promoted—history pictures were simply too large and often too oppressive to hang in the home. In the Salon, their de facto marketplace, *petits sujets* occupied critics from the 1730s on, and fetched rich prices by the 1760s. I shall argue that the combination of the public space of the Salon and the theoretical invisibility of the *petit sujet* created for this kind of painting a zone of freedom ultimately sustained by—and in spite of—the Académie itself.

The Structural Elements: The Salon, Prints, and Texts

The Salon occasioned the emergence of a circuit of documentation, dissemination, and interpretation that had no precedent in European history. The resulting clash between institutional control, artistic innovation, and public taste created the *petit sujet*'s context. The *petit sujet* adapted its subjects from art forms considered low in the academic mindset of the period: the fashion print, the popular woodcut, popular theatre, Dutch and Flemish subjects. It made its subjects French, and contemporary. From 1737, the year of the first periodic Salon, it reached out to its new public; the exhibition in turn generated documentation in the form of reproductive prints and art criticism. Before 1737 there had

been only the private spaces of collector's cabinets and portfolios and often inaccessible royal collections. After 1737 academic production was *public*: publicly exhibited, reproduced, interpreted.

I situate the *petit sujet* in its context by analyzing the structures of the social and artistic world of the Salon. Its most basic structural elements are the periodic Salon itself, the circulation of reproductive prints, and the circulation of interpretive texts. These are structural because they are the most generally transformative. They altered patronage along with what can more generally be called the art market; they changed the pace and focus of artistic emulation; they changed the iconography and the nature of artistic production more generally; they changed the intensity and forms of academic control over artistic production; they transformed reception and expanded audiences. The *petit sujet* was involved in all of these transformations.

The most influential study of the Salon as a public space is Thomas Crow's *Painters and Public Life in Eighteenth-Century Paris* (1985). Crow conceives of the Salon as the locus of a power struggle between artists, the Académie, and the spectrum of critics and theorists. The Salon, the circulation of art criticism, and prints are the vehicles by which Crow envisions an emerging art public as a nascent component of a bourgeois public sphere. For Crow, Chardin and Greuze particularly operate in the faultlines between academic interest and public taste. Crow's account lies behind my understanding of public taste and academic influence in relation to the *petit sujet*. Nevertheless, Crow's object of study is the Salon as a site of political struggle and public discourse. This dissertation, in contrast, defines 'the public' and the 'public' nature of art procedurally rather than politically. In this sense, the public is that quantity of people the artwork

reaches more or less simultaneously. The public is an entity in so far as it includes all those who attended a given Salon *and* all those who encountered the related prints within a given time frame in relation to it. Thus prints and criticism publicized the Salon while the Salon itself marked the tempo of the whole system. In brief, my interest is not in the political implications of the public Salon but rather in how that institution shaped art production and reception. I shall argue that its imprint is most visible in the *petit sujet*.

The Interpretive Argument: Expressive-Ethical Criticism

Salon criticism of the *petit sujet* focused on the interpretive problems surrounding a given painted figure's emotional state, relationship (real and metaphorical) to the social world, and the ethical problems or state generated by the intersection of figure and environment, scene or scenario. I shall argue that critics crafted a new critical mode in response to the *petit sujet*. I call it *expressive-ethical criticism*, and analyze its nature and emergence in Chapter 2. I conceptualize it through comparative, hermeneutic readings of artworld documentation: criticism, Annonces, print letters, etc. Moreover, I treat reproductive prints, or rather their non-letter component, as both pictorial and conceptual *interpretations* of the paintings or drawings they reproduced. Therefore I read the printed image as a text in conjunction with its print verse (if present), title, print criticism (if extant), criticism of the original painting or drawing, and finally the original artwork itself.

In the art criticism that emerged in response to the *petit sujet*, formal criticism, treating palette, expression, composition, painthandling, draughtsmanship, and mise-en-

scène, tended to accompany expressive-ethical criticism, and a picture was usually judged to have failed if its formal problems were severe. Yet it is clear that expressive-ethical criticism set the terms and direction of discussion, and that the greatest successes in terms of column inches, prices and emulation (Chardin's and Greuze's mature multi-figure works) were judged as successful because they employed new, powerful means of generating psychological identification and ethical discussion.

Petits sujets depicted anonymous social types. Critics were able not merely to identify the social type but identify the subject as a psychological entity within a moral universe. This occurred through critics' perception and description of emotional shading, of motivation, of nuances of state of mind. Academic painters could draw on the traditions of expression and characterization in history painting in order to activate this sort of perception, but the use of anonymous social types in the *petit sujet* placed a special burden on emotional or psychological identification for the pictures to become other than costume studies.

Expressive-ethical criticism demanded a psychological identification that leads to social identification (again, this is not to say that critics looking at Chardin regarded themselves as children or scullery maids, but rather that these critics posited and projected a psychological state and a moral universe for these figures). Psychological identification and the formal, iconographic and scenographic qualities that elicit it recall Michael Fried's notion of 'absorption' in *Absorption and Theatricality: Painting and Beholder in the Age of Diderot* (1980). Fried's work construes French eighteenth-century genre painting, notably the work of Chardin and Greuze, as deeply involved in the development of the pictorial quality of 'absorption'. Absorptive pictures do not either

directly (through gaze or gesture) or indirectly (through spatial, thematic or rhetorical means) address the viewer. They sustain the fiction that the viewer is somehow not there. Largely through his readings of Salon criticism and formalist and thematic readings of the pictures themselves, Fried finds convincing, although selective, evidence that this ‘absorptive’ quality was a cultural desideratum in the period. To a certain extent, Fried’s work pointed my research toward conceptualizing the mode of engagement of the *petit sujet* as ‘absorbing’. Nevertheless, his work does not account for certain specific qualities of that engagement, in particular its social component. This dissertation, by contrast, is about the relationships between social identification and artistic production.

Expressive-ethical criticism was an elite product that managed the reception of the *petit sujet* in a context where low social types with new access to contemporary art in the Salons might see their own types depicted there for the first time, just as those of the servant class might, if they were careful with their money, purchase a print after Chardin. Downward social identification combined with the artistic raiding of materials from low social strata in the public context of the Salon, prints and art criticism, resulted in the treatment in painting, prints and art discourse of low social types as psychological beings characterized by nuance and operating in a profoundly moral universe. Yet those who could afford to purchase Chardin’s paintings could afford to keep scullery maids and governesses, and Chardin’s pictures of a docile and productive servant class undoubtedly appealed to the elite in their vision of a stable social order. In much the same way, the elite creation of the *petit sujet* as a means of psychologically identifying low social types helped perpetuate and thus sustain the vision of a stable social order, and I will argue in

relation to Jeurat (Chapter 3), for example, that his pictures operated as rhetorical arguments for the management of social discord.

Petit sujet or genre?

Why use the term *petit sujet* to describe the works of Greuze, whose works were described not as *petits sujets* but as *genre*? Why include in the term the works of Baudouin, whose works were described as *petits sujets*, and Jeurat, whose works were not? Chardin's works were called *petits sujets* from 1737; by the 1750s the term was in decline, and by the time of Greuze's ascendance it only appeared intermittently. Yet, as I have pointed out, the rise of the term *genre* was an artifact of Academic reform and the transformation of the art market. In practice, as I shall argue, the work of Chardin, Baudouin, Jeurat, and Greuze deserves the appellation of *petit sujet* because it represents a set of inextricably entwined developments in art criticism, in printmaking, exhibition practice, centered on the Salon and embodied in artworks that generated expressive-ethical criticism.

However, the key advantage of retaining the term *petit sujet* over *genre* is that it resonates with a larger set of period cultural concerns and practices relating to genre and hierarchy, concerns and practices that themselves can help contextualize the *petit sujet*. Working from the Salon epicenter outward, one thinks immediately of the determinant relationships between size, placement, visibility and subject matter in the Salon, recorded, for example, in G. de Saint-Aubin's sketches of the crowded Salon hang: history paintings dominated the wall in their size and placement, literal embodiments of

the summit of the hierarchy of genres. In the print world, *petit* just as *grand* was associated with scale and subject matter, anchored by the reference to paper format. *La gravure en petit* referred generally to book illustration, characterized from the 1730s by the participation of painters in important projects (e.g. Boucher's illustrations of Molière) and the rise of specialist etchers. Bachaumont, for instance, noted of C.-N. Cochin fils that "Il ne travaille guère qu'en petit," referring to his illustrations, vignettes and frontispieces, but also implying a style consistently associated with small format engraving.⁶ Engraving *en petit* was supposed to draw its characteristics from etching: Cochin himself observed of *la gravure en petit* that "Toute son excellence dépend de l'eau-forte," with its expressive freedom, whereas the danger the French school currently faced was the fashion for a finely finished, highly controlled style dominated by the burin, which sapped "l'âme et la légèreté" from the draughtsmanlike qualities of the *eau-forte*—Cochin himself was accused of this fault.⁷ Meanwhile, in the engraving of history painting, which presumed an equivalence of scale between painting and print, the ideal was a balance of burin and etching, so that extremes of fineness are avoided and a translation attained of the history painter's "pinceau large et facile."⁸

The conception of the *petit* as a stylistic failure, and thus a failure to treat the subject matter appropriately, was rooted in a moral order. "Il se prend toujours en mauvaise part," Watelet opens his entry on *petit*; "La nature est grande: la voir *petite*, l'imiter *petitement*, c'est la voir mal, c'est l'imiter faussement."⁹ The aim was to align scale, subject matter, and style in a way that respected the proprieties, conventions and

⁶ Quoted in Adehémar 1963, p. 45.

⁷ Quoted in Courbouin 1914, p. 90, and see pp. 78-94.

⁸ Watelet & Levesque 1792, II, p. 494, and see McAllister Johnson 1993a.

⁹ Watelet 1788, II, p. 165.

advantages of each. What is small may be treated with a large manner or style; Poussin worked *en petit* “& ses œuvres réunissent tous les genres de grandeur,” while the Dutch masters “ayant cherché principalement le fini, la propreté, le léché, ont traité petitement le *petit*.”¹⁰ Thus the designation *petit sujet* suggested not merely subject matter but the convergence and mutual adaptation of style, technique, subject matter and scale. The implication was that the *petit sujet* had its proper place within the academic mindset, but that its conventions, let alone its theory, remained to be worked out. In short, *petit sujet*—rather than *genre* or *sujet de genre*—foregrounds the issue of scale, and Watelet’s evident nationalist pride in the comparison of Poussin and the Dutch masters indicates the larger cultural stakes involved in working out the practices of the *petit*.

Literature

Strictly speaking, there is no literature of the *petit sujet*. Modern literature on eighteenth-century French painting and prints uses the term ‘genre’ uncritically, that is, in its inclusive modern sense by which genre portraits and peopled landscapes creep into the mix. Moreover, in the same literature there is no precedent for the sort of synthetic, structural/hermeneutic method employed in this dissertation. The literature begins with Emile Dacier’s 1925 *La gravure de genre et de mœurs en France au XVIIIe siècle*. Dacier’s work describes the “floraison” of the eighteenth-century genre print, which responded more directly than any other kind of print to the desires of its new “clientèle innombrable.”¹¹ While the book is essentially a survey of the key personalities and prints,

¹⁰ Watelet 1788, II, p. 166.

¹¹ Dacier 1925 pp. 1-4.

it provides a useful narrative of artistic innovation and accomplishment in relation to public taste. Dacier situates the major personalities in terms of influence and taste within a narrative arranged according to generational transition. His account encompasses the salient elements of patronage, the evolution of technique, the changing public, and the shifting critical and theoretical context of the genre print. Subsequent scholarship has not challenged Dacier's account of genre painting, and it lies behind the developmental argument in this dissertation.¹²

In the last decade there has been a 'floraison' of scholarly interest in French eighteenth-century genre painting.¹³ Two major survey exhibitions as well as a handful of monographic exhibitions devoted to the key artists of the period have focused attention on the theoretical problems of genre and on the larger social and cultural context of these artworks.¹⁴ Broadly speaking, the recent literature is concerned with the critique of ideology under the broad umbrella of social history, focusing on the gendering of genre and the oppressive or liberating manifestations of bourgeois ideology in genre painting in terms of child-rearing, familial relations, education and the roles of women and children.¹⁵ Often this literature attempts to link the work of key genre painters to elements of Enlightenment thought, and has done a great deal of work connecting particularly iconic pictures to their broad cultural milieu and thus serves as a point of departure for this dissertation. Yet between Dacier's account and the social history of the current generation there is a gap that the study of artistic context can fill. While our

¹² Dacier's work is largely substantiated by the descriptive assessment of the production and reception of eighteenth-century genre paintings and prints in McPherson 1982, which should be complemented by the more sophisticated Anderman 2000.

¹³ For an introduction to the current scholarship on eighteenth-century French genre painting, see Bailey 2003, Rand 1997a.

¹⁴ E.g. Ottawa 2003; Rand 1997; Valenciennes 2004; Versailles 2004; Joulie 2004; Paris 2003; Joulie & Méjanès 2003; Laing 2003; Munhall 2002; Rosenberg 1999; Karlsruhe 1999.

¹⁵ E.g. Hyde 2006, Bailey 2003; Barker 2005; Rand 1996; Johnson 1990; Duncan 1973.

understanding of the social history of the period is particularly rich, our understanding of its artistic context has not yet attained the same richness—in spite of the wealth of documentation on the Salons and the print world. Therefore my dissertation aims to bridge the study of prints, genre paintings, and the contexts of the artworld and marketplace, in order to shed light on the dynamics and chronology of the relationships between painting and prints in this period of rapid change, and thus strengthen the links between the study of artistic context and the rich social history already in the literature.

Prints circulate; art criticism circulates; audiences circulate. The *petit sujet* was a product of the circulation of images, discourse, people. This dissertation necessarily conceives of the *petit sujet* as a *vehicle of transmission* of social and aesthetic ideals. Circulation implies a heterogeneous audience. The *petit sujet* embraces the tension existing between the ideal of a universal pictorial language speaking to a new socially and geographically heterogeneous audience on the one hand and the gulfs between social and cultural strata on the other. Yet because the *petit sujet* imperfectly transmitted its social ideals according to its context, its artists employed tools such as print verse (see Chapter 2) and print titles (see Chapter 4) in order to ensure clarity and stability of meaning. In short, this dissertation relies on a semiotic model of the art object while understanding the art object as circulating and in contact with a heterogeneous audience. This conception of circulation derives from Fernand Braudel's *Les Jeux de l'Echange*, tracing the role of circulation in the development of social, economic and political life, and from Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann's notion of artistic geography, in which circulation is a force accounting for cultural change.¹⁶

¹⁶ Braudel 1979, Kaufmann 2004.

Chapter Summary

Unlike de Troy's work, Chardin's work, similarly low (and ambiguous) in relation to the hierarchy of genres, generated a public, formal engagement based on a new kind of reception. It was news, and it was new. As I argue in Chapter 1, de Troy's *mise-en-scène*, iconography and ultimately his adherence to elite social language and values restricted the interpretive possibilities of his work. I suggest that de Troy's work contains important elements of the *petit sujet* in seed form. His use of fashion prints and history painting, and his depiction of the gestural language of polite society, gave his works immediacy and currency—both hallmarks of the mature *petit sujet*. Yet without a public, synchronized network of exhibition, dissemination and criticism, his work was not driven to evolve to suit tastes other than the inwardly focused ones of the private artworld.

Chapter 2 posits the emergence of the *petit sujet* in the work of Chardin in relation to the Salon, art criticism, and prints. Chardin's early works, such as the Berlin *Une femme occupée à cacheter une lettre* (1732) still show the imprint of the private taste characteristic of de Troy's clients. Similarly, the imprint of Dutch and Flemish iconography and sensibility on much of his work must have grown out of earlier interest in those paintings among a vanguard of collectors. Yet, I argue, his earliest Salon works (which were immediately, systematically engraved) solicited a kind of engagement much more strongly related to their new public arena of engagement than to the work of French or Northern School predecessors. Chardin largely stripped his subjects of social varnish in his Salon pictures of the late 1730s and early 1740s. These pictures carefully stage and isolate psychological action. They demand focused attention on one, two, or three largely

expressionless and gestureless figures in order to discern intent and, in so far as the word applies, narrative. Critics baptized these works *petits sujets*. They interpreted them by first focusing on the state of mind of the figure(s) in relation to the scenario and setting, then applying ethical judgements that situated them within a larger vision of contemporary society. Thus *social currency* was both necessary and presumed in the *petit sujet*. Its mode of engagement relied on emotional identification, not with the baroque moods of history painting, but with the nuanced states of mind of low social types in everyday scenarios. I call this expressive-ethical criticism. This kind of criticism was democratic in structure but elite in origin and application. It presumed the ability to identify with those of lower social status. Yet it was invented by an art critic in relation to an academic production, and read not by washerwomen but by those who could afford to keep washerwomen.

In the 1750s more kinds of painting emerged in the Salon, first with the Parisian street scenes of Etienne Jeaurat, then with the church gouaches of Pierre-Antoine Baudouin. These works are the focus of Chapter 3. I argue that the iconographical innovations of the 1750s, when Chardin's work was declining in quantity and invention and his imitators had sapped his motifs of vitality, can lend insight into the limits of innovation permitted by elite taste. In this context, I argue that Jeaurat's works are particularly revealing in their mixing of popular and elite rhetorics. His street scenes drew on popular theatre in order to create painted spectacles of such iconic public elements of Parisian life as the Place de Halles marketplace or the carting away of prostitutes. They also drew on the iconography of popular prints and paintings. However, this appeal to popular imagery and taste in the Salon work of a history painter failed to influence

academicians. Baudouin's work similarly expanded the range of public iconography. His small gouaches stylistically recalled the work of C.-N. Cochin fils, perpetual secretary to the Académie, theorist and public defender of academic principles. Yet these scenes pricked the Church's *gravitas*, and were censored in the Salon. I argue that Jeaurat and Baudouin's work illustrates the difficulty of establishing a broader iconography of public scenes in this period. I suggest, through examination of print verse, theatrical texts, and Salon criticism, that neither kind of picture challenged or updated Chardin's mode of engagement. Both were short lived and without influence. I argue that this indicates that in the Salon the mode of engagement was more important and determinate of artistic production than was subject matter in itself, and furthermore, where the mode of engagement lacked a socio-ethical dimension, the critical relationship turned stagnant. In other words, the *petit sujet* needed a private iconography because public iconography in this period was too overdetermined by elite cultural institutions to permit the kind of direct, personal identification that Chardin's work generated.

In Chapter 4 I frame Greuze's emergence as a serious presence in the Salons in the early 1760s through what I argue was his transformation of the *petit sujet*. Although his works were not referred to as *petits sujets*, critics engaged them with even greater interest than Chardin's, and refitted ethical-expressive criticism to them. Greuze's work appeared in a period of academic reform and renewed institutional interest in the hierarchy of genres. In this context he merged the *petit sujet* with the structures and attitudes of advanced, reformist history painting. I argue that in response, expressive-ethical criticism expanded to encompass his complex, multi-generational figural relationships. With his work identification of nuanced emotion gave way to a cathartic

emotional release tied only loosely to ethical judgement. As a result, the structural fact of his immense popularity became decisive. His anonymous figures garnered greater critical and popular attention than the historical figures on the Salon walls, and they did so with the gestural, expressive and scenographic means of history painting. His work demanded that expressive-ethical criticism interpret his social vision in terms of the austere ethical ideals that had previously only been associated with history painting. I argue that this amounted to a de facto overturning of the hierarchy of genres, a situation that would persist until J.-L. David reshaped the parameters of history painting in the 1780s. At the same time it represents a modification of the public nature of the *petit sujet* as it developed in relation to Chardin. The emotional demands of Greuze's paintings on their viewers, I argue, weakened the aspect of social identification marking Chardin's *petit sujet*, making Greuze's work more individualistic—even anti-social—in its socio-ethical consequences.

Why did the *petit sujet* die out? In Chapter 5 I posit the decline of the *petit sujet* in the years following Greuze's reception as a *peintre de genre* and his resultant refusal to exhibit in the Salon. Specifically, I ask why Greuze's later experiments troubled his contemporaries. I compare his late experiments to iconographically and thematically related work by his followers and satellites. Through hermeneutic readings of paintings, prints, criticism and other literary responses to Greuze, I argue that his followers and satellites either misunderstood or deliberately weakened his experimental iconography. They softened his claustrophobic, fevered scenes in a concession to that same public taste for emotional simplicity that had originally fueled his popularity. Thus, through Greuze the *petit sujet* lost its ability to raise fundamental ethical questions, its ability to escape

the frame of reference that cast it as decorative, frivolous, and incapable of expressing nobility. I argue that, given the public incomprehension of Greuze's work *and* the saturation of the market and the Salon by his followers, the *petit sujet* was bound to lose its inventive drive on both the production and reception sides by the time the Revolution swept away the artistic and social structure that had given birth to it. Greuze tipped the fruitful balance, established by Chardin a generation earlier, between social vision and individual experience. While Greuze made the *petit sujet* more public, more current, and more adaptable in its subject matter than Chardin had, he weakened its element of social vision. I conclude that the *petit sujet* was only able to exist in a balance, both on the production and the reception side, between individual experience and social vision.

In sum, the arguments presented by this dissertation cast the *petit sujet* as uniquely characteristic of the cultural tensions shaping the final fifty years of the Ancien Régime. In the encounter between high and low cultures in the Salon and in prints the *petit sujet* embodied a collective if elite social vision.

Chapter 1

Prehistory of the *petit sujet*: Jean-François de Troy's *tableau de mode*

In this chapter I posit a prehistory of the *petit sujet* in the two decades prior to the establishment of the periodic Salon du Louvre in 1737. I examine Jean-François de Troy's (1679-1752) *tableau de mode* as characteristic of the pre-1737 artworld. Specifically, I argue that his experiment in genre painting was characteristic of a *private* art form. This will allow me to clarify the differences between the private artworld of his day and the public artworld after 1737.

I argue that de Troy's mise-en-scène, iconography and ultimately his adherence to elite social language and values restricted the interpretive possibilities of his work. The hermeneutic method I apply to the works of Chardin in Chapter 2 cannot reconstruct the private artworld de Troy because, by nature, it is poorly documented. No substantial eighteenth-century critical texts exist on the *tableau de mode*. Therefore, it is through stylistic, iconographic, and social readings of his paintings that I argue that they were only intelligible within the exclusive cultural and visual language of private aristocratic and artistic circles. If so, this would explain why they did not flourish, as I will argue they did not, in the post-1737, public artworld.

Why examine the *tableau de mode* in an investigation of the *petit sujet*? As in Chardin's *petit sujet*, De Troy's anonymous figures fill the frame and are few—often two—in number. (I exclude from this comparison the *tableaux de mode* with large groups of figures, so close to group portraits, such *l'Assemblée dans un parc* ou *la Déclaration*

d'amour, fig. 9, and the so-called *Lecture de Molière*, fig. 21.¹) As such, they focus attention on figural relationships and permit the construction of narrative, and thus the imagining of motivation and psychology. Indeed, they tend to have the same relationship of scale between figure and frame as in Chardin's work.

The formal and scenographic similarities between de Troy and Chardin's anonymous figure painting allow me to contrast their interpretive demands with a minimum of distortion: on the basis of this contrast I argue that there is no developmental link between de Troy and Chardin's reception. They existed in different artworlds, one private, one public. Through an analysis of the social and artistic languages of the *tableau de mode*, its sources and visual rhetoric, I argue that it was product of a private artworld that was localized and socially coherent, bound by social linkages and personal associations. Artwork in a private artworld must be intelligible within an exclusive social realm. Thus its range of social intelligibility will be narrow. In contrast (as I will argue in Chapter 2) Chardin's work was a product of a public artworld that was delocalized, socially and geographically dispersed, but bound by the dissemination of texts and reproductive prints. Thus, I will argue, its range of social intelligibility was relatively wide.

The *tableau de mode* and its Sources

Exhibiting in the Place Dauphine in the 1720s and at the Salon from 1737, Jean-François de Troy "a beaucoup plu à Paris par ses petits *tableaux de modes*," as Mariette called

¹ Lérubault 2002, P. 202, P. 203.

them, “qui sont en effet plus soignés que ses grands tableaux d’histoire.”² De Troy (1679-1752), son of an eminent Académicien, was trained as a history painter, two facts distinguishing him from Chardin. And unlike Chardin, who never left Paris, de Troy had spent formative years in Italy (his first voyage perhaps 1698-1708).³ Finally, unlike Chardin he created a new genre of picture in a period when both commissions and opportunities to exhibit were rare.

Art historians have generally ignored the fact that de Troy’s *tableaux de mode* rely on the iconography, and to a certain extent the form, of the fashion print. Denise Amy Baxter in her dissertation observes that de Troy “appropriated figural types and his emphasis on contemporary attire in part from French fashion plates.”⁴ Yet she focuses on de Troy’s specificity of visual description of luxury objects and clothing rather than on the compositional or iconographic influence of the fashion plate.⁵ Of particular importance to de Troy were prints of the last quarter of the seventeenth century by such draughtsmen and engravers as Jean Dieu de Saint-Jean (around 1655-1695) and the brothers Bonnat. These artists effected a transition between static, single-figure *gravures de mode* that descend from 16th-century costume plates, and what might be called *gravures de mœurs*. Saint-Jean’s work in particular is marked by a concern for integrating the figure in its setting, and suggests relatively complex interactions between figures. For instance, his *Femme de qualité s’habillant pour Courre le Bal* (fig. 1) lies at the heart of de Troy’s *Dame à sa toilette recevant un cavalier*, and relates, in the playing out of master/servant relations, to de Troy’s *Dame attachant un nœud à l’épée d’un cavalier*,

² Abécédario, II, 101.

³ Leribault 2002, pp. 18-35.

⁴ Baxter 2003, pp. 2-3.

and his *Jeune femme lisant pendant qu'on la coiffe*, called after its incipit *L'Ornement de l'Esprit et du Corps* (fig. 2).⁶ Most directly though, de Troy's stunning, nocturnal *Toilette pour le bal* (fig. 3) and *Retour du bal* (fig. 4) are prefigured in the print, all emphasizing the modish entertainments of the elite, the social aspects of the toilette, and the richness of costume and surrounds.⁷

Appendix I surveys the iconographic, thematic and formal influences of late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century fashion plates on the *tableau de mode*. The fashion print supplied de Troy with a scale of figure in relation to ground. De Troy's figures, typically more than half the height of the picture, dominate their environment, giving them a robust, theatrical figural presence, and establishing a formal basis for narrative. Of the engravers of fashion prints, Jean Dieu de Saint-Jean was most influential on de Troy. His scenes are more visually dynamic than earlier fashion prints, and they introduce gallant themes that transform the older static type of fashion prints into narratives.

The fashion print influenced de Troy variously at the levels of motif, setting and theme. Yet it is clear that de Troy's advances over the fashion prints are iconographic as well as operating at the level of 'narrative' and staging. De Troy was aided by innovation in these prints, not only the relative sophistication of staging in Saint-Jean but the strikingly high artistic quality of the prints edited by Jean Mariette. Unusually evocative in situation and staging, these prints betray attention to graceful gesture and comportment, contributing to a sense of subtlety in action and characterization. In this sense they lead into de Troy's work, and relate to the *petit sujet*.

⁵ Ibid, pp. 16-67.

⁶ For the Saint-Jean, Hennin 5462. For the de Troys: Leribault 2002, P. 221a, P. 222a, P. 236.

De Troy and History Painting

If fashion prints supplied scale, motif, and themes to the *tableau de mode*, history painting supplied a visual language. De Troy's formation as a history painter led him to forge a painting of story, action and expression that he carried into the *tableau de mode*. The result was a series of paintings whose range of scenes was narrow although their action was slight. Yet the emotional and theatrical expression of his figures allowed for complexity in their relationships.

The history painter understands the human body as expressive and active, legible in expression just as, literally, the text it illustrates.⁸ This results in an articulation of expression and gesture, as well as an iconographical focusing of themes in order to give coherence and interest to the pictures. Indeed, de Troy in his *tableaux de mode* was after the kind of economy of storytelling that characterized history painting, relying on the illusion of momentary temporal suspension, so essential to the pictorial dénouement, and on the depiction of full-blooded figures capable of subtlety of feeling and expression. Nevertheless, de Troy did not employ the typical scale of history painting—his *tableaux de mode* are cabinet pictures. Neither did he use the loose, gestural painthandling that was demanded of history painting. As Mariette observed, his *tableaux de mode* were “plus soignés que ses grands tableaux d’histoire,” finely finished in a style that sometimes approaches the smoothness of porcelain.

⁷ Leribault 2002, P. 234, P. 235.

⁸ The key account of history painting in the period is Locquin 1912.

Two of de Troy's earliest *tableaux de mode* reveal this kind of painting as a hybrid form employing the gestural language of history painting. *La Jarretière détachée* (fig. 13) was shown with its pendant, *La Déclaration d'amour* (fig. 12), in the Salon of 1725, but only the latter had been shown the year before in the Exposition de la Jeunesse in the Place Dauphine. If the *Jarretière* was finished in time for the 1724 exhibition, its absence may have been on account of its subject matter, more apt to offend in the open-air public space of the Exposition de la Jeunesse.⁹ The pendants mirror the same basic configuration: a man leans toward a seated woman, who leans away from him. The arrangement descends from any number of 'galant' Old Testament scenes, such as Veronese's *David and Bathsheba* (Lyon), which was owned by Louis XIV. Yet de Troy's careful description of contemporary décor and costume acts as a foil to what might be called the historical memory implicit in the basic forms of the painting. Consider the woman in *La Déclaration d'amour*. She is nonchalant, even negligent, her expression of studied ambiguity contained in the limp non-gesture of her left hand. This latter strikes a contrast to the galant's emphatic left hand, which underscores his declaration in gesturing to his breast. De Troy uses hands as both structural and expressive elements. In this he follows the tradition of humanist rhetoric in painting by which gesture substitutes for speech. A composition like his *Vertumne et Pomone* (fig. 20) uses a strikingly similar deployment of hands, and to much the same ends, to that in *La Déclaration d'amour*.¹⁰ The clasped hands emphasize the intimacy of the scene, while Vertumnus' reflexive gesture stands in for speech. Where the woman in the *Déclaration* nonchalantly indicates the emblematic painting above, Pomona negligently supports an apple, her traditional

⁹ Leribault 2002, p. 271. On the Exposition de la Jeunesse see Dorbec 1905.

¹⁰ Leribault 2002, P. 77.

attribute. Clearly de Troy used the rhetorical and compositional aspects of gesture already at work in his history painting to conceive *tableaux de mode*.

Culture and the *tableau de mode*

It is only thanks to recent literature that we can understand this hybrid type of painting, this painting of uncertain status, as a product of its period. Surely the lag in historiography can be explained by the absence of a catalogue raisonné before Christophe Leribault's splendid work of 2003, and makes one all the more grateful for Denise Amy Baxter's pioneering social historical work on de Troy in her dissertation of the same year.¹¹ She argues on the basis of patronage studies and social and cultural history that the *tableau de mode* appealed to a new class of elite formed with the shift of political mindset during the Regency and the land speculation during the Mississippi Bubble. This elite contained both aristocratic and non-aristocratic elements, and was particularly drawn to de Troy's work by its faithful description of luxury objects and furnishings. Paintings so explicitly about the consumption of luxury goods reveal fashion and luxury as individualizing rather than mediating. They embody the social ideals of a wealthy, cultured class in its self-representation. Their language of gesture and comportment, which resonates with history painting, also illustrated components of cultured life.

The continuity between gesture in cultured life and gesture in history painting allowed de Troy to employ a language that simultaneously elevated his subject matter (lending grandeur to otherwise ordinary scenes) and ensured its social legibility (by

¹¹ Leribault 2003, Baxter 2003, see also Ebeling 2007.

reflecting and restating the culture of his clientele). In *La Jarretière détachée*, a line runs from the gallant's left index finger, through a delicate fan of intersecting digits, to his head. This line describes one half of a V shape completed by the leftward angle of the woman's thigh and torso. The shape formalizes her half-hearted attempt to repel the suitor. The nature of the game is well expressed in the flaccid gesture of her left hand, which barely touches him while permitting his languorous caress, a kind of interruption of the same reflexive gesture found in the *Déclaration*.

The practical reason that de Troy used socially explicit and legible gestures is that his scenarios were not rooted in literary sources. Not only did they lack established visual conventions, they lacked literary sanction. A history painting fails when it does not correspond clearly to the text at hand; a *tableau de mode* fails when it is not self-explanatory. Therefore de Troy stabilized the interpretation of his paintings by employing a socially- and artistically-coded language of gesture.

De Troy ensured that his pictures would be understood by drawing on the gestural conventions of cultured society, gestures that gained their currency and sustained their meaning most publicly in the theatre. It was a commonplace of the eighteenth century to view the world as a theatre.¹² Theatrical training was essential to a proper education, and private theatricals were a fashion both widespread and propelled by the court. For instance, scholars have tried to link Watteau's paintings to the *parades*, or informal, private theatricals that took place at the masked balls of the Opéra, opened to the public in 1716, or as they happened at private residences such as Pierre Crozat's *maison de*

¹² E.g. La Bruyère 1998, pp. 288-289 (*Les Caractères*, VIII/‘De la Cour’, para. 99); see Roche 2000, p. 667.

plaisance at Montmorency.¹³ In 1715 Parisian theatres could bank on an audience of around 35,000 annually, a figure that was to rise over the course of the century, and that would compete only with the numbers drawn to the Salon.¹⁴

The basic importance of comportment and diction, of which gesture was central, was a constant of elite life throughout the century. Early in the century, the trend of thought was to view the stage as a proxy for life itself, in which one could “identify the individual with the actor.”¹⁵ Gilbert Austin, writing a textbook on gesture and rhetorical delivery in 1806, drew on principles common to “the senate, the bar, the pulpit, and the stage.”¹⁶ The continuity was implicit between comportment and diction in social life and on stage. While Austin laboured to distinguish particularities of each discipline, he was certain of the fundamental principle that gesture should aid, rather than merely embellish speech.¹⁷

Dancing masters and actors trained people in everything relating to the social role of the body, from dance to deportment, speech and conduct.¹⁸ Diderot’s Rameau evokes the texture of this formation: “Mon écolière me présentait le petit cachet, avec la grâce du bras et la révérence qu’elle avait apprise du maître à danser. Je le mettais dans ma poche, pendant que la mère disait: « Fort bien, Mademoiselle. Si Javillier [the King’s *maître à danser*] était là, il vous applaudirait. »”¹⁹ In 1737 the French dancer François Nivelon published a guidebook to comportment, *The Rudiments of Genteel Behavior*, whose

¹³ E.g. Plax 2000, pp. 108-153, see also Vidal 1992.

¹⁴ Roche 2000, p. 663; Sandt 1986, who posits, based on projections from sales of the Livret, that Salon attendance rose from around 23,000 in 1755 (when an account of Livret sales was first recorded) to a peak of around 66,000 in 1787.

¹⁵ Roche 2000, p. 667.

¹⁶ Austin 1996, p. vi.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. xii.

¹⁸ Nivelon 2003, p. 63. Nivelon’s text is unpaginated in this reprint of the 1737 edition.

¹⁹ Diderot 2004, p. 608.

figures illustrated everything from the Courtsie, Walking, Standing, the Bow, to Giving a Hand in a Minuet. As the book makes clear, the art of rhetoric did not consist of flourishes, nor was it confined to speechmaking. Rather, it involved an entire system of movement, within which one must first learn how to stand, then to walk. “It is necessary to observe that it will be impracticable to Dance, or perform any genteel Action or Exercise, without attaining this method of Walking [...]” The system needed to be comprehensive because it involved the entirety of social life and furnished a kind of general comportment that becomes identified with character: its aim was to impart “a graceful Attitude, an agreeable Motion, an easy Air, and a genteel Behavior.”

Ideals of gesture descended from courtly behavior, whose precepts had been established in books like Baldassare Castiglione’s *Il libro del cortegiano* (1528). La Bruyère observed that “Un homme qui sait la cour est maître de son geste, de ses yeux et de son visage [...]”²⁰ According to the courtly ideal, loss of control—the failure of gesture—was considered a failure of eloquence. Thus, according to the courtly tradition, speech and movement were united at the level of *articulation*. It stood to reason that the eighteenth century considered the body an ensemble of parts that was to be more or less enumerated, for these parts must articulate in relation to each other. This isolation of parts is reflected in the structure of Nivelon’s book, which begins with the head,

being the principle Part of the human Figure [...] because it entirely governs all the Rest, and when properly situated, erect and free, the neck will appear in its true Proportion, the Shoulders will retain their proper Places, the Chest will grow broad and full and the Breast round, the Back

²⁰ La Bruyère 1998, p. 263 (*Les Caractères*, VIII/‘De la Cour’, para. 2).

will be straight and light, and assistant to the Motion of the Hipps, they to the Motion of the Knees, and the Knees, in like Manner, to the Feet.

The head governs the body just as its placement and form determine the arrangement of the other parts of the body.

Into this coherent ensemble of the body enters speech, which, above all, must cohere with the body's action. Gilbert Austin writes,

The stroke of the gesture is analogous to the impression of the voice, made on those words, which it would illustrate or enforce; it is used for the same purposes and should fall precisely on the same place, that is, on the accented syllable of the emphatical word; so that the emphatical force of the voice and the stroke of the gesture co operate in order to present the idea in the most lively and distinguished manner, as well to the eye as to the ear of the hearer. The stroke of the gesture is to the eye, what the emphasis and inflexions of the voice are to the ear, and it is capable of equal force and variety.²¹

For Austin there were three several kinds of gesture. *Natural* gestures are said to indicate emotion, "an affection of the body or mind [...]. But the natural gesture [...] cannot sufficiently express the particular circumstances of such affection." Hence one must employ *artificial* gestures, "which do not derive their signification from nature, but from the compacts of society."²² Artificial gestures are those base mimetic gestures employed in pantomime, and are considered to be indecorous, "vicious in an orator."²³

²¹ Austin 1996, p. 377.

²² *Ibid*, p. 475.

²³ *Ibid*, p. 477.

There remain the “gestures not significant,” which “do not mark any particular sentiment; but are rather used to denote a sort of general relation in the expressions, and derive their significancy from the time and manner of their application [...]”²⁴ These are the truly ‘articulate’ gestures, the subject of Austin’s book. They include gestures related to timing and pace, including commencing and suspending or preparatory gestures, used to begin discourse, to “hold attention in suspense,” and to “hold the expectation in suspense,” respectively.

Austin distinguished three sophisticated kinds of gestures. First, discriminating gestures, “which serve the purpose of indicating persons or objects; or that are used for explaining, extending, limiting, or modifying the predominant idea; or in question and answer, when made without vehemence.” Second, auxiliary or alternate gestures, which “serve to aid or enforce the gesture of the advanced [or dominant] hand [...] after the advanced hand has made its gesture on the emphatical word, instead of passing to another gesture on the next emphatical word, it remains in the attitude of the last stroke, till the retired hand is brought up in aid of it [...] which gives at once variety and extraordinary energy to passages admitting such gestures [...]” Third, emphatical, which are also terminating gestures, which “mark with force words opposed to or compared with each other, and more particularly the word which expresses the predominant idea.”²⁵

Since Austin’s compendium draws from authorities from antiquity to the early 19th century, it can be considered a record of the kind of systematic understanding of gesture with which the eighteenth century was familiar, and therefore De Troy’s pendants can be read in terms of Austin’s gestural language.. In *La Jarretière détachée*, the

²⁴ *Ibid*, p. 390.

²⁵ *Ibid*, pp. 387-392.

galant's left hand falls at a lower angle than that of the forearm. This, together with his relaxed, fanning fingers indicates a terminating gesture: he has just proposed to help the lady with her garter. His right hand is one of the class of significant gestures indicating emotion: "the hand laid on the breast refers to the feelings of the speaker [...]." ²⁶ But this is a compound gesture, since that hand also happens to caress the woman's left hand, held out itself in a half-hearted gesture of aversion. According to Quintilian, to express the condemnation or refusal of an object one should "at the same moment express aversion in our countenance, and reject by our gesture [...]." ²⁷ As is typical for de Troy, the woman's face hardly betrays an expression, but that is all the more fitting for the galant game. She does, after all, permit her hand to be caressed.

De Troy as Precursor to the *petit sujet*

What de Troy accomplished with the *tableau de mode* was to borrow from history painting and fashion prints in order to create a new genre of picture that expanded the iconography of modern life. That he considered this genre unambiguously modern in subject matter was demonstrated in 1735 when C.-N. Cochin père issued his print after *Le Jeu de pied-de-bœuf*. ²⁸ The *Mercure de France* noted the ten years since the painting's Salon exhibition: "A cause des habits et des modes, M. de Troy a daté [*Le Jeu de pied-de-bœuf*] de 1725, temps auquel le Tableau a été fait." ²⁹ De Troy needed to demonstrate

²⁶ *Ibid*, p. 389.

²⁷ *Ibid*, p. 349. Watelet & Levesque call these gestures *imitatifs*, "parce qu'ils représentent par le mouvement du corps la situation de l'âme. Ainsi lorsqu'on refuse son assentiment à une idée, on fait avec la main le même geste que si l'on repoussoit quelque chose." Watelet & Levesque 1792, III, pp. 689-690.

²⁸ Inv. 18e s., IV (1940), p. 621-622, no 155.

²⁹ MdF (Apr 1735), p. 756. Note a similar phraseology in the Annonce for C.-N. Cochin fils' *Jésus-Christ guérissant les Malades* after Dulin: "Nous prions le jeune Graveur, au nom du Public, et tous ses Confreres,

his modernity by acknowledging that his precise rendering of the leading fashions of 1725 showed something outmoded by 1735. Both the expanding iconography of modern life and the large scale, articulate treatment of the figure would be of key importance to the *petit sujet*.

De Troy showed how non-history figural painting could use the formal and narrative techniques of history painting to create unambiguous figural relationships and focused action. The language of gesture he employed belonged both to history painting and to polite society. An art of elite subject matter, it remained restrictive in its range of figure types and kinds of figural interaction, which illustrated either the progress of love or such elite pastimes as a group reading or preparations for the ball. Its elite social and formal language, by nature, failed to create the conditions for public discussion of its figures' motivations and psychology. Thus the *tableau de mode*, even if the conditions for public discourse were right, could not generate speculation or argument on interpretive questions, let alone an interpretive framework tailored to its specific nature. In short, the *tableau de mode* can be understood as a predecessor to the *petit sujet* in its scale, its hybrid generic status, its focusing of attention on one or several anonymous figures, its nuanced, articulate treatment of the body, and its scenographic establishment of narrative and thus the possibility of a degree of psychological engagement. However, it failed to generate an interpretive framework, and is therefore in no way a *conceptual* predecessor to the *petit sujet*.

de ne pas oublier sur les Estampes qu'ils mettent au jour, de marquer l'année, cela fait plaisir aux Curieux et sert beaucoup à l'Histoire des Beaux-Arts." M&F (Aug 1735), pp. 1818-1919. For this Annonce and the larger issues of "documentary initiatives" see McAllister Johnson 1993.

Chapter 2

The Emergence of the *petit sujet*: Chardin in the Salons and in Prints

This chapter treats the emergence of the *petit sujet* in the work of Jean-Baptiste-Siméon Chardin (1699-1779). It is divided into two parts. The first part reconstructs and compares the relative contexts of J.-F. de Troy (see Chapter 1) and Chardin. I examine the documentation produced by and in relation to the Salon du Louvre since 1737, focusing on reproductive prints after pictures shown there, and art criticism. I posit that Chardin's work was characteristic of a *public* artworld shaped by the Salon, prints, and criticism. In the second part of this chapter I argue that the primary critical interest of Chardin's day emerged as a psychological and ethical identification of the figure depicted based on the study of its character. Art critics, through this process of identification, used Chardin's subjects as the locus for normative statements about ethics and the relationship between the individual and society. This was a specifically *public* form of engagement because it was based on subjective response rather than academic theory, and because it led to the public discussion of a social vision.

The underlying principle of this kind of contextual interpretation of de Troy and Chardin is the Pragmatist dictum that *the meaning of any utterance or any sign is the response to that utterance or sign.*¹ As I phrase it, *the meaning of a picture is its reception, understood as the range of contextual elements of which art criticism is most powerful.* Yet the 'range of contextual elements' must include reproductive prints and

¹ Morse Peckham bases a theory of human behavior on this principle, encompassing both verbal and non-verbal behavior (i.e. art). The theory is useful for my purposes in so far as it insists on context as the first condition of human communication and understanding. See Peckham 1979, particularly pp. 1-87; Peckham 1971, pp. 129-187.

print verse, which, as artistic products in their own right, are as powerful as art criticism but in a different way.

Can art criticism be trusted? Michael Baxandall is right to point out its oppressive “conventional and normative element” in this period.² Every cultural product is based on convention; all human behavior is normative. Art criticism does not escape the hermeneutic problem, *but it does describe the thoughts of people in relation to pictures they have personally scrutinized*. In a different way, so does print verse. And in a different way again, so do reproductive prints. Thus a synthetic interpretation of criticism, prints and verse becomes both possible and desirable. The comparative study of texts and objects can furnish points of reference where it is guided by an understanding of what is most important in the artistic context.

I. The Context of the *petit sujet*

Chardin’s Formal Response to the Salon

De Troy exhibited his last *tableaux de mode* in the 1737 Salon du Louvre, the year prior to his departure to Rome to become Directeur of the Académie’s school there. Chardin showed his first ‘genre’ pictures in the same Salon. That de Troy’s pictures amounted to a small vogue is evident in Chardin’s own stylistic and scenographic borrowings from him in *Une Femme occupée à cacheter une lettre* (fig. 31; Salon 1738/34) and the *Dame qui prend du thé* (Salon 1739). Yet by the early to mid-1730s,

² Baxandall 1992, pp. 80-81. Baxandall, of course, needs to make this point in order to justify turning to “eccentric materials less confined by the generic demands of art criticism (or aesthetics),” p. 81. The results are rich and stimulating.

Chardin was also painting what is sometimes called his ‘below stairs’ iconography: cellar-maids and laundresses at work. By the late 1730s he was painting more complex multi-figure compositions featuring women and children—the ‘above stairs’ pictures. These, his most renowned works, are typically seen as ‘pedagogical’ in some way, hinging as they do on maternal correction (*La Gouvernante*, fig. 22; *La Mère laborieuse*, fig. 23) and child-rearing more generally (*Le Bénédicité*, fig. 24; *Le Négligé ou Toilette du Matin*, fig. 32).

In contrast to Chardin’s bourgeois scenes, de Troy’s figures and their milieu are aristocratic. Their psychological range is that afforded by aristocratic leisure, and their gallant themes do not escape the restrictive psychological motivations associated with the Loves of the Gods.³ Moreover, the figures tend to read as articulate mannequins. Their inexpressiveness meshes with the reserve and self-control inherent in leisure at a high cultural level. In large part this ‘defect’, if one is to measure by the standards of history painting, is counterbalanced by the suggestive power of de Troy’s animation of the fashion print. He drew on the inventive fashion prints of Saint-Jean and the anonymous artists edited by Mariette. These prints were among the earliest to document fashion items using figural interaction in a real setting. Thus their central problem was to balance action and accessory. De Troy faced the same problem in such highly detailed interiors as *La déclaration d’amour* and *La jarretière détachée*, each of which displays a range of luxury and carriage trade product. In such pictures the visual salience of inanimate objects scatters attention. Moreover, the objects represented are themselves highly artistic, triumphs of the goldsmith’s, tailor’s or decorator’s art—the clock by the cabinetmaker André-Charles Boulle that is also a mythological sculpture, the mythological painting that

³ See Bailey 1992.

is integrated into hand-carved *boiseries*, the dresses that recall Watteau. These are handicraft items that, in Lewis Mumford's sense, mediate between "pure art and pure technics, between things of meaning that had no other use and things of use that had no other meaning."⁴ For finally, de Troy's cabinet pictures are themselves carriage trade items, made to be integrated in just the sort of interiors they depicted—they blur the line between 'pure art' and 'craft' just as their generic status is indeterminate. There is in his pictures the sort of prismatic effect that finely crafted objects possess, causing the eye to linger on details of finish and surface.

It is difficult to imagine a greater contrast to de Troy's prismatic effects than the stark isolation of Chardin's figures. *Une petite fille jouant au volant* (fig. 27) from the 1737 Salon, is set against a neutral, undifferentiated background. She stares out of the frame with a hermetic gaze isolated by Chardin's 'rococo' shading of her profile. Her objectival quality is reinforced by the fact that the light directs attention away from her face toward incidental details of her ear and the calligraphic decorations of her bonnet. It is with precise geometry that scissors, bonnet, racquet, *volant*, and chair are arranged. The *Petite Fille au volant* solicits the eye in a radically different way than any of de Troy's pictures. The latter achieve continuity through the accumulation of detail; Chardin's through the elimination of detail.

While the compositional burden of each object in Chardin is much greater than any in de Troy, Chardin's brushwork tends to operate as a countermeasure, diffusing compositional anchor points through hazy or layered strokes. The overall softness and indeterminacy of Chardin's painthandling causes attention to deflect away from surface detail toward the sculptural consideration of mass. The uniformity of texture in his paint

⁴ Mumford 1952, p. 63.

application, for which he was criticized, likewise tends to diffuse attention. By contrast, where de Troy relied on bravura painthandling, as in *Le Jeu de pied-de-bœuf* or *La Jarretière* (fig. 13), incidental details of energetic brushwork arrest the eye.

In Chardin the elimination of detail goes in hand with the elimination of context even in such multi-figure pictures as *Le Bénédicité* (fig. 24) and *Le Négligé ou Toilette du matin* (fig. 32). Walls are barren, transitions occluded, backgrounds murky and indeterminate. This reductiveness finds no equivalent in the Northern School painters from whom Chardin borrowed themes and motifs. Kalf, Teniers, Dou, Mieris, Ostade all tended to cram their pictures with accessory and in this they are closer to de Troy than to Chardin. Likewise, the microscopic finish of Dou and Netscher aligns them more with de Troy. That said, it may be that the Dutch device of isolating a figure or figures within a window frame—a device important to Chardin in his earliest *petits sujets*—showed him the way to his mature pictorial reductiveness. But even such an early composition as *Les Bulles de savon* (fig. 39) does away with the kind of accumulative accessorizing one finds in Schalken or Mieris. In short, Chardin minimized the *redundant context* in his pictures—the details of accessory or setting that describe the physical environment of a given scene while contributing nothing to the picture's action.

The simplest and most far-reaching consequence of Chardin's reductiveness is the focusing of attention. He solved the problem of balancing figure and accessory by making the figure large relative to the frame, and often monumental, either because it is viewed from below (*La Fontaine*; *La Blanchisseuse*, fig. 28; *La Maîtresse d'école*), or because it is pressed against the picture plane (the various *Château de cartes*; *Les Bulles*

de savon, fig. 39; *Une dame qui prend du thé*). Accessory, meanwhile, is departicularized through coarse or hazy brushwork.

The obvious contextual result of such an approach is that Chardin's figures, monumental and isolated against dim, neutral backgrounds, would have been easy to identify on the crowded Salon wall, which would have been particularly helpful as Chardin's were typically among the smallest easel pictures in the Salon. Yet the elimination of redundant context was an element of his work that none of his followers, save N.-B. Lépicié at times, managed to emulate, which indicates how far Chardin had strayed from convention in his pictures.

The elimination of redundant context, I would argue, was Chardin's response to the new problem of his paintings' *mobility*. Their arresting, iconic simplicity was designed to counteract the accidental and unpredictable effects of the Salon hang—much greater problems for *petits* than for *grands sujets*. Their formal clarity and undecorative focusing of attention created a barrier around them, a sort of virtual *passe-partout*, isolating and protecting their figure(s). Likewise, their self-explanatory action helped guarantee their wide circulation in reproductive prints (I will return to the problem of print *verse* as a contextualizing element in Chardin).

Chardin's Strategy of Display

How did Chardin use the display space of the Salon? His Salon entries (not counting portraits) decrease in number over time: 8 in 1737, 9 in 1738, 6 in 1739, 5 in 1740, 2 in 1741, 3 in 1743, 4 in 1746 (including a repetition with changes of *Le*

Bénédicté), 1 in 1747, 1 in 1748, 1 in 1751, the final Salon before he began to show still lifes. As well, one must account for a certain eclecticism in the early Salon in which Chardin showed works painted years before, for example, the *Femme occupée à cacher une lettre* of the 1738 Salon, which had been shown in the Exposition de la Jeunesse in 1734. One can conclude from all of this that Chardin's earliest Salon entries must have worked by overall effect, while the later ones were dominated by key pictures.

In his earliest entries Chardin used pendants to take control of the Salon wall. Four of his seven pictures in the 1737 Salon are pendants: *La Fontaine* and *La Blanchisseuse*, and *Une petite fille jouant au volant* and *Jeune Homme s'amusant avec des cartes*. Six of his nine entries in the 1738 Salon are pendants, the largest of which is *Un jeune dessinateur taillant son crayon* (fig. 38), at 81 x 67 cm, and its companion, the lost *Une jeune ouvrière en tapisserie*. Their effect as pendants (and our evidence that they were pendants) is contained in an aside in the *Mercure*'s listing of Chardin's entries: "3. [fig. 38; Salon no 117] Jeune Eleve, assis, taillant son Crayon, appliqué à regarder le Dessein qu'il copie. 4. [Salon no 21] Jeune Ouvriere, sur une chaise de paille, travaillant en Tapisseries, interrompant son Ouvrage, ses regards fixés sur le Dessinateur" (italics mine).⁵ By virtue of the powerful draw of their symmetry, pendants command more of the wall than individual pictures. But when a gaze links them, the space between is colonized, so to speak, suggesting a spatial continuity that excludes the neighboring pictures.

What I will call for convenience the 'linking gaze' is a technique Chardin employed in the same Salon of 1738 with the pendants *Un garçon cabaretier* (fig. 29) and *Une récurveuse* (fig. 30). Here the gazes meet, although it is possible to read, with

⁵ MdF (Oct 1738), p. 2185.

Conisbee, the young man as “simply lost in thought” rather than returning the woman’s inquisitive gaze.⁶ Such expressional nuance is difficult to confirm in Chardin, particularly where his paint is coarse and granular. But the mere suggestion of psychological tension in the gaze, the shading and differentiation of mental states and levels, is enough. The rigorous formal mirroring and the continuity in palette and lighting provide a robust frame for this exchange (or near-miss) of consciousness.⁷

Portraiture employing the ‘linking gaze’ (described as *en regard*) typically between husband and wife, was not uncommon in this period, yet in the Chardins, given the social station of the sitters and the pictures’ inherent distance from the formal conventions of portraiture, the ‘linking gaze’ establishes a mute dialogue, open-ended and suggestively indeterminate in a way that portraits *en regard* could never be. Even Augustin de Saint-Aubin’s *Au Moins Soyez Discret* and *Comptez sur Mes Sermens* (1789), probably the most inventive portraits *en regard* of the century, do not escape a certain theatricality, made more piquant by the fact that they may depict the artist and his wife.⁸ Chardin’s pendants are not so overdetermined. Chardin’s use of the Salon wall, with the symmetry of pendants and the linking gaze, shows a precocious understanding of the dynamics of public display that ultimately functioned to siphon attention away from both portraiture and history painting. This facilitated the public’s engagement with his anonymous figures and set the stage for a deeper, psychological and social conversation with them.

⁶ Conisbee 1986, pp. 122-123. Conisbee refers here to the Glasgow *Garçon cabaretier*. Rosenberg 1983, p. 93 establishes that a rediscovered *Garçon cabaretier* in a private collection, London, (Rosenberg’s no 113A) is the picture shown Salon 1738/19. The Henri de Rothschild *Récureuse*, shown Salon 1738/23, was destroyed in WWII.

⁷ See also the perceptive comments in Roland Michel 1994, p. 209.

⁸ Bocher 1879, pp. 127-128, nos 406-407.

Dissemination as Publicity

Three factors shaped Chardin's production. First, he was a regular, *anticipated* presence in the Salons. Second, his genre pictures received inordinate attention in art criticism, itself a literary genre that emerged almost simultaneously with those pictures. Third, his works were systematically engraved. His works were *disseminated* and *interpreted* in this new artistic context. In other words, the *meaning* of his work—just as certain of its structural elements such as pendants, the linking gaze, and the reduction of redundant context—is embedded in the nature of its dissemination and interpretation. Therefore de Troy's pictures can not *mean* in the same way that Chardin's do.

Unlike Chardin's period, de Troy's was impoverished both in its opportunities to exhibit and in its critical reception. Moreover, the limited and limiting nature of de Troy's iconography as well as the decorative properties of his work likely meant that it could generate neither sustained discussion nor critical controversy. There is a sneer in Mariette's phrase *tableaux de mode* that must reflect traditional prejudices against the anti-intellectual nature of fashion

The *tableau de mode* was short lived just as it failed to disseminate, as a survey of production, exhibition and reproductive prints—and its comparison with Chardin's dissemination—makes clear. The earliest pictures, *La Déclaration d'amour* and *La Jarretière détachée* date to 1724 and the final Salon pictures, including the *Toilette pour le Bal* and its pendant to 1737—a span of thirteen years. De Troy exhibited in the Place Dauphine in 1724 and 1734, and the Salons of 1725 and 1737. I count thirteen *tableaux*

de mode in all, excluding the dessus-de-porte for F.-C. de Lalive's house in the rue de Luxembourg, which are a separate strand of decorative painting drawing on both Italian and Northern iconography relating to the senses. Only three *tableaux de mode* were engraved before mid-century, all by C.-N. Cochin père: *La Lecture du roman sous l'ombrage* (1735)⁹, *Le Jeu de pied-de-bœuf* (fig. 19; painting Salon 1725; print 1735); *Le Rendez-vous à la fontaine ou L'Alarme*¹⁰ (fig. 6; print 1736): thirteen paintings, four exhibitions, and three prints over thirteen years. Only one Salon picture, *Le Jeu de pied-de-bœuf*, was engraved—but with a gap of ten years between painting and print. The contrast with Chardin is instructive. Chardin showed 'genre' pictures at the Place Dauphine in 1728 and 1734, at the one-day exhibition in the Académie in 1735, then in every Salon from 1737 (save 1742, 1745 and 1750) until he ceased creating new figural compositions in 1753. Including the Académie exhibition, this makes fourteen exhibitions in all between 1728 and 1753. I count thirty-six 'genre' pictures exhibited at the Salons alone to 1753 (excluding *singeries* and conventional portraits, but not the various pictures of children known to be portraits and appearing as 'genre' pictures). *All but one of these Salon pictures were engraved.*

The period bracketed by Chardin's first Salon of 1737 and the presentation of *La Mère laborieuse* and *Le Bénédicité* to Louis XV in January 1741, witnessed the public revelation of his work both in the Salons and through its quickening passage into prints. The first print after Chardin was published just nine months after the closure of the 1737 Salon: Fessard's *Une femme occupée à cacheter une lettre*, announced May 1738. It was followed in July by C.-N. Cochin père's prints after *La petite fille aux cerises* and *Le*

⁹ Reversed. Inv. 18e s., IV (1940), p. 622, no 156.

¹⁰ Reversed. *Ibid.* pp. 622, no 157. MdF (Apr 1736), pp. 766-767.

jeune soldat. There is an undated Fillœul after the 1737 Salon *Le château de cartes*. The following table gives an idea of the vigor of this new interest in Chardin; at least fifteen prints after him were published between 1737 and 1740.

	<u>Painting</u>	<u>Print</u> (Annonce, Salon)
Fillœul. <i>Le château de cartes</i>	(S. 1737)	
Fessard. <i>Une femme occupée à cacheter une lettre</i>	(D. 1734, S. 1738/34)	May 1738
Cochin. <i>Le jeune soldat</i>	(S. 1737)	July 1738
Cochin. <i>La petite fille aux cerises</i>	(S. 1737)	July 1738
Cochin. <i>La fontaine</i>	(D. 1734?, A. 1735, S. 1737)	June 1739 , S. 1739?
Cochin. <i>La blanchisseuse</i>	(D. 1734?, A. 1735, S. 1737)	June 1739 , S. 1739?
Fillœul. <i>Les bulles de savon</i>	(S. 1739)	1739
Fillœul. <i>Les osselets</i>	(S. 1739)	1739
Fillœul. <i>Une dame qui prend du thé</i>	(S. 1739)	1739
Lépicié. <i>La gouvernante</i>	(S. 1739)	1739, S. 1740
Lépicié. <i>La mère laborieuse</i>	(S. 1740/60)	Dec 1740 , S. 1740?
Lépicié. <i>La maîtresse d'école</i>	(S. 1740/68)	Oct 1740 , S. 1740
John Faber. <i>Le jeune dessinateur</i>	(S. 1738/117)	1740
Cochin. <i>Le garçon cabaretier</i>	(copy S. 1738/19)	S. 1740
Cochin. <i>L'écureuse</i>	(S. 1738/23, S. 1757/34)	S. 1740
D=Place Dauphine		
A=1735 Académie exhibition		
S=Salon		

The numbers, I would argue, reveal Chardin as a dominant personality in the Salon whose every Salon entry was disseminated, in a more or less timely fashion, in reproductive prints. When La Font de Saint-Yenne excused Chardin's waning production of domestic scenes, he wrote, "Le public avide de ses tableaux, et l'auteur ne peignant que pour son amusement et par conséquent très peu, a recherché avec empressement, pour s'en dédommager, les estampes gravées d'après ses ouvrages [...]." ¹¹ Prints made up for the scarcity of paintings. Surely he does not mean that prints would satisfy those who could afford a painting but could not have one because the artist was slow to meet demand? Chardin's public seems to be those who went to the Salon and could afford prints; thus prints answered the paucity of Salon pictures. La Font wrote in 1746. Chardin had not exhibited since 1743, and reappeared at the 1746 Salon with a repetition, with changes, of *Le Bénédicité*, a composition first shown Salon 1740/61, and *Les Amusements de la vie privée*. Chardin for his part claimed that "Je prends du temps parce que je me suis fait une habitude de ne quitter mes ouvrages que quand, à mes yeux, je n'y vois plus rien à désirer [...]." ¹² Caught between the clashing claims of slow invention and public demand, his solution was to become his own copyist (see Appendices II, III).

The descending arc of Chardin's production was answered by the rising arc of prints after him. Around 1734-5 he painted *Les bulles de savon*, which he would copy at least three times, and *Le jeune dessinateur*, of which there would be five copies (it should be remembered that it is difficult to date most of the copies). Around 1735 to 1737 he

¹¹ La Font 1747, p. 110. The phrase is repeated in 1748: "M. Chardin, ce grand imitateur de la nature, qui n'a besoin de son art que pour son amusement," *Observations sur les arts et sur quelques morceaux de peinture et sculpture exposés au Louvre, où il est parlé de l'utilité des embellissements dans les villes (par une société d'amateurs)*. Leyde: Elias Luzac, junior. 1748, p. 89. CD 34.

¹² The unpublished letter is quoted in Rosenberg 1979, p. 280.

produced four *variations* on the theme of *Le château de cartes*, for two of which he painted copies. The next key period for his ‘genre’ pictures, 1738-40, again saw repetitions, *but they were outnumbered by printed repetitions*, including prints after the same painting by different printmakers and variants (usually with changes in the print letter only) by the same printmaker. Chardin made two *Gouvernantes*, while there exist seven different prints after the composition. He made four *Pourvoyeuses*; there are eleven prints after the composition, including at least four variants signed by F.-B. Lépicié. This last fact foreshadows the new commercial print practice. Not only did multiple pulls satisfy demand, they artificially fueled the collector’s desire to possess all variants.¹³ In any case, the proliferation of anonymous variants is testimony to the success of these prints. There was a desperation in Chardin’s need to disseminate his pictures. Incredibly, he seems to have had an unknown artist make ‘authorized copies’ of *Le Bénédicité* and *La Mère labourieuse* for such a prestigious client as the Swedish Ambassador Tessin in 1741.¹⁴

Chardin’s Popularity

Driving the rising arc of prints after the descending arc of his production was the rapid expansion of his public beyond professional circles. Chardin was, more than any other artist, at the heart of the new possibilities for the *popularization* of Salon paintings. One can follow his progress through the criticism in the *Mercure* (italics mine):

¹³ See Courbouin 1914, pp. 120-130.

¹⁴ Rosenberg 1983, p. 99, nos. 120g and 118c, indicating “que Chardin acceptait que l’on fasse des copies de ses œuvres et qu’elles soient commercialisées.”

1737 Salon

*Les Curieux du premier ordre et même des Personnes de grande distinction, ont trouvé que ces Tableaux se souvenoient auprès de ceux des plus grands Maîtres [...].*¹⁵

1738 Salon

Ce Peintre, exact imitateur de la simple Nature, jusqu'aux moindres circonstances, & dont les Tableaux, qui parurent de lui au dernier Sallon, lui ont fait une grande réputation, *a été encore plus généralement goûté cette année.*¹⁶

1739 Salon

Si nous raportions ici tous les éloges qu'on a donnés aux Ouvrages de ce Peintre séduisant, cet article occuperoit plus de place qu'aucun autre.¹⁷

1740 Salon

Les Tableaux de ce Peintre sont dans une réputation constante de plaire *au Public & généralement à tout le monde, aux sçavans, aux ignorans, & aux gens de tout âge & de tous Etats [...].*¹⁸

¹⁵ MdF (Sept 1737), p. 2020.

¹⁶ MdF (Oct 1738), p. 2185.

¹⁷ MdF (Sept 1739), II, p. 2221.

¹⁸ MdF (Oct 1740), p. 1274.

In 1737 his work appealed to the cognoscenti and to *les grands*, in 1740 to everyone, including women, children, the bourgeoisie, the ignorant: “Chaque exposition de tableaux [...] a été marquée par de nouveaux applaudissements que le public s’est empressé de donner aux ouvrages que M. Chardin lui a offerts [...].”¹⁹ Chardin was the first Salon ‘success story,’ the first to exploit its capacity for publicity and popularization *in conjunction with prints*. In so doing he established a model that would endure until the Revolution.

With the periodic Salon, a revolution occurred every one or two years, generating anticipation and a sense of renewed struggle. For example, the Salon, and Chardin’s work notably, sensitized a broad public to the problem of national treasures vanishing into the cabinets of foreign purchasers. In the Salon, painting was experienced as decontextualized and temporary. Its three-week run was filled with incident: the late arrival of some pictures, the removal of others, the circulation of pamphlets and counter-pamphlets. Naturally the circulation and marketing of reproductive prints was changed by this new temporal sense.

The Salon created a new audience. Prints broadened that audience. So did art criticism. Thus in order to proceed with a comparative study of the documentation, we must determine what can be known about Chardin’s audience.

Chardin’s Audience

Georges Wildenstein’s survey of notarial archives for the period 1700-1750 reveals a consistency of taste among the Parisian bourgeoisie and furnishes some direct

¹⁹ Abécédario, I, p. 358.

information as to the consumers of prints after Chardin. These notarial archives are inventories “de gens moyens, de petits nobles, de fonctionnaires, de bourgeois, de marchands, toutes personnes possédant une certaine aisance, et appartenant à des milieux différents, mais à une même classe sociale.”²⁰ In general, these people were not collectors, but they were alike in the kinds of pictures they owned. In addition to the usual portraits and devotional pictures, they favoured Flemish ‘genre’ pictures and subjects treated by Watteau. Frequently their pictures were old master copies by young painters working for picture merchants; or they were pictures sold at fairs. Certainly almost no one in this group would have had the means to commission a picture. These were ready-made subjects.

The bourgeoisie also purchased prints, often recorded as *tableaux-estampes*, that is, framed and therefore *lived with*. Most were devotional prints. While the bourgeoisie did not favour subjects from myth or history, certain large-scale historical prints do recur in the archives: Gérard Audran’s suite of the *Batailles d’Alexandre* (1672-1678) after Charles Lebrun and the *Famille de Darius* by the same artists.

The fact is that prints after Chardin were epoch-making in their popularity; they indicate a shift in consumption. Wildenstein notes that one La Barre, écuyer, valet de chambre de Louis XV, owned Lépicier’s prints after the *Gouvernante* and *Mère laborieuse*.²¹ This fact takes on more significance when read together with Mariette’s complaint that “Les estampes, qu’on a gravées d’après les tableaux de M. Chardin [...] sont devenues des estampes de mode, qui, avec celles de Téniers, de Vauvermans, de Lencret, ont achevé de porter le dernier coup aux estampes sérieuses des Le Brun, des

²⁰ Wildenstein 1956, p. 113. See also Pardailhé-Galabrun 1988, pp. 376-389, 466.

²¹ Wildenstein 1956, pp. 133, 176.

Poussin, des Le Sueur et même des Coypels.”²² Mariette is referring to taste among print collectors, but the principle carries over to the broader public. Where once bourgeois taste had encompassed Audran’s prints after Le Brun, by the mid-eighteenth century it was swept away by increased production of prints by Le Bas and Moyreau after Dutch and Flemish artists, as well as by the periodic appearance of prints after Chardin.

How did taste differ between those bourgeois who purchased prints after Chardin, and the *grands* who purchased his paintings?²³ It is impossible to know for certain, but one can be sure that reception changed according to social context. For example, the critical commonplace that held that Chardin was the French Teniers is certainly based on parallels in subject matter and not style, since everyone recognized Chardin’s unique style. The interest in subject matter was general, but appreciation of Chardin’s painthandling was a distinctly elite activity.

Beyond a certain point, one can only speculate on the nature of Chardin’s audience, for while his work had a wide appeal, it was meant to be read in relatively sophisticated ways, and elites found Chardin’s broad audience lacking in discernment. In 1739 the chevalier de Neufville de Brunaubois Montador explained Chardin’s popularization:

L’inimitable Chardin nous fait toujours admirer ce simple et vrai qui regne dans ses ouvrages, et qui attire tout le monde, *parce que l’imitation parfaite de la nature frappe tous les yeux*. Rival de Rembrand et de

²² Abécédario, I, p. 359.

²³ For example, in 1739 prince Charles of Lichtenstein purchased the *Gouvernante* to bring to the court at Vienna. In 1743 the comte de Rottembourg, the King’s ambassador in Spain, purchased two still lifes that Chardin exposed in the place Dauphine that year. When La Roque’s cabinet was sold in 1745 many of his Chardins were purchased by Tessin to send to the Swedish court.

Tennier, sa reputation augmente tous les jours et il n'omet rien pour meriter de plus en plus l'estime du public. [My italics]²⁴

In other words, his paintings were based not on erudition, on the literary models that made history paintings intelligible, but rather on scenes whose meaning was more or less self-evident. Drawing on 'Northern School' iconography familiar to a vanguard of amateurs and collectors such as La Roque, by tone and costume he made it Parisian. His work represented advanced taste—he was a rival of Teniers and Rembrandt—just as it was self-evidently modern and French in subject matter and thus of interest to anyone. Mariette makes the same point: “Le gros public revoit avec plaisir des actions qui se passent journellement sous ses yeux dans son ménage, et leur donne sans hésiter la préférence sur des sujets plus élevés, mais dont la connoissance demande une sorte d'étude.”²⁵ Study separated the amateurs and critics from those who were merely seduced by subject matter. This is why subject matter became of central importance in Chardin. It determined the possible extent of his popularity.

The *petit sujet*

As I will argue, there is a coherence between the best print verse in Chardin and the most sophisticated Salon criticism of his work; it is in these *elite* products that Chardin's innovations are recognized and the *petit sujet* defined in the eighteenth-century mindset. Just how important and incongruous it was that Chardin's work—and not

²⁴ *Description raisonnée des tableaux exposés au Louvre. Lettre à Madame la marquise de S.P.R.* Paris, 1739, CD 1210, p. 160 ms.

²⁵ *Abécédario*, I, p. 359.

grands sujets, history paintings—should be the subject of excitement is confirmed by a glance at the *Mercure*'s article on the 1737 Salon. A sort of annotated catalogue, it lists works numerically by artist more or less according to academic rank, with brief comments. Senior history painters merit at most a line or two of conventional praise; equal attention is given to the younger generation. The works of J.-F. de Troy, *Professeur*, aged 58, “sont bien dignes de [sa] réputation [...]”²⁶ The “mérite et l’heureuse composition” of the works of C.-A. Coypel, *ancien Professeur*, aged 43, “ont fait grand plaisir au Public intelligent.”²⁷ But Chardin, *Academicien*, aged 38, is discussed at incongruous length.

Les Curieux du premier ordre et même des Personnes de grande distinction, ont trouvé que ces Tableaux se souvenoient auprès de ceux des plus grands Maîtres, et on a été d’autant plus surpris, qu’on sçavoit bien que M. Chardin excelloit à peindre des Animaux morts et vivans, d’une maniere aussi vraye que singuliere, mais on ne sçavoit pas que son talent s’étendît plus loin, il a fait voir le contraire d’une maniere très-heureuse pour sa réputation, et les figures qu’on a vû à cette occasion dans tous ses Ouvrages, ont été fort applaudies par les Connoisseurs les plus difficiles.²⁸

His reputation had been established by his still lifes, but his success in climbing the artistic and ideological ladder to figure painting engendered public surprise. Indeed, all but one of Chardin’s Salon paintings in 1737 were ‘genre’ pictures, the exception being the *Bas-relief peint en Bronze*. Chardin’s work was a public *revelation*, and one that implicitly brought the question of genre to bear. His elevation of subject matter from

²⁶ MdF (Sept 1737), p. 2017.

²⁷ Ibid, p. 2019.

²⁸ Ibid, p. 2020.

animals to human figures is all the more noteworthy in relation to the comment on Chardin's style: "d'une manière aussie vraie que singuliere." Later critics would elaborate on the problem of Chardin's style, most noting the hazy effect of his brushwork, the rough application of paint, and the tendency of his pictures to resolve only at a distance. In terms of still life, such a style was unique for its period, departing radically from the closely rendered surfaces of Desportes and Oudry. Yet in terms of figure painting, the implications of such a style were unclear. Chardin's subject matter fell outside of the purview of aesthetic theory in the academic tradition.

Chardin's critics hardly worried about distinctions of genre. Rather, they hit on a term that, while it derived from the hierarchy of genres, remained conveniently ambiguous. The earliest use of the term *petit sujet* in relation to Chardin occurred in 1738 in a pamphlet published anonymously by the chevalier J.-F.-J. de Neufville de Brunaubois-Montador, a military officer whose Salon critiques represent his first literary exercises.²⁹ "[O]n ne peut refuser à quelques *petits sujets* traités par M. *Chardin*," wrote the chevalier, referring generally to the nine pictures Chardin exhibited in the 1738 Salon:³⁰

117. Un jeune dessinateur taillant son crayon (Paris) 81 x 67 cm (fig. 38)

21. Une jeune ouvrière en tapisserie (lost)

19. *Un garçon cabaretier* (London) 46 x 37.2 cm (fig. 29)

23. *Une récupreuse* (lost; copies Glasgow, London, gr. Cochin père)

²⁹ See Zmijewska 1970, pp 27-29; DLF p. 970.

³⁰ Neufville de Brunaubois-Montador, *Description raisonnée des tableaux exposés au Louvre. Lettre à Madame la marquise de S. P. R.* Paris: 1 September 1738, CD 8, p. 8.

1740) (fig. 30)

26. *Une ouvrière en tapisseries qui choisit de la laine dans son panier*

(Stockholm?) 18 x 15.5 cm

27. Son pendant. *Un jeune écolier qui dessine* (Stockholm?) 19 x 17 cm

34. *Une femme occupée à cacheter une lettre* (Berlin) 96 x 124 cm (fig. 31)

116. *Le portrait du fils de M. Godefroy, joaillier, appliqué à voir tourner un toton* (Louvre) 67 x 76 cm

149. *Le portrait d'une petite fille de M. Mahon, marchand, s'amusant avec sa poupée* (lost: gr. Surugue fils 1743)

'*Petit sujet*' is a catch-all, here encompassing children of merchants and artisans as well as cellar-boys, art students, and young girls of indeterminate social origin knitting or at play. Alongside these 'bourgeois' subjects, *Une femme occupée à cacheter une lettre* (fig. 31) is anomalous in size and in the social elevation of its subject. Yet *class identity* is rarely clear in Chardin.

A clustering of the term *petit sujet* in the late 1730s and early 1740s, despite the basic instability of artistic vocabulary in this period, gives a point of departure.³¹ In 1739 Neufville de Brunaubois-Montador referred to Chardin's "*petits sujets amusans*,"

³¹ On the instability of terminology related to 'genre' and its cognates in this period, see Anderman 2000, pp. 189-324.

commenting only on *La Gouvernante* (fig. 40) and *La Pourvoyeuse* (fig. 43).³² In 1741 the anonymous *Lettre à Monsieur de Poiresson-Chamarande* described *Le Négligé ou Toilette du matin* (fig. 32) as “un des *petits sujets* de M. Chardin.”³³ As the critical lens sharpened its focus, these same pictures generated sustained commentary rather than generic appreciation; I analyze this commentary in the following section.

II. The Meaning of the *Petit sujet*: Understanding Painting, Print and Criticism

Chardin the Moralist?

Chardin used the Salon space to overcome the generic and structural limitations of his work there, particularly its small size and lowly subject matter. I argue that Salon critics crafted, or perhaps intuited, a mode of reception reflecting the particular nature of his work—reflecting, that is, not the criteria of history painting but rather the kinship of inner feeling and shared social knowledge. The *petit sujet* emerged in the earliest art criticism as a stimulus for the social imagination, a means by which elite society conversed with itself about society at large *in view of society at large in the Salon and in prints*.

My argument is new. Modern criticism, like that of Chardin’s day, has tended to focus on the artist’s multiple-figure *petits sujets*—his ‘pedagogical’ pictures—in

³² Id., *Description raisonnée des tableaux exposés au Salon du Louvre*, 1739, CD 11, pp. 8-9.

³³ *Lettre à monsieur de Poiresson-Chamarande...Au sujet des Tableaux exposés au Salon du Louvre*, undated, CD 14, p. 33.

attempting to resolve or reframe interpretive questions.³⁴ The question of the meaning of these pictures is bound up in the modern literature with the problem of their didactic content. It is almost instinctive to include Chardin in the Enlightenment project to make art a vehicle of social reform. However, with a legacy of modernisms standing between us and Chardin, the notion of ‘didacticism’ tends to be understood as somehow opposed to the formal or ‘artistic’ properties of an artwork. It is not clear that Chardin understood didacticism as we do.

The Goncourts regarded Chardin’s work as the expression of eighteenth-century bourgeois values and thus the pictorial realization of the new social centrality of the bourgeoisie.³⁵ Others, including Crow, Bailey and Sahut, have argued that Chardin’s pictures embody elite values.³⁶ The fact is that Chardin’s clients were elite, while prints after him opened his imagery to anyone with 1 l. 10 s. to spare.³⁷ Complicating the question is the modern tendency to read Chardin’s work in terms of Enlightenment social ideals generally identified with ‘bourgeois’ rationality, industry, sobriety and modesty. Ella Snoep-Reitsma has made the most significant contribution to this argument in her

³⁴ For an introduction to the modern literature, see the review essay Ogée 2000. Wildenstein 1933, Rosenberg 1979, 1983 and 1999 (see the useful review essays Conisbee 1979, Opperman 1980, Conisbee 1983, Conisbee 2000) form the basis of our documentary understanding of Chardin. See also Karlsruhe 1999.

³⁵ Goncourt 1927, I, p. 106.

³⁶ Crow 1985, p. 136; “Chardin’s concerns [...] engage with issues of interest to a patrician audience [...],” Bailey 2003, p. 28; “Chardin ne peint guère que l’enfance policée des élites roturières,” Sahut 1999, p. 64. But see Bailey’s comment: “That modern historians have failed to reach any consensus on the precise status of the families depicted in Chardin’s genre painting seems consistent with the elusive social topography the artist so wilfully pursued,” Bailey 2003, p. 29. Kronbichler-Skacha 1980 treats the question with sensitivity.

³⁷ This would buy one of Le Bas’s fine prints after Chardin, including *Le Négligé ou Toilette du matin*, *L’Econome*, *La bonne Education*, and *Etude du Desein*: see Le Bas’ insert in *La Feuille Nécessaire*, no 29 (27 Aug 1759), p. 457. As McAllister Johnson has noted (written communication, 23 July 2006), “From his 1742 to his 1768 catalogues La Bas lists his Chardins (two by 1742, four by 1759) for an unvarying 1 liv. 10 s.” He also notes that Le Bas’s 1768 list was probably, on the basis of the prints included there, valid as late as 1773. On the prices of some ‘genre’ prints in the period, see Dacier 1925, pp. 38-39.

work on education and child-rearing.³⁸ More recently, Andreas Gruschka has examined structural parallels between Enlightenment pedagogical theory and Chardin's *mise-en-scène*.³⁹ Other authors, such as Pierre Rosenberg, tend to emphasize Chardin's formal accomplishments while leaving interpretive questions unresolved.⁴⁰

Modern interpretive problems in Chardin tend to hinge on the question of the symbolic or emblematic content of his pictures, as the basis for locating both a particularly French tradition in painting heavily dependent on Dutch and Flemish iconography. Snoep-Reitsma adapted the scholarly tradition of emblematic readings of Dutch and Flemish Baroque artworks to Chardin's context. The extent of emblematic parallels in Chardin's work is undeniable. For example, Snoep-Reitsma interprets *La Blanchisseuse* (fig. 28) as a contrast of good and evil through the opposition of concepts embodied in emblems: "The two hard-working women and the religious print on the wall behind them, recalling them to their duty, are contrasted to the vanity of the bubbles and the lust of the cat."⁴¹ Yet while Chardin employed many motifs corresponding to Northern School emblematic content, it is not clear that emblems were read the same way in the world of Teniers as they were in the world of Chardin. Ronald Paulson has addressed this problem, arguing that Chardin refashioned emblematic content "into a viable contemporary prototype [...] without losing—indeed intensifying—the sense of

³⁸ Snoep-Reitsma 1974. More recently, Anne Sanciaud-Azanza has provided the fundamental reference for the iconography and ideology of representations of children in eighteenth-century prints: Sanciaud-Azanza 1996, see also Sanciaud-Azanza 2003.

³⁹ Gruschka 2004, Gruschka 1999.

⁴⁰ Rosenberg 1979. A somewhat related strand of criticism is described by Michael Podro: "we might think of certain kinds of depiction as making thematic the interplay of the viewer and the work, something that it might do in part by the diminution of other kinds of interest—dramatic, literary, religious or didactic—and in part by focusing on the elusive relationship between the medium and the subject, both of which are generally accepted as central to the painting of Chardin," Podro 1998, p. 149. See also Baxandall 1992, pp. 74-104; Baxandall 1995, pp. 139-145, who works on relationships between certain Chardins and eighteenth-century theories of vision. Podro and René D  moris also draw on the emblematic/symbolic traditions not of the Northern Baroque but of psychoanalysis: D  moris 1991.

⁴¹ Snoep-Reitsma 1974, p. 180.

loss in the dead game or illusive beauty in in the blown bubble or the fragile house of cards.”⁴² Thus Chardin’s aim was to “shuck off iconography, moral and aesthetic, from the still life and genre piece.”⁴³ Thomas Carlyle’s notion of the “superannuation of symbols,” cultural forms that have exceeded their lifespan, seems appropriate here.⁴⁴ Despite their “illusive beauty”—an unemblematic quality to be sure—Chardin’s bubbles and cards persisted as old cultural clothes retailored.

In a sense, the problem of emblematic content in Chardin is one of relative scale. Is the girl before the mirror in *Le Négligé ou Toilette du Matin* (fig. 32) an emblem or part of the scenic continuity of the picture? Is she both? She is less ‘read’ or ‘interpreted’ than understood or grasped instinctively. The same problems exist for *Les bulles de savon* (fig. 39) and *Les osselets*. The boy blowing bubbles in *La Blanchisseuse* (fig. 28) is somewhat less problematic in this sense. Nevertheless, he is not an isolated emblem but rather juxtaposed suggestively with the labouring women and the cat. At the opposite extreme is the head of daisy in the lower right corner of *La Mère laborieuse* (fig. 23), a highly emblematic detail contributing nothing to the picture’s staging or action: the daisy was a traditional symbol of innocence (see Chapter 4).⁴⁵ The detail is Chardin’s, and shows that Chardin played the same sort of understated emblematic game as did his printmakers. The daisy restates in emblematic form the core motivation for the picture’s action: the girl’s innocence. Moreover, Lépicié’s verse to the picture, though it contains no emblematic conceits, clarifies both the picture’s action and the meaning of the daisy. “Un rien vous amuse ma fille, / Hier ce feuillage étoit fait, / Je vois par chaque point

⁴² Paulson 1975, p. 106.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 104.

⁴⁴ Carlyle 1959, pp. 163-170.

⁴⁵ Louvre inv. no. 3201, Salon 1740/60.

déguille / Combien vôtre esprit est distrait. // Croiez moi fuiez la paresse, / Et goutez cette verité, / Que le travail et la sagesse, / Valent les biens et la beauté.” The daisy is meant to stand for the girl’s innocence, where innocence is treated as a state of ignorance, natural but in need of socialization, while needlework, as it is so often in eighteenth-century representations, is a metaphor for a mature and orderly life.

Lépicié’s verse to *La Mère laborieuse* supports the emblematic content of the picture, but the majority of verse in Chardin does not. The question of the relationship between verse and image in Chardin is unresolved. The bulk of art-historical literature dismisses the verses on reproductive prints after Chardin’s work as merely an element of the vulgarization of his work. Typically it is seen as imposing didactic or moralizing content not intended by the painter.⁴⁶ Some authors, notably Crow, Michel, Bryson and Conisbee, argue that print verse in Chardin imposes moralities on paintings that contain none, and thereby appeals to a lower class or stratum of society than that of his clients.⁴⁷ Here again the scholarship is divided. Snoep-Reitsma finds much confirmation of emblematic content of Chardin in the verses. Paulson argues that we cannot be certain whether Chardin approved of the print verse or merely “tolerated” it.⁴⁸ Fried points out that “it is not at all clear to what extent Chardin himself intended such paintings [as *Les Bulles de Savon*, fig. 39; *Le château de cartes*; or *Les Osselets*] to be seen as their verse frames them, that is as *Vanitas* images.”⁴⁹ Others, notably Rosenberg and Katie Scott, take the verses seriously.⁵⁰ Anne Schroeder has argued for a middle way, pointing to the

⁴⁶ See Fried 1988, pp. 46-47; Scott 2000, p. 61.

⁴⁷ Crow 1985, p. 136; Roland Michel 1994, p. 240; Bryson 1981, pp. 112-114; Conisbee 1986 pp. 127-128; see also Kronbichler-Skacha 1980, pp. 145-146.

⁴⁸ Paulson 1975, p. 104.

⁴⁹ Fried 1980, pp. 46-47, and particularly footnotes 95, 96.

⁵⁰ Scott 2003; see also Johnson 1990.

“subtle shifts in meaning that could occur when one of the artist’s works was engraved for a broader audience, even when the painter and the printmaker worked closely together.”⁵¹

Did Chardin intend his pictures to mean what the verses express? Serious print collectors did purchase prints after Chardin, which, after all, were elite productions by academicians. Yet fault lines were visible, as in Mariette’s complaint that the vogue for prints after Chardin was partly responsible for the decline of serious engraving.⁵² Yet do those fault lines correspond to a serious shift in mentality or culture? In a sense, emblematic language, which has both academic and popular elements, would have covered over the fault lines. Emblematic language blurs the distinctions between academic or literary knowledge, folklore, and proverbial wisdom. To read a mirror or soap bubbles as emblems of Vanitas need not depend on iconographic knowledge so much as daily experience.

In this period audiences were changing but control of institutions and discourse remained elite prerogatives. It may in the end be impossible to understand the composition of Chardin’s audience. The late 1730s and 1740s was a period of rapid transition, its terrain uncertain and shifting. I find points of orientation by reading the documentation hermeneutically, print against criticism in relation to the painting. Where they coincide in their interpretation, that is, where art critics read the pictures in the same spirit as the verse, the question of divided audiences is mooted. What remains, I argue, is the interpretive model of the *petit sujet*. I arrive at this model through case studies of two paintings that generated among the richest and most sophisticated interpretive texts of

⁵¹ Schroeder 1997, p. 72.

⁵² Abécédario, I, p. 359.

any of Chardin's *petits sujets*: *Le Négligé ou Toilette du Matin*, Salon 1741, and *Une Dame variant ses amusements / La Serinette*, Salon 1751.

Case Study I: Le Négligé ou Toilette du Matin

Where does one begin in undertaking a parallel reading of painting, criticism, print and verse? The recognition of innovation in print verse, for example, emerges not only with the study of verse but with comparison with painting, print and other kinds of texts, allowing one to distinguish the way in which it engages with the picture's subject matter. Some verse will be more useful than others. But even the best verse is restricted by a poetic form that abjures detail and is shaped by the felicities of rhyme and metre. Yet it may reveal as much or more than expository prose—art criticism—with its linear, analytic properties.

The earliest of Chardin's Salon pictures to generate sophisticated documentation allowing the comparison of print verse to art criticism is *Le Négligé ou Toilette du Matin*, commissioned by the Swedish Ambassador Tessin and shown Salon 1741/71 (fig. 32).⁵³ The print after it, published in the December following the painting's exhibition at the Salon, was engraved by J.-P. Le Bas (fig. 33).⁵⁴ Unlike many of Chardin's multi-figure paintings from this period such as *La Gouvernante*, *La Mère laborieuse*, and *Le Bénédicité*, *Le Négligé ou Toilette du Matin* has no overt didactic theme. In it, a mother adjusts her daughter's bonnet in preparation for a morning Mass. There is an element of

⁵³ Stockholm, Nationalmuseum inv. NM 782.

⁵⁴ Inv. 18e s., XIII (1974), p. 144, no 129; Bocher 1876, no 38; announced MdF (Dec 1741) I, p. 2697. On Pesselier, see Rosenberg 1979, pp. 275-276; DLF, p. 1028.

social correction in the action, but the locus of meaning resides in the emblematic mirror, which in the presence of a woman was an almost unavoidable symbol of Vanitas.

Similarly, most commentators from Chardin's day describe a sort of awakening into vanity in the girl who catches sight of herself in the mirror. In its reception as in its construction, I will argue, the picture seems to vacillate between its emblematic content and what might be called its literal, psychological content. If so, *Le Négligé* could reveal how eighteenth-century viewers reconciled these two levels of meaning.

What is emblematic in the picture? Even such self-evident symbols as the candle carry interpretive problems. Is it burning or not? Does a burning candle have the same emblematic charge as an extinguished one? And are we looking at the print or the painting? In the painting, the candle appears to burn, though its flame is barely visible. I read this as an effect of the strong lighting. Presumably the candle was lit before dawn, which would suggest that it is morning light that floods through the unseen window to the viewer's left. The clock face is difficult to distinguish in the painting, but it reads something like ten minutes after nine. The book lying on the chair in the foreground may be a missal, which would mean that mother and child are stepping out to early Mass. As we know from the *Mémoires* of Madame Roland, Mass offered the cloistered bourgeois girl a rare opportunity to see and be seen.⁵⁵ This adds a rich social dimension to the emblematic and psychological content of the picture.

One of the key differences between print and painting is the smoke rising from the candle in a rococo curlicue (fig. 34, fig. 35), a form that does not ring true of Chardin and must be Le Bas's invention. I confirmed this early in 2005, when the staff at the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, generously allowed me to study the painting under

⁵⁵ Roland 1905, II, p. 27.

laboratory conditions. Protracted examination under magnification, infrared and ultraviolet light revealed no trace of such a form in the painting, where the smoke extends no more than five centimetres from the flame. Nor is there evidence of retouching of any of the key details of candle, flame, smoke, and clock. The Nationalmuseum's conservation records only note minor restorations to cracks well apart from these areas, although these records do not extend prior to the 20th century. In short, this is a negative proof, but a fairly convincing one.

Le Bas' smoke trail is, like the candle, a traditional emblem of Vanitas, a subtle reminder of the impermanence of earthly beauty. At the same time it serves a compositional function. In the painting, Chardin could rely on colour harmony for compositional balance. Yet in the print the empty wall in the upper right quarter detaches from the composition as an inky void, a discrete shape that Le Bas softened through the inclusion of a circular form that echoes the shapes of the mother's head and the clock face. It also acts as a compositional counterpoint to the metal urn in the foreground. Le Bas clearly took particular care to preserve and extend the painting's meaning, while answering the formal demands of his own medium.

Le Bas also changed the clock face. Whereas in the painting it reads approximately ten minutes after nine, in the print it reads one or two minutes before seven (fig. 36, fig. 37). Le Bas would have needed to alter the clock face to correct for the reversal of the image. But he did more than that. It has been assumed since the Goncourts wrote about the painting in the 19th century that mother and daughter were stepping out to a Sunday morning mass, traditionally held at 7 a.m. The Goncourts note "le gros livre de

messe de la maman” and the “pendule marquant sept heures.”⁵⁶ (“Le Dimanche, tout le Dimanche bourgeois, tient dans cette toile,” they add.⁵⁷) Pierre Rosenberg, Pontus Grate, and most recently Philip Conisbee all state that the clock marks just before 7.⁵⁸ Yet all of these authors, including the Goncourts, neglect to mention that they have gleaned this detail from the *print*, not the painting!

Similar confusion surrounds the candle. The Goncourts observe that it still burns, “décrivant dans l’air des ronds de fumée,” more proof that they are looking at the print, not the painting.⁵⁹ Grate quotes the Goncourt’s description, while Rosenberg claims that the candle has just been extinguished, adding a layer of signification to the Vanitas theme.⁶⁰ Ella Snoep-Reitsma, seeming to refer to both painting and print, writes that the candle is burning, while Dorit Hempelmann, in a catalogue entry for the print, writes that it has just been snuffed out.⁶¹ The fact is that the faint shape of a flame is visible in both painting and print, but it is not absolutely clear whether a smoking ember or a true flame was meant to be represented in either painting or print. The print *seems* to settle the question, for only an extinguished candle would produce such a quantity of smoke. Yet is not a flame still visible beneath it?

Hempelmann points out some of the differences between painting and print, arguing that Le Bas clarified and extended what had been merely incipient emblematic content in the painting. This conclusion begs the fundamental question of how Chardin’s contemporaries understood the *painting*. Thus we must turn to Salon criticism. An

⁵⁶ Goncourt 1927, I, p. 108.

⁵⁷ Ibid., pp. 108-109.

⁵⁸ Rosenberg 1979, p. 276; Grate 1994, p. 93; Ottawa 2003, p. 200.

⁵⁹ Goncourt 1927, I, p. 108.

⁶⁰ Grate 1994, p.p. 92-93; Rosenberg 1979, p. 276.

⁶¹ Snoep-Reitsma 1974, p. 191, although she illustrates the print, p. 190, fig. 36; Karlsruhe 1999, p. 202.

anonymous pamphlet reviewing the 1741 Salon, the *Lettre à Monsieur de Poirsson-Chamarande*, is frequently cited in relation to this painting. Its importance lies in the fact that it is one of only two *substantive* commentaries of the four published for this, the fifth annual Salon since 1737. It is unique for the period in its coverage and sophistication. It describes *Le Négligé* as

un des *petits sujets* de M. Chardin, dans lequel il a peint une *Mère qui ajuste la coëfe de sa petite fille*. C'est toujours de la *Bourgeoisie* qu'il met en jeu. J'entendois des raisonneurs gloser sur cela, & lui reprocher de tomber en *manière* ; il est vrai qu'il n'y a pas de Pin-[ceau] plus reconnoissable, il saute aux yeux ; mais enfin il réussit dans ce genre.⁶²

It is not clear what the author means by *tomber en manière*, whether he is referring to Chardin's brushwork or his choice of subject matter, since the discussion moves back and forth between the two. Watelet, much later in the century, defined *manière* solely in terms of style—this is how we understand it today.⁶³ But the *Lettre* is among the very earliest of art critical texts.⁶⁴ There is no reason to look for terminological coherence where neither language nor method had gelled. The *Lettre* continues :

Il ne vient pas là une Femme du Tiers-Etat, qui ne croye que c'est une idée de sa figure, qui n'y voye son train domestique, ses manieres rondes, sa

⁶² *Lettre à M. de Poirsson-Chamarande, lieutenant-général au bailliage et siège présidial de Chaumont en Bassigny, au sujet des tableaux exposés au Salon du Louvre. Paris, le 5 Septembre 1741* (n.d.), CD 14, p. 33.

⁶³ Watelet 1788-1791, I, pp. 490-491, s.v. "Manière." A sustained reflection on Chardin's "manière" in relation to his pictorial style appeared seven years after the *Lettre*... in the *Lettre sur la peinture, sculpture et architecture à M*** (par une société d'amateurs)*, 1748, CD 32, pp. 93-94.

⁶⁴ See Zmijewska 1970.

contenance, ses occupations journalieres, sa morale, l'humeur de ses enfans, son ameublement, sa garde-robe.⁶⁵

This passage has been cited from the Goncourts to Thomas Crow as evidence of the bourgeoisie's self-recognition in the Salons; the Goncourts, of course, called Chardin "Le peintre bourgeois de la bourgeoisie."⁶⁶ But I am less convinced that the passage should be interpreted *literally*. It has a polemical edge and a sarcastic tone. I read it not as a statement of bourgeois self-recognition but rather praise for Chardin's understanding of his subject matter. The note of exasperation can be explained if the passage is read in continuity with the previous paragraph. "C'est toujours de la *Bourgeoisie* qu'il met en jeu," a fact that the author has to excuse by saying that Chardin succeeds in his genre. Did bourgeois women flock to the picture like gullible birds to Zeuxis's painted grapes? There is, I believe, a great difference between an art critic saying that Chardin depicted the bourgeoisie well, and a woman of the Third Estate saying the same. We have no record of *her* opinion.

The *Lettre* continues, praising Chardin's handling of the figures and passing to the core of the picture, *le mouvement intérieur*:

Cete *petite Fille* dont la *Mere* acomode la coëfe, se detourne pour regarder dans le *Miroir*. Dans cete Tête déplacée on lit la vanité naissante. Son petit cœur est dans ses yeux qui intérogent la Glace, & qui se tiennent à l'afut

⁶⁵ *Lettre...*, CD 14, p. 33.

⁶⁶ Goncourt 1927, I, p. 106; Crow 1985, pp. 99-101. More recently, Christian Michel considers that this type of verse on prints "invoked conventional characters whom the public could associate with comedic figures, who amused audiences with their various foibles of age, sex, or social situation," Michel 2007, pp. 277-278.

des petites Graces qu'ele croit qui lui vont échaper. Plantez cete figure
toute droite devant la Mere, vous perdés tout cela, ele ne dit plus mot.⁶⁷

The critique shifts away from the abstract or generic consideration of subject matter as *social class*, turning instead to the picture's psychological content. In this passage, vanity emerges through a sort of psychological revelation, the girl's inner awakening to an adult trait—a softened version of La Bruyère's maxim (*De l'homme*, 50), that children are *already* adults. The *Lettre...*, then, interprets the scene in terms of psychological identification rather than allegorical enumeration.

Understanding Verse

The print verse in the Le Bas actually states just the same thing as the Salon criticism, folding the scenario of psychological revelation into an epigrammatic play on age and youth.

Avant que la Raison l'éclaire
Elle prend du miroir les avis séduisants
Dans le désir et l'art de plaire
Les Belles je le vois ne sont jamais enfans.⁶⁸

Why, when so much eighteenth-century print verse is filled with emblematic conceits and formulaic moralities, does Chardin's verse work so differently, and so closely to Salon

⁶⁷ *Lettre...*, CD 14, p. 34.

⁶⁸ Anne Sanciaud-Azanza observes in relation to this print that "Très nombreuses en effet sont les légendes qui soulignent les traits de caractère spécifiquement féminins dans les attitudes des petites filles [...mais] ce sont souvent les défauts qui sont mis en valeur et non les qualités." Sanciaud-Azanza 1996, I, p. 266.

criticism? Given the personalities involved, there may be good reason to take print verse seriously in Chardin. Le Bas, like most of Chardin's finest engravers, was a fellow academician (even if only *agréé* when the print was published.) François-Bernard Lépicié, perpetual secretary to the Académie from 1737 to 1755, was arguably the greatest of Chardin's engravers, authoring and signing his own verse. The author of the verse for *Le Négligé* was Charles-Étienne Pesselier, poet and contributor to the *Encyclopédie* (articles "Ferme" and "Financier").⁶⁹ These men knew each other, and their artisanal and collegial association suggests a special understanding of Chardin's work. If true, this would mean that print verse contains hierarchies of quality and innovation in its own right, where at its finest a special flexibility and adherence to the artwork at hand makes possible readings in parallel with the expository prose of art criticism.

Counting from Bocher's catalogue of prints after Chardin (excluding all but eighteenth-century 'genre' prints), 25 of 43 or roughly 58% of these are versified. If nothing else, this percentage indicates that contemporaries took for granted the association of his pictures with verse. Yet to assume that print verse can explain the inherent symbolism in Chardin, or for that matter to assume that it somehow betrayed Chardin's intentions is to forget that verse, as all art forms, is driven by its own imperatives. A distinctly eighteenth-century literary form, print verse has not been studied systematically, although foundations have been laid by W. McAllister Johnson.⁷⁰ Verse is found in all the genres and in both reproductive and non-reproductive prints. Chardin's *petits sujets* were systematically engraved, and the majority of these prints are versified. If Diderot remarked that "l'originalité [de Chardin] passe de sa peinture dans sa

⁶⁹ See Rosenberg 1979, pp. 275-276; DLF, p. 1028.

⁷⁰ McAllister Johnson 1985; McAllister Johnson 2006.

gravure,” does it follow that his originality also passed into verse?⁷¹ It stands to reason that the relationship between Chardin’s work and print verse sheds light on the particular interpretive difficulties of the *petit sujet*.

Naturally, print verse needed to answer certain formal and semantic demands internal to the medium. Therefore print and verse should be regarded as parallel productions. Nevertheless, a high degree of conformity between the two was desirable. For example, the Annonce for Lépicié’s *La Mère laborieuse* (fig. 23) after Chardin quotes Lépicié’s own verse, adding that these lines “expriment très-bien le sujet du tableau.”⁷² Although such statements are rare, they testify to the eighteenth-century demand for the interpretive reliability of print verse.

Probably the majority of eighteenth-century print verse is unsigned, just as the majority is in Chardin. Lépicié’s was both authored by him and signed—a significant exception to the rule, somewhat akin to Charles Coypel’s foray into theatre (and his escape therefrom, allegorized in *Thalie chassée par la Peinture*, which Lépicié himself engraved in 1733). Lépicié had been named *secrétaire et historiographe* to the Académie in 1736, four years before being received as an engraver (31 December 1740, the same month that *La Mère laborieuse* was published). In 1749 he would be made professor of history for the newly established École des Élèves protégés.⁷³ In short, Lépicié was regarded from 1736 as a literary *and* artistic authority within the Académie. It stands to reason that his prints after Chardin are the result of collegial association, and that verse and print were produced in consultation if not collaboration with Chardin.

⁷¹ Salons I, p. 125 (Salon de 1761).

⁷² Mdf (Dec 1740), I, p. 2709; Bocher 1876, no 35.

⁷³ Courajod 1994.

Given the status of the personalities involved, the *Mercure*'s statement that Lépicié's verse expresses the picture's sujet well appears all the more significant. If Lépicié's prints after Chardin established his reputation as an engraver such that he became *le graveur de Chardin*, his own print verses should be considered all the more authoritative. As for the reputation of Chardin himself, it suffices to read the print letter which specifies that the "Tableau Original est placé dans le Cabinet du Roy." Chardin had offered the picture and its pendant *Le Bénédicité* to Louis XV on 27 November 1740—one month before the print was published, two months following the picture's exhibition in the Salon. *La Mère laborieuse* was no ordinary print. There can be little doubt that Chardin and Lépicié orchestrated every aspect of its publication.

Like most print verse in the eighteenth century, Lépicié's has the flavour of an epigram (a short poem in which exposition or set up is followed by comment).

Un rien vous amuse ma fille,
Hier ce feuillage était fait,
Je vois par chaque point d'éguille
Combien votre esprit est distrait.

Croyes-moi, fuiez la paresse,
Et goûtez cette vérité,
Que le travail et la sagesse,
Valent les biens et la beauté.

To reduce the poem to its didactic content—the praise of a generic 'work ethic' that surely appeals to all non-aristocratic cultures—is to ignore how it establishes a relationship with the picture. The simplicity and directness of Lépicié's verse are striking.

Inversion, circumlocution and metaphor, which one might expect to come to dominate in an artful, self-conscious epigram, are largely absent. The language ‘naturalizes’ what is meant to be the mother’s speech. The fact that the verse is cast as one-half of a dialogue should not mask its empirical thrust. Direct address (ma fille) leads into specific reference to an object in the picture (ce feuillage), and fine-grained observation of that object (chaque point d’éguille). The foregrounding of empirical reference establishes the picture itself as the point of departure. Visual observation precedes written observation. The result is a kind of rhetoric of realism, an engagement predicated on the specific qualities of objects depicted.

It is the way that the first quatrain leads into the second that characterizes this verse as epigrammatic. As the abbé Edme Mallet observed in his article for the *Encyclopédie*, the epigram has two parts: “l’une qui est l’exposition du sujet, de la chose qui a produit ou occasionné la pensée; & l’autre, qui est la pensée même [...]”⁷⁴ In other words, this is didacticism in its abstract form: the verse passes from description, situation, or anecdote to comment. What Mallet called *la pensée même* corresponds to the last two lines of Lépicié’s poem: “Que le travail et la sagesse, / Valent les biens et la beauté.”

The concluding *pensée* determines the style and the tone of the epigram as a whole. The formal restrictions of the *pensée* were considered few in the eighteenth century, some critics claiming that it should surprise through reversal, others valuing clarity and simplicity throughout, still others claiming that its merit lay in equivocal or concealed meanings. In Lépicié’s case, the *pensée* reads as a condensation of folkloric wisdom. Parallelism and economy of phrasing creates the effect of a timeless saying. The progression from empirical motivation to proverbial conclusion is elegant and almost

⁷⁴ This and following citations: *Encycl.*, I (1751), p. 793, s.v. “Epigramme”.

innate, since proverbs tend to be used in everyday speech as concluding points. Thus the verse's formal structure has two functions. First, it lends a compelling naturalism, since one can imagine a folk saying being used to punctuate such an exchange between mother and daughter. Second, it satisfies an internal requirement of the epigram, namely, that it be *unified*. Jaucourt wrote that the epigram "doit avoir une sort d'unité comme le drame, c'est-à-dire ne tendre qu'à une pensée principale, de même que le drame ne doit embrasser qu'une action." The *pensée* restates in formulaic terms (le travail et la sagesse / Valent les biens et la beauté) what before had been said in the exposition (fuyez la paresse). The *pensée* encompasses the particularities of the scene while sustaining its literary coherence; it summarizes while introducing no new concepts. In this sense the exposition and *pensée* "expriment très-bien le sujet du tableau."

Because art historians view sources in terms of their own needs, they tend to treat print verse as exposition or art criticism; what eighteenth-century needs, then, did print verse answer? As I have shown, those needs can be extrapolated from the formal structure of the verse. Print verse was a parallel creation that nevertheless needed to correspond to the image. It was an artistic way of extending the image, or rather combining it with text in a way that the two become inseparable but not reducible to one another. Though a flexible literary form, print verse carries none of the expository freedom of art criticism. The sheer number of formal restrictions in print verse means that it was understood as performance, as the unexpected or elegant solution to certain formal demands such as parallelism and coherence, unity and compactness.

While its very form demands a restrictive focus, as a parallel creation print verse may act in service of the image in several ways. Lépicié's verse shows a special

sensitivity to Chardin's work. I have already mentioned its empirical thrust, 'natural' language and rhetoric of realism. The verse is structured to draw the viewer into the scene. It is an invitation to observe with the artist and the poet, to overhear and to reflect. At the same time, the verse manages to respect the unresolved quality of so many of Chardin's interior scenes. *La Mère laborieuse* depicts intergenerational exchange, maternal 'correction', the teaching that leads out of childhood and into culture. There is no climax in such a scene; the tensions between mother and child are held in suspense. Such scenes are repeated endlessly in childhood, as correction always needs repeating.

La Mère laborieuse's pendant, also in the king's collection, was *Le Bénédicité*, engraved by Lépicié in 1744 and published with verse signed by him (fig. 26):⁷⁵

La sœur en tapinois, se rit du petit frère,
 Qui bégaie son oraison;
 Lui sans s'inquiéter, dépêche sa prière,
 Son apétit fait sa raison.

If there is didactic content in the picture, it is in the mother's gaze, which suggests she stands ready to correct her child in the recitation of the blessing. Yet the larger theme is contained in the contrast between appetite and religion, neatly opposed in the verse. As in *La Mère laborieuse*, the picture thematizes the revelation of innocence, or rather, the child's failure to hide it. The mother sees "par chaque point d'éguille" that her daughter has not yet learned to apply herself. In *Le Bénédicité*, the older sister is experienced enough to conceal her mockery, while her younger brother is too naive to mask the conflict between appetite and obedience. His character is revealed. As in *La Mère*

⁷⁵ Bocher 1876, no 5; announced MdF (Dec 1744), p. 369.

laborieuse, no climax disperses the tensions between mother and children. Rather the tensions themselves reveal character. Lépicié's verse functions through revelation, not transformation.

Lépicié's verse for *Le Bénédicité* is remarkably direct. Its first three lines are narratological; only its last line gives a reason for the unfolding of events, and that reason sheds light on the child's character. This close adherence to the events depicted and their distillation to a statement of character that explains the scene is the sum of Lépicié's contribution to the art of the versified print. Lépicié shaped print verse so that it responded to the special characterological (by revelation) and narratological (by lack of resolution) properties of Chardin's pictures.

In Lépicié's first print after Chardin, *La Gouvernante* (1739) (fig. 40), which includes verse signed by himself, Lépicié again faced the challenge of a non-emblematic picture animated by psychological tension.⁷⁶

Malgré le minois hypocrite
Et l'air soumis de cet enfant,
Je gagerois qu'il prémédite
De retourner à son volant.

While Lépicié's verse divides into the standard epigrammatic structure, its final couplet or *pensée* is not so much proverbial as predictive. The *pensée* or comment is implied rather than stated overtly. The overall effect is to sustain the sense of observation, the sense of the scene's proximity. The verse offers the bare minimum of expository detail to illustrate the psychological tensions of the picture. The *pensée* itself is hardly didactic,

⁷⁶ Bocher 1876, no 24; announced MdF (Dec 1739), II, p. 3112.

since the conclusion is that the maternal correction will need to be repeated. The scene does not reduce to character studies, rather it crystallizes the complex psychological tensions of intergenerational exchange. Lépicié's innovation, *the framing of psychological tensions*, reflects Chardin's innovations.

Not all verse in Chardin is so responsive to the qualities of his work as Lépicié's, and this depended on the subject matter as much the engraver or poet. Typically, traditional iconography in Chardin resulted in verse adhering to iconographical tradition, particularly relating to the Vanitas. The unsigned verse for Fillœul's *Le Faiseur de châteaux de cartes* develops a parallel between the child's game and adult projects: addressing an unknown interlocutor, the verse concludes, "Souvent il sort de vos serveaux / De plus ridicules châteaux."⁷⁷ Lépicié's own verse for *Le Château de cartes* is structured that same way: "Mais entre nous quel est plus solide, / De nos projets ou bien de vos châteaux."⁷⁸ Lépicié's verse for *Le Toton* likewise adheres to the traditional Vanitas conceit: "Dans les mains du Caprice [...] L'homme est un vrai tôte [...]."⁷⁹ Similarly, Antoine Danchet, a lyric poet and member of the Académie française, drew the traditional conclusion in verse for Chardin's *Le Jeu de l'oye*: "C'est une image de la vie."⁸⁰ Some iconography is so deeply rooted in tradition that it resists innovative readings. By contrast, Chardin's *petits sujets* in which the emblematic element is relatively weak and the psychological content relatively strong present a challenge to the poet, who by instinct will reach for formulaic conceits to fit the verse. This bears on the *petit sujet* because the Vanitas conceits are too abstract to sustain psychological tension.

⁷⁷ Bocher 1876, no 20.

⁷⁸ Bocher 1876, no 11; announced MdF (Sept 1743), p. 2061.

⁷⁹ Bocher 1876, no 50; announced MdF (Nov 1742), p. 2507.

⁸⁰ Bocher 1876, no 27; Surugue's print was exposed Salon 1746, Livret p. 25 (no number).

I would argue that the emblematic and the figural/psychological exist as parallel semantic levels in Chardin's work. The balance between them is determined by the demands and possibilities of the scene at hand, but the guiding principles are figural action and interaction. In the case of *Le Négligé ou Toiletté du Matin*, the printmaker's embellishments of such emblematic motifs as the smoke, and such scenographic details as the clock face, are parallel innovations, independent of the painting but not contradicting it. The print embellishes and clarifies both the emblematic content and the scenic or 'narrative' content. Meanwhile, both verse and criticism agree in the interpretation of the picture based on the revelation of character.

Why did Le Bas insert a traditional emblematic motif where all of the textual responses to the picture (criticism and verse) focused on action and psychology? Minor emblematic motifs lends themselves to discrete interventions easily overlooked. Le Bas' smoke trail can be considered a visual 'annotation,' both a commentary on and an extension of the original painting.

In certain cases, as I have argued, painting, print, verse and criticism support each other. Where these sources support each other the key meaning of Chardin for his contemporaries emerges. Above all, his pictures were interpreted in terms of the character and psychological state of his actors. Emblematic readings are almost self-evident throughout his work, and in certain cases print verse specifically isolates the emblematic motif at hand. In the more inventive cases, as *La Mère laborieuse*, emblematic content is introduced as a kind of sly but perfectly appropriate gesture, and the print verse supports both emblematic and psychological readings of the picture, *but only depends on the*

latter. In short, no one bought a Chardin for its emblematic content, just as no one bought prints after him for their verse.⁸¹

The complexity and complementary of the responses to such paintings as *Le Négligé* and *Le Mère laborieuse* indicates that both artists and critics were engaged in visualizing a subject new to French painting. Taking this subject seriously meant focusing on character as expressed through action, expression and accessory—but without the safety net of established iconographical tradition, stylistic criteria, or critical vocabulary. De Troy's *tableaux de mode* faced the same problem, and it is instructive to compare his reception, paltry as it was, to Chardin's. Unlike Chardin, in de Troy's work milieu and character went without saying. Chardin's work *and* his context, by contrast, demanded a new way of looking. There was a cultural gap between Chardin's clients and his subjects. Art criticism, by focusing on the ethical nature of his subjects, provided the illusion of bridging that cultural gap.

The new critical style Chardin's pictures engendered had the character of probing, of feeling out the characteristics of the new subject and most importantly, its ethical nature. In contrast, what little commentary de Troy's *tableaux de mode* garnered focused on their luxurious, carriage trade aspect. The *Mercure* noted "l'entente & le goût galant & vrai" of *La Déclaration d'amour* (fig. 12) when it was shown in the Place Dauphine in 1724.⁸² "Galant" circumscribes everything, so that the *Mercure* needed describe the scene in the briefest of terms: "C'est un jeune Cavalier en habit de velours, dont l'étoffe est véritablement moëlleuse, auprès d'une Dame assise sur un canapé," the critic almost by

⁸¹ McAllister Johnson observes that, in general, no one would have bought a print for its verse: McAllister Johnson 2006.

⁸² MdF (June 1724), p. 1391.

default dallying over with alluring quality of the fabric.⁸³ Admittedly, it is not fair to compare in this direct way Chardin, who had the benefit of a mature and complex art criticism, with de Troy, who did not. But the comparison does throw into relief the particular qualities that the *petit sujet* would develop in Chardin's later pictures. Probably de Troy's pictures could be received with a degree of complacency since their subjects spoke the same social language as the owners of his pictures. By contrast, with Chardin the most developed criticism probes, or at least attempts to sketch out the cultural and moral universe of his figures, across a cultural divide.

Case Study II: *Une Dame variant ses amusements / La Serinette*

The importance of the revelation of character and psychology in Chardin's work only increased over the course of time. His final *petits sujets* narrowed their focus to a single, full-length woman lost in thought (*Amusements de la vie privée*, Salon 1746/72), at work (its pendant *L'Économe*; *La Garde attentive*, Salon 1747/60), or interrupting her tapestry weaving to play a bird-song organ (*Une Dame variant ses amusements*, fig. 41; Salon 1751/44). These pictures stand in contrast to the classic 'pedagogical' pictures such as *Le Bénédicité* and *La Gouvernante*, where figural interaction reveals the character of *children* while the mother/governess remains opaque, or rather, one-dimensional in her role of bearer of civilization. As I have argued, Chardin's contemporaries had little to say about the woman's action in *Le Négligé ou Toilette du Matin*, which was read rather in terms of the girl's psychology.

⁸³ *Loc. cit.*

Perhaps the most sophisticated and sustained commentary on the *petit sujet* appeared in a print Annonce related to Chardin's final *petit sujet*, *Une Dame variant ses amusements*, or, for convenience, *La Serinette*. The painting was important in his œuvre for several reasons. It was Chardin's first royal commission.⁸⁴ At 50 x 43.5 cm, it is larger than the other late single-figure compositions or the classic 'pedagogical' pictures. It is the most complex of the late single-figure pieces. It does not treat a subject lost in thought or absorbed in a task. Rather, with in it Chardin returned to the problems of his 'pedagogical' pictures, where, as in *La Maîtresse d'école*, there is a triangulation of attention between subject (girl), object (child) and accessory (book).⁸⁵ In *La Serinette* the viewer's attention is divided between the woman's hand and eye, bird and bird-song organ. Her gaze crosses the gap that, one imagines, is crossed as well by sound. Indeed, the picture could be an allegory of hearing in a suite of The Five Senses.

La Serinette is based on a celebrated modern precedent, Jacques Aved's portrait of *Madame Crozat* (Salon 1741/86) (fig. 42).⁸⁶ A success at the 1741 Salon, Aved's picture helped establish the type of the informal portrait in the 1740s. That it depicted a wealthy *bourgeoise* engaged in a trivial but useful pastime and surrounded by trivial but useful objects was in itself occasion for praise in Salon criticism: "*La Tapisseries*, les

⁸⁴ Several mysteries surround the commission. Originally commissioned by Le Normand de Tournehem through Charles-Antoine Coypel, then Directeur of the Académie, the picture was exhibited Salon 1751/44, but without mention of owner in the Livret. When it was engraved by Cars in 1753, the print was dedicated to Vandières, later Marquis de Marigny, with the specification that the picture was drawn from his cabinet—not the cabinet du Roi. See Rosenberg 1983, p. 103, no 133.

⁸⁵ On the triangulation of points of focus/lines of sight in Chardin, see Gruschka 1999, Grushcka 2004.

⁸⁶ Wildenstein 1922, II, p. 50, no 29. Aved figures as a friend in all of the early biographies of Chardin. The connections are too numerous to be insignificant here. For instance, he helped draft the inventaire après décès of Chardin's first wife, Marguerite Saintard in 1737 (Roland Michel 1994, p. 40); painted Chardin's patron Tessin's portrait Salon 1740/86; and witnessed Chardin's second marriage in 1744 (ibid, p. 48). In 1734, the year that Aved was received into the Académie, Chardin painted his portrait as *Le Souffleur* (Louvre inv. R.F. 2169 as *Chimiste dans son laboratoire*, ibid, p. 33).

Laines, le *Dé*, jusques aux *Lunettes*, que la vanité de toute autre Dame auroit fait supprimer d'un Tableau pareil [...] font seules les honeurs de la raison de cele-ci [...].”⁸⁷ The sitter is not diminished by such objects, rather, her character is expressed through them. Marguerite Crozat was the wife of Antoine Crozat *le riche*, and thus, at the heights of Parisian finance, hardly a social unknown.⁸⁸ Yet portrayed as if caught unawares at an everyday activity, that activity, the setting and accessories suddenly shed light on her character. This picture might be called a portrait in a ‘genre’ setting. Just as Madame Crozat momentarily interrupts her work, lost in thought, the woman in *La Blanchisseuse* looks away from her washing, daydreaming.

Chardin’s *La Serinette* recalls *Madame Crozat* in palette, costume, setting and accessory, while *Madame Crozat* for its part goes some way toward blurring the boundaries between portrait and *petit sujet*. Yet *Madame Crozat*, despite its ‘everyday life’ setting, does not escape the conventions of the seated, three-quarter length portrait. That the three-quarters profile is equally conventional is easily forgotten because Aved employed it to signify a moment of distraction, deepening the sense of a slice of time captured. Furthermore, the difference in scale are important: *Madame Crozat* measures 138 x 100 cm, *La Serinette* merely 50 x 43.5 cm. The woman in *La Serinette*, depicted full-length, is rather dwarfed by her surroundings and too distanced to function well as a portrait.⁸⁹ She is departicularized by virtue of her small scale as well as by the finicky brushwork of Chardin’s final *petits sujets*. Next to the impressive physical presence of *Madame Crozat*, she appears hazy and insubstantial. Chardin’s picture was not mistaken

⁸⁷ *Lettre à M. de Poirésson-Chamarande*, 1741, CD 14, p. 19.

⁸⁸ Conisbee surely overstates the case when he calls her “a sitter of no public importance,” Conisbee 1981, p. 125. See Tourneux 1896.

⁸⁹ All modern commentators recognize her as Chardin’s second wife, Françoise Marguerite Pouget.

for a portrait, even though it is a sort of reply to a picture that brought portraiture toward the *petit sujet*.

Madame Crozat elicited the suggestion that ‘everyday’ setting and action can describe character, and *La Serinette*, in its reception, pushed this principle to its logical extreme. The most sophisticated analysis of *La Serinette* appeared in the *Annonce* for Laurent Cars’ print after it (see Appendix IV).⁹⁰ This complex and elogious commentary reflects the special event that was the publication of Cars’ print. At 40.2 x 34.2 cm it is the largest of prints after Chardin. The *Annonce* observes (inaccurately) that it is “grande comme le Tableau original que le public a fort admiré dans le dernier Salon,” thus recalling the Salon to mind and proclaiming the authenticity of the print, which, in scale at least, should recreate the experience of the original painting.⁹¹ But the specification that the print is the same size as the painting means a great deal more when the painting is “tiré du Cabinet de M. de Vandiere,” as the *Annonce* points out. Many prints after Watteau, for example, specify that they are the same size as the original painting. But when a painting from the collection of the Directeur des Bâtiments and still in memory from the previous Salon is reproduced and announced as a ‘full-scale’ reproduction, its authenticity and recognizable prestige are inarguable.

The *Annonce*’s analysis of *La Serinette* is an outgrowth of its initial, broad appreciations of Chardin’s work and its historical position. “Les compositions du Peintre, quoique simples & soumises aux mœurs du tems, ne prétendent point à l’héroïque.” This declares the modernity of his subject matter and, by referencing *les mœurs du temps*, the modernity of his conception of it. The *Annonce* then underscores the point in

⁹⁰ Inv. 18e s., III (1934), pp. 494-496, no 123; Bocher 1876 no 50.

⁹¹ Refer to Appendix III for citations. Curiously, the painting shown in the 1751 Salon (Rosenberg 1983, no 133, private collection, Paris) measures 50 x 43.5 cm, while the print measures 42.2 x 36 cm.

distinguishing his work from that of the Northern School to whom he had been compared from the earliest criticism (he was repeatedly called the French Teniers). In fact this Annonce is the first critical text on Chardin to make the distinction:

mais la justesse du choix & l'agrément des images présentent une vive critique des Peintres Flamands en général. En effet, des tabagies, des combats à coups de poing, des besoins du corps; enfin la nature prise dans ce qu'elle a de plus abject, sont les sujets les plus ordinairement traités par les Braures, les Ostades, les Ténieres, &c. M. Chardin s'est toujours écarté de ces images humiliantes pour l'humanité [...].

As with the literary *Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes*, there was an inherent sense of cultural superiority in the comparison with Old Masters.⁹² Yet the reference to historical masters is in itself evidence of the *petit sujet*'s particular importance in the Salon and within modern European art in general. Such references conferred art historical and art critical legitimacy. In other words, the *petit sujet* began to draw the kinds of critical and historical questions normally reserved for history painting. The implication was that the *petit sujet*, which had no fixed position in academic theory and practice, might establish the superiority of the modern French school.

'Teniers', of course, was a mobile concept rather than an art historical constant.⁹³ The Annonce just cited defines 'Teniers' by a set of motifs, his subject matter (and a restricted selection at that) rather than, say, his technique or his study of nature, in order

⁹² For a discussion of Teniers in Parisian collections in the first half of the eighteenth century, see Klinge 1999. See also Lille 1985.

⁹³ See Snoep-Reitsma 1974, pp. 158-162.

to distinguish Chardin's work from it.⁹⁴ Fourteen years earlier Cochin's prints after *La Fontaine* and *La Blanchisseuse* were announced as "dans le goût de *Teniere*, & capables d'en soutenir le parallele, au sentiment du Public éclairé, qui les a vûs exposés au dernier Sallon."⁹⁵ Neither the 1739 nor the 1753 Annonce give a clear idea of what Chardin's subject matter actually is vis-à-vis Teniers: the first aligns it with Teniers at the level of quality, the second emphasises its uniqueness. Certainly the second critic benefited from the passage of time. Almost two decades of familiarity with Chardin's work would have sensitized the public to his innovations. However, the two Annonces correspond to two distinct periods within Chardin's production, and as such they reflect a shift in the nature of his work. *La Blanchisseuse* (fig. 28) could recall Teniers' peasant interiors but *La Serinette* certainly could not.

Over time, Chardin learned how to break free of historical precedent while invoking its ghost. His dilemma shows up all the more clearly if his work is compared with de Troy's *tableaux de mode*, which did not have to rely on celebrated, historical models (though they did employ the language of history painting) in order to be understood. Rather, it was their modern costume, comportment, gesture and settings that ensured their intelligibility. Chardin, by comparison, consciously invoked the precedents of Teniers (and Dou, Netscher and Kalf) by his subject matter. He updated older subject matter to adhere to the *mœurs du tems*. He also generated new subject matter reflecting those *mœurs*. He could only be called the 'French Teniers' because his work did *not* resemble Teniers'. History painting never had to face this paradox; it was protected from temporal confusion by the insistence on archaeological accuracy of costume and *mœurs*.

⁹⁴ See also *ibid*, pp. 162-164.

⁹⁵ MdF (June 1739), II, p. 1367.

In history painting, style but not subject matter could be modern (David's innovations were more stylistic than iconographic). In the *petit sujet*, subject matter was modern, but style was an open question (Chardin's innovations were both stylistic and iconographic).

La Serinette presents a critique of Northern School 'genre' painting by drawing on a modern portrait. But as the *Annonce* unfolds it becomes clear that neither Teniers nor portraiture relates to the picture's structure and meaning. Chardin "a eu, à la vérité, toujours pour objet une action petite, mais intéressante, au moins par le choix des figures qui n'ont jamais rien présenté de laid ni de dégoûtant." This quotation contains a double valence: first that Chardin's choice of figures distanced his work from the Northern School while aligning it with modern French ideals; second, that Chardin's *selection* and *conception* of his subject matter were the central determinants in understanding his work, overriding any a priori generic qualities. The phrase *Une action petite mais intéressante* recalls La Font de Saint-Yenne's observation of 1746. "On admire dans [Chardin] le talent de rendre [...] certains moments dans les actions de la vie, nullement intéressants, qui ne méritent par eux-mêmes aucune attention, et dont quelques-uns n'étoient dignes ni du choix de l'auteur ni des beautés qu'on y admire [...]"⁹⁶ The mental gymnastics result from the persistence of the hierarchy of genres according to which Chardin's subject matter must always be excused.

The core of the *Annonce* is where general statements are at last dispensed with and the picture's subject addressed. "Ici l'on voit une femme jeune, dont la figure est touchante, & dont l'ajustement simple est étoffé, en même tems qu'il indique la propreté [...]" This is equivalent to the comment in relation to Aved's *Madame Crozat* that her accoutrements "font seules les honeurs de la raison de cele-ci," that is, that qualifiers such

⁹⁶ La Font 1747, p. 109.

as *simple, étoffé, propreté* validate rather than merely describe. They indicate character. But where in the Aved accessories contribute to the portrait's naturalism and originality, in the Chardin accessories determine character as a way of explaining the picture's action. "[E]lle est à côté de son métier, auquel il paroît qu'à l'art de travailler, elle a substitué une serinette ; *elle regarde finement, mais avec une curiosité convenable*, le serin dont la cage est au coin du Tableau [...]" (italics mine). Rather than merely looking up from her tapestry frame, the subject turns from it to pursue a different sort of mimetic game, one dependent on sound rather than sight. Once again, the phrasing validates her character, amplifying on the notions of good sense, self-restraint, and simplicity introduced in the description of her costume. To look *finement mais avec une curiosité convenable* means not to stare in childlike wonder, nor to appear indifferent or jaded but rather represents an ideal of civilized leisure situated between these extremes.

The setting sheds light on the sitter, whose "chambre est parée convenablement au caractere & à l'état de la persone représentée." This is recognition of her restraint and the good sense with which she conducts her life. Yet that restraint is not without cultural sophistication, as the tapestry frame and the bird-song organ would suggest. The Annonce follows the phrase just quoted with the observation that two prints are visible in her room, one of which

représente l'ingénieuse allégorie de M. Coypel, le dernier mort [† 1752]. Il avoit exprimé dans ce morceau, avec autant de graces que de noblesse, la Peinture qui chassoit Thalie de son atelier : ouvrage qu'il avoit fait dans un de ces instans de dégoût, qu'un homme occupé de deux maîtresses croit ressentir pour celle qui le lendemain mériterait la préférence.

It is not clear to me how Coypel's print, signifying his abandonment of theatre for painting, might relate thematically to *La Serinette*.⁹⁷ But its rhetorical functions here are obvious. First, it was an homage to the Directeur of the Académie (1747-1752), premier peintre du Roi (1747-1752), and friend of Chardin's who had died the previous year; second, it was a way of thanking Coypel for helping Chardin win the commission; and possibly, third, it was an homage to Chardin's friend and engraver F.-B. Lépicié, the author of *Thalie chassée par la peinture*.⁹⁸

The woman in *La Serinette*, as the order of argument in the Annonce would suggest, is to be admired for her sophistication in owning and framing a modern masterwork. This reading is not invalidated by the picture's homages to Coypel (and Lépicié), rather, it exists in parallel to them. Besides, *La Serinette* makes a more general argument in favour of the modern French school, in much the same way as Chardin's *Un dessinateur d'après le Mercure de Mr Pigalle* (Salon 1748/53) which established Pigalle's modern masterpiece as a model for study. As the abbé Gougenot commented on *Un dessinateur...*, "L'Auteur par ce choix [of the *Mercure*] fait connoître que notre Ecole peut fournir les modeles les plus purs de la correction du Dessein."⁹⁹ Similarly, Chardin's

⁹⁷ Inv. 18e s., XIV (1974), pp. 381-382, no 25. An analogy between painting and theatre on the one hand and sight (tapestry) and sound (birdsong) on the other hardly works; nor are there grounds to assume that Coypel's abandonment of theatre is meant to signify here Chardin's imminent abandonment of figure painting.

⁹⁸ Coypel died after *La Serinette* was painted, therefore it is unclear the extent to which homage was intended in the original painting. At most, perhaps one should say that homage was both Chardin's and Cars', since it is unquestionable that they orchestrated the print together. While the title of *Thalie chassée par la peinture* is easily legible in Car's print of *La Serinette*, in the Frick painting (Rosenberg 1983, no 133A) it is not. In both Chardin's painting and Cars' print *Thalie chassée par la peinture* is sketched in only the coarsest manner, though the general masses of the 'sketch' do seem to correspond to Lépicié's print. However, I have not seen the painting shown in the 1751 Salon (Paris, private collection, Rosenberg 1983, no 133), nor a good reproduction thereof and thus can not determine whether *Thalie chassée...*—which was not mentioned in any reviews of the picture in the 1751 Salon—is legible in it. See Taylor 1985 pp. 62-64, whose article addresses the broader issue of 'prints within prints' in French engraving.

⁹⁹ Abbé Louis Gougenot. *Lettre sur la peinture, la sculpture et l'architecture à M****, 1748, CD 32, p. 108.

recasting of Aved's innovative method of portraiture and his acknowledged distance from the Northern School testify to his modernity just as they make his reference to Coypel's painting yet another gesture in favour of the modern French school.

The Annonce makes two final points that complete the *petit sujet* as Chardin has developed it. "C'est en composant comme M. Chardin, qu'il est permis de traiter les actions de la vie familiere; il faut la faire aimer & la faire envier [...]." This is another way of excusing Chardin's subject matter in light of the normative thrust of his pictures. Once again it is a question not of Chardin's subject matter but of *how* he conceives it. The normative content, and thus the core meaning of the picture, resides in character as it is expressed through action, setting and accessory. "[L]'on peut dire sans hyperbole que le modèle dont M. Chardin a fait choix dans cette occasion, indique une personne attachée à ses devoirs, honnête, pleine de douceur, enfin qui sçait s'occuper; c'est du moins l'idée qu'elle nous a donnée." The Annonce validates her actions as it describes them (*attachée à ses devoirs, qui sçait s'occuper*). The concluding note of subjective humility (*c'est du moins l'idée qu'elle nous a donnée*) also recalls that all of this is an imaginative task in a way that interpreting a portrait or a history painting is not. The figure is anonymous and comprehensible only through the analysis of her actions and settings in order to project intention, psychology and character. With Chardin, and particularly *Le Négligé* and *La Serinette*, the fullness of critics' imaginative identification was only made possible by the painting's innovations in updating traditional subject matter and subverting the hierarchy of genres.

Conclusion

Le Négligé ou Toilette du Matin reveals the girl's character through a fusion of scenographic and emblematic means. *La Serinette* reveals the woman's character through a fusion of scenographic and, for lack of a better word, referential means, where modern pictures are employed as both matrix (Aved's *Madame Crozat*) and allusion (Coypel's *Thalie chassée par la peinture*). This does not mean that Chardin's work evolved steadily from the first type to the second, but rather that there is a range of types within his work. What unites them is the concern with character as a condensation and expression of *mœurs*. Life's small actions, as the connoisseurs called them, had to be selected and conceived in such a way as to convey not merely the subject's mood (temporary inner life) and character (enduring inner life) but modern cultural ideals, *les mœurs du tems*.

For Chardin's contemporaries, his figures embodied cultural ideals that were expressed through action, setting and accessory. As I have argued, Chardin's isolation of his figures, his reduction of redundant context, helps to focus attention. It also strengthens the sense of figure-as-microcosm. By eliminating those social signs that tended to be taken for granted, he created the possibility of an intense degree of identification. There is no question of identification or social microcosm in a picture like Boucher's *Femme ajustant sa jarretière (La toilette)* (Madrid) or *La Marchande de modes (Le matin)* (Stockholm), stuffed to overflowing with accessory that does little other than indicate social station.

Chardin's pictures became vehicles for understanding and defining new social images and social ideas. His focus on *les mœurs du tems* represents a departure from the traditional measures of art historical precedent and rules of genre. Yet the fact remains

that of all the academicians only Chardin was able to accomplish this transformation fully. Why? His pictures were just as mobile as any others in the Salon. As with any other artist who showed there and whose works were engraved, he faced the new ephemerality and complexity of their relation to the public. What was unusual was the reductiveness and modernity of his subject matter, which thereby consistently excited a heterogeneous audience. Thus, Chardin's innovation did not reside in his popular appeal. Indeed, it is evident that the elite discourse of art criticism and print verse had nothing to do with popular reception of Chardin, which, in the absence of first-hand testimony, will always remain mysterious to us. What I have been calling the meaning of Chardin's pictures was established by critics, poets and artists, not by a faceless underclass. Nevertheless, Chardin's innovation was to compel a new means of reading and valuing a picture, which in the guise of identifying with the figure, brought the viewer to an identification with society. Thus, I would argue, the *petit sujet* provided a language of social imagining, a vehicle for the public discussion of ethics and the relationship between the individual and society.

Chapter 3

Iconographic Limits of the *petit sujet*: Depictions of Public Space at Mid-Century

In this chapter I argue that iconographical innovations in anonymous figure painting of the 1750s for the first time depicted public space in contrast to the private realm depicted by Chardin and the semi-private realm depicted by his followers, imitators and forgers. In the first part of this chapter I analyze the iconography of the latter group's work. I suggest that only Chardin adhered to a strictly private depiction of space while his followers tended to introduce elements of public life into their Chardinesque interiors. I argue that the greater the public presence in these pictures, the less amenable they are to expressive-ethical criticism. If so, this would mean that the kind of social imagining Chardin's work generated was only possible through the depiction of private space.

In the second part of this chapter I expand the question of public versus private iconography at mid-century by examining the experiments of Etienne Jeaurat (1699-1789) and Pierre-Antoine Baudouin (1723-1769). I argue that their Salon pictures of the 1750s relate to the *petit sujet* in their mixing of culturally high and low sources, rhetorics, and forms. I analyze their iconography, pictorial rhetorics, and sources in order to understand the relationship between public iconography and the public artform of the Salon picture in this period. If Chardin's *petit sujet*, depicting *private* space, generated a public discussion of ethics and social relationships, what of anonymous figure paintings depicting *public* space? Jeaurat's street scenes drew on popular theatre in order to create painted spectacles of such iconic public elements of Parisian life as the Place des Halles marketplace or the carting away of prostitutes. They also drew on the iconography of

popular prints and paintings. Baudouin's pictorial rhetoric worked in the opposite direction, for he alluded to a culturally elevated source in the context of a culturally low medium. His church scenes, though small gouaches, stylistically recalled the work of C.-N. Cochin fils, perpetual secretary to the Académie after Lépicié's death in 1755, theorist and public defender of academic principles. I will examine the iconography of these pictures in order to understand their pictorial rhetorics, that is, the way that they balanced high and low in the cultural arena of the Salon. This in turn, I will argue, sheds light on the iconographical limitations of the *petit sujet*. I conclude that the *petit sujet* needed a private iconography, because public iconography in this period was too overdetermined by elite cultural institutions to permit the kind of direct, personal identification that Chardin's work generated.

From Private to Public Space: Chardin and Followers

Iconographically, the *petit sujet* was born in a private realm and tended to remain there. In Chardin, the world beyond the walls is at most referenced indirectly, as by the partially-occluded caller of the *Pourvoyeuse* (fig. 43). In the same way, as I have argued in Chapter 2, scenic and emblematic cues in *Le Négligé ou Toilette du Matin* establish the outside world (Sunday Mass) as a sort of 'absent context'. The world beyond the walls gives meaning and urgency to the picture's action. But it only does so by its very exclusion, the relative suppression of contextual clues and the sparseness of detail acting as a kind of psychic insulation for the girl's interior awakening.

Chardin's reductiveness is well suited to the depiction of private space. But his private space is protected in a special way. The 'above stairs' figures never meet the 'below stairs' figures; social worlds never collide. There is a harmonious relationship between his figures and their environment that, in turn, must have been supported by the broad eighteenth-century identification of the people with labour.¹ Nevertheless, his adult figures tend to be cultural mediators, the governesses, maids and cellar boys whose social origins are self-evident but who become identified with the 'bourgeois' environment into which they have been transplanted.

A pseudo-Chardin engraved by Pierre Dupin called *La Ménagère* (fig. 44) helps illustrate the failure of Chardin's imitators to achieve harmony between figure and environment, and by juxtaposition, clarifies the structure of Chardin's *mise-en-scène*.² The picture's meaning lies in the opposition of the maid and the crumpled card: presumably she is cleaning the traces of her master's excess. Certainly broom and card are meant to stand for virtue and vice, and the verse, praising the maid's purity of *mœurs*, sets it in opposition to *vanité* (a reference to gambling and worldly pleasures in general). The false note here, alien to Chardin, is the contrast of the master's vice and the servants' virtue. This is not social mixing, but it does foreshadow the hierarchical relationship between servants and served, a relationship Chardin never explored. In a sense, Dupin's *La Ménagère* relates to the work of William Hogarth (born 1697, an artist of Chardin's generation) for whom physical disorder stood for moral disorder (i.e. *Mariage à la Mode*, 1745). *La Ménagère* shares something of Hogarth's tone of social criticism. As I have

¹ See Roche 2000, pp. 322-333.

² Inv. 18e s., VIII (1955), p. 203, no 2; Bocher 1876, no 6 ("Estampes dont la composition est attribuée à Chardin, mais qui ne paraissent être que des imitations de son genre.")

pointed out, Chardin worked through positive or what might be called neutral or observational examples—he could not paint *A Rake's Progress*.

Generally speaking, Chardin's followers introduced two kinds of social criticism into Chardin's iconography.³ The first is embodied in the *Ménagère* and turns on an ethical contrast between social classes. The second is more common and plays up the sexual innuendo that Chardin suppressed in relation to his mothers and maids. In Etienne Jeaurat's *L'éplucheuse de salade*, engraved by J.-F. Beauvarlet around 1752 (fig. 45), the boy steals eggs while the oblivious maid, clearly derived from Chardin's *La ratisseuse de navets*, chops vegetables.⁴ The verse makes the boy's action both allegorical and predictive:

Prenez garde a vos œufs la belle
Cet Enfant les dérobera:
Un jour si n'etes pas cruelle
Bien d'autres choses il vous prendra.

Chardin, in contrast, was not interested in class or sexual relations but rather in relations between levels of social experience, mother and child, elder and younger sibling, and this required that his pictures exclude the distractions of public space. (I define public space as that outside the home, where familiar or household relationships are not the sole determinant.) Likewise, he needed to avoid any suggestion of social mixing, with its potential to introduce hierarchical relationships, particularly of class and sex, superseding or overshadowing those relationships that interested him. Both public space and social

³ For an excellent sampling of eighteenth-century works showing Chardin's influence see Karlsruhe 1999, nos 99-120, pp. 248-278.

⁴ Inv. 18e s., II (1933), p. 243, no 77.

mixing require an externality of conduct and discourse corrosive to the kind of interiority at the heart of Chardin's pictures. For all his debt to rustic Flemish and Dutch iconography, such a device as the figure poking his head through a high window, as found in Teniers, and retained by Watteau in *L'écureuse de cuivre* ou *La cuisinière* (between 1705-1710), found no place in Chardin, who purged his iconography of voyeuristic and comic overtones as well as innuendo.⁵

Chardin's followers, at best, loosened the many inherent formal and iconographic restrictions in his work. For instance, they admitted *men* into the private sphere. This was a significant change to Chardin's iconography, for the father traditionally operated, in effect, as the family's ambassador to the outside world.⁶ It was not merely that he carried the taint of social commerce but that he was a public figure in a way that his wife and children were not. Therefore his power, which derived from his role as public representative of the family, subsumed the private relationships that could only exist in just the sort of suspended, asocial space Chardin depicted. Thus one understands Chardin's reluctance to portray fathers. Chardin's insight was that, though its final aim is socialization, children's learning is fundamentally a private, interior activity, thus confined to the circle of women and children.

J.-P. Le Bas's *Le Gâteau des roys* after Philippe Canot (fig. 80) depicts a young girl presenting a piece of Twelfth Night cake to her father, who is cast in the print verse as the child's educator.⁷ Hidden in one of the slices is the coin or nut that transforms its

⁵ Musée des Beaux-Arts de Strasbourg, inv. no 353.

⁶ "Le père est en fait l'ambassadeur de la famille, il chargé des relations avec le monde extérieur." Sanciaud-Azanza 1996, I, p. 237.

⁷ For a brief discussion of this ritual, see Barker 2005, pp. 147-151.

finder into a 'king' for the evening. The print verse plays on the traditional Ancien Régime metaphor identifying father and king:⁸

Comment présentés vous, ma fille, ce gâteau?
Voyés votre maman, et des votre berceau
Ecoutez nos leçons, aimés la politesse,
De la seule vertu faites votre noblesse:

Votre éducation est mon plus cher employ
Je vous aime et je suis votre ami le plus tendre
Ainsi par la douceur scavoir se faire entendre
De ses enfants, c'est être et le pere et le roy.

Here the father's customary role as absolute monarch is softened by the emphasis on an emotional relationship with his children. The verse recalls what would become a standard conceit by the second half of the century, the opposition between harsh and gentle preceptors. Charles Coypel gave the conceit its enduring form with the pendants, engraved by Louis Desplaces in 1737, *Education douce et insinuante donnée par une Sainte* and *Education Seche et rebutante donnée par une prude* (figs. 46, 47).⁹ The opposition in comportment, gesture and action between these pendants makes them somewhat emblematic, as if the intellectual or conceptual opposition were so strong as to weaken inherent pictorial interest.

A few years later, in 1747, Chardin himself was asked by Tessin to paint for Louise-Ulrike of Sweden an *Education douce* and *Education sévère*, *topoi* no doubt

⁸ See Roche 2000, pp. 524-530; Funck-Brentano 1926, pp. 25-35.

⁹ Inv. 18e s., VII (1951), p. 107, nos 134-135; Lefrançois 1994, pp. 288-290, nos P.169, P.170.

inspired by Coypel's pendants; Chardin sent her instead *Les amusements de la vie privée* and *L'œconome*, pendants opposing not good and bad education but leisure and labour. In the first, a woman daydreams, her novel lying unattended in her lap; in the second, she checks the household accounts in her *livre de raison*. These pendants could illustrate two different 'moments' in the same woman's life, whereas, by contrast, Coypel's *Sainte* and *Prude* do not inhabit the same universe. As pendants, the Coypels rely heavily on *referential meaning*, referring, that is, to concepts in an oppositional pairing. Chardin's pendants, by contrast, rely heavily on *existential meaning*, due to their suggestion of continuity in the life of the woman depicted.¹⁰ Chardin either could not or would not employ such a strongly conceptual, quasi-emblematic opposition as came naturally to Coypel (see Chapter 2).

Chardin's mothers and governesses are neither prudes nor saints, neither gentle nor severe. The woman in *La Bonne Education* (fig. 48) neither smiles encouragingly nor frowns; she merely waits for her daughter to recite the verse in question. Similarly, the *Gouvernante* waits for the boy to explain himself. In *La Mère laborieuse* (fig. 23) however, the mother frowns after examining her daughter's negligent needlework. Unlike Coypel's *Prude*, her expression springs not from a failing of character but from her role as fastidious mother. Coypel's *Saint* and *Prude* are devoid of context; the mother's reaction in the *Mère laborieuse* only makes sense in the context of her daughter's needlework.

¹⁰ I adapt the notions of referential and existential meaning from Michael Polanyi, who calls the former 'representative' meaning. Though I have modified the terms and their meanings in order to address figural artwork, for which the term 'representative' is particularly confusing, Polanyi's basic definition still applies: "We may describe the kind of meaning which a context possesses in itself as *existential*, to distinguish it especially from *denotative* or, more generally, *representative* meaning," Polanyi 1962, p. 58. I use the term 'referential' because a picture can *refer* to things in its 'past' (the maid at the market) while it can only *represent* things in its 'present' (the maid in the kitchen with bread and meat); similarly, it can *refer* to concepts through emblematic motifs, but it can only *represent* those motifs.

Chardin depicts not good or bad education, much less types of education, but its *process*, condensed into a moment of psychological suspension where the mother waits for her child to respond. This is why, for example, he could not depict a *Prude*. Such a subject reveals nothing of the psychology of the pedagogical relationship; rather, it represents its failure. Thus when Etienne Charpentier passed off his print *La mère trop rigide* (fig. 49) as a ‘Chardin’, he no doubt attracted a public that could identify the pedagogical scenario as Chardinesque but failed to perceive that Chardin never illustrated by negative example—never depicted tears or alluded to corporal punishment. (The mother’s rigid comportment and unseeing gaze probably derive from Coypel’s *Prude*.)

It is in his mastery of the moment of psychological suspension that Chardin surpassed his contemporaries, followers and forgers. In Le Bas’ *Le Gâteau des roys*, for example, character is not expressed through figural action but rather *illustrated* in relation to the appended print verse. One must read the verse in order to discover the larger context that explains the figures’ action and motivation. By the gesture indicating his wife (“Voyés votre maman”) and his tilted head and parted lips, the father is made to speak the verse to his daughter (“Ecoutés nos leçons”). The text tells us that the father *prescribes* character. By contrast, in Chardin character is *revealed* through tensions established by pictorial means. Le Bas relied on the mother’s and father’s gestures to link the picture to the text. These gestures alone are not sufficient to explain the picture’s action. Chardin never needed to rely on such explicit ostension.

What I have been calling Chardin’s psychological suspension is characterized by the depiction of private space; the absence of social mixing; the absence of strongly conceptual elements; the depiction of the *process* of education, not its types, as carpentry

for boys and needlework for girls; and the absence of gesture. In the work of Chardin's followers some, but never all of these qualities are present. Typically the presence of servants or outsiders dilutes the internal dynamics of the family unit (Boucher's *Le Déjeuner*, 1739, Louvre, gr. Lépicié 1744, fig. 81¹¹; Le Bas after Canot, *Le Gâteau des roys*, 1745; René Gaillard after C.-D.-J. Eisen, *Le Bouquet*, 1754¹²; Le Bas after Canot, *Le maître de danse*, 1745¹³). In other words, in Chardin's followers the outside world creeps into the private space so carefully protected by Chardin. In fact, the 1750s witnessed an iconographic expansion in the *petit sujet* that might be called the colonization of public space.

Chardin's work provides a point of reference, a sort of degree zero of the representation of private space. Did the *petit sujet* manage to find a balance between Chardin's sort of meaning and that permitted by the iconography of *public* space? More broadly, what kind of meanings could be found in the representation of public life?

The Iconography of Public Space

The possibilities for conceiving *new*, modern subject matter in the *petit sujet* tended to be exploited in relation to *enclosed* subjects: the interiors of Chardin and Greuze on the one hand and urban exteriors, bounded by architecture, on the other. The great difficulty with urban iconography was its immediacy, because there was no place for *modern* subjects, portraits aside, in the hierarchy of genres. Where modern urban subjects were taken from public space, they almost inevitably depicted social mixing of

¹¹ Inv. 18e s., XIV (1977), pp. 408-409, no 68.

¹² Inv. 18e s., IX (1962), p. 384, no 54.

¹³ Inv. 18e s., XIII (1974), pp. 142-143, no 125.

some kind. This was important because two great critical themes of eighteenth-century commentators on French society were social aping and upward mobility.¹⁴ The basic instability of social relations was a central concern of many commentators who treated modern Paris.

In art, tensions over social mixing were managed both by the idealist elements of academic aesthetics, and by the hierarchy of genres itself, which in the Ancien Régime mindset ran parallel to the social hierarchy.¹⁵ But since rich and poor crossed paths daily in the city, any *modern* subject matter had somehow to manage social tension *and* reflect social reality. In the city, social ranking and fiscal classification reflected social relations complicated by influence, alliances, and reputation. This in turn sensitized citizens to the outward marks of rank and success.¹⁶

Artistic hierarchies intersected with social and iconographic hierarchies. For example, makers of popular prints were less constrained by tradition and the proprieties of genre than were the academic painters. Therefore they were able to depict social mixing with relative freedom. The *Embaras de Paris* of F. Guérard (fig. 50, late seventeenth to early eighteenth century) catalogue the daily personal disasters of city life either arising from or involving social mixing: a man in nightcap crying *au voleur*; the thief captured under his window; a duel arising from an overturned coach; a bootblack bit by a rabid dog (*je suis perdu, ce maudit chien m'a mordu*); the dog beaten; a vinegar seller raining blows on the man who has overturned her wares.¹⁷ These prints would have operated somewhere between the pedagogical and the satirical, amusing while informing

¹⁴ Barber 1969, pp. 55-74.

¹⁵ Kirchner 2001.

¹⁶ Roche 2000, pp. 184-185.

¹⁷ Inv. 17e s., V (1968), pp. 74-75, no 143 (my fig. 57); and p. 75, no 144; Oa 22 (412-416).

the young, travellers and provincials of the dangers of the capital. The densely arranged scenes, juxtaposed without linkage and hemmed in by vaguely suggested architecture, efficiently capture a sense of urban chaos and discontinuity.

Guérard's various *Cris de Paris* catalogue social types while depicting the same sort of social mixing as the *Embaras de Paris*.¹⁸ Descending from 16th-century images of the generic types of street merchants and panhandlers—what was called the *bas peuple*—the *Cris de Paris* functioned as kind of map of social space.¹⁹ For example, the Annonce for Michel Poisson's suite of *Cris de Paris* (1777) expresses, in a tone of national pride, its informational value for foreigners. "Il peut donner aux Etrangers une idée de la multitude & des ressources du bas peuple dans la Capitale."²⁰ Board games based on the *Cris de Paris* would have taught children to recognize social types.²¹

In the 1730s academicians showed interest in the *Cris de Paris*, and the resulting works may serve to illustrate the intersection of artistic and social hierarchies in this period. Admittedly, the subject was basically compatible with academic practice. Artists were familiar with suites of single figure subjects, be they academies or costume studies. Yet the subject matter, descending from popular prints, was tainted by its content and associations. Nevertheless, it was the academician François Boucher (1703-1770, received as a *peintre d'histoire* in 1734) who provided the illustrations engraved by S.-F. Ravenet and J.-P. Le Bas for a suite of twelve *Cris de Paris*, announced in the *Mercure* in

¹⁸ Inv. 17e s., V (1968), p. 74, nos 140-142.

¹⁹ The fundamental reference in the French context is Milliot 1995, containing a repertory of literary and graphic *Cris* of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

²⁰ JdP, no 82 (23 Mar 1777), p. 3.

²¹ For example., J.-P. Crépy ed., *Le Nouveau Jeu des Cris de Paris...* Paris, no date (1774-1775), see Milliot 1995, p. 407, no 22.

May 1737.²² Boucher had already etched *Cris* types after Watteau's drawings for Jullienne's *Figures de différents caractères* (1722).²³ As well, he had illustrated suites of costume studies and Chinese figures, including those after Watteau in the *Œuvre gravé* (1735) drawn from the decorations at the château de la Muette.²⁴ In 1735 he published his *Livre d'études* after Abraham Bloemart demonstrating his (at least partial) affinity for the rustic realism in the Dutch artist's studies of peasants.²⁵ Boucher's earlier etchings inform his *Cris*, which tend to treat the single figure academically, a studied s-curve theatrically indicating a burden (*Balais Balais*); the exaggerated tilt of head and twist of body creating a mannered effect (*A ramonner de haut en bas*). Faces are doll-like and the women elegant, their dresses spotless (*A la crème, Des radix des radix*). Here and there Dutch 'realism' emerges, as in the rags of the Savoyard chimney sweep (*A ramonner de haut en bas*). But Boucher's interest in decorative motifs tends to deprive his figures of physicality, as for example the *Gagne petit*, knit together by calligraphic lines rather than carved out in space.

Though Boucher's *Cris* read as rather more decorative than documentary, they offer glimpses of the world inhabited by these social types. The *Chaudronnier* (fig. 51) announces his wares to a young woman who peeks around a partially open door. The scene could be the exterior view of Chardin's interior *La Pourvoyeuse* (fig. 43) in which the servant girl in the background speaks to a man standing in the doorway wearing a tricorne hat. Still, Boucher's tendency to emphasize the artful picturesque and to depict

²² For Boucher's reception piece, see Tours 2000, cat. 30. For the *Cris*, MdF (May 1737), p. 997; Jean-Richard 1978, pp. 320-322, nos 1334-1338, pp. 365-366, nos 1516-1521; Milliot 1995, pp. 401-402, no 6. See also Joulie 2004, pp. 70-76.

²³ Jean-Richard 1978, pp. 33-61, nos 33-150. See Roland Michel 2003.

²⁴ Jean-Richard 1978, pp. 63-68, nos 151-175.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 69-72, nos 176-186. See Joulie 2003.

women as objects of desire meant that he still regarded his subject as costume rather than reality. *Au Vinaigre* (fig. 52) depicts another instance of social exchange, the servant girl handing a flask to the vinegar seller, a boy of perhaps her own age. Their comportment and gaze derive from gallant imagery, echoing particularly de Troy's *Déclaration d'amour* (fig. 12).

Possibly Boucher had caught wind of another suite of *Cris de Paris*, for his plates were executed rapidly, and indeed his suite preceded that of the comte de Caylus (1692-1765) by only several months (Caylus, an antiquarian, had been received into the Académie as an influential *honoraire amateur* in 1731).²⁶ Caylus had suggested the subject to his protégé the sculptor Edme Bouchardon (1698-1762) who, *agréé* on his return from Rome in 1733, was already regarded as a severe and correct draughtsman of classical sensibilities. Caylus was sensitized to the *Cris* by the figure studies he etched after his friend Watteau's drawings and by the success and scope of the *Œuvre gravé* or the *Figures de différents caractères*, which included such *Cris* types as Caylus's own *Remouleur*.²⁷ The first of five suites of twelve etchings by Caylus after Bouchardon's drawings was published in 1737, just a few months after Boucher's suite and a few months before Chardin's first Salon.²⁸

The title of Caylus's suite, *Études prises dans le bas peuple, ou Cris de Paris*, has an academic tone that excuses its subject matter, embodying the tension between high artistic convention and low iconography. The suite does read as a series of "studies," that is, figures drawn as an exercise in observation. The dignity and monumental quality of

²⁶ Clément de Ris 1877, pp. 255-285; Zmijewska 1970, pp. 79-85.

²⁷ See Dacier & Vuaflart 1922.

²⁸ Inv. 18e s., IV (1940), p. 64, no 59; Milliot 1995, pp. 400-401, no 5. The final suite was published in 1746.

Bouchardon's figures, their arresting, palpable sense of form springs from a sculptor's sensibility. These are perhaps the first French eighteenth-century images to depict labour convincingly. Indeed, the figures exhibit a naturalism that shades into the awkward. The *Porteur d'Eau* (fig. 53) seen from behind pivots in space as he mounts a set of stairs. He swings his two buckets counterclockwise as he turns, the strap cutting across his upper back and pressing his upper arm against his torso. The wire handle crushes his fingers together. His body is shaped by the blind parameters of labour. Caylus treated it as an observational rather than an aesthetic problem. (The aesthetics are never absent from the observation and vice-versa; it is a matter of emphasis.)

The pioneering *Cris* of Boucher, Caylus and Bouchardon emerged simultaneously with Chardin's creation of the *petit sujet*; all were the product of academic interest in low subject matter and symptomatic of a broader relaxation of the rules of genre, which itself may well be *the* characteristic structural change of the first half of the century. The period's key innovations were *hybrid* types: Watteau's *fêtes galantes*, de Troy's *tableaux de mode*, the *petit sujet*. How then do the *Cris* relate to the *petit sujet*? The same rules of reception and genre do not apply to such a suite as to, say, a Salon painting. This is evident in the documentation. Such suites as the *Cris* were not written about other than in the *Annonces* (which, as the *Poisson Annonce* cited earlier indicates, can nevertheless be revealing) and those that were announced were of a higher quality and importance than those that were not. In other words, cultural level determines attitude to subject matter.

One tends to find the most restrictive set of validation rules at the highest cultural levels. For painters the hierarchy of genres was the most artificial and formalized expression of cultural validation. It was designed to protect academic work from the

encroachment of alien subject matter. Below this level, the rules of validation are not expressed formally—there is no Académie to do so—but rather established through cultural familiarity, learned associations between certain media, subject matter, and themes. I would argue, on the basis of my analysis of the *Embaras de Paris* of Guérard and the *Cris* of Boucher and Caylus, that social mixing tended to be the province of artworks of the low cultural levels. Salon pictures, by contrast, went to great lengths to avoid the depiction of social mixing, channeling it into the frameworks of exoticism and history.

The most important tool for managing subject matter in the Salon was the hierarchy of genres, which was not amenable to the depiction of social mixing. In other words, it functioned as a tool of social management. For example, La Font de Saint-Yenne, a critic who had internalized the hierarchy of genres at mid-century, writes of the hierarchy of genres in a way that forestalls the depiction of social mixing. He enumerates the lesser subjects:

[J]'admirerai toutes les imitations de la nature portées à un certain degré d'habileté & d'illusion, Fleurs, fruits, animaux, insectes, vases, étoffes, palais, arbres, paysages, marines, &c. ces portraits de la nature, ou des productions de l'art me causeront toujours une sensation agréable [...]. Joignez y encore la représentation des actions humaines les plus simples, & les plus familiers, soit à la ville ou à la campagne, scènes pastorales, festes champêtres, foires, nêces de village, enfin jusqu'aux cuisines, aux tavernes, aux écuries sujets favoris & ignobles des Flamands [...].²⁹

²⁹ La Font 1754, pp. 74-75.

After still life and landscape La Font turns to human subjects, surely thinking of Chardin (*simple, familier*) then passing to Watteau and followers, and finally the Northern School. As far as the French were concerned in the first half of the century, Chardin's subjects were distinctly bourgeois, Watteau's aristocratic, and the Northern School's rustic: none of these artists depicted social mixing. Although La Font admits that subjects may be found "soit à la ville ou à la campagne" the scenes he describes can only take place outside the city walls. The city, after all, was a machine of social mixing.

Urbanization that brought country folk to the city temporarily, permanently, or cyclically, tended to erode ancient tradition and morality in the face of complex urban social relations as much as it intensified social differences by sheer proximity.³⁰ In this context the *Cris de Paris* were not merely guides to social mixing but a means of *managing* it. The ultimate danger of social mixing is the misreading of contextual clues. (This is why etiquette is always a matter of social position *and* social setting.³¹) By perpetuating what might be called the visual definitions of social types, the *Cris* systematized the contextual clues of costume and accessory within the larger context of 'the street'. This in turn tended to subsume the individual in the social type, suppressing the confusions of idiosyncrasy.

³⁰ See Roche 2000, pp. 174-208. The sociologist Louis Wirth observes that in urban communities, "The mere multiplication of norms, together with the tendency toward segmentalization of life, increases the chances that the norms impinging upon the individuals will provoke conflicts and tensions." Wirth 1969, p. 48. Concordantly, "The city has [...] historically been the melting-pot of races, peoples, and cultures, and a most favourable breeding-ground of new biological and cultural hybrids. It has not only tolerated but rewarded individual differences. It has brought together people from the ends of the earth *because* they are different and thus useful to one another, rather than because they are homogeneous and like-minded." Ibid, pp. 68-69.

³¹ Etiquette serves as an analogy for the role-playing that distinguishes social levels and indeed sustains all social interaction. In Erving Goffman's terms, in social encounters one must "expressively sustain a definition of the situation," Goffman 1959, p. 255.

I have suggested that the hierarchy of genres was a metaphor for the social hierarchy, and the Ancien Régime's three Orders were of course the ultimate tool of social management. Much like the three Orders, the hierarchy of genres excluded those subjects that threatened to confuse the social order by displacing at the highest cultural levels the conventional, contextual clues linking social type and social setting. Thus it was essentially a defensive tool whose very existence testified to the perennial appeal of low subject matter.

Hybrid art forms such as the *petit sujet* and de Troy's *tableau de mode* threaten the hierarchy of genres (see p. 5) by mixing of cultural strata in their sources (fashion plates, Northern School painting). When they drew critics' attention, as in Chardin, they temporarily overturned the validation hierarchy. In the 1750s there appeared in the Salon two new experiments in modern, anonymous figure painting, that were also hybrid types. These paintings depicted public space. If these new paintings of public space related to the *petit sujet* in their modernity and their mixing of cultural strata, they differed from the *petit sujet* in their depiction of social mixing. I would argue that these experiments represent the iconographical limits of the *petit sujet*, where social mixing and the general crowding of figures in these pictures prevents a focused emotional identification with any given figure. I would argue further that they represent the social limits of the *petit sujet*, where the depiction of social mixing and its challenge to academic hierarchies were restricted within the high-cultural context of the Salon. If so, this would mean that the *petit sujet* was fated to be an art of private space, and that the richest social imagining took place in the sort of direct inner communion generated by Chardin's figures.

New Public Painting I: Jeurat's Street Scenes

In the same Salon of 1753 that Chardin showed his final manifesto of private life, *La Serinette*, there appeared a new kind of painting falling into La Font's empty category of subjects *à la ville*, the first of Étienne Jeurat's complex pictures of contemporary Parisian street life, shown Salons 1753 to 1757 (see Appendix V). His short-lived invention is important because it was the first incursion of modern, *public* subject matter into the Salon. Therefore it reveals much about the implicit limitations on subject matter there. I would suggest that his pictures had to incorporate defensive measures in terms of iconography and theme in order to manage the social mixing that animates them. Operating within the validation structures of the Salon and the Académie, Jeurat needed to mitigate the tensions that could arise from his embrace of social mixing as a worthy subject and his concordant evasion of the hierarchy of genres. Understanding Jeurat's solution to these problems sheds light on the range and limits of iconographic innovation. Jeurat's pictures help to decide whether the *petit sujet* could flourish out of doors or whether it needed the shelter of Chardin and Greuze's interiors.

Jeurat's *La Place Maubert* was shown Salon 1753/20. Jacques Aliamet's print after it (fig. 54) preceded the painting's debut at the Salon by six weeks. (Like Chardin, Jeurat's work was rapidly and systematically engraved.) The only substantial interpretive text for the painting is the *Mercure's* Annonce for the print. A brilliant exercise in defensive rhetoric, it attempts to save the subject matter from itself with the application of academic qualifiers:

Le goût des sujets bas & ignobles a régné dans tous les tems, l'Antiquité nous en fournit des exemples, & l'Ecole Flamande plus à la mode que jamais, nous entretient en France dans le genre de traiter la nature. On voit dans la composition de l'Estampe qui a pour titre, *la Place Maubert*, plusieurs images des passions & des plaisirs du peuple de Paris; mais on reconnoît à la disposition des fabriques, que le sujet a été traité par un Peintre d'Histoire, & que M. Jeaurat en a fait un de ses délassements. M. Aliamet qui a gravé & très bien rendu le tableau, paroît s'être encore plus attaché à la fidélité du trait & aux caracteres de figures, qu'aux parties de l'accord & de l'harmonie.³²

The appeal of low subject matter is universal, and the eighteenth century made concepts universal by invoking antiquity. The *Annonce* notes, moreover, that the Flemish school, in spite of its low subject matter, directs the French toward the study of *nature*, thus maintaining the academic binary of the natural and the ideal. The *Annonce* describes *La Place Maubert*'s subject matter as "plusieurs images des passions & des plaisirs du peuple de Paris," phrasing that evokes the cataloguing thrust of the *Cris de Paris*. Yet the *Annonce* defends the choice of subject by the fact of its treatment by an academician and history painter: "mais on reconnoît à la disposition des fabriques, que le sujet a été traité par un Peintre d'Histoire [...]."

The *Annonce* concludes by noting that Jeaurat made the picture as a *délassement*, thus once again slighting the subject matter—but also implying that an academician's hand redeems low subject matter. In other words, academic prestige can operate against

³² MdF (July 1753), p. 167. Delignières puts it succinctly: "C'est une singulière réclame qui commence [...] par une sorte de dénigrement, pour ne pas dire plus; c'était encore l'époque où les Teniers étaient traités de magots à la cour de Louis XIV, et l'article se termine par un pathos assez peu intelligible." Delignières 1896, p. 14.

academic principles of genre. I would argue that the Annonce suggests a zone of freedom created around academicians by their prestige, and that this zone of freedom was strengthened by the public nature of artistic production and discourse after 1737.

Jeaurat's street scenes, while strongly observational, rely on art historical prototypes that shed light on these pictures as hybrid forms incorporating elements of high and low culture to depict social mixing. In 1759 Aliamet made a pendant for *La Place Maubert* after *Les Ecosseuses de Pois de la Place des Halles*, one of the last group of street scenes Jeaurat would show in a Salon (fig. 55; painting Salon 1757/17). *La Place Maubert* relates to sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Dutch and Flemish market paintings while *La Place des Halles* is essentially a *fête galante* transplanted to contemporary Paris. The key markers of *La Place Maubert*'s contemporaneity are architectural; those of *La Place des Halles* are sartorial. Both are 'modernizations' of traditional subject matter. The *Mercure* described *La Place des Halles* as "une peinture naïve & gracieuse des événements de la vie populaire," which captures the disassociation between the picture's coarse subject matter and its graceful form, the dancers weaving charming arcs of arms and torsos.³³ A young gentleman in tricorne hat dances with a pretty merchant to a violin played by another young man wearing a *perruque à bourse*. To his left a third man entreats a girl whose two companions look on. At the far right a woman drinking is grasped by another woman and by a small child as if to draw her from the fate of her slumped companion.

Aliamet's pendants bracket a period in which Jeaurat, just as Chardin had, explicitly aligned himself with the academically derided but increasingly popular traditions of the Northern School. Jeaurat's *Atelier d'un Peintre* (fig. 56; Salon 1755/24)

³³ MdF (Oct 1757), p. 160.

is based on Adrien van Ostade's painting known as *Le Peintre*, which he would have encountered either in the Palais Royal collection of the duc d'Orléans or through Ostade's print after it (fig 57).³⁴ As in *La Place des Halles*, Jeaurat has 'updated' the seventeenth-century scene by the young mens' costume.

In addition to the Northern School, Jeaurat drew on a literary/theatrical phenomenon, the *genre poissard*, a low, popular cultural form current in the period and thus further complicating the relationships between high and low in his street scenes. Descending from seventeenth-century vaudeville and burlesque and borrowing from the amateur *parade*'s adaptations of the *Commedia dell'Arte*, the *genre poissard* took on a particular realism in its eighteenth-century form.³⁵ It was marked by slapstick humor and characters drawn from the *poissards* of Paris, a term encompassing an entire merchant underclass not limited to vegetable vendors, cab-drivers, recruiters, ragpickers, and of course, fishwives.³⁶ Jean-Joseph Vadé, widely credited as the inventor of the *genre poissard*, was one of the circle of Jeaurat's friends that included the comte de Caylus, whose *Histoire de Mr. Guillaume, Cocher*, was an important prose innovation in the genre,³⁷ and Alexis Piron, known for his innovative writing for the theatres of the fairs.³⁸

³⁴ Catalogued in Dubois de Saint-Gelais 1727, p. 80. For the print, Godefroy 1930, pp. 51-2, no 32.

³⁵ The vaudeville was, at least by 1797, considered a poetic genre encompassing the *poissards*. According to a *Journal de Paris* Annonce for an anthology, *Les Diners du Vaudeville* (Paris: Desenne), "Le Vaudeville est un genre de poésie dans lequel les Français ont acquis une célébrité presque exclusive. Il exige de l'esprit, de la gaieté, de la légèreté, du piquant & des graces: toutes qualités qui depuis long-temps distinguent la nation française," JdP, no 153 (3 Ventôse An V/21 Feb 1797), p. 613. The Republican view was that the genre was born of the free-speaking *réunions de cabaret* of Molière, Racine, Despreaux, a practice renewed by Panard, Piron, Favart, Vadé, etc. See also Moore 1935, pp. 8-95.

³⁶ Moore 1935, p. 3.

³⁷ *Mémoires et réflexions du comte de Caylus, imprimés pour la première fois sur le manuscrit autographe, suivis de l'Histoire de M. Guillaume, cocher, réimprimée sur l'édition originale sans date...* Paris, P. Rouquette: 1874. See Moore 1935, pp. 96-115.

³⁸ Wescher 1969, p. 156; Gidel 1986, pp. 37-38; Lurcel 1983, pp. 15-18.

The appeal of the plays lay in their relatively faithful replication of the *poissard*'s behavior and colourful street language.³⁹ *Poissards* were seen as quick-tempered, particularly in their relationships with the bourgeoisie. This is a unique case of an eighteenth-century theatrical genre verifiable against reality, for unlike the cardboard shepherds of the pastoral tradition, *poissards* were enmeshed in Parisian daily life.⁴⁰

Jeaurat's borrowing of themes from the *genre poissard* took two forms: interiors, *Un Inventaire du Pont S. Michel. Sujet tiré du Poème de la Pipe Cassée. Vadé, Chant III*, (Salon 1757/18), *Les Citrons de Javotte. Sujet tiré d'un petit ouvrage de vers de M. Vadé, qui porte ce même titre* (Salon 1762/11); and exteriors, the street scenes discussed here. The interiors are identified in the livrets as *illustrating* specific scenes from Vadé. Moreover they resemble much eighteenth-century book illustration. By contrast the exteriors have only subject matter, titles and print verses to link them to the *genre poissard*.

Many *poissard* plays are set in the place Maubert or the place des Halles.⁴¹ In terms of staging, the exteriors would have been more difficult to tie to a distinct moment in relation to a play's dénouement because of the scale and number of figures they depicted. This in fact brought them close to the spirit of 'realism' in the *genre poissard*. The problem in depicting a market is to show the mingling of people, the immersive and expansive space of the public square. This is more easily accomplished in painting where

³⁹ Philologists have shown interest in the fidelity of the phonetic orthography of authors such as Carolet, Vadé, and Caylus, with respect to the market 'dialect' and pronunciation. Moore 1935, pp. 67, 177-179.

⁴⁰ Moore 1935, pp. 24-5.

⁴¹ "Les Halles" of course also meant "the market" more generally. Boileau in the *Art Poétique* (Chant I, ll. 81-86) had denounced "le langage des halles" of the *burlesque*. There were numerous *Gazettes des Halles* printed during the Fronde; there were seventeenth-century burlesques set in the place Maubert; eighteenth century works include Fleury de l'Écluse's *Le Déjeuné de la Râpée, ou Discours des Halles et de Ports*, 1755; his *Amusemens à la grecque, ou les Soirées de la Halle, par un ami de feu Vadé*. 1764. À Athens, dans le Tonneau de Diogène, et se vend à Paris, chez Cuissart, libraire, au milieu du Pont au Change, à la Harpe, 1764. Taconet wrote *La Mariée de la Place Maubert*; see Moore 1935, p. 203.

known sites are described with accuracy. Thus Jeaurat's paintings employ a reality effect, firmly placing the theatrical figure of the *poissard* back into its topographical environment.

The paintings refer both to 'Northern School' market scenes and the theatrical *genre poissard*, the one source visual and artificial, the other literary and verifiable against everyday experience. These sources merged well; Fréron called Vadé the "Teniers de la Littérature."⁴² But each picture finds a specific balance between references. *La Place Maubert* is decidedly rustic, while *Les Ecosseuses de Pois de la Halle* is a clearer 'translation' of the *genre poissard*, with its drunken *marchandes*, spirited arguments, violinist and dancers, these last the painted equivalent of the vaudeville that tended to close the plays.

If the paintings retained a certain ambiguity of resonance between 'Northern School' painting and contemporary theatre, the print verse fixes the points of reference. That of *La Place Maubert* reads,

La paix, la paix, quoi? pour des pommes
Vous allés vous dévisager :
Songés-bien qu'au premier des hommes
Il coûta cher pour en manger :

Je vois bien que ce galant homme
Veut appaiser le differend :
Mais je gage que le Rogomme
Feroit plus que ce Révérend.

⁴² Moore 1935, p. 126.

Unlike in, say, Chardin, the moral platitude is half-hearted, a pretext for underscoring the burlesque aspects of the scene. Meanwhile, the title of the print after *Les Ecosseuses de Pois de la Halle* is merely *La Place des Halles*, but the *écosseuse* has moved to the print verse. She was a standard *poissard* character since the seventeenth century, and featured frequently in the genre since Caylus' 1739 novel, *Les Écosseuses, ou les Œufs de Pasques*.⁴³ The verse reads:

Las de la bonne compagnie,
 Aux Halles, ces jeunes farauds,
 Par une bizarre manie,
 Viennent faire assaut de gros mots :

Ces mignons d'humeur si gausseuse
 Comptent envain sur leur caquet
 Gare que Margot l'Ecosseuse
 Ne donne à chacun son paquet.

(Margot appeared in many *poissard* plays.⁴⁴) There is no moral platitude at all. The point is the suggestion of combat between bourgeois and *poissardes*.

The *genre poissard* was a kind of parasitic form. Each play typically included dozens of popular airs, their lyrics adapted to the plot. They were performed in the theatres of the fairs, alongside the marionette shows that restaged grand operas in

⁴³ Also published as *Les Ecosseuses, ou les oeufs de Pasques par le Cte A.-C.-P. de Caylus, Vadé & la Ctesse de Verrue*. Paris: A Troyes, chez la Vve Oudot, 1745.

⁴⁴ She is a seamstress in Caylus' *Le Porteur d'eau ou les Amours de la Ravaudeuse*, in *Les Écosseuses, ou les Œufs de Pasques*. Troyes: Vve Oudot, 1739. She features in Vadé's *La Pipe Cassée*, 1755.

miniature—and that gave performances in *poissard* dialect.⁴⁵ In 1760 Voltaire wrote *L'Ecossoise*, a thinly-sketched sentimental drama loosely based on Richardson's *Pamela*.⁴⁶ Voltaire's play used the highly popular sentimental form as a vehicle for a savage attack on the writer Elie Fréron, an anti-*philosophe* critic. The play and its surrounding controversy constitute a skirmish in the defence of *encyclopédisme*. Its currency just as the linguistic opportunities of its title were not lost on the parodists. The satires and adaptations appeared that year and the next, including Nicolas La Grange's *L'Ecossoise, comédie en cinq actes, traduite de l'Anglois, et mise en vers par M. de Lagrange. Représentée pour la première fois, par les Comédiens italiens ordinaires du Roi, le 20 septembre 1760....* (Paris: Duchesne, 1761); *L'Ecosseuse, parodie de l'Ecossoise, opéra-comique en un acte, par MM. P.. et A...* (Paris: Cuissart, 1761); and Toussaint-Gaspard Taconet's *La Petite Ecosseuse, parodie de l'Ecossoise*. This small flurry set in just a year after Aliamet's print was published, testifying to the currency of its themes in those years.

L'Ecosseuse, parodie de l'Ecossoise uses its underclass milieu and street language to take the wind out of the earnest war of philosophes and anti-philosophes. Fréron, cast in Voltaire's *Ecossoise* as Frélon, or hornet, is in the parody diminished to Moucheron, or gnat. The opportunistic pamphleteer becomes the author of poison pen vaudevilles, asking an elite, "Voudriez-vous m'achetez un petit recueil de chansons, cela vous mettroit au fait des aventures secrettes du quartier [...]. Si vous pour par vos amis, m'obtenir la permission de mettre en Vaudevilles les nouvelles à la main, je vous

⁴⁵ Moore 1935, pp. 219-235, who notes that by 1775 the genre *poissard* had even been adopted by the *Ombres Chinoises*, the shadow-plays of the fairs, which staged among others Louis-Archambault Dorvigny's *La Place Maubert* and *Le Cabriolet renversé, scène de la Halle*.

⁴⁶ For the sources, controversy, details of staging, parodies and critical fortunes see Colin Duckworth's critical edition: Duckworth 1986.

dédierois [...].” (Sc. V, p. 10) Voltaire’s heroine Lindane, daughter of a condemned Scottish noble, who had fled to London utterly destitute, is transformed into the virtuous Marianne, whose father, pursued “comme contrebandier,” was “contraint de se sauver en Flandres,” leaving her to sell every last stick of furniture (Sc. XVI, p. 35) and thus “Ecosser la nuit des pois.” All of this takes place through the medium of popular song, dozens of airs such as *Il faut l’envoyer à l’École, C’est Mad’moisell’ Manon*, and *De tous les Capucins du Monde*, linked by prose laced with double entendres and reflexive humour.⁴⁷

As the parody uses Voltaire’s play as mere pretext, its aims could hardly be political, and in general the *genre poissard* should be seen as a vibrant and irreverent counterpart to ‘serious’ theatre, a pressure valve.⁴⁸ Fréron himself praised the *genre poissard* and Vadé.⁴⁹ It should not be surprising that Voltaire was fond of the genre. Inventing a brother for the real Jean-Joseph, Voltaire published the *Contes de Guillaume Vadé* in 1764.⁵⁰ His creation spawned imitators, and in 1765 a volume of Guillaume Vadé’s works was issued bound with those of the real ‘brother.’⁵¹ All of this occurred in parallel to Voltaire’s political battles.

⁴⁷ Voltaire had some difficulty in staging *L’Ecosaise*; he wanted a café interior and a connecting apartment visible simultaneously, with a divider between them. A note in the parody (Sc. VII, p. 13) claims that “On a vu, pour la première fois, dans l’Ecosaise change de décoration, même au milieu d’un Acte,” that is, by characters passing from one room to the other. That this contradicted the rules of dramatic unity was played up in the parody: Pauline (calling from the café side): “Quoi! Vous venez ici, ma chère Maîtresse.” Marianne: “Il m’est bien plus aisé d’y venir, que d’y faire venir ma chambre.” Pauline: “Oui, cela est plus commode & moins couteux.”

⁴⁸ In a similar spirit Caylus created a release valve for academicians such as himself, founding the Académie de ces Dames et de ces Messieurs (active 1739-1776) whose members, including Vadé and the comtesse de Verrue, parodied academicians in assuming poissard roles. He also founded the Académie des Colporteurs. In the eighteenth-century there was also an Académie de Montmartre consisting entirely of the donkeys of the quarter. Moore 1935, pp. 98-100.

⁴⁹ Moore 1935, p. 142.

⁵⁰ See Moore 1935, p. 161.

⁵¹ *Contes de Jean-Joseph Vadé pour servir de tome second à ceux de Guillaume Vadé*. Paris: Duchesne, 1765. See Moore 1935, p. 161 n. 128.

L'Ecosseuse, parodie de l'Ecossaise had more or less to conform to the narrative arc of its model, and its use of street language and violence is mild compared to more typical *poissard* plays, just as the role of the *écosseuse* is removed from her usual market setting. What might be considered the classic *poissard* incarnation of the *écosseuse* comes in 1767, with Taconet's *Les Ecosseuses de la Halle, ambigu-poissard, en un Acte en Vers libres, mêlé de Vaudevilles & de Danses*—a title, of course, recalling Jeaurat's painting and Aliamet's print.⁵² The play centers on a group of pea-shellors, its action unfolding in a stream of quick insults and ready fists. All the usual suspects take part, including Margot and Fanchon, who when not fighting each other team up in a war of abuse against a Petit-Maître (dandy). The battle terminates in a hilarious sequence of *Adieus* each followed by invective, the Petit-Maître's proper French clashing with the *écosseuses*' market language.

While the *genre poissard* continued to flourish well into the 19th century, painters rarely pursued its themes. After Jeaurat, what might be called 'descriptive' painting based on Parisian life turned rather to boulevards and balls. A well-known exception is Debucourt's *Vue de la Halle, prise à l'instant des réjouissances publiques données par la Ville le 21 Janvier 1782, à l'occasion de la naissance de Monseigneur le Dauphin* (fig. 58; Salon 1783/158).⁵³ With its high vantage point and numerous tiny figures the painting it is closer to Teniers than is Jeaurat's painting. Yet, as the critic of the *Mémoires secrets* points out, it is a "sujet national," a phrase usually given to Salon pictures depicting

⁵² *Les Ecosseuses de la halle, ambigu-poissard en 1 acte, en vers libres, mêlé de vaudevilles et de danses, dédié à Mme Policarpe, marchande de marée, par M. Taconet, représenté pour la première fois sur le Grand théâtre des boulevards, le 25 juin 1767*. Paris: P.-D. Langlois, 1767. See Moore 1935, pp. 207-211.

⁵³ See Wilhelm 1954.

French history, and so the painting is subversive of the hierarchy of genres.⁵⁴ Here Debucourt depicts a facet of poissard life both real and theatrical. Poissards had long cherished various rights respected by royalty. They were permitted to visit Versailles to congratulate the King on the occasion of a royal marriage or birth or a major military victory; they were offered a New Year's dinner in the common dining room at court; they were even allowed to occupy the King's box during free public performances at Parisian theatres.⁵⁵ A late edition of Cailleau's *Le Goût des Porcherons, ou nouveau Discours des Halles et des Ports* (first published 1759) includes a speech given by a *poissard* before Louis XV to mark the marriage of the Dauphin to Marie-Antoinette.⁵⁶ Vadé himself had written a *Bouquet poissard au duc d'Orléans*.⁵⁷ While such speeches were probably never depicted in paintings or prints in the Ancien Régime, the site and social class in Debucourt's painting link it to this aspect of the *poissard*.

In the 1750s Jeaurat exhibited more scenes of urban life: *Un Enlèvement de Police* and *Un Déménagement* (both Salon 1755/25), then turning to the age-old subject of *Le Carnaval des rues de Paris* (Salon 1757/15), which, with its costume and cross-dressing overturns the social hierarchy, but easily the most startling choice of subject, given the Salon context, was *La Conduite des Filles de Joye à la Salpêtrière, lorsqu'elles passent par la porte S. Bernard* (fig. 59, Salon 1757/16).⁵⁸ Here was a subject all

⁵⁴ Bachaumont 1999, p. 267.

⁵⁵ Moore 1935, pp. 12-13.

⁵⁶ Ibid, pp. 157-8. Other such occasional pieces include: the abbé de Voisenon's *Quelques Aventures des Bals des Bois*, 1745, for the marriage of the dauphin Louis; Vadé's *L'Impromptu du Cœur, Opéra-Comique. Représenté pour la première fois sur le théâtre de la foire Saint-Germain, le mardi 8 février, 1757*, in Vadé 1879, on the occasion of Louis XV's recovery from Damiens' assassination attempt. The play takes place "on a public square in Paris, where the devoted subjects of the King are rejoicing at the glad tidings," Moore 1935, p. 196.

⁵⁷ Dated 1756, reprinted in Raunié 1882, VII, pp. 263-264.

⁵⁸ The Porte Saint-Bernard was the only Porte on the right bank, although they were no longer entrances to the city, but ornaments.

Parisians would know, the monthly removal of convicted prostitutes to prison. The *Mercure* wrote that in this picture Jeaurat “a rendu avec vérité ces petits événements qui se multiplient si souvent dans la vie populaire.”⁵⁹ “Les Poissards sont les témoins de la scene,” remarked Baillet de Saint-Julien, and indeed, the most prominent bystanders are market women, a trio framed by the central woman’s basket of wares.⁶⁰ Thus the darker elements of social reality, which otherwise could not have been introduced in the Salon, are mitigated by the *genre poissard*. Yet a reality effect remains, for the picture corresponds to the topographical and architectural reality of mid-eighteenth-century Paris, just as it accurately records what is known of the activity of the *police des mœurs*.⁶¹

While there is a reality effect resulting from the insertion of the conventions of poissard theatre into the ‘real’ Paris, Jeaurat’s picture had precedents, all low in cultural status. An anonymous painting of around 1750 depicts the *Transport des filles de joie du dépôt Saint-Martin à la Salpêtrière* (fig. 60).⁶² Prostitutes were of course treated in numerous popular prints, many of which showed sophistication in rendering architecture, and in all of which the *filles de joie* receive their just deserts, the print verse casting them as *Corruptrices* and destroyers of families.⁶³ Once again an academician hybridized sources in order to introduce low subject matter into the Salon. In another sense, popular prints and paintings served as the basis for the history painter Jeaurat’s treatment of architecture, topography, gesture and scenography, thus *elevating* the subject matter.

⁵⁹ MdF (Nov 1755) p. 180. The key reference for prostitution in eighteenth-century France is Benabou 1987. See also Hufton 1974, pp. 306-317, Cheek 1994.

⁶⁰ *Lettre à un partisan du bon goût sur l’exposition des tableaux faite dans le grand Sallon du Louvre*. CD 1247, p 9.

⁶¹ See Ottawa 2003, p. 208. Since Louis XIV the Salpêtrière (for women) and Bicêtre (for men) Prisons served those sentenced to hard labour for begging, indigence or prostitution.

⁶² Musée Carnavalet P.691.

⁶³ See the prints grouped under Oa 22 (106), and the astonishing *S’enfuir en demi-chevelure* (1778) depicting a prostitute, head partially shaved, pursued by a dog, Hennin 9721.

In spite of the inherent cultural elevation created by an academician's treatment of the subject and by the very context of the Salon, there were always limits on what could be shown in there. The nature of the social mixing in Jeaurat's *Conduite des filles de joie* helps explain why the picture was not rejected on the basis of its subject matter. The problem was not sexuality per se, since the Salon writhed with the Loves of the Gods, but rather the nature of the social reality behind the subject matter. Two classes of people animate the scene: representatives of order, the police; and representatives of *le peuple*, the lower classes, prostitutes and *poissards*. The police effectively cordon off the viewer from the prostitutes and keep the *poissards* at bay. Pictorially and thematically the picture is about the *containment* of disorder, the channeling of poissard violence and of corrupting vice. Jeaurat's picture, like the popular prints and paintings it was based on, aims to preserve the social order. At the same time, it presents its subject as a diversion, naturalizing it as a kind of chance street theatre.

I would argue that Jeaurat's pictures are archetypally public, for they depict the operation of public institutions (police, Carnival, markets) and the triumph of public interests. The social danger of the prostitute is the clashing of the private interest in sex with the public interest in social stability, which meant above all the stability of the family. If there is social danger in *poissard* invective, it is contained in the flattening out of the social type into a comic figure. In other words, as *public* pictures Jeaurat's social scenes operate as tools of social management.

I have argued for how effective the implicit limits on subject matter were in the Salon, the highest European cultural arena, however, for all of its conservatism, the Salon was also a sort of protected area, sheltered from the social pressures against innovation.

The rise of art criticism and the expansion of the print market, phenomena inextricable from the Salon, likewise fueled innovation. It was only a matter of time before the interests of innovation clashed with the interests of stability. Furthermore, each academician had to internalize both interests at once. Thus the conflict between stability and innovation does not reduce to the factionalization of the artworld, where critics, patrons, the state and the public brought conflictual interests to the Salon. The real problem was the inability of any of these groups to control artistic innovation, the more so in the increasingly dramatic arena of the Salon where artists became international celebrities, and whose work was increasingly subject to the unpredictable pressures of fashion.

New Public Painting II: Baudouin's Church Scenes

Artists, critics and representatives of the State shared interests both in innovation and stability. This is why experiments such as Jeaurat's were tolerated, even encouraged. Open conflict could only result where the balance of stability and innovation was overturned, where social mixing gave way to social transgression.

The first explicit social transgression depicted in an anonymous figure painting in the Salon appeared only six years after Jeaurat's final street scenes, when Pierre-Antoine Baudouin (1723-1769) showed a gouache depicting *Un Prêtre, catéchisant de jeunes Filles* (fig. 61; Salon 1763/148). The scene hinges on the anecdotal action at far left, which both Diderot and Mathon de La Cour remarked: "une de ces filles [...] reçoit une lettre de la main d'un jeune homme, en feignant très-adroitement de causer avec une de

ses compagnes,” and of course several bystanders witness and react to this exchange.⁶⁴

The subject, or perhaps the crowd’s reaction to it, drove the archbishop of Paris to have the picture removed from the Salon.⁶⁵ An image could be subject to censure in this period if it attacked the fundamental embodiments of order: religion, the State or the royal family. This is a simple demonstration of the limits of the protected status of Salon pictures.

In the following Salon, Baudouin showed the pendant to *Le Catéchisme*, *Un Confessional* (fig. 62; Salon 1765/98), which differently attacked the prevailing order. Superficially the pendants answer instruction by penitence. But in *Un Confessional* two mocking, fashionable young men break the circuit of sin and remission. Baudouin’s pendants celebrate the disruption of authority, the substitution of private interests for public interests. In his study of popular religious practice in eighteenth-century France, John McManners documents the wide range of complaints of curés unable to maintain order in the pews, from the ubiquitous dogs (visible in Baudouin’s pendants) to the jockeying for social position among the elite and the inevitable intrigues and dalliances.⁶⁶ Marivaux’s pretty girl who goes to church to show herself off is the symbolic counterpart to the young man wielding a spyglass there.⁶⁷ As the confession provides psychic relief from the ethical demands of the religion even as it reinforces those ethical demands, Baudouin’s picture attacks the basic device maintaining the validation system at the

⁶⁴ Mathon de la Cour, *Lettres à madame *** sur les peintures, les sculptures et les gravures exposés dans le salon du Louvre en 1763*. Paris: G. Desprez et Duchesne, 1763, CD 101, p. 73; Salons I, p. 232 (Salon de 1763).

⁶⁵ See Salons I, p. 185.

⁶⁶ McManners 1998, II, pp. 94-101.

⁶⁷ See McManners 1998, II, p. 101.

heart of Catholicism. It is not surprising that the archbishop of Paris had *Un Confessional* removed from the Salon as well.

Baudouin used an art historical allusion to sharpen the sting of *Le Catéchisme*. Just to the right of the standing girl is the bust of an old lady based on Coypel's *Education Seche et rebutante donnée par une prude* (fig. 47). As Baudouin chose not to depict Coypel's *Sainte*, his criticism is directed at the teaching of the catechism. The sentiment was echoed by Rousseau, who wrote in the *Emile*—published one year before *Le Catéchisme* was exhibited—that had he to depict stupidity he would represent a pedant teaching the catechism to children.⁶⁸ Baudouin, who was received in 1763 as a history painter, references here the work of Coypel, history painter, Director of the Académie and First Painter to the King from 1747 until his death in 1752. The rhetorical strategy is similar to that of Chardin in *La Serinette* citing Coypel's *Thalie chassée par la peinture*, in other words, gathering prestige while giving homage (see Chapter 2).

Baudouin makes a further allusion at the level of style. *Un Confessional* and *Le Catéchisme* contain an unusual number of figures for an interior *petit sujet*. In the efficient grouping of bodies and the layered, undulating arrangement of heads Baudouin shows himself capable of handling a large cast with the suppleness and complexity of history painting. Specifically, he adheres to the style of figural grouping that C.-N. Cochin fils adapted from his father in their work for the Ménus-plaisirs, and that he then applied to his own allegorical and historical compositions.⁶⁹ Cochin's drawing for the *Encyclopédie* frontispiece, exhibited in the same year as *Un Confessional* (fig. 63; Salon 1765/228), is good example of the style, where the uniformity of the overall pattern of

⁶⁸ Rousseau 1969, pp. 554, 722. See McManners 1998, II, pp. 9-18.

⁶⁹ Michel 1987, pp. 10-17; Dacier 1925, pp. 17-19; Dilke 1902, pp. 37-55.

oval heads is complicated by the distribution of sightlines (most pointing up) and of profile and three-quarter views.⁷⁰

What are the implications of Baudouin's allusions to Coypel and Cochin in the context of these scenes? Cochin was as significant a figure as Coypel. Cochin, after working for the Ménus-plaisirs, accompanied the future Marigny on his Italian voyage at the urging of Mme de Pompadour. Received into the Académie on his return by acclamation and without having submitted the required reception piece (which he did ten years later, in 1761), he was subsequently made Secrétaire perpétuel de l'Académie to fill the gap left by the death of Lépicié in 1755.⁷¹ He was ennobled, then made chevalier de l'ordre de Saint-Michel in 1757, and in 1763, dessinateur des médailles de l'Académie des Inscriptions. Baudouin, then, did not just borrow any compositional style in *Un Confessional* and *Le Catéchisme*, but that of one of the great authoritative figures of the Académie, protected by the court, and a theoretician working in favour of the reform of history painting and in defence of academicians. Baudouin, working in gouache and in small scale, would have understood the rhetoric implicit in this compositional style as a means to elevate his subject matter. But the archbishop's reaction indicates that the balance between innovation and stability did not hold.

Conclusion

Jeaurat and Baudouin's work, I would argue, testifies to the ability of hybrid forms to introduce new subjects into the regulated, public arena of the Salon. In essence,

⁷⁰ Michel 1987, pp. 283-287, no 126a.

⁷¹ For Cochin's reception piece, see McAllister Johnson 1982, pp. 139-141, no 68.

Jeaurat and Baudouin attempted to treat public space with the immediacy of the *petit sujet*. Contemporary sites, costume and ritual are the painter's equivalent to gossip, locking the viewer into a perpetual, voyeuristic present, just as allusions or parallels to extra-Academic cultural manifestations such as the *genre poissard* or the fashion for the Northern School, ensure currency. Jeaurat and Baudouin's command of the rhetoric of history painting served the same end of creating immediacy, not only through history painting's illusionistic power but through its ability to confer the highest cultural value on its subjects and thus to allow new subjects to enter the public, discursive space of the Salon. Yet the censorship of Baudouin demonstrates that the iconography of public space was not easily wrested from the control of state or religion, least so in the Salon, the very seed-bed of the *petit sujet*.

Although Jeaurat's work in particular shows that innovative pictures of public space could survive in the Salon, his and Baudouin's experiments were short-lived and without issue. They did not have the time or space to resonate, and most significantly they did not generate expressive-ethical criticism. By the early 1760s attention was swept away from such minor experiments by the ascendance of Greuze, who equalled Chardin in his structural impact on the European artworld and surpassed him in fame. As I will argue in Chapter 4, Greuze changed all points of reference for the *petit sujet*, and overshadowed all other experiments in it through to 1789. And like Chardin, to whom his early work owes much, he treated private space exclusively.

Chapter 4

Greuze's Transformation of the *petit sujet*

While no critic referred to Jean-Baptiste Greuze's (1725-1808) anonymous figure paintings as *petits sujets*, his work, I will argue in this chapter, both inherited and transformed the iconography and the mode of engagement characteristic of Chardin's *petit sujet*. On the basis of the same kind of hermeneutic readings of prints, Annonces, Salon criticism and painting that I employed to read Chardin's work, I will argue that Greuze's work represents a further stage in the social conversation and social imagining generated by the *petit sujet*. Chardin's *petit sujet* was interpreted in a way that harmonized the social situation or setting with the psychology of the figure depicted; Greuze, I will argue, treated his scenes in such a way that emotional identification tended to outweigh social identification.

I will argue that while Greuze treated such single-figure pictures as *La Simplicité* in such a way as to reveal character just as in Chardin, the reception of such pictures was *novelistic* in a way that Chardin's reception was not. By novelistic I mean that critics responded to the way the pictures established a balance between the depiction of a social type and the depiction of an individual. I will argue that Greuze's multiple-figure family dramas such as the *Lecture de Bible* and *L'Accordée de Village* generated a similarly novelistic reception in that their critics posited individual character according to differences of age and sex—that, in other words, character emerged through *difference*, which again runs in contrast to Chardin's reception where character emerged through the figure's harmony with the larger social setting and relationship.

Finally, I will argue that Greuze's transformation of expressive-ethical criticism was complete with *La Piété filiale*, and not with *L'Accordée de Village* which is normally cited as Greuze's first mature and important multi-figure family drama. Rather, with *La Piété filiale* Greuze's reception emphasized emotional response over interpretive clarity. I will argue that, although his family dramas functioned in their reception as social microcosms, Greuze's iconography and scenography tended to de-emphasize the social in favour of individual sensation. This happened because Greuze's work demanded that expressive-ethical criticism interpret his social vision in terms of the austere ethical ideals that had previously only been associated with history painting. This led to a type of painting whose interpretation was more difficult to control than Chardin's. As a result, I will argue, Greuze used reproductive prints to help stabilize the interpretation of his pictures.

The Psychology of Character: *La Simplicité*

Greuze made the study of character, psychology and interior life the fundamental aim of his painting, and in this he surpassed Chardin, who suggested character by nuance but eschewed the penetration of psychological conflict. Chardin's challenge was to characterize figures who did not spring from legend: the governess, the cellar-boy. In Greuze, characterization was tied not to a social role but rather to a primal psychological constitution.

The key painting and early manifesto of Greuzian psychology is *La Simplicité représentée par une jeune Fille* (fig. 64; Salon 1759/104, commissioned on behalf of

Mme de Pompadour during his Italian voyage [1756-1757] but only begun after his return) and this painting is key in that it was read in the period, by the abbé de La Porte, in terms of a *psychological awakening*:

Cette nuance fine de l'ingénuité, que le théâtre nous prouve journellement être si difficile à saisir, est rendue avec toutes les grâces, dans le caractère de tête, dans tout le maintien et dans l'action puerile de cette jeune beauté qui interroge innocemment le sort, par l'extraction des rayons d'une fleur. On apperçoit une finesse, une curiosité doucement affectée, sous les voiles de cette simplicité que le peintre s'est proposé d'exprimer. Cette tête charmante qui serait encore tres jolie, independamment du caractere qui lui a donné le peintre, acquiert pour cette expression un prix bien seduisant, pour les âmes qui ont conservé dans le tumulte du monde ce fond de candeur qui adoucit les passions, et qui donne à tous leurs mouvemens, une teinte de delicatesse par laquelle elles deviennent autant de vertus en même tems qu'elle prête à l'esprit des grâces qui forcent l'envie même à en aimer la superiorité.¹

La Porte writes that *Cette nuance fine de l'ingénuité* exists in the *caractère de tête* as well as in the entire presentation and action of the figure. He describes how the girl's psychology and motivation emerge from beneath the surface: *une curiosité doucement affectée, sous les voiles de cette simplicité*. It is this emergent *expression* that gives the picture its sympathetic worth, and, I would suggest, represents a modification of the expressive-ethical criticism relating to Chardin. It bases the viewer's identification with the subject on an imagined psychology determined more by emergent expression, the

¹ Joseph de La Porte, *Observations sur l'exposition des peintures, sculptures et gravures du salon du Louvre tirés de l'Observateur littéraire*, 1759, CD 1259, p. 865.

welling up of inner feeling, than by a determinant social relationship (as that in Chardin between governess and child, for instance). In short, it de-emphasizes the social situation that in Chardin animated everything (praying over dinner, maternal correction) in favour of a communion of feeling.

Destined for Mme de Pompadour's Versailles apartments, the picture's oval format was determined by the setting, though Greuze was allowed to choose its subject matter and in fact created a painting of great directness, which belies its unusual structure. I know of no earlier *petits sujets* that isolate a single subject whose body faces the viewer squarely. There is no torsion in her body's vertical axis (I will return to the fact that she is looking downwards). In the *petit sujet*, as in French painting in general of the period, monotony was avoided either by turning the face off-axis from the frontal plane of the body, thus giving an energizing twist to the figure, or by fixing the face in profile, leaving the body to follow depending on context. Chardin's subjects are seen in profile (*L'ouvrière en tapisserie*; the various *Château de cartes*; *La Ratisseuse*); or in three-quarters view (*L'enfant au toton*; *Le jeune dessinateur*, fig. 38; *La Pourvoyeuse*, fig. 43). A preliminary sketch for *La Simplicité* shows that Greuze had considered a three-quarters turn to her right; this is, in fact, the posture adopted by its pendant, *Un jeune Berger qui tente le sort pour sçavoir s'il est aimé de sa Bergère* (fig. 65; Salon 1761/101).²

Greuze would have composed these pendants from the start, for the commission specified "deux tableaux de la même grandeur," and therefore he would have been fully conscious of the symmetry and complementarity demanded, or at least suggested by the

² The sketch, black, white, and red chalk on paper, 27.5 x 21 cm. (Paris, private collection), is reproduced in Rand 1997, p. 152, fig. 61; see also Salmon 2002, p. 188 n. 3.

pendant format.³ Like the near-absence of setting, a half-length figure in isolation would have recalled portraiture, where a three-quarters turn either of body or head amounted to a rule almost never broken in the eighteenth century. Closer examination of *La Simplicité* shows that while Greuze aimed for an inordinate frontality, the older penchant for contrapposto survived in muted form. Because the light falls from in front of her and from her right, shadows on her left arm and shoulder cause this side of her body to recede visually. Her brilliant right sleeve pushes forward while the darker hat anchors her left arm 'behind' the picture plane. This, combined with the slight asymmetry in her placement and in the background, causes the composition to twist. Seen in isolation, as it was experienced at the 1759 Salon, the frank frontality of the picture is preserved, while as a pendant, *La Simplicité*'s 'virtual' torsion allows it to answer the *Jeune Berger*. All of this maximizes the pictorial autonomy of each.

Greuze's search for a new manner of engagement led him to deform the pendant (admittedly the most flexible of serial forms). The complementarity of the shepherd and shepherdess is broken by contradictory pictorial means. The shepherd, about to blow on the dandelion, is caught expressionless as if by a flash bulb. Unlike the shepherdess, interior life is not in question here, rather, everything is in suspension, not the pregnant suspension of Chardin but time unfulfilled, waiting on what happens next. It is a costume piece (as for example the *Mme de Pompadour en bergère* wrongly attributed to La Tour).⁴ By contrast, the shepherdess, though equally expressionless, is captured in a moment of interior awakening. The picture hinges on an invisible but inferred interior

³ The story of the picture's origin has been told many times, most recently Ottawa 2003, pp. 256-257, no 68.

⁴ Dacier 1927, pp. 83-84, no 71.

state. In pictorial terms, its sheer frontality is belied by the girl's downcast eyes, a deflection of reciprocal attention towards an inward state, expression emerging from beneath veils. Pendants are a symmetrical and ultimately decorative means of structuring objects. Yet the flat expectancy of the *Jeune Berger* is at odds with the singularity and inwardness of *La Simplicité*.

In addition to increasing the autonomy of each picture by weakening the pendants' relationship, Greuze diminishes to insignificance the symbolic function of the daisy. Since the late 15th century this flower was traditionally linked to the innocence of the Christ child.⁵ In the eighteenth century Chardin secularized the symbol in *La Mère laborieuse* (fig. 23; Salon 1740/60) where the head of a daisy lying on the floor in painting's lower left recalls the girl's childish behavior (see Chapter 2).⁶

In *La Simplicité* 'innocence' is not merely secularized but a generic state, just as white becomes a generic signifier of purity. The pictorial theme is not education but this state of purity in itself.⁷ Greuze adapted the emblem book recipe for *L'Innocence*, here Cochin following Ripa: "Une jeune fille, vêtue de blanc, ayant une couronne sur la tête, & dont les traits annoncent la candeur & l'ingénuité [...]. Elle se lave les mains dans un bassin, placé sur un autel [...]. L'agneau placé auprès de l'*Innocence*, est son attribut distinctif."⁸ The white-clad girl is also a partial emblem of the synonym of *innocence*, *la simplicité*: "L'emblème de la *Simplicité* est une jeune fille, vêtue de blanc & tenant une colombe; l'ingénuité qu'on remarque dans ses traits & dans son attitude, achève de la

⁵ Haig 1913, pp. 31, 110-111, 167.

⁶ Paris, Louvre inv. 3201.

⁷ According to Eugène Droulers the *petite-marguerite* is the emblem of *Innocence*: Droulers, p.110.

⁸ Gravelot 1791, II, p. 13.

caractériser.”⁹ Here crown, altar, basin and lamb, just as the dove, are absent. The focus is rather on what is secondary in the iconography, the *traits* that announce *ingénuité* and *candeur*.

Greuze’s work, with its psychological and anti-decorative thrust, eroded traditional forms. Can one speak of residual symbolic content here? Symbols or attributes require that a picture contain two complementary levels of meaning. But Greuze collapses the levels of meaning so that the girl’s ‘attribute’ is literalized into “l’action puerile de cette jeune beauté qui interroge innocemment le sort, par l’extraction des rayons d’une fleur.”

While *La Simplicité* ‘literalizes’ and thus ultimately weakens emblematic imagery, a later picture, *L’Innocence tenant deux pigeons* (Salon 1800/178) perfectly matches Cochin’s emblem of *Simplicité* (though she wears white *and* a blue-green shawl); and there is, also in the Wallace Collection, *Innocence* wearing white and holding her attribute, a lamb.¹⁰ Finally, *Innocence entraînée par les Amours et suivie du Repentir*, commissioned by the comte d’Artois in the late 1770s, is a full-blown allegorical expansion of the emblem-book image, in which a dove, escaping from the

⁹ *Ibid*, III, p. 87.

¹⁰ London, Wallace Collection inv. P428, P384. Anita Brookner states that the Wallace Collection *L’Innocence tenant deux pigeons* is a signed and dated copy of the work shown at the 1800 Salon: Brookner 1972, p. 132. Ingamells observes that there is no reason this work is not the one that was shown in the Salon: Ingamells 1989, p. 199. With respect to *Innocence*, Ingamells notes two other Greuzes showing a girl holding a lamb: *L’Amitié* illustrated in Ch. Norman, *Greuze* (1892), p. 101, and *Girl with a Lamb*, National Gallery, London, inv. no. 1154: Ingamells 1989, p. 180, n. 3. Compare also Domenico Cunego’s *Innocence*, after Gavin Hamilton, depicting a girl in white drapery beside a lamb; Le Blanc 1856, II (1856), p., 76, no. 54. Here innocence may be linked to mankind’s age of innocence: as Henry H. Hawley points out, “The house with a conical roof in the distance may reflect Laugier’s theories of the beginnings of architecture,” Cleveland 1964, (unpaginated), no 23.

arms of a child, echoes in its flight the figure of Innocence led by Amours to her downfall.¹¹

The curious combination of emotional identification and traditional iconography is exemplified in Greuze's letter of 1790 to Prince Yussupoff explaining a picture he has just finished for the Prince (*La colombe retrouvée*, Moscow, Pushkin Museum), and giving a reason for his use of allegory, namely, its capacity for euphemism:

Cette colombe, qu'elle presse contre son cœur si amoureusement, avec ses deux mains, n'est que l'image de son amant caché sous cet emblème; son âme est agitée d'un sentiment si doux et si pur que la femme la plus délicate la pourra regarder avec complaisance sans en être blessée. J'ai ajouté sur sa tête une couronne d'étoiles pour indiquer que le sentiment nous égale aux dieux pour un instant.¹²

In other words, Greuze's search for subjects of emotional intensity and suggestive nuance took him quite naturally to those subjects that are not permissible to show directly, from *Les Oeufs cassés* (1757) through *La Cruche cassée* (fig. 75; 1777).

I would argue that Greuze wore his symbolism lightly. Flowers and broken eggs are slight pretexts for pictures that engage not through symbols but through a kind of hypnotic, sympathetic reaction. One merely notes the broken jug, the hands clutching the belly in *La Cruche cassée*, but one lingers in the terrible ambiguity of the girl's gaze, fixed on the viewer, shameless but not bold. Its ambiguity is similar to that of *La Simplicité*, where emotion is *emergent*. If the girl in *La Cruche cassée* were gazing

¹¹ Paris, Louvre inv. no. R.F. 2154.

¹² Réau 1922, p. 398.

downward, it would have signified shame and thus corrective sanction, the righting of the social order. But her slightly startled expression and her gesture indicate that the social consequences of her 'accident' have not yet solidified out of the mists of feeling.

Greuze's half-hearted symbolism allowed him to dispense with the distractions of the social world *and* historical and temporal specificity all at once. In pictorial terms, his symbols are remarkably efficient means of doing away with clumsy exposition. The daisy is sufficient to set up the larger context of the girl's action and expression.

Without the broken jug and the gesture, the girl's expression in *La Cruche cassée* would be meaningless rather than ambiguous. Greuze, then, establishes context in order for the viewer to forget about context and pass on to the sympathetic identification that was the goal of his pictures. Chardin, by contrast, held social context and sympathetic identification in balance. His figures live in harmony with their context; the meaning of his pictures lies in this harmony.

Greuze shifts the emphasis away from context toward identification. This shift in emphasis is evident as well in pictures lacking any kind of symbolic content, as for example a drawing entitled *La Bonne Education* (fig. 67) that can be compared instructively with Chardin's picture of the same name, painted 17 years earlier (fig. 48). In Chardin's *La Bonne Education*, the daughter recites from memory; she is being tested. Her accomplishment is to come, prefigured in the mother herself. In the Greuze, the daughter reads from the text; she is being appreciated. That is why *both* parents are present. The picture is not about the process of pedagogy but the *parents'* affective relationship toward their child. Education becomes the artistic motive for the study of emotion. (Note how the *suspension* of emotion is central to Chardin's depiction of

education.) This is even clearer in the pendant to Greuze's *La Bonne Education*, called *La Paix du Ménage* in which the parents adore a child who does nothing.¹³

Une jeune fille qui pleure son oiseau mort (fig 68; Salon 1765/110) generated much empathetic criticism and allows a deeper understanding of Greuzian psychological identification. The subject, not of death but of grief, was unknown to the *petit sujet* until this picture. Chardin's subjects are captured in supreme equanimity; Jeaurat's and Baudouin's are too comic and critical, respectively, to cope with the sheer inwardness of grief. Mathon de la Cour wrote of Greuze's picture that "On partage la douleur de cette fille: on voudroit la consoler: j'ai passé plusieurs fois des heures entières à la considérer attentivement; je m'y suis enivré de cette tristesse douce & tendre, qui vaut mieux la volupté; & je suis sorti pénétré d'une mélancolie délicieuse."¹⁴ The girl's grief is experienced by the viewer as a savouring of both the desire to console and of an intoxicating melancholy, a diluted version of Aristotelian catharsis.

One means of simplifying the process of emotional identification and cultivating the requisite inwardness of response is to link feeling to a universal concept. Rites of passage, which isolate a precise moment of psychological and social transition, transform social types into universal types. The girl's age of ten or eleven is linked to the development of her capacity to feel. She becomes an archetype of the birth of an emotional faculty, devoid of individuality or idiosyncrasy. Mathon de la Cour:

¹³ Moreau le Jeune/Ingouf prints after these were announced together, A-C (18 May 1767), p. 306; Inv. 18e s., XI (1970), pp. 607-8, nos 11-12.

¹⁴ Charles-Joseph Mathon de la Cour. *Lettres à Monsieur *** sur les peintures, les sculptures, et les gravures exposées au Sallon du Louvre en 1765*. Paris, 1765, CD 110, p. 5.

La seule critique qui me soit venue dans l'esprit, c'est de trouver ce Tableau trop énergique, & la douleur de cette fille trop vive & trop profonde pour la perte d'un serin. Mais je me trompois: il est un âge où le besoin d'aimer fait qu'on se livre au premier objet qui se présente. On s'y attache fortement sans en sçavoir la raison. Jusqu'à ce que le hasard vienne offrir un objet plus intéressant qui remplisse le vuide du cœur, la faculté d'aimer s'exerce souvent avec un épagneul ou un oiseau.¹⁵

The object of affection is just that—it makes no difference if it be dog or bird. The subject of the painting is precisely the subject himself or herself, the viewer who is made to relive by identification the loss of innocence.¹⁶ The development of an 'adult' faculty such as the capacity for grief is thereby valorized just as the faculty itself undergoes a sort of renewal.

The Greuzian mode of engagement is characteristic of the literary movement of *sensibilité*, which by mid-century began to find parallels in painting.¹⁷ *Sensibilité* aimed to restore a state of nature by triggering unadulterated emotion, feeling in its purest form. It did this by holding innocence, represented by nascent emotion, in balance with its very loss, represented by an awareness of the social consequences of whatever triggered the emotion. In other words, to relive the loss of innocence one must first relive innocence.

The unstable union of innocence and experience is too easily read as the union, and thus mutual cancelling, of virtue and vice. As one modern commentator has written

¹⁵ *Ibid*, pp. 5-6.

¹⁶ "Comme il n'y a pas de coupure, de tension, entre l'expérience sensible et le sujet, il n'y a pas non plus de coupure pour le spectateur entre l'émotion que suscite la représentation d'un personnage ou d'une matière sensible, et sa propre situation. Sa nature sensible est activée par sa participation à la fiction, et ce renforcement comporterait en lui-même une valeur positive, comme le soutient Diderot [...] et constituerait même la fin de l'art, comme l'avance Lessing [...]." Sermain 1998, p. 206.

of sensibilité, “Les paradoxes de l’identification [passionnelle] font que l’expression de la passion risque d’être inefficace (puisque le destinataire en est éloigné, ou s’en amuse), amonale (puisque’elle et indifférente pour le destinataire) ou immorale (puisque’il peut prendre plaisir à la représentation de la douleur; la question hante Diderot).”¹⁸

There is no guarantee that the expression depicted will find an equivalent in the viewer’s emotion. Therefore the fundamental measure of success, by the logic of *sensibilité*, is *intensity* of emotion, no matter which emotion. I would suggest that this is the case in Greuze, particularly where intense and polyvalent emotional response to his work quite naturally turned sexual. Prurient interest exists comfortably on the continuum of *delectation*, whether it be of one’s own cultivated melancholy and one’s consequent virtue, or whether it be of Greuze’s sensual, slick and variegated brushwork, almost jarring after the neutralizing foginess of Chardin. The young mother in *Silence!* (fig. 69; Salon 1759/103) reveals her breast; the open, solicitous gaze of the *Blanchisseuse* (fig. 70; Salon 1761/102) was read in its day as “aussi coquet que malin.”¹⁹ The ‘Greuze girls’, descendents of ecstatic saints and merged with academic studies of expression, were the logical outcome.

In Chardin, character is revealed through the harmonious relationship between figure and environment, whereas in Greuze, the unveiling of character is secondary to the act of emotional communion itself. Emotional ecstasy is the final aim of *sensibilité*. Just as the ecstatic transcendence of saints, mystics and hermits requires isolation, *sensibilité* works by a sort of psychic insulation. *Sensibilité*, though it relies on emotional identification, can hardly sustain any relationship since its final aim is the

¹⁷ See Todd 1986; Brookner 1972, pp. 19-53; Rousseau 1973.

¹⁸ Sermain 1998, p. 205.

delecting of one's own interior condition. Therefore it is not surprising that the structure and theme of Greuze's pictures tend to be inherently antisocial. That he painted *bourgeois de village*, rather than (as did Chardin) *bourgeois de Paris* meant that his subjects were irrevocably distanced in time, space and custom.²⁰ Because his rustic subjects lacked the mediating influence of a pressing, contemporary social reality, Greuze did not need to worry about shaping his familial relationships in the restrained, convincing manner of Chardin. Greuze's pictures are declamatory and artificial because he distanced his subjects enough so that their social profile did not block the emotional fireworks.

By virtue of the kind of pictorial engagement he sought, Greuze could not paint a larger picture of the social world that his subjects inhabit. In the strictest sense, his figures *have no society beyond that of the family*. Chardin's figures, although they remain in the private realm, are constantly in the process of socialization and therefore directed *toward* society. Greuze's figures remain for all time in the private realm, and in the case of pictures like *La Simplicité*, in a realm of one. Thus it is difficult to speak of a coherent social vision embodied in his pictures. Where Chardin painted social integration, Greuze painted social disintegration. Where Chardin's pictures have the banality of scenes repeated daily, Greuze's are singular. Greuzian emotion works by crescendo: it is singular, self-perpetuating and self-consuming. I will argue that this would have great implications for his multi-figure family dramas, because they quite naturally read as social microcosms.

¹⁹ JE VII/II (15 Oct 1761), p. 53; see Bailey 2000, particularly pp. 71-75.

²⁰ Greuze "peint les Bourgeois de Village." *Lettre à un partisan du bon gout sur l'exposition des Tableaux faite dans le grand Sallon du Louvre le 28 aout 1755 (par Estève)*, CD 74, p. 10.

Greuze's pictures use the inherent sociability of expression and emotional identification for ultimately antisocial ends. Rather than merely depicting virtue (as history painting traditionally did) they transform the viewer's emotion into virtue. However, since his subjects were peasants or rural bourgeois, there was a hierarchical, downward thrust to the elite viewer's sympathy. In this sense Greuze's pictures strengthened the social order. Yet they employ essentially pre-Romantic means of engagement whose ultimate measure is unseen and can only be testified to in expressive display, and such means tend to contain the seeds of destruction of the social order.

The rise of Greuzian pictorial engagement was, I would argue, a nail in the coffin for the hierarchy of genres and its role as a tool of social management. Since the aim of his pictures was emotional intensity, their subject matter could no longer correspond to any social hierarchy. For example, the taste for the naïve in the period, given classic painterly form by Chardin, was parlayed by Greuze into a series of pictures of women and children, and refined into the depiction of rites of passage. Greuze's rites of passage do not conduct his figure into the social world but rather into a state of emotional transformation. Likewise, *La Simplicité* and *Un jeune Berger* do not hold together well as pendants because pendants require an outward complementarity, a sort of deference of form that permits the two paintings to exist in harmony. Where each picture aims to generate an undifferentiated emotional intensity, the genteel continuity of pendants and suites (fine metaphors for a smoothly functioning, hierarchical social order) must necessarily be shattered. Moreover, since Greuze's pictures tend to deal with the loss of innocence, they allow the viewer to taste of purity and experience at once. Thus they can not embody coherent ideologies or moralities; a dutiful mother or servant is a figure of

naïveté and purity just as she is an object of sensual delectation. Such confusion of feeling will become more striking in Greuze's multi-figure family dramas.

Character as Difference: *Le Père de famille*

How did Greuze generate emotion in his multi-figure family dramas that necessarily abandon the inwardness of such single-figure pictures as *La Simplicité*? The first test case is Greuze's successful Salon debut, *Un Père de famille qui lit la Bible à ses Enfants* (fig. 71; Salon 1755/146). Though it clearly derives from Teniers in setting, motif and general rusticity, its figures are treated with an academician's understanding of anatomy, fineness of modelling, individualization of features, and nuance of expression, and with a cast of nine it demanded of critics highly individualized interpretations of persons representing three generations and both sexes. The problem was to make anonymous or otherwise undististinguished characters interesting enough to sustain such interpretations. This can be called a novelistic approach, since, as Ian Watt has noted, the eighteenth-century novel's form and philosophical basis generated a "particularising approach to character"—characters such as Richardson's Pamela who represent types of *le bas peuple*.²¹ The novelistic approach is another modification, in addition to the emphasis on inner feeling and de-emphasis on social setting, of expressive-ethical criticism.

The novelistic approach structures Mathon de la Cour's description of Greuze's painting. First, Mathon de la Cour characterizes the father:

Un pere de famille lit la Bible à ses enfans; touché de ce qu'il vient d'y voir, il est lui-même pénétré de la morale qu'il leur fait; ses yeux sont presque mouillés de larmes;²²

As the abbé du Bos argued, “Les larmes d’un inconnu nous émouvent même avant que nous sçachions le sujet qui le fait pleurer.”²³ The father is himself penetrated with the virtue he is teaching, and thus he provides a model for the experience of sensibilité. He *shows* his feeling as a way of showing his virtue. His eyes *sont presque mouillés de larmes*; his reaction is nascent, just as the girl in *La Simplicité*. The display of tears, as Anne Vincent-Buffault has demonstrated, became a naturalized component of discourse in the second half of the eighteenth century, a means of demonstrating both naturalness and virtue that related, for instance, to the rise of interest in private charity in this period.²⁴

The father acts as a model for the experience of *sensibilité* in that his sympathetic identification is directed downward. Occupying the summit of the familial hierarchy, he instructs just as he enjoys the fruit of his instruction. He embodies what might be called the ‘proprietary gaze’ by which the viewer generates his or her own virtue.

Mathon de la Cour passes to the wife of the *père de famille*:

son épouse assez belle femme & dont la beauté n’est point idéale, mais telle que nous la pouvons rencontrer chez les gens de sa sorte, l’écoute

²¹ Watt 1967, p. 18.

²² This and succeeding passages, M. de la Porte, ‘professeur de mathématiques’, *Sentimens sur plusieurs des Tableaux exposés cette année dans le grand Sallon du Louvre*. 1755, CD 73, pp. 15-16.

²³ Du Bos 1719, I, p. 40.

²⁴ Vincent-Buffault 1986.

avec cet air de tranquillité que goûte une honnête femme au milieu d'une famille nombreuse qui fait toute son occupation, ses plaisirs, & sa gloire.

Her expression, *cet air de tranquillité*, leads to the description of her context and her character. This in itself is identical to the expressive-ethical criticism of Chardin.

However, the next passage is novelistic:

Sa fille à côté d'elle est stupéfaite & navrée de ce qu'elle entend; le grand frere a une expression aussi singuliere que vraie. Le petit bonhomme qui fait un effort pour attraper sur la table un bâton, & qui n'a aucune attention pour des choses qu'il ne peut comprendre, est tout-à-fait dans la nature; voyez-vous qu'il ne distrait personne, on est trop sérieusement occupé?

—thus typology according to age. The youths are old enough to understand but too inexperienced to be other than stupefied; the child remains driven by his natural inclination to play.

Quel noblesse! & quel sentiment dans cette bonne maman qui, sans sortir de l'attention qu'elle a pour ce qu'elle entend, retient machinalement le petit espiègle qui fait gronder le chien: n'entendez-vous pas comme il l'agace, en lui montrant les cornes? il est charmant.

Quel sentiment here means 'what feeling' in this grandmother who in her sentiment rises above the mechanical action of restraining the child, and thus she is elevated to the state of *noblesse*, evidence once again of the divorce of virtue from social rank. Salon critics did not read Chardin's figures in this way. Rather, they balanced inner state and outer

setting. Mathon de La Cour ranges the figures according to their expressive qualities and their actions.

Caractère is an essential term in the criticism of Greuze, and it informs his reception. Understanding it, I would suggest, is key to understanding the novelistic aspect of Greuze criticism. *Caractère* was used in relation to Greuze in almost every conceivable sense. Greuze “a eu des prédécesseurs dans l’usage intéressant qu’il fait de son Art; mais il en a étendu l’effet, en y joignant les graces à l’énergie du caractère [...]”²⁵ The kneeling girl in the *Père de famille* “a beaucoup de caractere.”²⁶ *L’Ingénuité* (Salon 1759/104) is marked by “les graces du caractère de simplicité.”²⁷ The self-importance of the notary in the *Accordée de Village* (fig. 72; Salon 1761/100) is “heureusement caractérisée.”²⁸ The bride’s white apron “concourt à la perfection de ce caractère [qu’aucun artifice n’a formée ni soutenue].”²⁹ Flipart’s print after the *Paralitique servie par ses Enfants* “a rendu supérieurement le beau caractère de tête du Pere [...]”³⁰ The Moreau le Jeune/P.-C. Ingouf pendants after *La bonne Education* (fig. 67) and *La Paix du Ménage* “sont animées par la vérité des caractères de tête [...]”³¹ Boizot’s print after *La Liseuse* occasioned a typological statement: “C’est ce caractere de simplicité, de naïveté, &, nous l’osons dire, de sublime qui fait tant d’honneur au génie du célèbre Greuze.”³² Even Greuze’s failures pass through caractère: the *Portrait de*

²⁵ Anon, *Observations d’une Société d’Amateurs sur les Tableaux exposés au Salon cette année 1761*, tirés de l’*Observateur Littéraire* de M. l’Abbé [Joseph] de la Porte. Paris: chez Duchesne, 1761, CD 94, p. 46.

²⁶ *Lettre à un partisan du bon gout sur l’exposition des Tableaux faite dans le grand Sallon du Louvre le 28 aout 1755 (par Estève)*, CD 74, p. 10.

²⁷ *Observations d’une Société d’Amateurs...*, CD 94, p. 52, and quoted in MdF (Oct 1761), II, p. 119.

²⁸ MdF (Oct 1761), I, p. 172.

²⁹ *Observations d’une Société d’Amateurs*, CD 94, pp. 49-50, and quoted in MdF (Oct 1761), II, p. 116.

³⁰ A-C, no 12 (23 Mar 1767), p. 178.

³¹ A-C, no 20 (18 May 1767), p. 306.

³² A-C, no 44 (3 Nov 1766), pp. 689-690.

madame Greuze en vestale (Salon 1761/99) is “d’un petit caractère et un peu grimaçante.”³³ Finally, Greuze himself “porte dans le monde le caractère du sujet qu’il traite dans son atelier, triste ou gai, folâtre ou sérieux, galant ou réservé, selon la chose qui a occupé le matin son pinceau et son imagination.”³⁴

According to the Watelet & Levesque *Dictionnaire*, *caractère* concerns in the arts the “formes extérieures” of things and is therefore the basis for all individualization.³⁵ Inexperienced art students manage only to distinguish *les caractères généraux*, that is, the class or genre of object:

Le Peintre prend donc une des routes principales de la perfection, dès qu’il conçoit le projet de distinguer les objets individuels par les formes particulières qu’il leur remarque en observant leurs dimensions, leurs proportions & leur couleur [...]. Il sera peu-à-peu dirigé par ce fil, (si son intelligence lui en donne les moyens) jusqu’aux nuances les plus fines des *caractères*; car il aura bientôt reconnu qu’aucun objet, de quelque genre, de quelque classe qu’il soit, ne ressemble parfaitement à un autre du même genre & de la même classe.

The experienced painter is not blinded by generic qualities but rather recognizes the singularity of things. Similarly, the basic tension of Greuze’s criticism is that between typological distinction (“son épouse [...] dont la beauté [...] est [...] telle que nous la pouvons rencontrer chez les gens de sa sorte”) and individualization based on emotion (“ses yeux sont presque mouillés de larmes”). Both options present dangers. Typology lapses into repetition: “On peut reprocher à Greuze d’avoir répété une même tête dans

³³ Salons I, p. 134 (Salon de 1761).

³⁴ Ibid, p. 135.

trois tableaux différents. La tête du *Père qui paye la dot* [in the *Accordée de Village*] et celle du *Père qui lit l'Écriture sainte à ses enfants*, et je crois aussi celle du *Paralytique*. Ou du moins ce sont trois frères avec un grand air de famille.”³⁶ But too much individualization can slide into exaggeration: “oserois-je dire qu’il y a dans [the *Père de famille*] une ou deux figures qui frisent la caricature; l’affectation est si voisine de la simplicité!”³⁷ Novelistic criticism deals with the problem of relating individuals to types within figural groupings. It represents an adaptation of expressive-ethical criticism to Greuze’s multi-figure groupings.

Caractère is the tension between the general and the particular; balanced, it leads to proper individualization. The basis of a person’s character is determined by sex, age, nationality, and the effects of chance, and these “*caractères* sont à la fois généraux & particuliers dans les individus qui nous les offrent; mais chacun d’eux est encore susceptible, sans prendre ces caractères, de particularités que j’appelle individuelles.” Critics noted that the figures of the *Accordée de Village* were carefully distinguished by the outward signs of character: “Non-seulement les têtes, mais encore les jambes, les mains & les carnations marquent dans chaque personnage l’âge, le sexe, l’état, & et ce que le plus ou le moins de fatigue du corps y doit occasionner la différence.”³⁸ Any further particularities of character or idiosyncrasy are suppressed.

The *Père de Famille* established the model for Greuze’s multiple-figure family dramas insofar as it employed *difference* of character as a trigger for emotional release. This is fundamentally different than in Chardin, where it is the process of socialization,

³⁵ Watelet & Levesque 1792, I, s.v. “Caractère”, this passage and those below, pp. 297-307.

³⁶ Salons I, pp. 143-144 (Salon de 1761).

³⁷ *Lettre sur le Salon de 1755...*, CD 71, pp. 41-42.

³⁸ *Observations d’une Société d’Amateurs*, CD 94, p. 51.

with its momentary and situationally-determined revelation of character that determines the picture's meaning. In Chardin it is social continuity that makes everything happen: the mother adapts to her daughter's struggle to recall her reading, and the daughter's struggle means that she gives herself over to her mother's demand. In Greuze there is no socialization. His characters possess an eternal quality; they do not so much adapt to social demands as express the emotional essence of what might be called their stage of life. This applies equally to the *Accordée de Village* (fig. 72; Salon 1761/100), the painting that transformed Greuze into a European celebrity. Critics of the day, Diderot most notably, undertook extended commentary of character as difference in this picture.³⁹ These commentaries focus on the revelation of individual character rather than the cultural function of the marriage itself, namely, the forging of social and familial continuity. Diderot's often-cited description of the bride's gesture as signifying both innocence and nascent sensuality is to the point here: the marriage is not so much about uniting husband and wife as extracting their individual characters. In this sense the picture demanded the sort of reading that suppressed the social.

Greuze's iconography also tended to suppress the social elements in his reception. Rites of passage are central to Greuzian iconography: the girl awakening into love, passing into sin or into married life. Rites of passage represent the transition into a new archetypal stage of life, and therefore they implicate not so much social evolution as individual redefinition. But where a stage of life is characterized by transcendent emotional release, it loses its structuring, identifying quality and lapses into Aristotelian catharsis. One might envision a continuum where Chardin illustrates the extreme of social continuity within an emotional vacuum, and Greuze the extreme of emotional

³⁹ Salons I, pp. 141-146 (Salon de 1761).

difference within a social vacuum. Chardin's is an art of harmony, Greuze's an art of anxiety.

Greuze's multi-figure family dramas are inherently antisocial in that their figures are driven not by their social role but by their emotional constitution. Yet it is clear that within the larger movement of *sensibilité*, emotional expression and identification functioned as a sort of metaphoric social contract, where social stability would arise not from inherited virtue but from cultivated (if still hierarchical and elitist) downward sympathy. This is why Greuze's works are not properly Romantic; they lack the transcendent individualism. In *sensibilité* the release of emotion is cathartic but not redemptive, virtuous but not transformative.

Interpretive Difficulties in Greuze

It is generally accepted that Greuze's work, as one scholar recently phrased it, "pictorialized many of the social concerns dear to Enlightenment thought [...]." ⁴⁰ Scholars do not agree on precisely *which* Enlightenment social concerns find their pictorial equivalents in Greuze's work. ⁴¹ These efforts to understand Greuze's artistic outlook, while disparate in method and aim, share the common intention of revising the

⁴⁰ Bailey 2003, p. 30.

⁴¹ The foundations of this tradition of scholarship were laid by Louis Hautecoeur and later Anita Brookner, who linked Greuze's work to aspects of the literature of sentiment and the movement of *sensibilité*: Hautecoeur 1913, Brookner 1972, Barker 2007. In a broad sense, Mark Ledbury's work, focusing on the parallels and cross-fertilization between Greuze's painting and theatre, follows this tradition: Ledbury 2000, Ledbury 1997. Other scholars have focused on more abstract, ideological issues in Greuze. Carol Duncan situates his work in the context of Enlightenment notions of family and felicity: Duncan 1973. Richard Rand argues for a liberal and secular expression of social contract in Greuze's *Accordée de Village*, while Emma Barker goes farther, seeing in the painting a "utopian vision of an enlightened social order," and in Greuze's work generally the project of Enlightenment: Rand 1997a, Barker 1997, Barker 2005.

account of Greuze first shaped by Jules and Edmond de Goncourt in 1862.⁴² In their essay, the Goncourt brothers gave the most powerful and satisfying explanation of Greuze's work since Diderot. Naturally, their judgment of Greuze was shaped by a particularly 19th-century vision of authenticity and social order. They saw Greuze as the great representative of Ancien Régime society in its corruption, the embodiment of a sensuality that polluted its own moral ideals.⁴³ Greuze was bound to fail in his didactic multiple-figure compositions, and represented the flaw in Diderot's program of *la peinture morale*. He embodied the failures of his age. He assiduously researched "la représentation des mœurs bourgeois populaires," seeking inspiration, rather like a 19th-century Realist, "dans la rue et dans les faubourgs, dans les marchés, sur les quais, en plein peuple, en pleine foule."⁴⁴ Yet "La vérité n'était pour lui qu'un point de départ," rather than an end in itself.⁴⁵ The Goncourts' position was that Greuze, like his entire culture, operated in bad faith, that his moral vision had no medium but the sensual.

Modern scholars revising the Goncourts' interpretation of Greuze are united in their conviction that his work is anything but hypocritical. They argue that it embodies a coherent social vision. Much of this critical attention centers on the *Accordée de Village*, Greuze's breakthrough success of the Salon of 1761. This is justified historically, since the broad consensus from Diderot's time was that the painting marked Greuze's unprecedented ascendance in the Salon. Thomas Crow has discussed the painting in terms of the emergence of a public space of discourse in the Salon, and thus a shift in the power dynamics between public, critics, artists, and the Académie royale de peinture et

⁴² Goncourt 1862. I will refer to the definitive edition, Goncourt 1927.

⁴³ Goncourt 1927, II, p. 52.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, II, pp. 19-20.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, II, p. 23.

de sculpture.⁴⁶ I agree with Crow that long-term structural consequences resulted from Greuze's success. Yet I will argue that Greuze's painting, and its reception, only achieved its mature form with his next major family drama after the *Accordée*, *La Piété filiale*, also called *Le Paralytique* (fig. 73; Salon 1763/140). In reading *La Piété filiale* and its interpretive documentation, I will posit expressive-ethical criticism as modified by Greuze and his critics away from Chardin's model.

Since so many of his practices of publicity were tied up in the picture, *La Piété filiale* stands to reveal much of Greuze's intentions. *La Piété filiale* was a critical success in the 1763 Salon, although Greuze did not find a buyer for the picture there (Marigny had purchased the *Accordée* prior to the 1761 Salon). It was the first painting Greuze had worked up from a sketch shown in the previous Salon. Thus it represents the beginnings of his unique practice of showing a 'prospective' work in the Salon in the form of a sketch, in hopes that it would draw a buyer willing to pay for a finished painting. In 1767 J.-J. Flipart's print after the *Piété filiale* (fig. 74) was among the first products of Greuze's profit-sharing scheme with his engravers.⁴⁷

The work's title, first furnished by the Salon *Livret* or handlist of works, suggests a point of departure in reading the picture's interpretive texts. Its successive *retitling* within the relatively short span of six years indicates that there were differences of opinion in the interpretation of his work.

***La Piété filiale*: Evolution of Titles**

⁴⁶ Crow 1985.

⁴⁷ See Arquíé-Bruley 1983, Griffiths 1980; Michel 1986.

1761

- Salon 1761/106 *Autre Dessein d'un Paralytique soigné par sa famille, ou le fruit de la bonne éducation*

The title is Greuze's. (Livret titles were probably given by the artists to the Académie's secretary who was responsible for editing the Livret.)

1763

- Salon 1763/140: *La Piété filiale*

Greuze condensed the title so that it only presents the moral idea.

- Diderot : “la *Piété filiale*, qu'on intitulerait mieux: *De la récompense de la bonne éducation donnée*.”⁴⁸

Diderot perhaps finds *Piété filiale* too abstract, and reverts to the more didactic title of the sketch. This returns emphasis to education and child-rearing.

1765

- Grimm: “[...] cet admirable tableau du *Paralytique* qui serait mieux nommé la *Récompense du père de famille de la bonne éducation et du bon exemple donnés à ses enfants* [...]”⁴⁹

⁴⁸ Salons I, p. 233 (Salon de 1763)

⁴⁹ Salons II, p. 149 (Salon de 1765)

Grimm reverts to the title of the original sketch, calling it the *Paralytique*. Then he embroiders Diderot's 'rechristening' of the painting, adding *et du bon exemple donnés à ses enfants*, which makes the idea of the '*Récompense de la bonne éducation*' more precise and concrete.

1767

- January: In his comments on the appearance of Flipart's print after *La Piété filiale*, Grimm again refers to the picture as the "Paralytique ou [...] la Récompense de la bonne éducation donné [...]." ⁵⁰
- March: Annonce in *L'Avantcoureur*, referring to the painting as the *Pere Paralitique*, but giving the title of the print: ⁵¹
- August: Salon 1767/224, Flipart, *Le Paralytique servi par ses Enfants* ⁵²

The title's variants, their oscillation between the concreteness of the paralytic, the nobility of filial piety, and the didacticism of education rewarded, suggests iconographic ambiguity in the picture itself. This ambiguity emerged at the most basic interpretive level. For example, Diderot and Charles-Joseph Mathon de la Cour rejected the popular opinion that the father was *dying*: "Ce n'est pas un vieillard qui meurt; c'est un paralytique qui bénit les soins & la piété de son fils." ⁵³ Some felt that the *Piété filiale* was

⁵⁰ *Correspondance littéraire*, VII (1870), p. 213. The text is dated 13 January 1767.

⁵¹ A-C, no 12 (23 Mar 1767), pp. 177-179.

⁵² Inv. 18e s., IX (1962), p. 236, no 140.

⁵³ Mathon de La Cour, *Lettres à Madame *** sur les peintures, les sculptures et la gravures exposées dans le sallon du Louvre en 1763*. Paris: G. Desprez & Duchesne, 1763, CD 101, p. 67.

a sequel to the *Accordée*.⁵⁴ Was it a deathbed scene or not? Was it part of a series of pictures or an autonomous scene?

In addition to the interpretive questions there was the problem of the relative propriety of the subject matter. Perhaps there was something inherent in the theme of the paralytic that led to conflicting accounts of it. Mariette remarked that this was Greuze's first *triste* picture, and indeed it marks a turn to increasingly spare and dark subjects. After 1763 he introduced discord in the family unit, Prodigal Son overtones in the *Malédiction paternelle* and the *Fils puni*—Greuze's first deathbed scene—sketches for which he would show in the 1765 Salon. Mariette, as did other critics, noted that the *Piété filiale* had no purchaser during the Salon: "Le sujet qu'il a choisi est triste; il faut pour l'acquisition de ce morceau un homme riche, ces sortes de gens n'aiment à repaître leurs yeux que d'objets agréables."⁵⁵ This was not merely a connoisseur's disdain for the tastes of the rich. Disagreeable subjects were largely absent from the Salon. In the context of the exhibition of the work of the King's artists, there was a powerful sense of propriety. Nothing socially or politically suspect would have been permitted. Moreover, it was a culture of visual censorship, and the print and painting trades were a focus of police surveillance.⁵⁶

In addition to the explicit regulations governing subject matter, prevailing taste was against depictions of what was perceived as ugliness. For example, Chardin was frequently compared to 'Northern School' artists such as Ostade or Teniers. Yet Chardin's work was regarded as superior to Teniers, because he refused to paint what in

⁵⁴ Philippe Bridard de Lagarde refuted this reading: *MdF* (Nov 1763), pp. 195-196.

⁵⁵ *Abécédario*, II, p. 330.

⁵⁶ Casselle 1976, pp. 173-195.

Teniers was ignoble in appearance or in action. His “figures [...] n’ont jamais rien présenté de laid ni de dégoûtant,” a result of his *choix*.⁵⁷ His reception, I would argue, indicates that beyond the tacit proscription of works contrary to “la Religion, au bien et au repos de l’Etat et à la pureté des mœurs,” taste could not abide *ugliness*.⁵⁸ Similarly, history painting had implicit limits on depictions of gore. Nor were there bloody modern subjects in the Salon. When Mercier suggested one, in a reflection on the barbarism of Paris butchers who slaughter animals in the street, it was purely a rhetorical exercise:

Un mouton meurtri de coups succomboit au milieu de la rue Dauphine à la fatigue; le sang lui ruisseloit par les yeux; tout-à-coup une jeune fille en pleurs se précipite sur lui, soutient sa tête, qu’elle essuie d’une main avec son tablier, & de l’autre, un genou en terre, supplie le boucher, dont le bras étoit déjà levé pour frapper encore. Cela n’est-il pas à peindre? Quand verrai-je ce petit tableau au sallon du Louvre?⁵⁹

The question is for effect; such a gruesome picture was never exhibited at the Salon. Its nearest equivalent is perhaps Greuze’s bloodless *Jeune fille pleurant son oiseau mort*. The only depictions of the very real violence of the streets of Paris were confined to popular prints such as F. Guérard’s *Les Embaras de Paris* (see Chapter 3).⁶⁰

⁵⁷ MdF (Nov 1753), p. 161.

⁵⁸ The quotation is drawn from the Règlement of 1723 concerning engraving: Casselle 1976, p. 174.

⁵⁹ Mercier 1782, IV, pp. 27-28. I know of only one painting approaching Mercier’s description: *Le Boucher*, attributed to Louis-Jacques Durameau (1733-1796), an *interior* in which a butcher prepares to slaughter an ox. The violence implied in the butcher’s muscular tension and twisting contrapposto is mitigated by the absence of gore. The picture may date to the end of Durameau’s Italian voyage (1764), which would confirm the title given in a 1986 sale, *Le Boucher romain*. The unusual subject matter may have resulted from a private commission: Leclair 2001, pp. 186-187, no P. 118.

⁶⁰ Oa 22 (416).

If there were implicit limits on gore and ugliness, what of illness? How troubling was a paralytic in the Salon? To my knowledge, there were no other paralytics in Ancien Régime Salons. Chardin showed an *Aveugle des Quinz-Vingt* Salon 1753/61, but treated him rather as a picturesque street figure descending from the *Cris de Paris*. There was no illness or decrepitude in Salon *petits sujets* prior to Greuze, and certainly no dark or tragic themes. In this light the representation of a paralytic in painting is advantageous because it need show no physical deformity—the illness is designated by the title. This was Greuze’s way of introducing infirmity into the Salon without offending delicate sensibilities.

The *Paralytique* stands out not merely for its unusual subject matter but because it addresses a social ill, the problem of care for the aged and infirm. Emma Barker has richly contextualized the picture in terms of shifting attitudes to the elderly in the period.⁶¹ What remains unclear is how Greuze managed the conflicting interpretations of his picture. It is clear enough that in *La Piété filiale* Greuze created a sentimental fantasy of rural poverty as the last bastion of moral purity. This fantasy was ubiquitous in eighteenth-century literature and art. In the eighteenth century it was also tied to the idea of the purity of mankind’s earliest age, as if the rural poor preserved an edenic state as in a time capsule. The idea of the simplicity and moral exemplarity of the rural poor is rooted in the ancient genre of the pastoral. For example, these ideas are central to Longus’s *Daphnis et Chloé*, reprinted many times in the eighteenth century, including the celebrated 1718 edition for which the Regent, the duc d’Orléans, provided the

⁶¹ Barker 2005, pp. 65-89.

illustrations.⁶² The opposition of city and country that marks much of the century's iconography is central to it. The master's visit to his rural charges, embodying the social and economic link between city and country, is echoed much later in J.-M. Moreau le Jeune's drawing for the *Monument du Costume* called *Le Seigneur chez son fermier*.⁶³ All of this reflects the predilection for proprietary wealth among the monied elite.⁶⁴ It was a fantasy of order, a reassurance of rural stability.

The critique of urban wealth and sophistication implicit in the *Piété filiale* was explicit in many other artworks of the period, including such Salon pictures as Noël Hallé's pendants *L'Education des Riches* and *L'Education des Pauvres* (Salon 1765/17, figs. 98, 99). The same critique is associated with exoticism, be it with regard to the 'noble savage' of North America or the Savoyards, familiar in French eighteenth-century 'genre' painting since Watteau.⁶⁵ The Savoyard represented a familiar sort of exoticism. In reality they were rural labourers who migrated to northern cities for the winter. In Paris they sought cheap labour as valets or in the fringe trades, worked as chimney-sweeps, street entertainers, or pedlars.⁶⁶ Jean Daullé's print after Dumont le Romain's *La Savoyarde* (fig. 75; 1739) depicts a mother and two children in tattered clothing, following a path through mountainous terrain (presumably they are crossing the Alps on

⁶² *Les Amours pastorales de Daphnis et Chloé* (Paris: Coustelier; also, Paris, Quillau, 1718). See Ray 1982, I, p. 10, no 1. Other editions: Lille: Chez C F J Lehoucq; a 1745 edition included the Greek and French texts (Paris); a 1757 variation included Amyot's translation together with a newer translation by an "Anonime" (Le Camus), with vignettes and culs de lampe engraved by Focke after Cochin and Eisen (Paris: Imprimées pour les Curieux); a 1787 edition included Martini engravings after Orléans' drawings and a new translation by Debure de Saint Fauxbin (Paris: l'Imprimerie de Monsieur [pour] Lamy). See also Raynaud 1955, pp. 314-320.

⁶³ Engraved by J. L. Delignon, 1783. Plate 20 of 24. Bocher 1882, no 1367.

⁶⁴ See Taylor 1967.

⁶⁵ For genre pictures and exoticism, see Michel 2003.

⁶⁶ See Munhall 1968; Hufton 1974, pp. 80, 93-120.

their journey to Paris).⁶⁷ The verse expresses a reassuring view of poverty: “Croyés tendres Enfants, fardeau de vôtre Mere, / Vos bras soulageront un jour sa pauvreté: / Tandis qu’une riche Douairiere, / De ses Enfants craint la Majorité.” Only the rich have to worry about intergenerational squabbles over money. According to this poem, the rich might envy simple poverty. Thus they would taste its moral purity without having themselves to go poor.

A comforting vision of rural poverty is expressed in a poem about the *Piété filiale* by the abbé Jean-Louis Aubert, an editor, literary critic, mediocre poet, and enemy of the *Encyclopédistes*.⁶⁸ His poem was published in the *Mercur* in October 1763, that is, just after the closure of the Salon. It suggests yet another title for the painting: *L’Amour filial, conte moral, dont l’idée est prise du Tableau de M. Greuze, exposé au Sallon du Louvre*.⁶⁹ It opens with a critique of its age. “Il fut un siècle où la license / Régnoit dans les esprits ainsi que dans les mœurs [...]” Aubert’s protagonist is a caricature of the godless, materialist philosophe, a writer who claimed to demonstrate

Qu’on n’est tenu de réverer
Ceux à qui l’on doit la naissance,
Qu’autant qu’ils ont pris soin de former notre enfance.
Quant à cet instinct précieux,
Qui nous porte à chérir en eux notre existence.
Ce n’étoit au fond qu’ignorance,
Que préjugé, que foiblesse à ses yeux.
La vie étoit un présent odieux,

⁶⁷ Inv. 18e s., VI (1949) pp. 75-76, no 35.

⁶⁸ DBF, IV (1948) cols. 41-42, no. 66.

Fruit du hazard & de l'incontinence,
Qui, suivant le système outré
De ce Docteur dénaturé,
N'imposoit à nos cœurs nulle reconnoissance.

What Aubert attacks here is an extreme version of Enlightenment sensualist theory.⁷⁰

This descends from Locke, who argued that the mind formed ideas through the accumulation and synthesis of sense experience. Locke's argument implies in this context that a sentiment such as filial love is not innate, not part of the natural order of things but rather formed through experience. Aubert's position recalls that of bishop Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet, who in a didactic text written for the young Louis XIV argued that mankind had never existed in a state of nature but that knowledge of the fundamental arts of survival—architecture, husbandry, agriculture, dress—was furnished by God.⁷¹ Aubert implies that the soul is formed at birth to love our parents. The modern literature on Greuze generally reads didactic Rousseauian themes into Greuze's iconography, and aligns Greuze with aspects of Enlightenment thought. Yet this poem suggests that a coherent ideology of the family or of education need not exist in Greuze's serious family dramas; that, at least, his work was ambiguous enough that it could be used to support an anti-Enlightenment reading.

⁶⁹ MdF (Oct 1763), I, pp. 29-32, reprinted in J.-L. Aubert, *Fables nouvelles, divisées en six livres, avec des notes & un discours sur la manière de lire les fables et de les réciter*. Paris: Duchesne, 1764. See A-C no 7 (13 Feb 1764), pp. 110-111; MdF (Feb 1764), pp. 125-126.

⁷⁰ Compare Kevin Chua's reading of the poem, and the painting, in terms of Enlightenment 'vitalist' medical practice and theories, Chua 2007.

⁷¹ *Discours sur l'histoire universelle à monseigneur le Dauphin pour expliquer la suite de la religion et les changements des empires*, Paris: 1681; see Rykwert 1972, p. 47.

Heaven guided this materialist doctor “Vers un Bourg, où du premier âge / Les vertues sembloient respirer,” confirming the vision of a rural Eden. The spectacle of the *Piété filiale* converts the doctor.

Sa Raison applaudit, son cœur troublé se rend:

Son cœur convient que si l’Etre suprême
Ne nous inspiroit pas cet amour en naissant,
Il faudroit pour l’honneur de l’humanité même
Eriger en vertu ce pieux sentiment.

The religious overtones are evident in the precept to honour one’s parents. The sentiment is *pieux*; it should be a virtue were it not inspired at birth; *Le Ciel prit soin de l’éclairer*. Greuze was a practicing Catholic, and there is no reason he did not share Aubert’s views. The fact remains that it is difficult to link Greuze’s iconography to a precise ideology or theology, as evidenced in the 20th century by the critique of Edgar Munhall’s suggestion that Greuze’s pictures embodied Protestant practice.⁷²

The basic difficulty Greuze faced in clarifying his iconography was in the depiction of paralysis. How could a viewer know what the malady might be, or how severe the case? Greuze’s solution was to show the epiphenomena of illness, the circle of attentive family. Diderot with his typical verve wrote, “On dit encore que le vieillard est moribond et qu’il a le visage d’un agonisant... Le docteur Gatti dit que ces critiques-là n’ont jamais vu de malades, et que celui-ci a bien encore trois ans à vivre.”⁷³ Yet the

⁷² Munhall 1964. Anita Brookner notes that “Whether or not Greuze himself was a Protestant cannot be proved: he certainly painted Protestant subjects, notably *La Lecture de la Bible* and *L’Accordée de Village*, but he himself was married in, and baptized his daughters in the Catholic church,” Brookner 1972, p. 93. Rand and Barker later dismiss Munhall’s thesis: Rand 1996; Barker 1997 p. 44. See also Crow 2007.

⁷³ Salons I, p. 235 (Salon de 1763).

‘deathbed’ reading persisted in the literature: in the 1903 Hermitage catalogue the painting is listed as *La Mort du paralytique*.⁷⁴

The title *La Piété filiale*, with its latinate sound, has both Biblical and classical overtones. Greuze uses a pyramidal composition typical of religious paintings, recalling specifically the motif of the Lamentation. Yet the effect of low relief and the spare horizontality of the scene indicate another source of inspiration. It is likely that Greuze was drawing on Nicolas Poussin by this date, though Poussin is usually invoked in relation to his later paintings, particularly the *Septime Sévère* (1769), which Greuze publicly defended against withering comparisons to the seventeenth-century master.⁷⁵ In 1747 La Font de Saint-Yenne had named Poussin as a model for French painters to emulate. He would be one of many to do so.⁷⁶

I would argue that Greuze, responding to the reformist current well before any history painter, turned in 1761 to Poussin’s *Death of Germanicus* (fig. 76), one of the most famous deathbed scenes in French painting.⁷⁷ It would be difficult to believe that Greuze was ignorant of the *Germanicus*, well-known in the seventeenth century and famous since the abbé du Bos established it as a model of expression in 1719.⁷⁸ In 1762, one year after the sketch for the *Piété filiale* was exhibited at the Salon, and one year before the painting was shown there, the Académie determined the subjects of the Prix de Rome competition to be the Death of Socrates and the Death of Germanicus, a choice all

⁷⁴ Somov 1903, III, pp. 45-46, no. 1520.

⁷⁵ See Brookner 1972, pp. 67-70; Rosenberg and Butor draw formal parallels between the *Germanicus* and both the *Septime Sévère* and *Le Fils puni*. Rosenberg & Butor 1973, pp. 56-58.

⁷⁶ La Font 1747, pp. 11, 75, 89

⁷⁷ A 1760 inventory of the comte de Vence’s collection of prints after Poussin records three prints after the *Mort de Germanicus*: two by Guillaume Chasteau (1663) but with different addresses, and one by Jacques Colemans (1700) after the drawing in the collection of Boyer d’Equilles; Damiron 1960, p. 18. On the painting, its copies, prints and critical fortune, see Rosenberg & Butor 1973.

⁷⁸ Dubos 1719, I, pp. 80-81, II, pp. 78-79. See Rosenberg & Butor 1973, pp. 32-36.

the more significant in that they were the first Prix de Rome subjects to be drawn not from the Bible but from ancient history.⁷⁹

Commentators from the eighteenth century to the present have not examined the influence of Poussin on Greuze's work prior to 1765, with the exception of Edgar Munhall who noted in passing that the *Piété filiale* recalls the *Germanicus*.⁸⁰ Brookner distinguishes the later Poussinesque work, such as Greuze's true deathbed scene *Le Fils puni* (drawing 1765, painting 1778), as "horizontal and frieze-like," as compared to the "shallow semi-circular emphasis" of the earlier *Accordée* and *Piété filiale*.⁸¹ Indeed, the horizontal planarity of the *Piété filiale* is somewhat disguised by the pyramidal central motif. Yet comparison with the *Accordée*, I would argue, reveals a process of refinement, where Greuze in the later picture flattens the "semi-circular emphasis" insisting rather on a horizontal, planar linkage bracketed by the mother on the left and the boy carrying coffee on the right. The *Piété filiale* is indebted to Poussin in its shallow stage space, its linking of figures in a horizontal plane, the spareness of its setting, its vacant top half, and its didactic or moralizing theme. The paralytic's grandchildren recall the children clustered near the head of Germanicus's bed, and the cloth on the banister echoes the drapery suspended on Germanicus's canopy. The angle at which the paralytic is propped up in bed and his leftward profile echo Germanicus as well.

I would argue that *La Piété filiale* was Greuze's first attempt to merge the *petit sujet* with the techniques and legacy of what the period considered the most revered

⁷⁹ Locquin 1910, p. 51.

⁸⁰ Munhall 1987, p. 23. C.f. Michael Fried's discussion of the 'absorptive' qualities in Poussin's *Testament d'Eudamidas* and their implications for French eighteenth-century painting, Fried 1988, pp. 41-43.

⁸¹ Brookner 1972, p. 118. Gabriel de Saint-Aubin annotated his sketch of Greuze's drawing *La mort d'un Père de famille regretté par ses enfans* (Salon 1769/160) with the phrase "Voy. celle de Germanicus de Poussin." See also Rosenberg & Butor 1973, pp. 56-58.

history painting, and that the resulting ambiguities were inevitable. Even if critics did not name Poussin's *Germanicus* in relation to *La Piété filiale*, their recognition of the language of history painting in it is evident in their reading it as a deathbed scene.⁸² Furthermore, *sensibilité* provided a model of emotional identification that 'filled in' the anonymous figures' motivations and feelings. As well, art criticism—though restricted by the Académie's censor through much of the 1760s—helped circulate competing explanations for the picture. In this context, the picture's power lay in its interpretive demands. Its very ambiguity generated conflicting readings and led to both aesthetic and ethical debate, thus making it an inheritor and transformer of expressive-ethical criticism.

Perhaps in reaction to the particular interpretive difficulties of his work, in the 1760s Greuze turned to printmaking as a means of controlling its circulation and reception. The print after *La Piété filiale*, engraved by J.-J. Flipart and authorized by Greuze, was the first of a series of large-scale (487 x 626 mm) plates after his family dramas (fig. 74). These prints were expensive (the Flipart cost 16 *livres*) and greatly sought after by collectors as elite productions. Notarial inventories show that Flipart's print was popular.⁸³ Frequently it is described as framed, which meant that collectors preferred to display, and *live with*, the print rather than hide it in a portfolio. Since by 1766 the painting was in Russia, and regretted, the print became its official surrogate.⁸⁴

In the print letter, Greuze could establish a *title* that would circulate, and in theory supersede the others even as it recalled to mind the painting's exhibition in the Salon.

⁸² The *Avantcoureur* described it as "un tableau d'un père de famille secouru & servi au lit de la mort par ses enfants [...]," no 35 (29 Aug 1763), p. 556.

⁸³ Casselle 1976, pp. 153-159.

⁸⁴ The exact date of the painting's entry into Catherine II's collection had been subject to speculation, e.g. Paris 1984, p. 235, before Jacob Staehlin established that she purchased the painting in 1765, that it entered Russia in 1766 and arrived in the Academy of Arts in 1768: see Toronto 2005, p. 276, no 92.

Thus, I argue that *Le Paralytique servi par ses Enfants* is the picture's definitive title.

Why would Greuze select this title? Since it is descriptive, it is the most iconographically clear of all the titles attached to this work.

What interpretive difficulties in the picture does the print title resolve? Mathon de La Cour had rejected the possibility that the painting was a 'sequel' to the *Accordée*, on the grounds that the young man feeding soup to the paralytic was not his son, but his son-in-law, since it appeared that the same figure has married the old man's daughter in the *Accordée*. "M. Greuze a intitulé son Tableau, *La Piété filiale*; par conséquent le jeune homme qui donne des alimens à ce vieillard, est son fils & non pas son gendre."⁸⁵

However, both Diderot and Aubert refer to the young man as the paralytic's *gendre*.⁸⁶ They do so in 1763, the year that the painting received the title *La Piété filiale*. (Aubert's poem, again, was called *L'Amour filial*.) In that year Diderot suggested the title *De la récompense de la bonne éducation donnée*. Since the paralytic had not raised the son-in-law, it is surely not the fruit of his lessons that the picture illustrates. In other words, Aubert and Diderot in spite of their ideological differences were both moved by the notion that a son-in-law, in such a situation, would adopt the duties and role of a son. Furthermore, both Diderot and Aubert did regard the picture as a sequel to the *Accordée*, and in fact Diderot left open the possibility that Greuze with these two pictures "a suivi l'histoire de la même famille."⁸⁷

⁸⁵ Mathon de La Cour, *Lettres à Madame *** sur les peintures, les sculptures et la gravures exposées dans le salon du Louvre en 1763*. Paris: G. Desprez & Duchesne, 1763, CD 101, p. 69.

⁸⁶ Salons I, p. 234 (Salon de 1763); MdF (Oct 1763), I, p. 30. Barnabé Farmian de Rosoi, called Durosoi, also published a "Vers à M. Greuze, sur son Tableau de la Piété filiale," which refers to the young man as the father's *gendre*: MdF (Dec 1763), pp. 60-61.

⁸⁷ Salons I, p. 236 (Salon de 1763).

The Annonce to Flipart's *Paralytique servi par ses Enfants* cleared away the remaining interpretive problem by referring to the young man as the *Fils aîné*.⁸⁸ Therefore both title and Annonce establish that the picture is not a sequel to the *Accordée* and that the young man is the paralytic's eldest son. They make explicit that the picture is not a deathbed scene.

Though the title *Le Paralytique servi par ses Enfants* implies the didactic notion of a good upbringing, it focuses attention on the scene at hand. I would argue that Greuze's primary aim was to create an emotional reaction to his picture rather than to illustrate a precise philosophical principle. Yet in hand with the burden of emotional identification went the task of reading the picture, of making sense of the scene. This interpretive task, which requires intense engagement on the viewer's part, is an element of Greuze's modernity, a result of the ambiguity and sparseness of his work from the *Piété filiale* on. At base, Greuze wanted his hybrid genre of painting to have the textual clarity of history painting. Though he painted ambiguous pictures, he could not tolerate divergent readings of them.

The ungovernable nature of emotion, its tendency to bleed into unexpected contexts, lies at the heart of Greuze's difficulties in controlling the interpretation of his pictures. It is a result of his close adherence to the aesthetics of *sensibilité*. Identification with any subject, any emotion, in any situation: *sensibilité* was a democratization of feeling, the divorce of feeling from the highly regulated aesthetics of the seventeenth century that aimed to restrict subject matter and to channel passion through a canon of expressions and figures. Feeling itself under *sensibilité* became a protected field of innovation, but within limits. Greuze's selection of the paralytic as a subject least likely

⁸⁸ A-C, no 12 (23 Mar 1767), p. 178.

to offend in the Salon shows him seeking a compromise between public taste and the extremes of *sensibilité*. The compromise could not endure, least so when followers and imitators began to churn out less troubling, more palatable iterations of Greuze's subject matter. As I will argue in Chapter 5, Greuze transformed expressive-ethical criticism, and indeed the *petit sujet*, into something both incandescent and unstable. The grim cast of his works after the *Piété filiale* signal its terminal phase.

Chapter 5

In the Shadow of Greuze: The Decline of the *petit sujet*

In this chapter I argue that Greuze refined the *petit sujet* out of existence. The shift from the social toward the individual in his reception, which I posited in Chapter 4, would by the mid-1760s present such iconographical and interpretive difficulties as to silence the social conversation, the public embodiment of a social vision, that the *petit sujet* had produced. As I have argued in relation to the *Piété filiale* (1763; Chapter 4), Greuze's mature experiments in multi-figure, multi-generational family dramas were as successful as they were controversial in the Salons. The lack of consensus on his work was more extreme than that which Chardin suffered. Greuze's subject matter was a vehicle not for mere social and psychological identification but deep emotional engagement and release. I argue that this emotional intensity went in hand with iconographical ambiguity and interpretive difficulty. The organizing principle in this chapter is iconographical: Greuze's family dramas divide into Rites of Passage and the Stages of Life, as modern refashionings of the Ages of Man. I compare them to iconographically related work by his followers and satellites, in order to argue first that those followers and satellites either misunderstood or deliberately weakened his experimental iconography; and second, that with these pictures Greuze fell out of step with contemporary taste.

One of the reasons Greuze's compositions failed to stiffen into set pieces is that in contrast to most of his followers, he periodically animated them with ideas drawn from contemporary life. One such idea was the vogue for acts of charity in the last third of the century, which resulted in an iconographical category, the *Acte d'humanité*, that was both

an element and an outgrowth of his work.¹ Within this category there was a complex set of exchanges between his work, that of his followers, and that depicting, as reportage, real events. I argue that Greuzian pictorial language developed such currency by the 1770s that it became a medium for the passage of life into art, a means of visualizing contemporary events through the ethically loaded pictorial language of Nicolas Poussin and Roman antiquity. Whereas with Chardin's work critics imagined his figures' ethical universe through his ethically neutral pictorial language, with Greuze's work ethical imagining was to a certain extent forced, if not foreclosed, by the inherent associations with stoic restraint and exemplary virtue in his style (see Chapter 4). If so, Greuze's work at once *intensified* and *narrowed* the social imagining and thus the public nature of the *petit sujet*. Yet his work, by a sort of compensation, can be understood as public in a way that the *petit sujet* of Chardin was not, that is, in its ability to adapt to new, contemporary social events and issues. Greuze's work brought the *petit sujet* toward the condition of reportage, which can be understood as the purest form of social conversation and imagining.

In the concluding case study of this chapter, I examine the public limits of Greuze's style in a particularly sophisticated adaptation of his language in an etching by the obscure Louis Pauquet. I argue that Pauquet's synthesis of Greuzian pictorial ideas and contemporary events, while unique in the period in its iconographic innovation, falls short of the troubling extremes in Greuze's work. I conclude that both the predominance of Greuzian imagery in the 70s and 80s, and, ironically, the inability of Greuze's contemporaries to adhere to his ideas, contributed to the decline of the *petit sujet*. It was,

¹ Barker refers to this sort of image as "Le trait de bienfaisance" and discusses the larger social context of the "cult of benevolence" in the 1770s: Barker 2005, pp. 177-204.

I would suggest, at once Greuze's popularity and his artistic and aesthetic individualism that silenced the social conversation created by the *petit sujet*.

Rites of Passage

In Greuze the revelation of character is typically staged through rites of passage. Thus *L'Accordée de Village* (1761) turns on the bride's nascent conflict between desire and modesty, and *La Dame de charité* (fig. 77; 1775) on the little girl's first, timid confrontation with poverty and illness as she is initiated into good deeds. Similarly, *Le Gâteau des rois* (fig. 78; 1774) shows the young boy learning to distribute pieces of Twelfth Night cake.²

The reductiveness of Greuze's painting, as well as its deformation of traditional iconography, sometimes gave rise to difficulty in the interpretation of his works. J.-J. Flipart's print after *Le Gâteau des Rois* (Salon 1777/295) (fig. 78) is a case in point. Reviewing the print in a letter to the *Mercure de France*, the printmaker Charles-Etienne Gaucher (1741-1804) found the father's expression *indécise*. "Ce vieillard paraît même distrait, et ne prendre aucun intérêt à ce qui se passe devant lui. Son air sérieux semble inspirer de la gêne et de la contrainte au plus jeune des garçons qui tire les parts du gâteau."³ In fact, the father's distacted air comes from his blindness; Greuze has transposed the blind father of his own *L'Aveugle trompé* (fig. 79; Salon 1755/145) with hardly any modification of expression and comportment. This explains the otherwise

² Montpellier, Musée Fabre inv. 836.4.27. For a brief discussion of the social context of this ritual in relation to the reception of this painting, see Barker 2005, pp. 147-151. Barker cites Le Bas's *Le Gâteau des rois* as a possible precedent for Greuze's painting.

³ MdF (Dec 1777), p. 174; see also McAllister Johnson 1979.

confusing reaction of the youngest boy, whose father has been made alien by the affliction. It also links the picture to *La Dame de charité*, painted one year after *Le Gâteau des Rois*, in which the girl is repelled by the old man's decrepitude. The mother thrusting her daughter forward in *La Dame de charité* parallels the older sister supporting the fearful boy in *Le Gâteau des Rois*.

In Gaucher's misreading, the picture fails because expression is poorly handled. In other words, though Gaucher misunderstood details of staging, he was sympathetic to Greuze's larger aim, which was to reveal character through expression. Where Greuzian *sensibilité* is in full force, everything is subservient to character revealed through expression. The result is that emphasis devolves from iconography toward what cannot be seen, toward interior state. A measure of Greuze's uniqueness in this regard is provided by the comparison of his *Le Gâteau des Rois* with J.-P. Le Bas's print of the same title after Philippe Canot (fig. 80; 1740s).⁴ The latter is derivative of Chardin's *Le Bénédicité* (fig. 24; Salon 1740/61), notably in the relationships between parent and two children, the one recalcitrant, the other observant, but also in formal arrangement: the daughter with the cake in the Le Bas echoing the young boy praying in the Chardin. Moreover, the filling-out of the scene with descriptive details—the buffet displaying plates and metalware, the mother's fine cloak, and finally the servant (though female)—recalls Boucher's *Le Déjeuner* (fig. 81; 1739). The Le Bas shares Boucher's figures' doll-like comportment and expression. Le Bas's picture is, resultingly, a kind of costume piece 'clothed' on the framework of the Chardin and the Le Bas, illustrating the Twelfth Night rather than unveiling the interior motivation of its figures.

⁴ Inv. 18e s., XIII (1974), p. 142, no 123. The print probably dates from the 1740s; Le Bas's *Le souhait de la bonne année au grand papa*, after Canot, was announced in the MdF (June 1747), p. 134; Inv. 18e s., XIII (1974), p. 142, no 124.

Greuze's *Le Gâteau des rois* extends the charitable theme of *La Dame de Charité* (fig. 77) and *La Piété filiale* (fig. 73). Like the *Piété filiale*, it illustrates the consequences and responsibilities of living with one's elders (see Chapter 4). In *Le Gâteau des rois*, Greuze's innovation lies in the boy's fearful reaction to his blind father. Likewise, the youngest daughter hunches in trepidation behind the man's chair, her finger to her lip. This is in contrast to the youngest child in the *Piété filiale*, who enthusiastically presents a bird to the paralytic.

It was the unproblematic and unsubtle Greuze that provided the basis for life imitating art, as is evident in the adaptation of the *Piété filiale* in an anonymous print illustrating an episode recounted in the *Journal de Paris* in 1789. Also entitled *La Piété filiale*, it depicts the humble dwelling of a labourer's family.⁵ While their parents are out gathering firewood, the five-year-old son and two-year-old daughter unite forces to bring a glass of water to their bedridden, infirm grandmother. The parents return to surprise a Greuzian tableau, the boy supporting his grandmother's head with one hand while the other brings a glass, just handed to him by the sister, to her mouth. The strongly Greuzian motif of the drapery supports the pyramidal figural arrangement borrowed from Greuze's *La Piété filiale*. A print such as this demonstrates how Greuze was popularized.

In *Le Gâteau des rois* blindness makes a mask of the father's face, just as it renders physical interaction awkward, evident here in the way that the father thrusts the napkin toward the youngest boy. *Le Gâteau des rois* transposes the central motif of *La Dame de charité* to a hermetically enclosed familial environment. Greuze's family pictures tend to be microcosms of society, illustrating the character of each age, rites of

⁵ Oa 22 fol. (280); see JdP (30 Jan 1789), no 30, p. 136.

passage, and generational continuity without reference to the world beyond blood ties. *Le Gâteau des rois* takes this kind of picture-making to its logical extreme.

The notion of blindness rendering a father strange to his own children is at once sentimental and unsettling. Yet Greuze employs it to illustrate the character of young children with an unflinching directness. The motif had appeared in Greuze's drawing *Le Retour de la nourrice* (fig. 82; ca. 1765-1770), in which the child returned from the wet-nurse is frightened by his mother.⁶ This estrangement through absence was an almost obligatory rite of passage in the eighteenth century; Greuze himself sent his daughters to a wet-nurse.⁷ Here the strangeness is introduced via the outside world.

Comparing *Le retour de la nourrice* to *Le Gâteau des rois* reveals, I would argue, a process of refinement in which Greuze reduces a picture to its essence. It is when Greuze cuts his families off from outside contact, making them true microcosms, that his pictures surpass those of his contemporaries in intensity, that is, in the emotional demand they place on the viewer. Moreover, Greuze's 'outsiders' tend to be stock characters, marginal in placement and function (the recruiter in *La Malédiction paternelle*; the notary in *L'Accordée de Village*). Only the family engages in action and demonstrates interior life. The telling exception is *La Mort d'un père dénaturé* (fig. 83), where the intruder takes centre stage, but this hauntingly ambiguous scene is a world upside down, counter to its pendant *La Mort d'un père regretté par ses enfants* (both 1769).⁸

⁶ Private collection, illustrated Munhall 2002, p. 115, fig. 90.

⁷ Barker 2005, p. 108. "Towards the end of the century, of the 21,000 babies born each year in Paris, only 1,000 were fed by their mothers, another 1,000 by wet-nurses brought into the home, 2,000 to 3,000 were sent to places near the city, and the rest to more distant localities [...]." McManners 1985, p. 10.

⁸ *La Mort d'un père dénaturé...*, Musée Greuze de Tournus inv. no 82.1519. Its pendant, *La Mort d'un père regretté...*, Strasbourg, private collection.

The child's fright in a familial context is not without precedent, yet comparisons reveal how far beyond his contemporaries Greuze pursued his analytic vision of the family as a social unit. In N.-J. Voyez's *Carème-prenant* (fig. 84) after Johann Eleazar Zeissig, called Schenau (1734-1806) a Dresden-based painter working in Paris from 1756-1770, the child reacts in fear to costumed visitors during Carnival.⁹ The date of *Carème-prenant* must be inferred. Published by Beauvarlet, it likely dates to Schenau's stay in Paris. The figure in the doorway as catalyst is also employed in a Schenau of 1767, *Le retour désiré* (fig. 86), stylistically close to *Carème-prenant*: both are clearly of the period when Schenau, as one observer put it, "chose the manner of Greuze."¹⁰ This would be the Greuze of the late 1750s to mid-1760s, when he thematized the woman/child relationship in *Silence!* (fig. 69; Salon 1759/103), *Les Sevreuses* (Salon 1765, not in Livret) and *L'enfant gâté* (fig. 85; Salon 1765/111). Schenau's *Le retour désiré*, particularly in the arrangement and gesture of the mother, seems built on the scaffolding of *Silence!* and shares—even surpasses—the crammed density of that painting and of *L'enfant gâté*. *Carème-prenant*, then, largely on stylistic and thematic grounds almost certainly dates to the mid- to late-1760s and therefore precedes Greuze's *Le Gâteau des Rois* (1777).

Did Greuze borrow the motif of the frightened child from Schenau? In *Carème-prenant*, the child recoils from an old man cross-dressed as a female domestic or young woman of the bourgeoisie. His costume is a pastiche of femininity, the beauty spot, apron, bonnet, fan and scissors failing to hide his patriarchal features, square hands, and round-tipped, buckled shoes. (There is cross-dressing, as well, in Jeaurat's *Le Carnaval*

⁹ Oa22 (542) fol; 362 x 455 mm; Le Blanc IV (1890), p. 162, no 34.

¹⁰ Marx 1973, p. 44. Oa22 (280) fol; Inv. 18e s., VIII (1955), pp. 89-90, nos 185-186 (*Le retour désiré*, no 186, as missing).

des rues de Paris, Salon 1757/15.) As the print verse makes clear, the child's reaction is central to the picture's meaning: "La Crainte vient de l'ignorance / Vous en voiez ici l'expérience, // Les Masques font peur aux petits Enfants, / Tandis qu'il[s] font rire les Vieilles Gens." Fear is born of ignorance. In *Carême-prenant* the gulf between ignorance and experience does not estrange the son from the father, as it does in *Le Gâteau des rois*. Everyone reacts as they should, according to their age; the lack of range in characterization and expression is evidence that Schenau has adapted the scenography of a Greuze family picture (shallow stage space, densely clustered groups, 'Netherlandish' interior) but did not pursue Greuze's subtlety of characterization and could not attain the same complexity of the relationships between his figures. Greuze's command of the moment of emotional awakening finds no equal in Schenau, whose figures react in wholehearted expressions of mirth or fear.

Greuze introduces an ambiguity of expression and characterization that requires a good deal of investment on the viewer's part. His pictures demand a 'filling-in' of emotion leading to the revelation of character, a process that gave rise to misreadings, as in *Le Gâteau des rois*, and differences of factual interpretation, as the question whether the paralytic in *La Piété filiale* was actually dying (Diderot and Mathon de la Cour argued that he was not).¹¹ Indeed, Greuze's family pictures tended to disturb his critics, as *La malédiction paternelle*, *Le fils puni*, and *La Mort d'un père dénaturé*.¹² By contrast, Schenau's own innovation was to remove the ambiguities from Greuze in order to

¹¹ "Ce n'est pas un vieillard qui meurt; c'est un paralytique qui bénit les soins & la piété de son fils." Mathon de la Cour, *Lettres à Mme ****, CD 101, p. 67; *Salons*, I, p. 325 (Salon de 1763); see also Barker 2005, p. 69.

¹² For the first two, Mathon de la Cour, *Letters à Monsieur ****, 1765, CD 111, p. 13; for the last, Bachaumont 1999, p. 67: "Quelques critiques ont prétendu qu'il ne fallait pas offrir de pareilles scènes [...]"; AL, (1769) V, pp. 310-311; and see Barker 2005, pp. 80-89.

interest a broader public. He created a distinctive and marketable idiom synthesizing Greuze with painthandling and motifs derived from Northern painters of the ‘beau fini’ such as Gerard Dou. In 1782 Karl Wilhelm Daßdorf wrote that Schenau chose “die Manier von Greuze, erheilt allgemeinen Beifall, und erwarb viel Geld. Um sich aber mehr der Originalität zu nähern, so änderte er seine erste Manier und malte äußerst fleißig in Netschers Art französische Trachten und Sitten.”¹³ In the eighteenth century ‘Netscher’ was a catch-all referring to Northern ‘genre’ painters, but its meaning here can be inferred. Schenau was trained by the engraver J.-G. Wille, chiefly responsible for popularizing the ‘beau fini’ of Dou and other Northern masters. This obsessively finished style was characterized by brilliant and precise renditions of silks and satins, and had no equivalent in the *petit sujet*. Wille’s reproductive engravings in his debut Salon of 1755 included the celebrated *Cléopâtre* after Netscher, remarked for “la vigueur, la richesse & surtout le séduisant des satins où ce peintre excelloit.”¹⁴ His *Dévideuse* after Dou was praised for its “beau fini.”¹⁵ Indeed, he was the first to engrave that icon of the beau fini, Gerard ter Borch’s *Paternal Admonition* (Berlin), as *L’Instruction paternelle* (1765).¹⁶

Schenau melded stylistic elements of the ‘beau fini’ with Greuzian themes and motifs, simplifying the latter no doubt with a foreign market in mind. Claude Duflos’ print after Schenau’s *Le retour désiré* (1767) was announced in 1769 (fig. 86) as *fort amusante*, with mention that this print “présente une belle tête de vieillard dans le style pathétique de M. Greuze.”¹⁷ This phrase would have signalled Greuze’s *La Piété filiale* (Salon 1763/140), engraved by Flipart (Salon 1767/224). Greuze’s picture was admired,

¹³ Marx 1973, p. 44.

¹⁴ MdF (Nov 1755), p. 190; Le Blanc 1847, pp. 8-10, no 5.

¹⁵ MdF, (Nov 1755), p. 190; Le Blanc 1847, pp. 47-48, no 61.

¹⁶ Le Blanc 1847, pp. 40-41, no 55.

¹⁷ Announced with its pendant, *Le Maître de Guitare*, A-C (1769), p. 641.

but its subject matter hardly caught on; there are probably no other paralyticts in eighteenth-century Salons (see Chapter 4). Greuze's 'language' had an innate power. Where his themes might have seemed risky, his motifs were both identifiable and desirable, and ripe for adaptation by other artists.

In Greuze's *Le Gâteau des rois* and Schenau's *Carème-prenant* the master refined an idea generated by a follower. The same is true of Greuze's *La Mère bien-aimée* (fig. 87; Salon 1769/152), which, I would argue, is a pared-down version of Schenau's *Le retour désiré*. Greuze removed the grandfather, the Dutch-looking details of copper pot and vegetables, and added three children, gathering the mother and children in a cluster opposite the father. The space between father and mother/children, in this relatively barren room, isolates and focuses attention upon the figures' emotional response. The horizontal composition helps create a relationship of dramatic counterpoint between the two halves of the picture. The Schenau, jammed into its vertical format, lacks breathing room. In this environment his figures' expressions seem strained and artificial. While Schenau's father returns from a military campaign, Greuze's simply returns from the hunt. In Greuze, prolonged rupture of the family leads to disaster, as in the *Malédiction paternelle* and *Fils puni*; in Schenau, military service concludes with order in the hearth. The Greuzian theme of the homecoming, dark and with overtones of the Prodigal Son in *Le fils puni*, in Schenau's hands becomes a set piece.

Life into Art and Back

The fluid exchange of motifs and themes between Greuze and his followers indicates, I would argue, the degree to which the Greuzian idiom had become a sort of broadly accessible pictorial language with great iconographical ‘articulation’ or adaptability, yet the adaptation and consequent deformation of Greuze was not merely a result of his followers’ incomplete grasp of his ideas and subtleties; it demonstrates, I would argue, that his tastes were not always shared by the larger public. The unity of his *œuvre* cannot be denied, but it is consistently split between his marketable and his more experimental works. On the one hand, there are the inoffensive and appealing ‘Greuze girls’ and more generally his single- or multiple-figure vertical format pictures. On the other hand, there are those horizontal pictures that, following *L’Accordée de Village*, became the arena of his increasingly spare social and pictorial experiments (see Chapter 4). Unlike the vertical pictures, which relate strongly to Schenau’s and P.-A. Wille’s work, the horizontal pictures were adapted in the 1770s and 1780s by N.-B. Lépicier and Etienne Aubry. These latter tended toward highly descriptive situations. All of these artists moved away from Greuze’s focus on interior state and characterization.

The predominance of Greuzian ideas in the 1770s and 1780s indicates a lack of innovation in the *petit sujet*. Indeed, it was this as well as Greuze’s followers’ inability to achieve his psychological acuity and rigorous essentialism that brought about the decline of the *petit sujet*. In the right hands, however, Greuze’s pictorial ideas were supple and lent themselves to brilliant invention. In 1785 an otherwise unremarkable engraver, Jean-Louis-Charles Pauquet (1759-18..), rose to the challenge. Pauquet worked almost exclusively in etched preparations largely for book illustration. A rare large-format etching (340 x 495 mm, signed and dated “L. Pauquet .[.] – S..1785”) was

remarked by Portalis and Béraldi in the Cabinet des Estampes: “Dans un intérieur rustique, un jeune enfant porté par son père, entoure de ses petits bras le buste très ressemblant de *Marie-Antoinette*, placé à côté de celui de *Louis XVI*; toute la famille contemple ce tableau [...]” (fig. 88).¹⁸

The print consists almost entirely of Greuzian motifs. The sword lying across the threshold indicates that the setting is likely that of provincial nobility. Three generations—nine figures—are linked through proximity, gesture or gaze; typically Greuzian also are the dog, *réchaud*, cupboard with crockery, loaf, and drapery. Alien to Greuzian family scenes, however, are the portrait busts. These, shown in profile, derive from engravings. The Louis XVI is adapted from Marie-Louise-Adélaïde Boizot’s print after sculptor Louis-Simon Boizot’s preparatory drawing for a sculpture I have been unable to trace (fig. 89).¹⁹ This print dates to 1775; the young king’s profile and style of wig is easily recognizable in the Pauquet. The Boizot was issued in a series of royal portraits, including a *Marie-Antoinette*. The latter, however, is a facing pendant, looking to the right to meet Louis XVI’s leftward profile.²⁰ Pauquet would have had to reverse the *Marie-Antoinette* in order to create two profile busts facing the same direction. It seems that he avoided this by drawing from M.-L.-A. Boizot’s second series of royal portraits (1781). That series, which shares the same format and decorative frame as the first, includes a *Marie-Antoinette* (fig. 90) facing left, the same direction as the *Louis*

¹⁸ BnF Est., Ee 127 fol., p. 27; Portalis & Béraldi, III/I, p. 293. They note that they had also seen the print in a sale of 1880.

¹⁹ De Vinck 297 (1775).

²⁰ De Vinck 296 (1775).

XVI of 1775.²¹ (Further proof is that the 1781 *Marie-Antoinette* more closely resembles Pauquet's bust in arrangement of the hairstyle than that of 1775.)

The busts, even if they were plaster, are clearly out of place in such rustic surrounds. Pauquet drew on allegorical and honorific pictorial language as much as such Greuzian precedents as *Le tendre ressouvenir*. Indeed, busts as objects of veneration are typical in royal imagery, for example, J.-J. Lagrenée le Jeune's *Le Buste de Louis XVI présenté par la Justice* (fig. 91, not later than 1787).²² This painting was designed thematically for its destination, the council chamber of the maison des Juges-Consuls. The bust depicted appears to be Pajou's, and would have been familiar from the Salons: the plaster was shown Salon 1775/223, the terracotta Salon 1777/211, and the marble Salon 1779/192.²³ Royal portraits were official, which meant that they were approved by the Directeur des Bâtiments and, of course, the King and Queen themselves. Within official portraiture there are again types and classes, each with their own, usually deeply traditional, iconographical conventions. Pauquet borrowed conventions from several types of royal portraiture, including the print and the bust. Unfettered by 'official' status, Pauquet was able to synthesize this imagery within a fictive, Greuzian realm

While Pauquet faithfully reproduced the profiles of the two Boizot portraits, he transformed Louis XVI's costume into that of a Roman statesman, a simple drapery exposing the neck and chest. This is significant, since in portrait busts Louis XVI was always shown with a high collar, vest (usually embroidered), and typically the decorations of the Toison d'Or, the insignia of the Order of the Saint-Esprit, and a

²¹ De Vinck 380; GdF (11 Dec 1781), p. 474. The print is after L.-S. Boizot's preparatory drawing for *Marie-Antoinette d'Autriche, reine de France*, marble, Salon 1781/265 (Louvre inv. RF 4515): see Versailles 2001, pp. 93-95, no. 14.

²² Paris, Musée Carnavalet inv. P.2228.

²³ The marble is possibly Versailles, Musée de Versailles inv. MR2652, attributed to the studio of Pajou.

fleurdelysé mantle. (It is difficult to discern whether Pauquet dressed Marie-Antoinette in the antique style, since her upper body is blocked from view by the child.²⁴) A garland of ivy, a living neoclassical motif, completes the transformation. The ostentatious luxury of royal dress would have clashed with the humble Greuzian interior. As Romans the King and Queen are indifferent to wealth. This rhetoric relates to the growing taste for the stoic exemplars of Republican Rome, as that of Quinctius Cincinnatus, once dictator, returned to the plow, as painted by N.-G. Brenet (Salon 1779/32), or the noble Fabricius Luscinus, rejecting offers of wealth in favour of his rustic familial life, painted by L.-J.-F. Lagrenée l'aîné (Salon 1777/2).²⁵ In spite of the Roman trappings, Pauquet retained the royal wigs presumably for ease of identification, since the public would have recognized the King and Queen through prints such as the *Boizots* used by Pauquet—prints designed in part to disseminate the latest royal fashions.

Pauquet's print is clearly propaganda designed to counter the ongoing attacks on the spending of the royal house.²⁶ It resonates with Louis XVI's and Marie-Antoinette's attempts to limit personal spending and to embrace a simpler style of living, most notoriously embodied in the rustic hamlet with real farm, herdsman and oxen installed for Marie-Antoinette at the Château de Trianon.²⁷ The print is a kind of answer to this

²⁴ In 1771 Jean-Baptiste Lemoyne II (1704-1778) sculpted the *Buste de Mme la Dauphine*, aged 15, in classicizing drapery. The bust was presented at Versailles September 15, 1771, then brought to the Salon (not in *Livret*): see Bachaumont 1999, pp. 90-91. This marble is in the Kunsthistorisches Museum Vienna inv. No. 5478.

²⁵ See Rosenblum 1974, pp. 59-61.

²⁶ For an introduction to this issue, see Pallach 1986. Guillaume de Lamoignon de Malesherbes, briefly called to the secretariat of the *Maison du Roi* at the beginning of Louis XVI's reign, observed that "De toutes les dépenses, celle sur la quelle on demandoit la plus d'économie et de réformation, étoit celle de la *Maison du Roi*." *Mémoire* of 1775-1781, reproduced in Pallach 1986, p. 79.

²⁷ See Nolhac 1924.

last instance of life passing into art. One imagines the Trianon farmer paying homage to the Queen in an interior resembling Pauquet's.

A key to the propagandistic structure of the Pauquet lies in yet another type of a royal portraiture, this one commemorating an event: a coloured aquatint issued in 1781 to mark the birth of the first Dauphin. J.-F. Janinet's *Les Sentiments de la Nation*, after J.-B. Huet (fig. 92) shows Marie-Antoinette holding the child before a bust of Louis XVI.²⁸ This bust is draped *à l'antique* (though the wig style and drapery do not match the Pauquet), an innovation here echoed by Marie-Antoinette's loose tunic as well as the neoclassical altar to Love in the foreground. In the conjunction of these elements, this print relates to the iconography, popularized by Greuze, Fragonard and Vien in very different contexts, of the sacrifice/offering/invocation to Love, all while demonstrating the malleability of the motif. The Janinet updates in fashionable neoclassicism a traditional allegory in honour of a royal birth. At the same time it underscores the familial bonds of the royal family, since the child is the product of Love. The inclusion of a portrait of the late Empress Maria Theresa, Marie-Antoinette's mother, makes the print a celebration of the continuity of Marie-Antoinette's bloodline. Thus it frames Marie-Antoinette as a mother, as do, for example, E.-L. Vigée-Lebrun's portraits.

The neoclassical altar had appeared in 1784 in E. Voysard's print after A. Borel, a symbolic manifesto entitled *L'Alaitement maternel encouragé* (fig. 93).²⁹ In this print, Comedy, embodied by Figaro, offers a sack to breastfeeding mothers while wet-nurses are imprisoned behind them. Charity reaches to her altar in order bestow her wealth on

²⁸ BnF Est., Ef 105 rés. fol. t.III, p. 149; Inv. 18e s., XII (1973), pp. 45-46, no. 78; De Vinck 732; GdF (23 Nov 1781), p. 452. This print was originally issued to mark the birth of Marie-Thérèse Charlotte, JdP (20 Dec 1778), p. 1428, then reissued with changes in the letter for the birth of the first Dauphin. There is a monochrome reduction, BnF Est., Ef 105 rés. fol. t.III, p. 150; Inv. 18e s., XII (1973), p. 46, no. 79.

²⁹ Hennin CXV, no. 10027; Portalis & Béraldi 1880 III/II, p. 632.

the mothers.³⁰ The relationship between the neoclassical altar and female virtue dates at least to Vien's admittedly decorative *La Vertueuse Athénienne*, engraved by Flipart (Salon 1765/237). It is reinforced by the breastfeeding motif established by Greuze's *Silence!* (Salon 1759/103).³¹ Its equivalent, the bare-breasted mother in *La Mère bien-aimée* (Salon 1769/152) is echoed in Schenau's *Le retour désiré* (1767, engraved by Duflos 1769). Breastfeeding finally left the fictive realm of the *petit sujet* when Adélaïde Labille-Guillard showed a portrait of *Mme Mitoire* (granddaughter of Carle Van Loo) *avec ses enfants, & donnant à têter à l'un d'eux* (Salon 1783/131).³² Thus by this date the conjunction of neoclassical motifs and themes and the mother expressing her virtue through breastfeeding, was naturalized.

The Pauquet, like Janinet's *Les Sentiments de la Nation*, stresses Marie-Antoinette's role as a virtuous mother. After all, it is to her bust rather than Louis XVI's that the father presents his child. The centrality of the breastfeeding mother, connected to Marie-Antoinette's bust by the pictorial linkage of father and child, makes clear that Marie-Antoinette is her symbolic double, the other woman in the picture to whom a child clings. But Marie-Antoinette was, of course, more than a symbolic mother. On March 27, 1785, she gave birth to Louis-Charles, duc de Normandie, who would become the second Dauphin and, in 1793, following the monarchic tradition, Louis XVII. The Pauquet, signed and dated 1785, almost certainly marks this birth, reflecting

³⁰ Pierre-Augustin Caron de Beaumarchais had proposed to donate the proceeds from *Le Mariage de Figaro* (first performed April 1784) to found an *Institute* of maternal welfare: for an introduction to the movement in favour of breastfeeding in relation to Rousseau, sensibilité and its larger cultural currents, see Schama 1989, pp. 145-162, 885-886; Senior 1983.

³¹ Compare also Chevillet's *L'Amour Maternelle* after de Peters, Oa 22 (243).

³² There is a painted ivory miniature apparently after this work in the Louvre, inv. RF 4301. According to Pierrette Jean-Richard, this miniature is after a pastel, dated 1783 (private collection, Paris): Jean-Richard 1994, p. 211, no. 387. The *Livret* gives the size of the painting, "3 pieds 5 pouces de haut, sur 2 pieds de large," but not the medium. In the Salon 1781/316 Jacques-Louis David showed a picture, now lost, of *Une Femme allaitant son enfant*.

popular enthusiasm for the occasion.³³ It also operates defensively in light of the continually growing tide of pamphlets and verse slandering Marie-Antoinette's virtue in both sexual and financial terms.³⁴ 1785 was an eventful year in this respect. Visiting Paris on May 24, Marie-Antoinette was received in stony silence in the streets and at the Opéra, not least in reaction to her grandiose display of jewelry, apparently valued at some 800,000 *livres*.³⁵

In the largest sense, Pauquet's etching attempts to connect the King and Queen with the abstracted Greuzian family that had been the locus of so much public sentiment since the 1760s. The meeting of royals and commoners had already produced the increasingly popular imagery of the *Acte d'humanité*, a kind of reportage of the charitable actions of royalty and nobility. P.-L. Debucourt's *Trait d'humanité de Louis XVI* (fig. 94; Salon 1785/156) depicts the King, disguised, dispensing charity to a Greuzian assemblage of grandparents, parents and children, poor inhabitants of a Versailles cottage during the cruel winter of 1783.³⁶ As the *Mémoire secrets* remarked, "De pareilles leçons qui s'exercent et se donnent sous nos yeux, par des personnages connus, sont d'une moralité bien plus frappante, bien plus directe, bien plus utile que les plus beaux traits de l'histoire grecque, romaine et même sacrée [...]."³⁷ This is a

³³ Dupland 1987, pp. 11-12.

³⁴ See Thomas 1989.

³⁵ Dufour 2001, pp. 379-380; Delorme 1999, pp. 183-184. It is unlikely that the Pauquet responds to the 'affaire du collier', which did not begin to unfold publicly until the Cardinal de Rohan's arrest 15 August. The trial ran from 11 January to 31 May 1786: see Poggi 2001; for an introduction to the affair in the larger context of public perception of the Queen's virtue, with useful bibliography, see Schama 1989, pp. 203-227, 888-889.

³⁶ Coloured aquatint by Laurent Guyot after this painting, as *Humanité et bienfaisance du Roi*, announced GdF (11 May 1787), p. 174; De Vinck 208. Depictions of the royal couple's charitable actions had appeared since before the beginning of their reign: F. Godefroy—Moreau le Jeune, *Exemple d'humanité* given by the Dauphine, Qb1 (16 Oct 1773), De Vinck 200; its pendant, A.-F. David—J.-D. Dugourc, *La Poule au pot*, De Vinck 203. An earlier state of this last print is found in Qb1 (1774) with a shorter verse and the title *Traite de bienfaisance*, announced (as *Trait de bienfaisance*) GdF (19 Dec 1774), p. 452.

³⁷ Bachaumont 1999, p. 303.

remarkable statement in light of the rising tide of moralizing pictures drawn particularly from Roman history in the 1770s and 1780s. It implies that, if painting were to follow the Diderotian principle of teaching virtue and discouraging vice, it had to turn, in essence, to reportage. This pressure to connect moral exemplars with lived experience sheds light on Greuze's decision to make works based on things overheard (*La Belle-mère* [drawing] 1779, engraved by J.-C. Levasseur, 1781) or things reported (*Le testament déchiré*, 1775; engraved by Levasseur, Salon 1789/319). In fact, Debucourt had already brought the *Acte d'humanité* to the fictional realm of the *petit sujet* with *Le gentilhomme bienfaisant* (fig. 95; Salon 1781/217).³⁸ In this picture, according to the *Livret*, "un seigneur ouvre sa bourse pour soulager une famille dont le père expire dans l'instant que l'on vient pour dettes enlever les meubles de la maison." The Greuzian resonance of this theme, recalling both *Le fils puni* and *La Dame de charité*, is strengthened by Debucourt's use of a specifically Greuzian motif. Where Schenau had borrowed the Greuzian *pater familias*, Debucourt borrowed the Greuze girl of *La Cruche cassée* (fig. 66; 1777) who, placed in the picture's centre, turns imploring eyes to the generous noble.³⁹ Here it is as if the Greuzian motif, cut loose from its original context, remained a signal of moralizing intent.

The fiction of *Le gentilhomme bienfaisant* was indeed close to life, for the *Mémoires secrets* observed that it recalled a similarly generous "trait du prince de Conti actuel" that had been reported in *L'Espion anglais* in 1779.⁴⁰ In another variant on this exchange between fiction and reality, Robert de Launay's print after the obscure Jean

³⁸ Paris 1973, (unpaginated), no 6.

³⁹ The same figure had appeared in Debucourt's lost *Le Juge de village* (Salon 1781/219), known through J.-J. Le Veau's engraving (1782), *Le Juge ou la cruche cassée*, Portalis & Béraldi 1880, II/II, p. 705.

⁴⁰ Bachaumont 1999, p. 241; *L'Espion anglais*, VIII (Londres, 1779), p. 156.

Defraigne, *L'Acte d'humanité* (fig. 96; 1786) records how a certain Mme de C** offered charity to sick and starving villagers; the print derives from Greuze's *La Dame de charité* not only in the motifs of the wealthy woman and bedridden, aged father, but in formal arrangement and gesture.⁴¹ The title of the de Launay, *L'Acte d'humanité*, is particularly telling, as there exists an 'unauthorized' print based on Massard's print after Greuze's *La Dame de charité*, entitled *L'Exemple d'humanité*.⁴² By the 1770s and 1780s, Greuze's work and its derivations became the medium for this sort of passage of life into art.

Every derivation of Greuze was also an impoverishment, a restrictive channeling of his imagery. Pauquet's synthesis of Greuzian pictorial means, neoclassical motifs, honorific language and political propaganda, though unexpected and in its way brilliant, is symptomatic of how far from the source Greuze's followers had strayed. Greuze's work was always the result of a process of formal and psychological distillation. The Pauquet, by contrast, is forced, its characterization poorly sketched. It is unclear what gave rise to his figures' outpouring of affection toward the King and Queen. Moreover, there are problems of scale: the clustering of figures is too dense in relation to background and accessorizing, so that the compositional lines linking figures are flaccid, and the breastfeeding mother, so iconographically significant, seems lost, dwarfed by her surrounds. Pauquet's accessorization is arbitrary. Compare the succinct detail of the *réchaud* in the lower left of Greuze's *La Dame de charité*, which anchors

⁴¹ Inv. 18e s., XII (1973), p. 584, no. 105; MdF (Aug 1786), p. 47. The celebrated actress Marie-Madeleine Guimard is depicted rather less anonymously in *Terpsicore Charitable, ou Mademoiselle Guimard, Visitant les Pauvres*, Hennin 10090.

⁴² Oa 22 (940-969), in the same direction as the painting and reversing the Massard. According to the letter the print is *Dédié aux Dames Bienfaisantes*; the title of Massard's print, shown Salon 1785/3 16, is *La Dame bienfaisante*.

the entire composition (without it the picture would be weighted too heavily to the right) while indicating social station and the texture of private life. In contrast, the dog, barrel, broom, *réchaud* and so on in the lower left corner of the Pauquet serve as filler to balance a composition weighted too far to the right. The picture would cohere better were its leftmost one-fifth removed. Greuze worked in a reductive mode. His followers worked in an additive one. They piled on descriptive detail, generally failing to generate the pictorial tensions that haunt every inch of Greuze's canvases.

The Stages of Life

The Greuzian iconography of the Rite of Passage relates to that of the Stages of Life. In the second half of the eighteenth century, the Stages of Life was both a fracturing and expansion of the traditional Ages of Man type (Watteau, Lancret). In an abstract sense, all of Greuze's multi-generational family pictures belong to the Stages of Life, as they are diagrammatic representations of infancy, youth, adulthood and old age. It was Greuze's followers who tended to focus in their family pictures on youth and education, as for example Lépicié's *Atelier d'un menuisier* (fig. 97; Salon 1775/21); Noël Hallé's *L'Education des riches* and *L'Education des pauvres* (figs. 98, 99; Salon 1765/17); and in a more sentimental vein, Aubry's *La Première leçon de l'amitié fraternelle* (fig. 100; Salon 1777/125). All of these pictures are essentially descriptive, illustrating an activity (reading, lacemaking, carpentry) in a way that turns the other family members into mere observers.

That Greuze's followers produced fundamentally *illustrative* pictures is underscored by comparison of their work with a print that, though drawn from a

radically different context of production and reception, acts as a kind of *summa* of the themes addressed in this chapter. In 1782 Robert de Launay engraved the frontispiece to Rousseau's *Emile* after a drawing by C.-N. Cochin *fils* (fig. 101).⁴³ (Cochin's drawing had been shown Salon 1781/288 as part of a series destined for the 1780 Geneva edition of the *Emile*.⁴⁴) Here children offer flowers to the bust of Rousseau (anticipating Pauquet); a mother breastfeeds (recalling Schenau and Greuze); and a father counsels his son in the carpenter's art (in a grouping that recalls Hallé's *L'Education des pauvres*). The frontispiece's public setting of the park or copse, of course, as much as its relation to a philosopher's work, is far removed from the independently generated, interior scenes of Lépicié, Aubry and Hallé. Yet these paintings share some of the illustrative quality of the frontispiece. This is in part why the revelation of character is either secondary or non-existent in the frontispiece as in the work of Hallé, Lépicié or Aubry. Where character is illustrated by motif rather than psychological tension, it becomes a foregone conclusion.

Conclusion

I would argue that the *petit sujet* could only exist in a temporary and delicate balance of individual experience and social vision. Greuze refined the *petit sujet*, making its mode of engagement more intense, its iconography more adaptable, its themes more contemporary than those of Chardin. In this he expanded its public nature and role. He created a flexible pictorial language that become a conduit for the passage of themes and

⁴³ Inv. 18e s., XII (1973), pp. 565-566, no. 44; JdP (6 July 1782), pp. 763-764; AL, (1782) V, pp. 59-64. See also Michel 1987, pp. 348-354, nos 173, 173 bis.

⁴⁴ 4 vols., octavo, B.N. Impr. Z. 36255-26258.

ideas from the newspapers and the street into art. Yet in another sense Greuze narrowed the public experience of the *petit sujet*, because his style through its artistic associations forced ethical conclusions on the viewer. In contrast, Chardin's viewers *sought out* ethical conclusions in his figures' social relationships, behavior and setting. Their experience was more interpretive and less foreclosed by the style. Moreover, the iconography of the *Acte d'humanité*, and that of Greuze's work in general, is a rather blunt instrument for teaching ethics. It is by nature exemplary and thus stands in contrast to the open-ended, psychologically subtle scenarios of Chardin (see Chapter 2). Finally, Greuze's troubling themes and the ethical instability of some of his pictures indicate, I would argue, the tendency of his mode of engagement to cause emotion to outweigh social identification. Thus by Greuze's period individualism, on the artist's side in terms of idiosyncratic thematic choices, and on the viewer's side in terms of polyvalent emotional response, weakened the *petit sujet*'s insistence on social *relationships*, and finally hastened its demise.

Conclusion

The *petit sujet* existed only through the temporary, accidental alignment of social and artworld institutions. Its public moment lasted only as long as critics used its anonymous figures as the stimulus or locus of the discussion of social ideals. For a brief period, and at the highest, most restrictive European cultural level, art served to provide the concrete vision and idealizing terms of the collective working out of ethics and social relationships.

The *petit sujet* was accidental because it came into being in a zone of creative freedom produced inadvertently by the Salon and the Académie. These elite institutions allowed Chardin to develop a public artform whose form and reception was shaped in response to the public nature of the Salon. The prestige of the academic imprimature, meanwhile, legitimized academically- and culturally-low subject matter. As a result, the Académie, the Salon and its epiphenomena, and the world of reproductive prints encouraged artistic innovation. Yet, as I have argued in relation to Greuze's later works, the combination of market forces and extreme individualism, themselves as much a product of the public artworld as the *petit sujet*, could likewise kill innovation, or at least make it less relevant to the broad artistic and social conversation.

The most obvious example of innovation gone wild is that of history painting. The reform of history painting was suggested by critics in the 1740s. Its embrace by the State and the Académie began with the future Marquis de Marigny's formative Italian voyage (1749-1751) orchestrated by Madame de Pompadour. The theoretical and institutional reform of the hierarchy of genres, while designed to stave off the tide of interest in low

subjects, actually channeled innovative energy into the protected zone occupied by history painting, which in turn became a sort of free agent.

La Font de Saint-Yenne's program of the reform of history painting, where artists would return to the Classical sources and the Bible, study and copy the works of the great masters, channels artistic energy so that innovation becomes largely a matter of the refinement of precedents.¹

Il n'est donné qu'aux génies vastes, & pénétrants de découvrir dans des Sujets épuisés aux yeux des esprits vulgaires, une infinité de circonstances neuves, intéressantes, qui liées à l'action principale, & présentées sous des aspects nouveaux & ingénieux, savent rajeunir ces Sujets usés en apparence, par le choix d'un plus beau moment, & d'un nouvel intérêt.²

The passage perfectly embodies the tension between the interests of innovation and the interests of stability. Only old subjects can be rejuvenated.

Henry Bardon, in his study of antique subjects in eighteenth-century Salon painting, concludes that history painters drawing on antique history and myth hardly innovated in choice of theme, author or text over the course of the century, however, I would argue that although its iconography remained relatively static, the entire conception and social role of history painting began to change.³ The academic and critical focus from 1750 on the language, sources and styles of history painting ultimately weakened its metaphoric and propagandistic link to the royal house. The locus of power shifted. The programs of reform under d'Angiviller, most notably the push for sujets

¹ La Font 1747, pp. 9-12.

² La Font 1747, pp. 6-7.

³ Bardon 1963.

nationaux, can in this sense be interpreted as attempts by the State to reforge its metaphoric link to history painting. In short, I would argue that State support and protection of history painting actually allowed history painting to free itself from State control. It is impossible to know whether David's *Serment des Horaces* attacks or celebrates authority, embodies a sadistic or masochistic attitude. The best explanation is that it does all of this at once.

I would like to conclude by considering the relationship between the social principle of the *petit sujet* and the elite control of its discourse. During its brief life, I would argue that the *petit sujet*, in its embrace of low subject matter or cultural activity, functioned in the context of the Salon as a kind of pressure valve for elite culture, a vacation from stringent etiquette. This would seem to be a structural implication of the constant tensions between the broad appeal of low subject matter and the restrictions of the cultural hierarchy. The systematic, periodic release of tension through this sort of 'slumming it' in turn must have prevented elite culture from becoming too exhausting to bear. In short, the cycle of anxiety and release must have strengthened the existing social order.

The *petit sujet* remains relevant today in the productive harmony it achieved between institutional control and hierarchical culture on the one hand, and the communion of ethical conversation and social imagining on the other. Those in modern liberal democracies live with larger, more complex and more pervasive social institutions than ever before. To dream of dispensing with the hierarchical aspects of society is increasingly foolish as hierarchies multiply in endless and subtle ways. In the face of ever increasing social atomization, alienation, and class warfare, the *petit sujet* offers a

compelling example of how the basically social nature of art can triumph over elite prerogative, oppressive institutions, and corrosive individualism.

Appendix I

Iconographic, Thematic and Formal Influences of Fashion Plates on de Troy's *tableau de mode*

Exteriors

In exteriors both de Troy's figures and those of the fashion plate overpower the landscape, relegating it to mere description of setting. Jean Dieu de Saint-Jean in particular tended to integrate figures in their landscape as well as in their relationships with each other. Robert Bonnat's *Dame en deshabillé sur un lit de gazon* (fig. 5) establishes the figural scale and directness of interaction that characterizes de Troy's *Le rendez-vous à la fontaine ou l'Alarme* (fig. 6), for example.¹ (Curiously, the Bonnat contains a rare—for fashion prints of this period—overt mythological component in the cupid figure. Such emblematic imagery is absent in de Troy's *tableaux de mode*, just as his statuary remain stone while Watteau's throb with life.) The Bonnat's setting, a garden near a château, relates to both de Troy and Watteau's exteriors.

Garden Architecture

Jean Mariette's *L'Eau* (1694) (fig. 7) depicts a fountain, woman and kneeling man in a Versailles-like setting; in the background are a colonnaded walkway and a stand of trees.² The print relates to de Troy's *Le rendez-vous à la fontaine ou l'Alarme* even if the comparison showcases de Troy's painterly insistence on verdant, enclosing foliage.

A number of Mariette's single-figure fashion prints also employ garden architecture. *Dame de Qualité en Echarpe* (1690) (fig. 8) features terraces on the garden front of a château, enclosed by ballustrades with corner urns and a staircase guarded by

¹ For the Bonnat, Inv. 17e s., I (1939), p. 468, no 442; for the de Troy, Leribault 2002, P. 135.

² Hennin 6114.

twin sphinxes.³ There is a stand of billowy ‘Italian’ trees—like those in Watteau’s *fêtes galantes*—behind the terraces. Much the same architecture and setting is found in de Troy’s *Assemblée dans un parc ou la Déclaration d’amour* (fig. 9), and the scale of the architecture is nearly identical in print and painting.

Toilettes

Late 17th-century French fashion prints did not have the monopoly on toilette scenes, common enough in Italian and ‘Northern School’ painting since the Renaissance. But there are particularly direct iconographical and formal correspondances between these prints and de Troy’s *tableaux de mode*.

In Chapter 1 I note the relationship between Saint-Jean’s *Femme de qualité s’habillant pour Coure le Bal* and de Troy’s *Toilette pour le bal* and *Retour du bal*.⁴ The setting is a rich interior, where multiple relationships are played out between figures, and (excepting *Retour du bal*) dramatic impact is given by a sense of anticipation. The de Troy pendants are also prefigured in what appears to be a Saint-Jean entitled *Femme de qualitez a sa Toilette* (1685) (fig. 10).⁵ Here an abbé sings to a woman whose servant styles her hair, while another servant, likely preparing the mistress’s wardrobe, examines a length of fabric. The print shares with the de Troys a richly furnished interior and multiple levels of figural interaction. Moreover, the Saint-Jean, a standard type of the single-visitor-at-the-toilette, prefigures de Troy’s *Dame à sa toilette recevant un cavalier*.⁶

The mistress/servant relationship is secondary in the de Troy pendants, but it is the focus of de Troy’s picture known through Louis Surugue’s print entitled *L’Ornement de l’Esprit et du Corps* (fig. 2).⁷ The female servant styling her mistress’s hair was the subject of a Jean Mariette print, part of a series of the Four Times of Day, entitled *Le*

³ Hennin 5846.

⁴ For the Saint-Jean, Hennin 5462. For the de Troys: Leribault 2002, P. 221a, P. 222a, P. 236.

⁵ Hennin 5460.

⁶ Leribault 2002, P. 221 a.

⁷ Leribault 2002, P. 236; the print was shown Salon 1747; Le Blanc III (1880), p. 613, no 39.

Matin: Dame de Qualité a sa Toilette (1690) (fig. 11).⁸ Both print and painting are characterized by their faithful description of modern dress and furnishings, although the de Troy unusually channels the mistress's attention to her book rather than her mirror. The moralizing verse to Surugue's print nevertheless arrives at the standard reflection on the *vanitas* and female vanity in particular: "Serois-ce l'Art d'aimer ou bien celui de plaire / Que vous lisez prèsentment? // Meprisez ces leçons, croyez moy laissez faire / Vos attraits et le sentiment."

Solicitation

The dramatic core of de Troy's *tableaux de mode* is in their gallant themes, largely expressed in male solicitation of the female object of desire. This animates, for example, the early pendants *La déclaration d'amour* (fig. 12) and *La jarretière détachée* (fig. 13).⁹ It is also at the heart of *Le rendez-vous à la fontaine ou l'Alarme* and *Assemblée dans un parc ou la Déclaration d'amour*.¹⁰ Bonnat's *Dame en deshabillé sur un lit de gazon* already provides the basic figural relationship—kneeling galant, hand to chest, and reclining woman—found in de Troy's *La déclaration d'amour* and *Assemblée dans un parc ou la Déclaration d'amour*. Similar kneeling galants are found in Mariette's *Dame en Conversation* (1690), and Saint-Jean's *Femme a la Mode* (1685) (fig. 14) and *Femme de qualitez en robe de Chambre se disposant a jouer* (1685).¹¹

Alarm/Intrigue

An inevitable variation on galant pursuit is the intrigue caused by the intrusion of a third party. This is the subject of de Troy's *Le rendez-vous à la fontaine ou l'Alarme*. Saint-Jean tended to rely on a single scenario, with variations: a voyeur appears at a window or

⁸ Hennin 5840.

⁹ Leribault 2002, P. 113a, P. 114a.

¹⁰ Leribault 2002, P. 135, P. 202.

¹¹ Hennin 5854; Hennin 5456 and Oa 22 fol (101); Hennin 5458 and Oa 22 fol (101). This last also exists in a hand-coloured version, Hennin 5459.

on the threshold, spying on or interrupting the woman in question. In *Femme a la Mode* (1685) a kneeling gallant making his *déclaration* is interrupted by a servant who points out a man peering through the window, his hand to his mouth in an expression of apprehension. The same figure is reprised in *Femme de Qualité en Deshabillé sortant du Lit* (1688) (fig. 15).¹² This time he is the presumed author of a letter which a page is delivering to his mistress: the gallant draws aside a curtain in order to spy her reaction. There is, finally, Saint-Jean's *Femme de qualité déshabillée pour le bain*, engraved by N. Bazin (fig. 16), in which an abbé, who hides his face yet peeks through his fingers, enters.¹³ In its second, conventionalized state, (fig. 17) the abbé is transformed into a gentleman, who merely enters, hat in hand, although his left arm continues to register surprise, as it did for the abbé.¹⁴ Both intruders must look through the door's glass panes, whose fenestration serves the same function as the 'screen' of fingers. The variant state presents the situation more elegantly, if less wittily, and focuses attention on the erotic theme of concealment/revelation.

De Troy dealt with the theme of intrusion in *Le rendez-vous à la fontaine ou l'Alarme* simply by moving the event *outside*, where chance encounter plays a greater role than entrance into a chamber. With the economy of history painting he solved the scenographic problem of the intruder-intrudee relationship: the maid's gesture indicates the intruder 'off stage'.

Games

Much of the iconography of outdoor games, both galant and rustic, was traditional, just as the games themselves. Watteau's *Le Colin Maillard*, or Blind Man's Bluff, in Jullienne's collection and engraved by E. Brion for the *Œuvre gravé*, takes up an older Dutch theme that would be revisited throughout the 18th century.¹⁵ Lancret also favoured the subject,

¹² Hennin 5660; Oa 22 (101). C.f. Donald Posner's discussion of this kind of Dieu de Saint-Jean print in relation to Watteau's *La Toilette* (Wallace Collection), Posner 1973, pp. 42-43.

¹³ Inv. 17e s., I (1939), p. 334, no 171; Hennin 5455.

¹⁴ BnF Est., Da 42a fol., p. 22.

¹⁵ Dacier & Vuafart 1922, no 212, announced MdF (June 1730), p. 1184. See for example a Leonart Bramer drawing in the Louvre département des Arts graphiques as *Le jeu de colin-maillard*, inv. 22531.

having painted the interior version of *Le colin-maillard* that Gustav Tessin bought in 1729, and showing *Un Colin-Maillard* in the 1737 Salon.¹⁶ Louis XV commissioned a *Jeu de colin maillard* from Louis Galloche for the Versailles petits appartements de la reine.¹⁷ Fragonard painted two rather different conceptions of the *Colin-maillard* in the 1750s, and Antoine Borel executed a drawing of the subject.¹⁸ Likewise, the popular 18th-century motif of the *La Main chaude* or Game of Hot Cuckles, is traditional. A late 17th-century fashion print by F. Guerard depicts *Le Jeu a deviner* (fig. 18) in an arrangement that Fragonard will recall much later in the Washington *Game of Hot Cuckles* (c. 1773).¹⁹ In general these games tended to be taken up by Watteau's followers even if they enlarged the scale of figures. This iconography, strongly motif-dependent and with a relatively narrow range of action and characterization, lent itself to this strand of decorative painting. Once again fashion prints provide continuity, though one must consider what kind of iconography persisted in the 18th century. A series of fashion prints of 1689 depicting outdoor games includes *L'Escarpolette*, which would become an 18th-century motif, and *Le Jeu de quille*, *Le Jeu de Boule*, and *Le Jeu du Volant*, which for the most part would not.²⁰ Unlike raquet and throwing games, the swing, Blind Man's Bluff, and the Game of Hot Cuckles depend on direct physical proximity and contact. In other words, from Watteau forward 18th-century artists selected games most directly illustrating the progress of love.²¹

De Troy's *Le jeu de pied-de-boeuf* was shown in the 1725 Salon and engraved by C.-N. Cochin père in 1735 (fig. 19).²² Lancret and Boucher among others would revisit the subject.²³ The pied-de-boeuf allowed de Troy to create a less diffuse and formulaic picture than most of those gallant games painted by Watteau and his followers. The cluster of hands dramatically focuses the scene while providing a direct physical

¹⁶ Wildenstein 1924, p. 86, no 229; *ibid.*, p. 86, no 226.

¹⁷ Versailles inv. MV 7296.

¹⁸ For the Fragonards, Rosenberg 1989, p. 91, no 180; *ibid.*, p. 75, no 41; for the Borel, Louvre département des Arts graphiques inv. RF 34445.

¹⁹ Inv. 17e s., V (1968), p. 72, no 128; for the Fragonard, Rosenberg 1989, p. 106, no 315.

²⁰ These prints are by a certain J. Danckerts: Hennin 5721, 5720, 5719, 5718.

²¹ See also Valenciennes 2004, pp. 252-267, nos. 77-84.

²² Leribault 2002, P. 124; Inv. 18e s., IV (1940), pp. 621-622, no 155, announced MdF (Apr 1735), p. 756. For a description of the game, Holmes 1991, p. 100.

²³ For the Lancrets, Wildenstein 1924, p. 86, nos 226-230. Boucher's *De trois choses en ferez-vous une?* dates c. 1733-1734: Ananoff & Wildenstein 1976, I, p. 222, no 88 bis. The title is taken from its 1768 engraving by Jacques-Jean Pasquier: Portalis & Béraldi III/I, p. 282.

expression of the larger narrative. De Troy depicts the game's decisive moment—a near impossibility in depictions of Blind Man's Bluff or the Game of Hot Cockles.

Appendix II

Chardin's Repetitions and the Engravings after Them

This and Appendix II, which presents a chronological distillation of the following, are based on Pierre Rosenberg, *Tout l'œuvre peint de Chardin*. Paris: Flammarion, 1983, and Emmanuel Bocher, *Catalogue raisonné des estampes, eaux-fortes, pièces en couleur, au bistre et au lavis, de 1700 à 1800: Jean-Baptiste Siméon Chardin*. Paris: Rapilly, 1876.

The foundation for this list lies in two sections in Rosenberg: 'Les premières scènes de genre (1733-1740)' pp. 85-98; 'Du triomphe du *Bénédicté* au retour à la nature morte (1740-1751)', pp. 98-103. I exclude *singeries*, still lifes, conventional portraits (i.e. 99. *Joseph Aved*, 100. *Charles-Théodore Godefroy*, but not the various pictures of children known to be portraits and appearing as 'genre' pictures), the earliest sign paintings and isolated 'scènes de genre', and works Rosenberg or Bocher consider not to be Chardins. I include only *repetitions* (where an artist copies his own work) and *copies* (where an artist copies another's work) made in the Ancien Régime. For brevity, conventional titles are given, and variations between conventional and print titles ignored: for the print, "Idem" means "after the painting whose title is given here."

gr. = engraving by

gr. ---- = no engraver name on print

p.c. = private collection

Location: [] = sold in

Size: [] = painting later enlarged, [size] indicates area painted by Chardin

A. 1735 = Exhibited at the Academy in 1735

D. = Place Dauphine, followed by date of exhibition

S. = Salon du Louvre, followed by date of exhibition

p = painting

g = print

Rosenberg/Bocher cat. nos	Location	Size (cm)	Exhibitions
79. <i>Une femme occupée à cacheter une lettre</i> . 1732(?)	Berlin	96 x 124	D. 1734, S. 1738/34
79A. Idem.	Louvre	25.5 x 25	
79b/12a. Idem. gr. Fessard 1738		24.7 x 22.6	
12b. After 12a. with different letter. gr. Aug. Wind			
p: 2			
g: 2			

80. <i>La fontaine</i> . 1733	Stockholm	38 x 43	A. 1735, S. 1737, S. 1773/36?
80A. Idem.	France, p.c.	50.5 x 43.5	
80B. Idem.	London	37.5 x 44.5	
80e/21a. Idem. gr. C.-N. Cochin 1739		25.3 x 29.7	
21b. Idem. gr. C.-N. Cochin		24.1 x 19.6	

p: 3
g: 2

81. <i>La blanchisseuse</i>	Stockholm	37.5 x 42.5	S. 1737
81A. Idem.	St. Petersburg	37.5 x 42.5	
81B. Idem.	Destroyed	35 x 41	
81d/6a. Idem. gr. C.-N. Cochin 1739		25.3 x 30	
6b. Idem. gr. C.-N. Cochin		24.1 x 19.6	
p: 3			
g: 2			
84. <i>L'ouvrière en tapisserie</i>	Stockholm	18 x 15.5	S. 1738
84A. Idem.	Destroyed	19 x 16	
84B. Idem.	Destroyed	17 x 16	
84C. Idem.	[London]	19 x 16.5	
84d/40. Idem. gr. J. Flipart 1757	Painting lost		S. 1759/39 (p)
		26.2 x 18.8 (g)	S. 1757 (g)
41. Idem. in colour gr. Gautier Dagoty ¹		21 x 15.4	
p: 5			
g: 2			
85. <i>Le jeune dessinateur. 1735?</i>	Stockholm	19.5 x 17.5	S. 1738
85A. Idem.	Destroyed	16 x 15	
85B. Idem.	Destroyed	17 x 15	
85C. Idem.	Destroyed	17 x 15	
85D. Idem.	Fort Worth	21 x 17	
85e/14. Idem. gr. J. Flipart 1757	Painting lost		S. 1759/39 (p)
		26.2 x 18.8 (g)	S. 1757 (g)
15a. Repr oduces 14 in colour with changes, gr. Gautier Dagoty 1743		21 x 15.4	
15b. Copy of 15a. gr. Ceclie Magimel		17.7 x 15.4	
p: 6			
g: 3			
89. <i>L'aveugle des quinze-vingts. 1735?</i>	Destroyed	28 x 18	S. 1753/61
89A. Idem.	Cambridge	[29 x 17]	
89b/4. Idem. gr. Surugue fils 1761		28.7 x 19 (g)	S. 1761/152 (g)
p: 2			
g: 1			
90. <i>Le jeune soldat</i>	Destroyed	20 x 18	S. 1737
90a/30a. Idem. gr. C.-N. Cochin 1738		20.6 x 17.5	
31. <i>Le jeune soldat, not after 90, gr. ----</i>	Painting lost?	20.4 x 18 (g)	
91. <i>La petite fille aux cerises</i>	Destroyed	18 x 18	S. 1737
91a/43a. Idem. gr. C.-N. Cochin 1738		20.7 x 17.5	
43b. After 43a. gr. ----		20.6 x 17.6	

¹ MdF (Jan 1743); see also MdF (May 1745)

43c. After 43a with changes. gr. Za		22.2 x 15.5	
p: 1 g: 3			
95. <i>Les tours de cartes</i> . 1734?	Dublin	31 x 39	S. 1743
95a/51a. Idem. gr. P.-L. Surugue fils 1744		25.5 x 30.8	S. 1745
51b. Same as 51a but letter with four bars of music			
p: 1 g: 2			
96/27a. <i>Le jeu de l'oie</i> . 1734? gr. Surugue fils 1745	Painting lost	25.5 x 30.7 (g)	S. 1743/58 S. 1746 (g)
97. <i>Les bulles de savon</i> . 1734?	New York	61 x 63	
97A. Idem.	Washington	93 x 74.5	
97B. Idem.	Los Angeles	60 x 73	
97c/8. Idem. gr. P. Fillœul 1739	Painting lost	23.6 x 18.6 (g)	S. 1739 (p)
p: 4 g: 1			
98. <i>Les osselets</i> . 1734?	Baltimore	81.5 x 64.5	
98b/39bis. Idem. gr. P. Fillœul 1739			
101. <i>Une dame qui prend du thé</i> . 1735	Glasgow	80 x 101	S. 1739
101b/13. Idem. gr. P. Fillœul 1739?		24.8 x 30	
102. <i>Le château de cartes</i> . 1735?	Great Britain, p.c.	81 x 101	S. 1737
102A. Idem.	Winterthur, p.c.	58 x 63	
102b/20a. Idem. gr. P. Fillœul		24.8 x 30.3	
20b. 20a pulled with different title, changes to letter. gr. P. Fillœul			
20c. 20a pulled with changes to letter. gr. P. Fillœul			
102c/20d. After 20a gr. Antoine de Marcenay de Guy		"petite reduction"	
p: 2 g: 4			
103. <i>Le château de cartes</i>	Louvre	77 x 68 (orig. round)	
104. <i>La maîtresse de l'école</i>	London	61.5 x 66.5 (cut l.)	S. 1740/68
104A. Idem.	Dublin	62 x 73	
104c/34a. Idem. gr. Lépicier 1740		17.4 x 20.2	
34b. Copy of 34a gr. Simon Duflos		19 x 20	
p: 2 g: 2			

105. <i>Le château de cartes</i> . 1735-6? 105a/11a. Idem. gr. Lépicié 1743 11b. Copy of 11a. gr. Simon Duflos	London	60 x 72 17.4 x 20.2 19 x 20	S. 1741/72
p: 1 g: 2			
106a/26a. <i>L'instant de la méditation</i> . 1741-2? gr. L. Surugue 1747 Painting lost		20.2 x 25.4 (g)	S. 1743/57 (p)
108. <i>La fillette au volant</i> . 1737 108A. Idem. 108b/29. Idem. gr. B. Lépicié 1742	Paris, p.c. Florence	82 x 65 81 x 66 23.5 x 18.5	S. 1737
p: 2 g: 1			
109. <i>Le château de cartes</i> 109A. Idem. 109b/10. Idem. gr. P. Aveline after 1743	Washington Florence	82 x 66 82 x 66 23.3 x 19	S. 1737
p: 2 g: 1			
110a/25. <i>L'inclination de l'âge</i> . gr. Surugue fils 1743	Painting lost	20.4 x 17 (g)	S. 1738/149 (p) S. 1743 (g)
111. <i>L'enfant au toton</i> . 1737-8? 111A. Idem. 1741 111c/50. Idem. gr. Lépicié 1742	Louvre São Paolo	67 x 76 56 x 73 17.1 x 20.3	S. 1738/116
p: 2 g: 1			
112. <i>Le jeune dessinateur</i> . 1737 112A. Idem. 1737 112b/28. Idem. gr. John Faber jr. 1740	Louvre Berlin	80 x 65 81 x 67 27.5 x 22.3	S. 1738/117
p: 2 g: 1			
113. <i>Le garçon cabaretier</i> . 1735(or 6) 113A. Idem. 113b/22a. Idem. gr. C.-N. Cochin 1740	Glasgow London	46 x 37.2 41 x 35 25.2 x 20.8	S. 1738/19 S. 1740
p: 2 g: 1			
114. <i>L'écureuse</i> . 1738 114A. Idem.	Glasgow Destroyed	45.4 x 37 43 x 36	S. 1738/23, S.1757/34

114B. Idem.	Washington	47 x 38	
114c/16a. Idem. gr. C.-N. Cochin 1740		25.3 x 20.6	S. 1740
16b. After 16a with changes. gr. H. Zanelly		23.3 x 17	
p: 3			
g: 3			
115. <i>La pourvoyeuse</i> . 1738	Ottawa	46 x 37	S. 1739
115A. Idem. 1738	Berlin	46 x 37	
115B. Idem. 1739	Louvre	47 x 38	
115C. Idem.	Destroyed	45 x 36	S. 1769/32
115e/45a. Idem. gr. Lépicie 1742		32.5 x 25.6	
45b. Same as 45a but with changes to letter. gr. Lépicie 1742			
45c. "Reproduction" of 45a with changes to letter. gr. Lépicie 1742			
45d. "Reproduction" of 45a with changes to letter. gr. Lépicie			
45e. "Reproduction" of 45a with changes to letter. gr. J. Le Moine			
45f. "Reproduction" of 45a with changes to letter. gr. ----			
45g. "Reproduction" of 45a with changes to letter gr. Petit			
45h. "Reproduction" of 45a with changes to letter gr. ----			
45i. "Reproduction" of 45a with changes to letter gr. ----			
45j. After 45a, in <i>manière noire</i> . "J. Jac. Haid exc. A. V."			
p: 4			
g: 11			
116. <i>La ratisseuse</i> . 1738	Washington	44.5 x 34.5	S. 1739
116A. Idem.	Munich	45.5 x 36.5	
116B. Idem.	Lost	41 x 33 (cut b, r)	
116c. Idem. [not impossible that this is "de l'atelier de"]	Groningue, NL		
116d/46a. Idem. gr. Lépicie 1742		32.5 x 25.5	
46b. "Reproduction exacte" of 46a. with changes to letter. gr. ----			
46c. "Reproduction exacte" of 46a. with changes to letter. gr. Lépicie 1742			
46d. Reduction of 46a. gr. ----		13.7 x 10	
p: 4			
g: 4			
117. <i>La gouvernante</i> . 1738	Ottawa	46 x 37.5	S. 1739
117A. Idem. ("copie retouchée"?)	Tatton Park, U.K.	45.5 x 35	
117b/24a. Idem. gr. Lépicie 1739		32.8 x 25.8	S. 1740
24b. "Reproduction exacte" of 24a, with different letter. gr. ----			
24c. As 24b, but gr. J. Le Moine			
24d. Reduction of 24a. gr. ----		25 x 17.7	
24e. Reduction of 24a. gr. ----		13.7 x 9.6	
24f. Reduction of 24a. gr. ----		11.6 x 7.8	
p: 2			
g: 7			
118. <i>La mère laborieuse</i>	Louvre	49 x 39	S. 1740/60
118A. Idem. ("copie retouchée")	U.S.A, art market	50 x 39	
118b/35a. Idem. gr. Lépicie		32 x 25	
35b. Same as 35a, with different letter			
35c. "Reproduction exacte" of 35a. with different letter. gr. Lemoine			
35d. "Reproduction exacte" of 35a. with different letter. gr. Lépicie			
35e. Idem. after 35a. gr. ----		24.4 x 17.4	
p: 2			

g: 6

119. <i>Le bénévolé</i> (esquisse)	Paris, p.c.	46.5 x 38	
120. <i>Le bénévolé</i> . 1740	Louvre	49.5 x 39.5	S. 1740/61
120A. Idem. 1741?	Louvre	49.5 x 41	
120B. Idem. ("copie retouchée") pendant 118A	Gosford House, U.K.	51 x 40.5	
120C. Idem. 1744	St. Petersburg	49.5 x 38.5	S. 1746/71?
120d. Idem. (copy?) 1761?	Rotterdam	50.5 x 66.5	S. 1761/42
120e/5a. Idem. gr. Lépicié 1744 (after 120) (MdF dec 1744)		32.3 x 25.2	S. 1745
5b. "Reproduction exacte" of 5a. with changes to letter. gr. Elizabeth Marlié Lépicié			
5c. "Reproduction" of 5a. with changes to letter. gr. . Petit			
5d. Copy of 5a in <i>manière noire</i> , as <i>The Grace</i> . gr. L. Simon		32 x 25	

p: 5 (excluding the esquisse, here as throughout)

g: 4

121. <i>La toilette du matin</i> . 1741	Stockholm	49 x 39	S. 1741/71
121a/38a. Idem. gr. J.-P. Le Bas 1741		32 x 25	
38b. Copy of 38a with changes, gr. ----		32 x 25.2	

p: 1

g: 3

123. <i>Les amusements de la vie privée</i> . 1746	Stockholm	42.5 x 35	S. 1746/72
123a/1a Idem. gr. L. Surugue 1747		32.5 x 23.6	S. 1747

124. <i>L'économe</i> . 1747	Stockholm	43 x 36	
124A. Idem. (esquisse)	Paris, p.c.	46 x 38	
124b/39. Idem. gr. J.-Ph. Le Bas 1754 (after drawing or esquisse?)		32.3 x 25.4	S. 1755

125. <i>Les aliments de la convalescence</i> . 1747	Washington	46 x 37	S. 1747/60
125A. Idem. (esquisse)	New York, art market	45 x 34.5	

----- <i>L'étude du dessin</i>	Painting lost		S. 1748/53
[126. Idem.]	London, art market	41 x 47	
126a/18. Idem. gr. J.-Ph. Le Bas	Painting lost		S. 1753/59 (p)
		25.1 x 31 (g)	S. 1757 (g)

p: 3

g: 1

----- <i>La bonne éducation</i> . 1747	Painting lost		
[127. Idem.]	London, art market	41 x 47	
127a/7a. Idem. gr. J.-Ph. Le Bas	Painting lost		S. 1753/59 (p)
		25.2 x 30.8 (g)	S. 1757 (g)

p: 3

g: 1

133. <i>La serinette</i>	Paris, p.c.	50 x 43.5	S. 1751/44
133A. Idem.	New York	50.8 x 43.2	
133B. Idem. ("copie retouchée?")	Muncie, U.S.A.	50 x 42	
133c/47. Idem. gr. L. Cars 1753		40.2 x 34.2	S. 1753

p: 3
g: 1

Note: 120h, *Le bénédicité* and 118c, *La mère labourieuse*, not listed here, were both painted by an unknown artist for Tessin in 1741. They indicate "que Chardin acceptait que l'on fasse des copies de ses œuvres et qu'elles soient commercialisées," Rosenberg 1783, p. 99.

Appendix III. Table: Chardin's Repetitions		Date	Paintings	Prints
79.	<i>Une femme occupée à cacheter une lettre</i>	1732(3?)	2	2
80.	<i>La fontaine</i>	1733	3	2
81.	<i>La blanchisseuse</i>		3	2
84.	<i>L'ouvrière en tapisserie</i>		5	2
90.	<i>Le jeune soldat</i>		1	1
31.	<i>Le jeune soldat</i>		1	0
91.	<i>La petite fille aux cerises</i>		1	3
95.	<i>Les tours de cartes</i>	1734?	1	2 [Surugue: music]
96.	<i>Le jeu de l'oie</i>	1734?	1	1
97.	<i>Les bulles de savon</i>	1734?	4	1
98.	<i>Les osselets</i>	1734?	1	1
85.	<i>Le jeune dessinateur</i>	1735?	6	3
89.	<i>L'aveugle des quinze-vingts</i>	1735?	2	1
102.	<i>Le château de cartes</i>	1735?	2	4 [multiple pulls]
101.	<i>Une dame qui prend du thé</i>	1735	1	1
103.	<i>Le château de cartes</i>		1	0
104.	<i>La maîtresse de l'école</i>		2	2
113.	<i>Le garçon cabaretier</i>	1735(or 6)	2	1
105.	<i>Le château de cartes</i>	1735-6?	1	2
108.	<i>La fillette au volant</i>	1737	2	1
109.	<i>Le château de cartes</i>		2	1
110.	<i>L'inclination de l'âge</i>		1	1
111.	<i>L'enfant au toton</i>	1737-8?	2	1
112.	<i>Le jeune dessinateur</i>	1737	2	1
114.	<i>L'écureuse</i>	1738	3	3
115.	<i>La pourvoyeuse</i>	1738	4	11 [multiple pulls]
116.	<i>La ratisseuse</i>	1738	4	4 [multiple pulls]
117.	<i>La gouvernante</i>	1738	2 [retouched copy?]	7 [multiple pulls]
118.	<i>La mère laborieuse</i>		2 [retouched copy] [+“authorized” copy by unknown artist]	6 [multiple pulls]
120.	<i>Le bénévolé</i>	1740	5 [retouched copy] [+“authorized” copy by unknown artist]	4
121.	<i>La toilette du matin</i>	1741	1	3
106a.	<i>L'instant de la méditation</i>	1741-2?	1	1
123.	<i>Les amusements de la vie privée</i>	1746	1	1
124.	<i>L'économe</i>	1747	1	1
125.	<i>Les aliments de la convalescence</i>	1747	1	0
126.	<i>L'étude du dessin</i>		3	1
127.	<i>La bonne éducation</i>	1747	3	1
133.	<i>La serinette</i>		3 [retouched copy]	1

Peak years: 1733-5 in which painted repetitions generally outnumber prints

1738-40 in which print repetitions generally outnumber paintings

Appendix IV

Announce for Laurent Cars after J.-B.-S. Chardin, *Une Dame variant ses amusements/La Serinette*.¹ MdF (Nov 1753), pp. 160-162 (abbé Guillaume Thomas Raynal?)

C'EST avec plaisir que nous annonçons aujourd'hui le débit d'une Estampe qui a quatorze pouces neuf lignes de hauteur, & douze pouces huit lignes de largeur ; c'est-à-dire, qu'elle est grande comme le Tableau original que le public a fort admiré dans le dernier salon. Le beau morceau peint par M. Chardin, & tiré du Cabinet de M. de Vandiere, est gravé par M. Cars. Quand deux Artistes de ce mérite se réunissent, on annonce leurs productions avec hardiesse. Les compositions du Peintre, quoique simples & soumises aux mœurs du tems, ne prétendent [161] point à l'héroïque ; mais la justesse du choix & l'agrément des images présentent une vive critique des Peintres Flamands en général. En effet, des tabagies, des combats à coups de poing, des besoins du corps ; enfin la nature prise dans ce qu'elle a de plus abject, sont les sujets les plus ordinairement traités par les Braures, les Ostades, les Ténieres, &c. M. Chardin s'est toujours écarté de ces images humiliantes pour l'humanité, il a eu, à la vérité, toujours pour objet une action petite, mais intéressante, au moins par le choix des figures qui n'ont jamais rien présenté de laid ni de dégoûtant. Ici l'on voit une femme jeune, dont la figure est touchante, & dont l'ajustement simple est étoffé, en même tems qu'il indique la propreté ; elle est à côté de son métier, auquel il paroît qu'à l'art de travailler, elle a substitué une serinette ; elle regarde finement, mais avec une curiosité convenable, le serin dont la cage est au coin du Tableau, & placée sur un guéridon : la chambre est parée convenablement au caractère & à l'état de la personne représentée ; on y voit quelques tableaux, & celui qui paroît en entier représente l'ingénieuse allégorie de M. Coypel, le dernier mort. Il avoit exprimé dans ce morceau, avec autant de [162] graces que de noblesse, la Peinture qui chassoit Thalie de son atelier : ouvrage qu'il avoit fait dans un de ces instans de dégoût, qu'un homme occupé de deux maîtresses croit ressentir pour celle qui le lendemain mériterait la préférence. C'est en composant comme M. Chardin, qu'il est permis de traiter les actions de la vie familière ; il faut la faire aimer & la faire envier : aussi l'on peut dire sans hyperbole que le modèle dont M. Chardin a fait choix dans cette occasion, indique une personne attachée à ses devoirs, honnête, pleine de douceur, enfin qui sçait s'occuper ; c'est du moins l'idée qu'elle nous a donnée. Le Graveur a menagé & conservé toutes les finesses ; il a exprimé celles de l'accord & des grandes parties de la peinture, mais ce qu'on appelle la couleur en terme de gravûre ; & pour la rendre avec vérité, il a sçu placer à propos & opposer les differens genres de travail. Enfin l'Estampe fait voir la blancheur de la peau d'une blonde, en opposition avec une coëffe & un mantelet de mousseline ; hardiesse de la peinture, que la gravûre a rendue avec une justesse & une vérité qui lui étoient peut-être plus difficiles.

Cette Estampe se vend chez le Sr Cars, rue Saint Jacques, vis-à-vis le Plessis.

¹ Inv. 18e s., III (1934), pp. 494-496, no 123; Bocher 1876 no 50.

Appendix V: Chronology of Etienne Jeaurat's Street Scenes

- June 1753 ○ The painting *La Place Maubert* in Jean de Jullienne's cabinet
 ○ Jacques Aliamet's print *La Place Maubert*¹

Aug 1753	Salon 1753
	<i>La Place Maubert</i> (20)
	<i>Une Foire de Village</i> (20)

Aug 1755	Salon 1755
	<i>Un Enlèvement de Police</i> (25)
	<i>Un Déménagement</i> (25)

- 1756-9 ○ Snuffbox by Jean-Charles Simphorien, incorporating a fragment
 after the print *La Place Maubert* (the image is reversed)²

- Jan 1757 ○ Claude Duflos's pendants:³
 *Enlèvement de police*⁴
 *Déménagement d'un peintre*⁵ (after *Un Déménagement*)

Aug 1757	Salon 1757
	<i>Le Carnaval des rues de Paris</i> (15) ⁶
	<i>La Conduite des Filles de Joye à la Salpêtrière, lorsqu'elles passent par la porte</i> <i>S. Bernard</i> (16) ⁷
	<i>Les Ecôsseuses de Pois de la Halle</i> (17)

- *Le Carnaval des rues de Paris* and *La Conduite des Filles de Joye*
 à la Salpêtrière in Damery's cabinet

¹ MdF (July 1753), p. 167.

² Savill 1980, p. 308, fig. 11. The date is Savill's.

³ MdF (Jan 1757) I, p. 190.

⁴ Inv. 18e s., VIII (1955), p. 84, no 163.

⁵ Inv. 18e s., VIII (1955), p. 84, no 164.

⁶ Engraved by J.-C. Le Vasseur. Portalis & Béraldi 1880, II/II, p. 692, no 15.

⁷ Engraved by J.-C. Le Vasseur as *Le Transport des filles de joye à l'hôpital*. Portalis & Béraldi 1880, II/II, p. 692, no 16.

Sept 1759

- The painting *Les Ecosseuses de Pois de la Halle* in Damery's cabinet
- Aliamet's print *La Place des Halles* (after *Les Ecosseuses de Pois de la Halle*) as pendant to *La Place Maubert*⁸

⁸ MdF (Sept 1759), p. 197; Inv. 18e s., I (1930), p 32, no 24.

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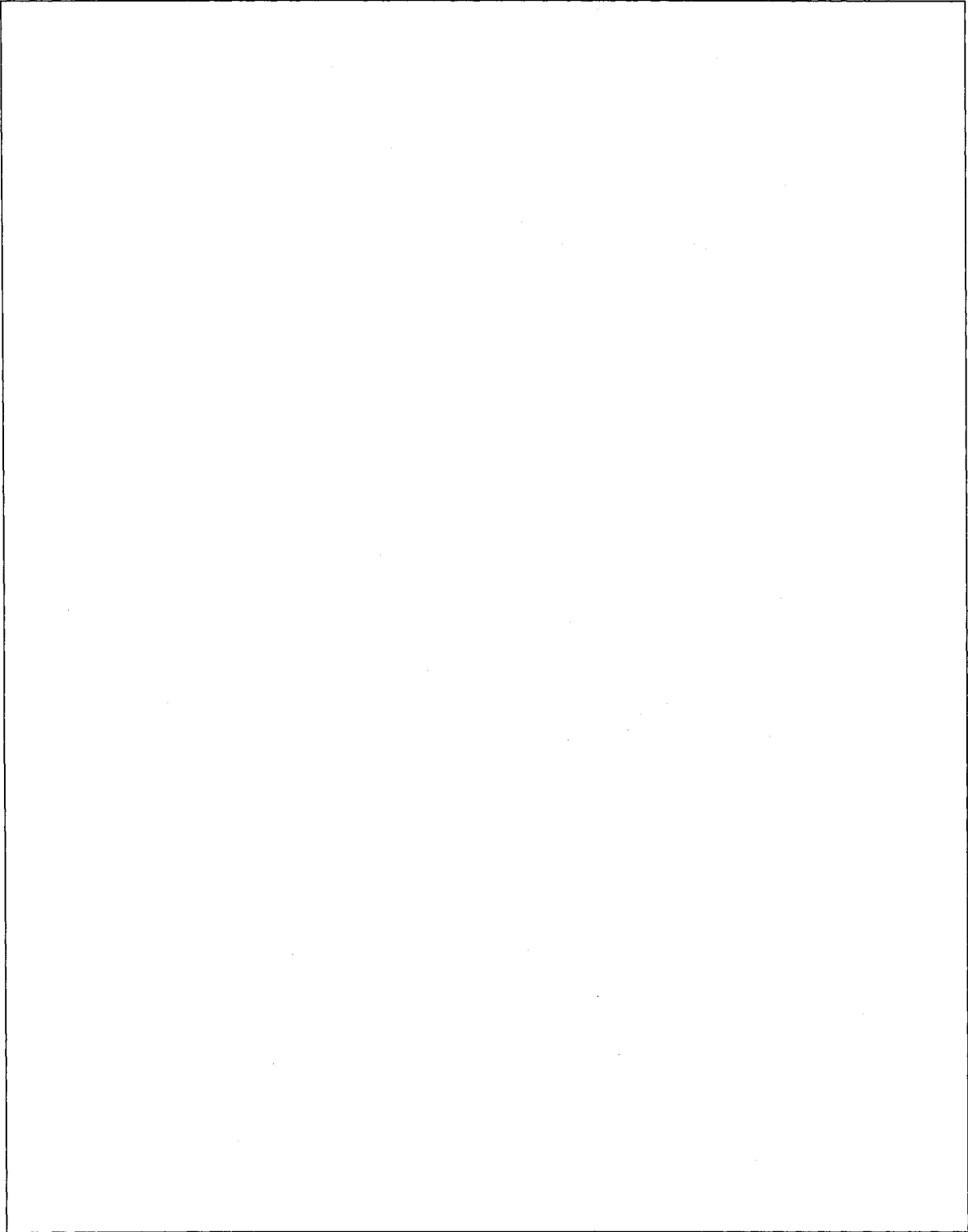
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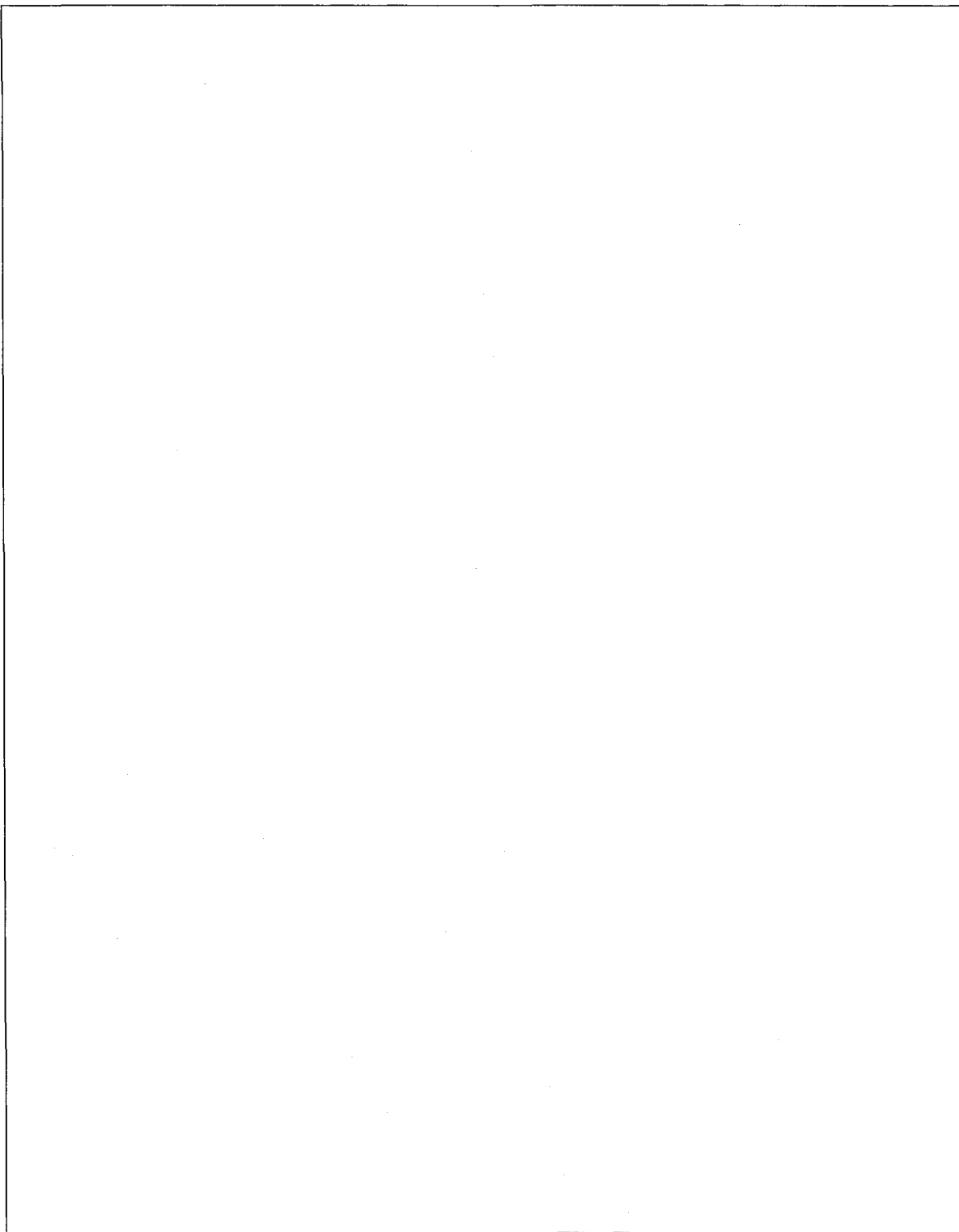
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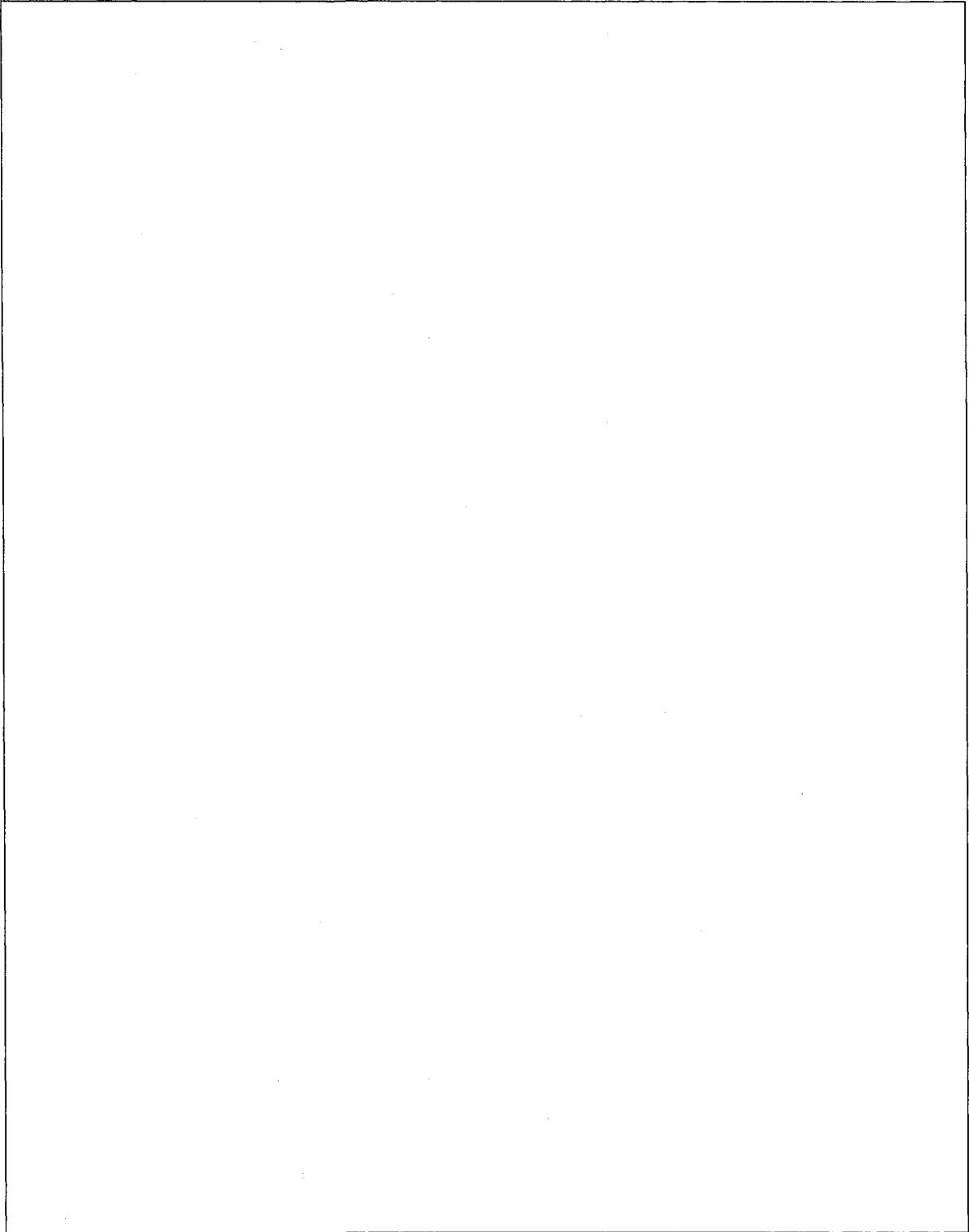
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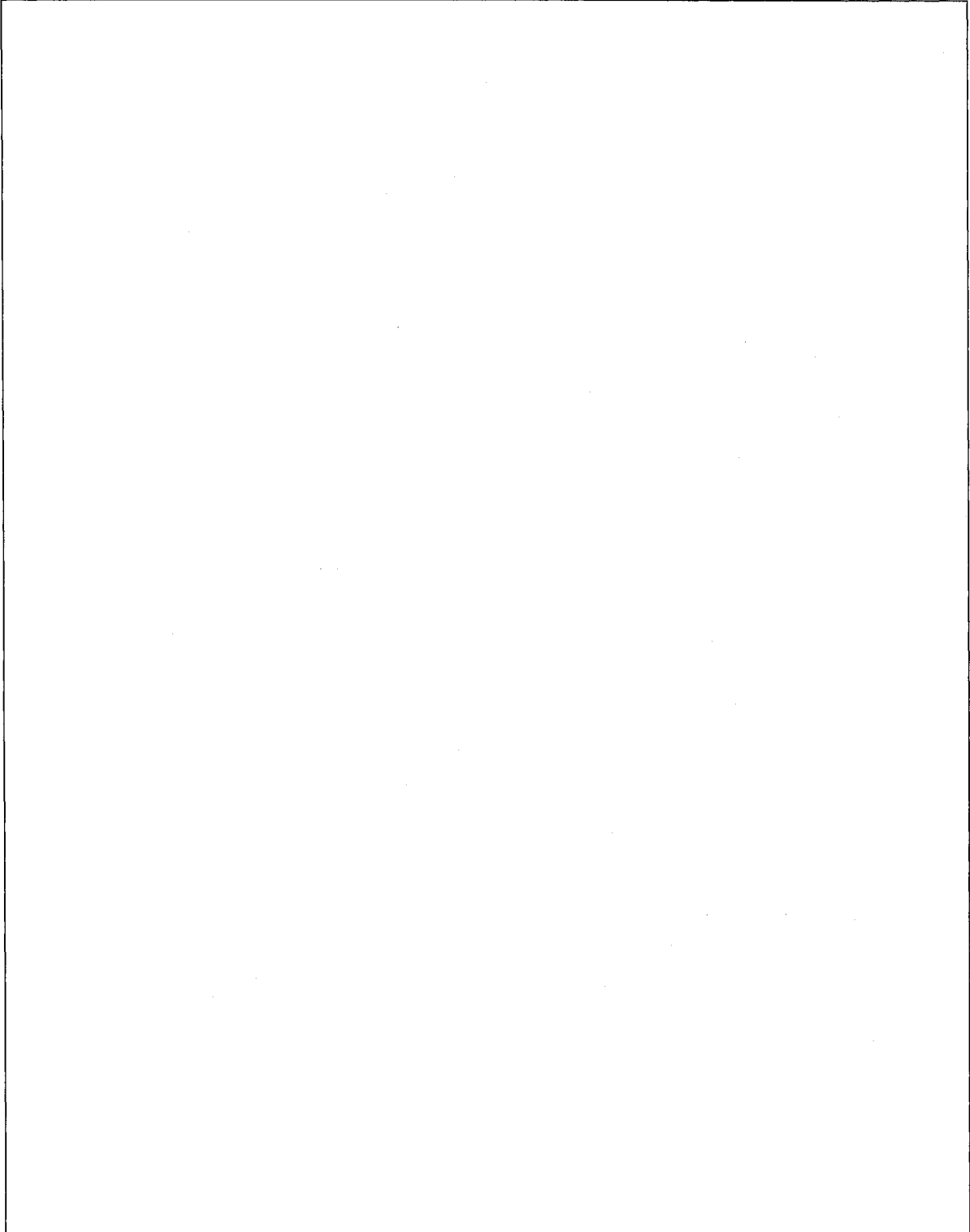
1. Jean Dieu de Saint-Jean, *Femme de qualité s'habillant pour Coure le Bal*. BnF Est.



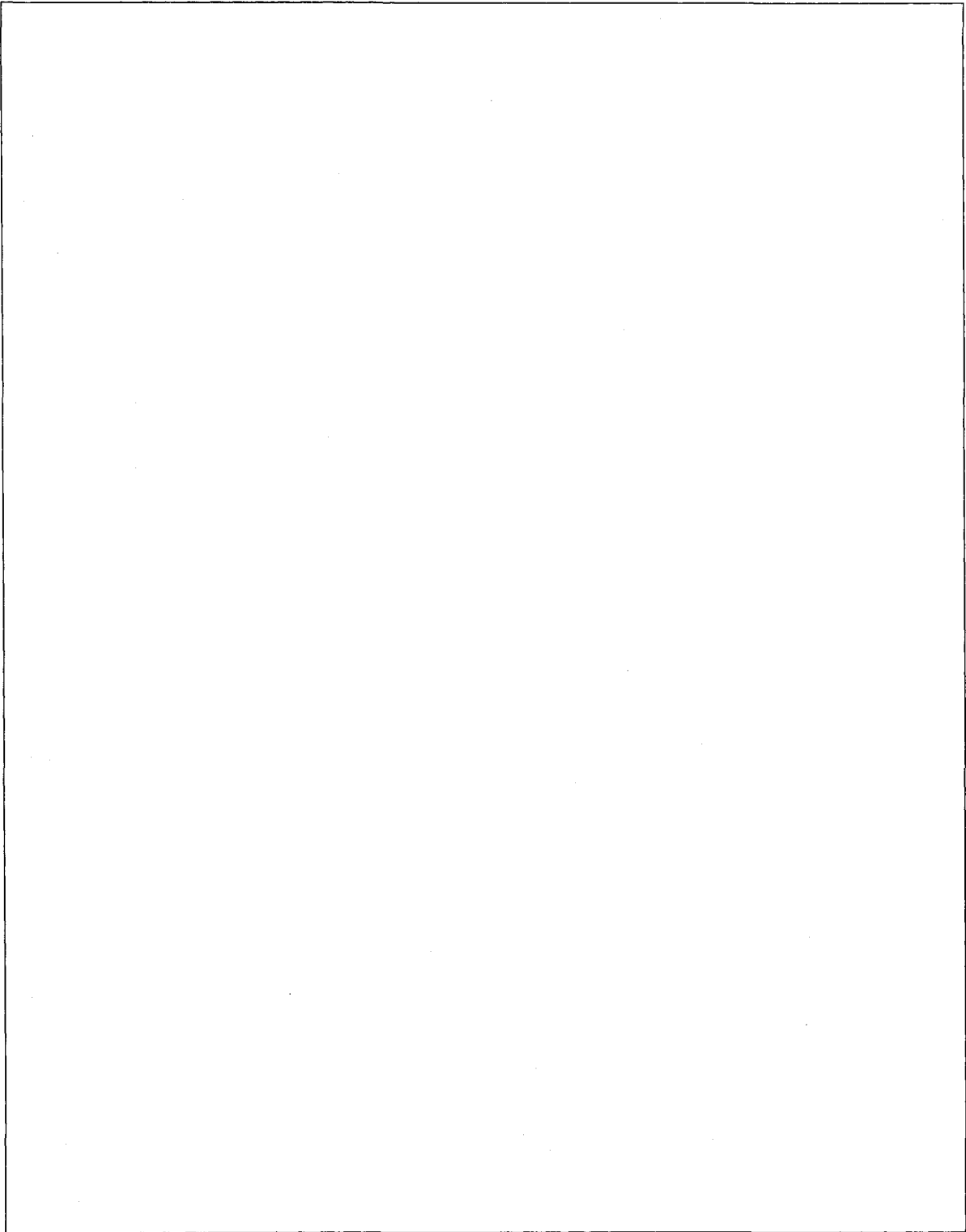
2. Louis Surugue after J.-F. De Troy, *L'Ornement de l'Esprit et du Corps*. BnF Est.



3. J.-F. Beauvarlet after J.-F. de Troy, *Toilette pour le bal*. BnF Est.



4. J.-F. Beauvarlet after J.-F. de Troy, *Retour du bal*. BnF Est.



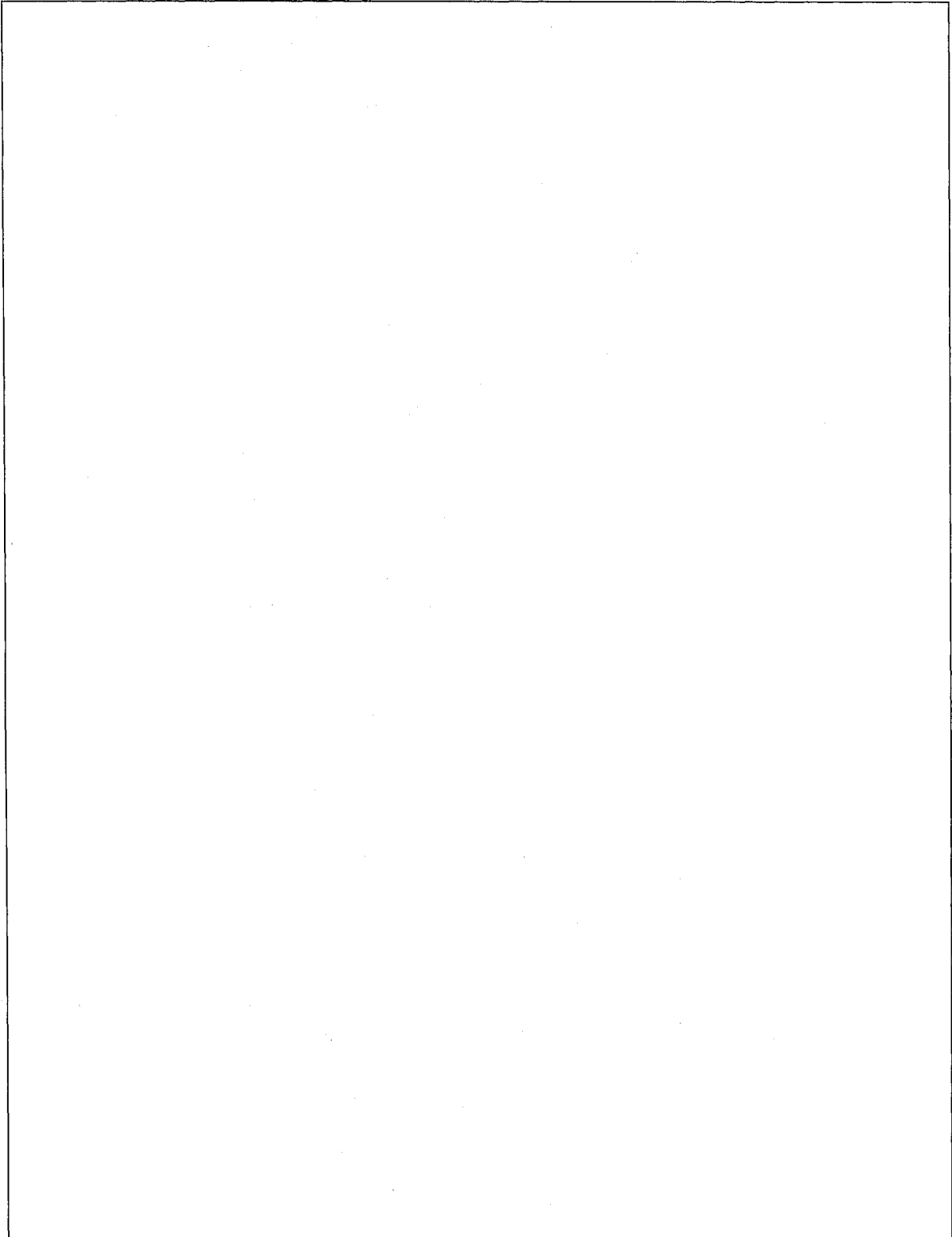
4. Robert Bonnat, *Dame en deshabillé sur un lit de gazon*. Musée Carnavalet, Paris



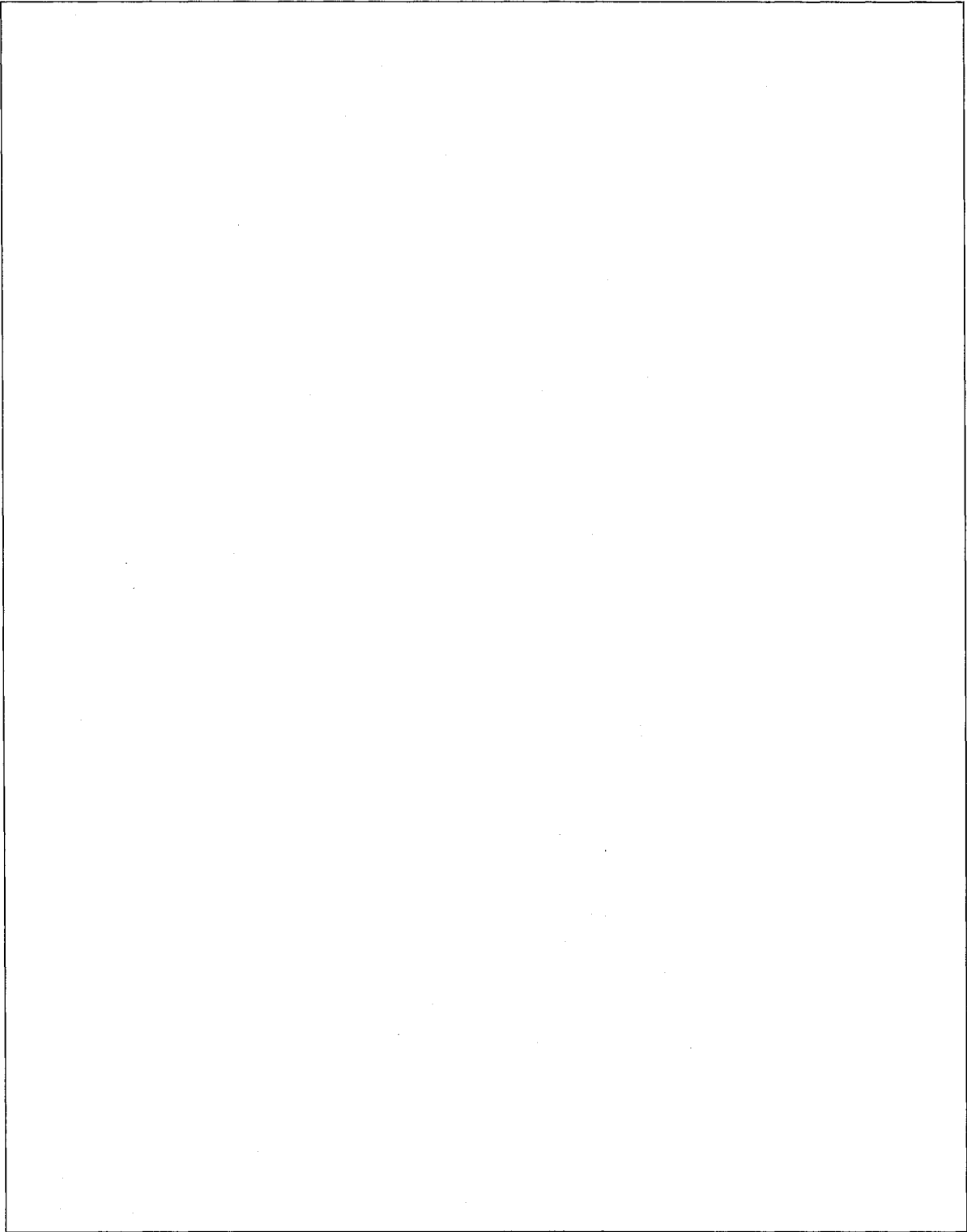
6. C.-N. Cochin père after J.-F. de Troy, *Le rendez-vous à la fontaine ou l'Alarme*.
BnF Est.



7. Jean Mariette, *L'Eau*. BnF Est.



8. Jean Mariette, *Dame de Qualité en Echarpe*. BnF Est.



9. J.-F. de Troy, *Assemblée dans un parc ou la Déclaration d'amour*.
Sansouci Palace, Potsdam



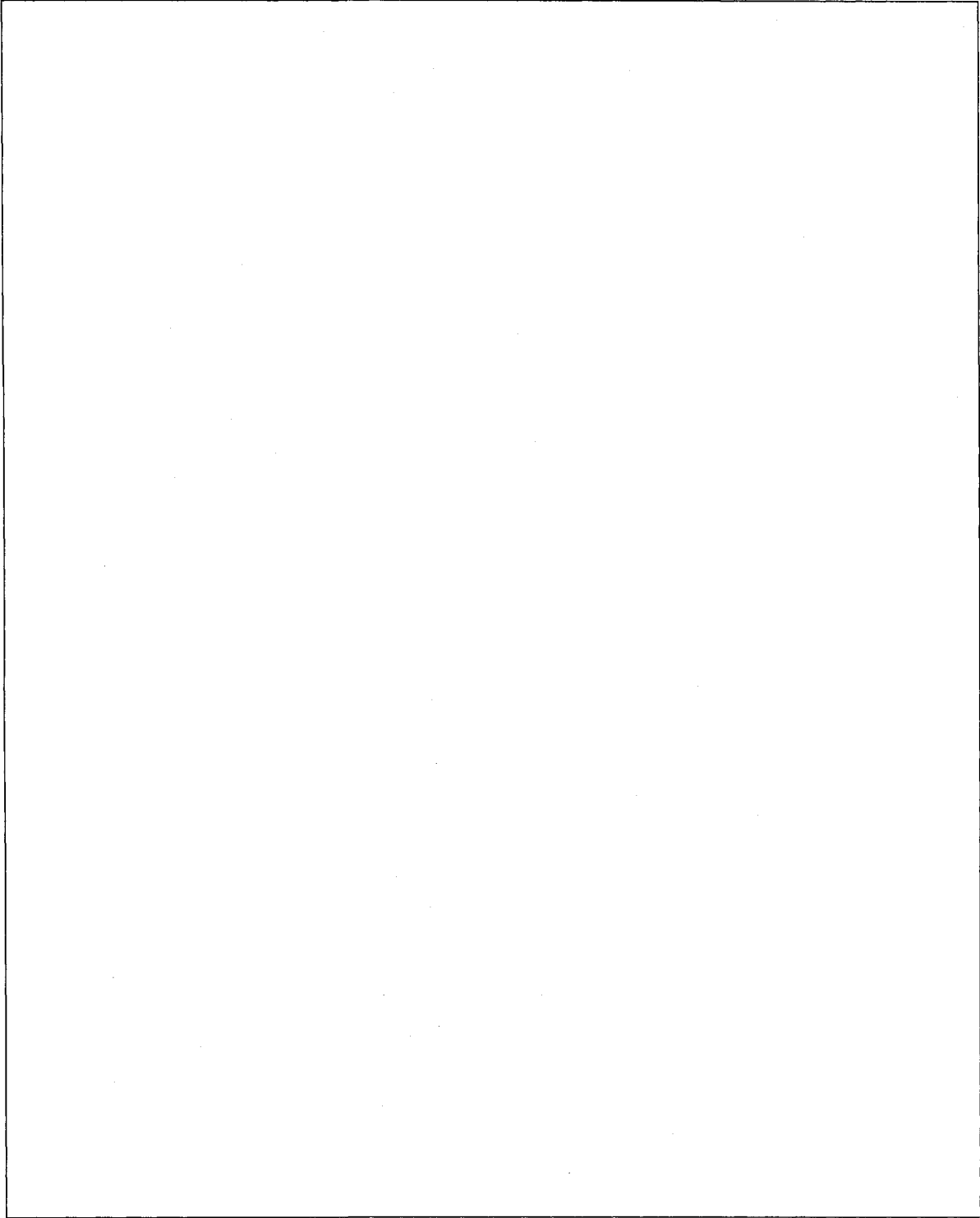
10. Jean Dieu de Saint-Jean (?), *Femme de qualitez a sa Toilette*. BnF Est.



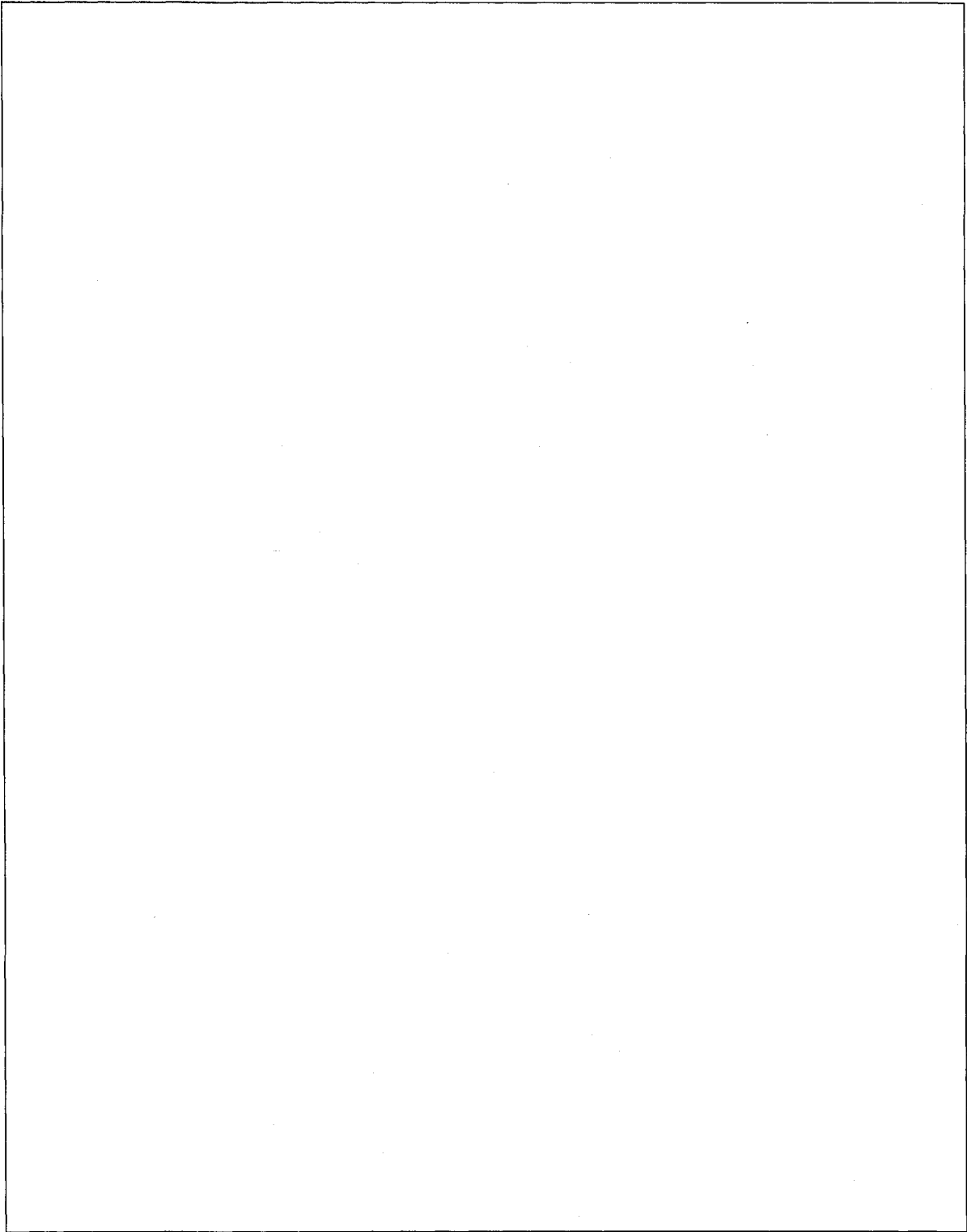
11. Jean Mariette, *Le Matin: Dame de Qualité a sa Toilette*. BnF Est.



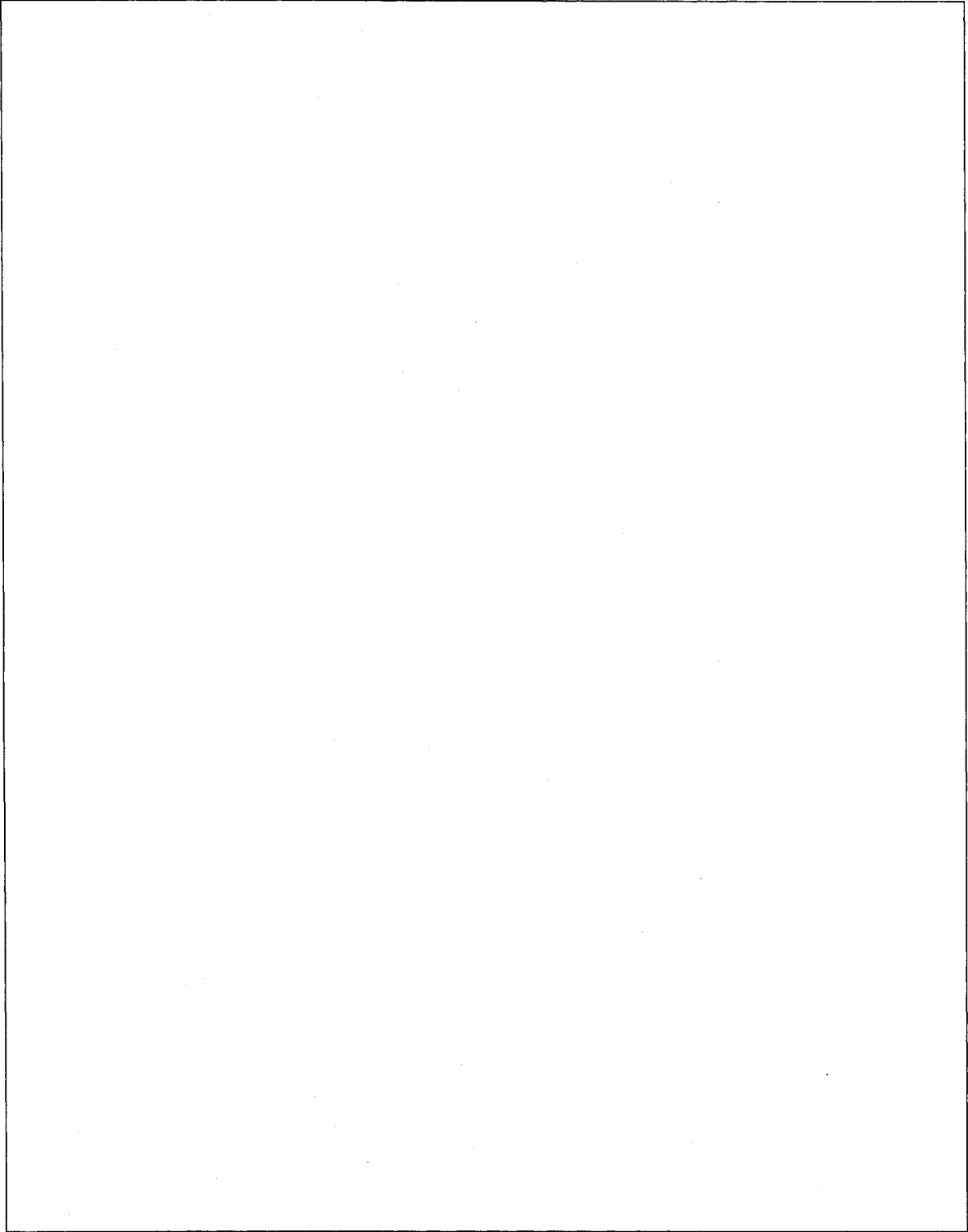
12. J.-F. de Troy, *La déclaration d'amour*. Williams College Museum of Art,
Williamstown, Mass.



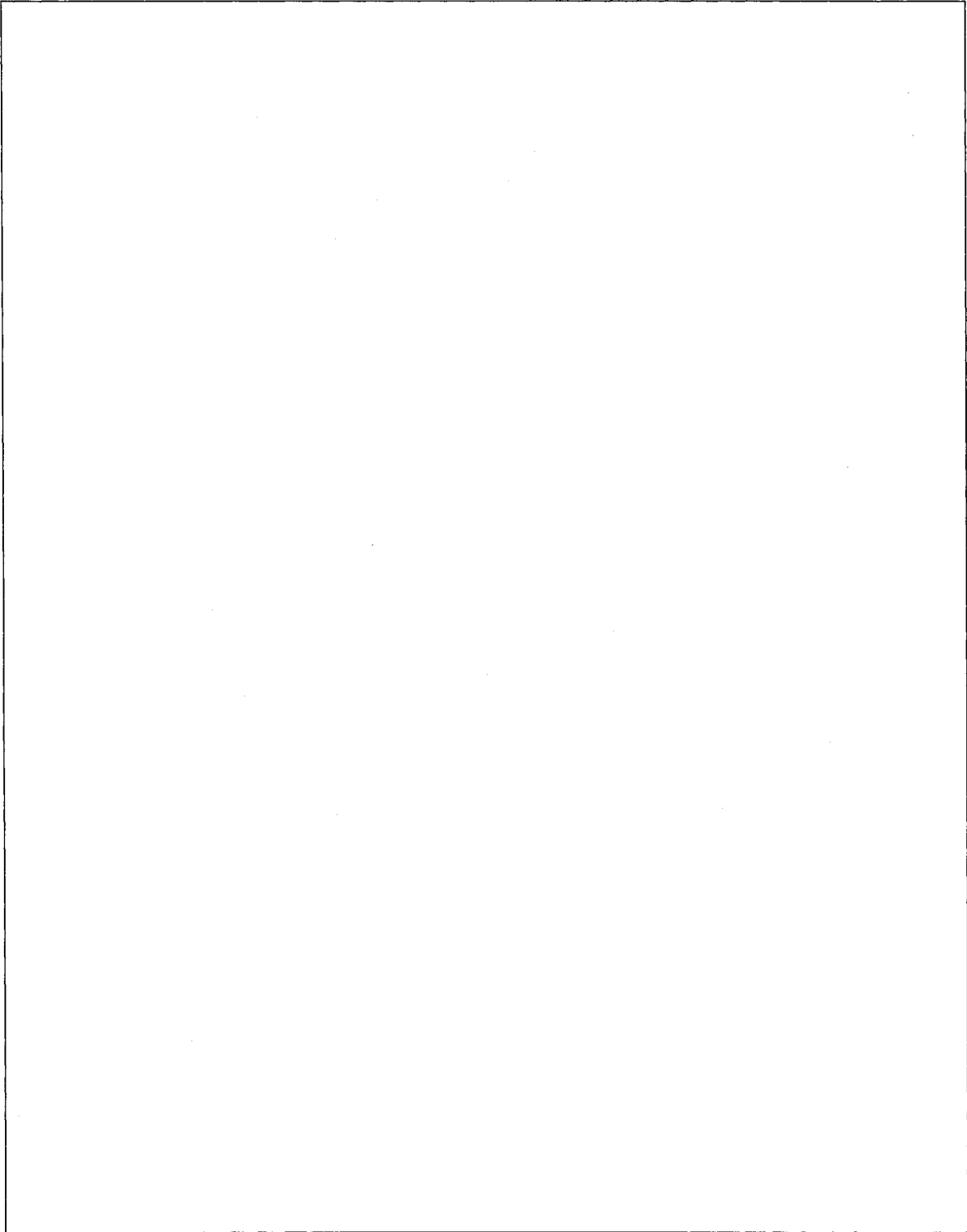
13. J.-F. de Troy, *La jarretière détachée*. Williams College Museum of Art,
Williamstown, Mass.



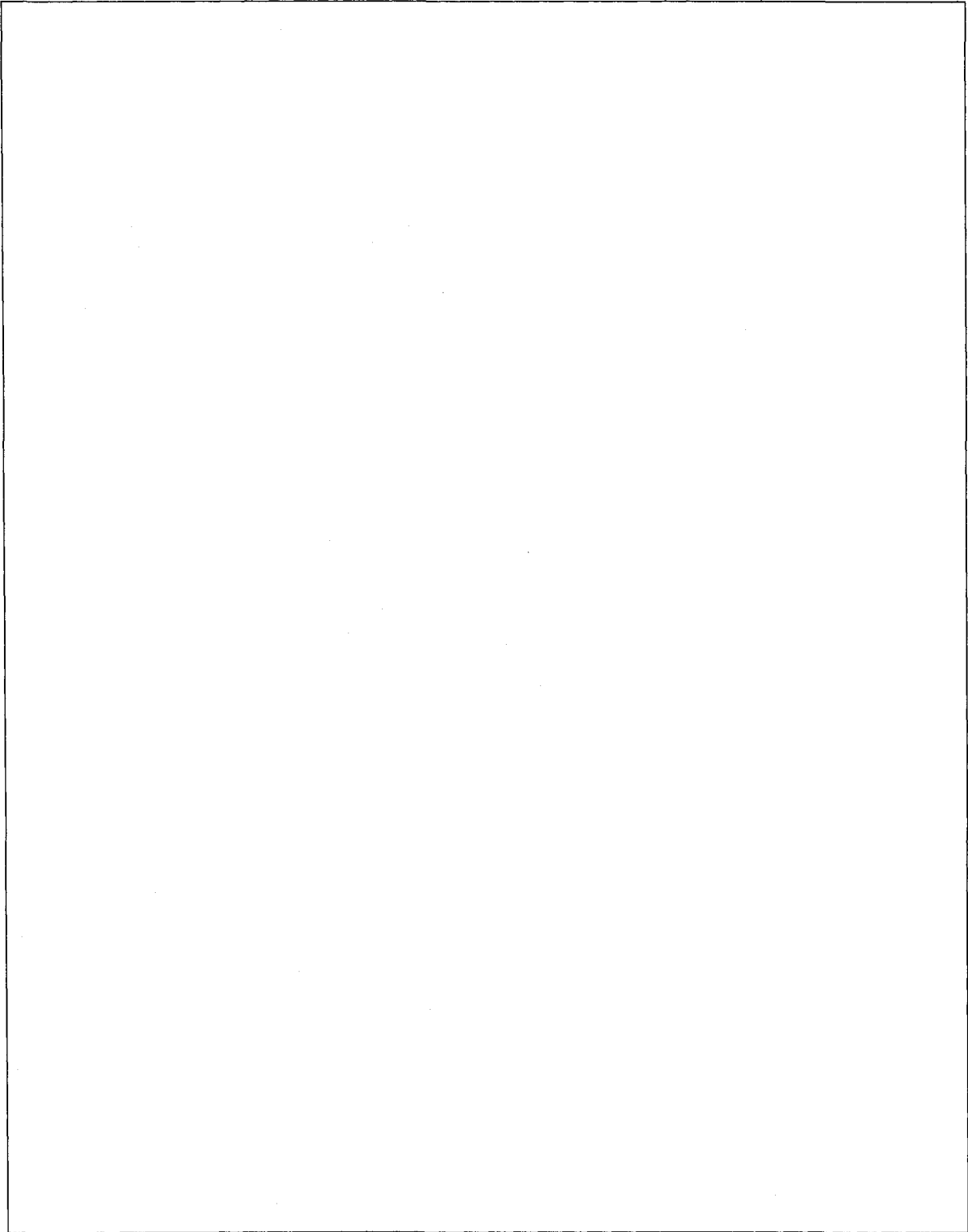
14. Jean Dieu de Saint-Jean, *Femme a la Mode*. BnF Est.



15. Jean Dieu de Saint-Jean, *Femme de Qualité en Deshabillé sortant du Lit*. BnF Est.



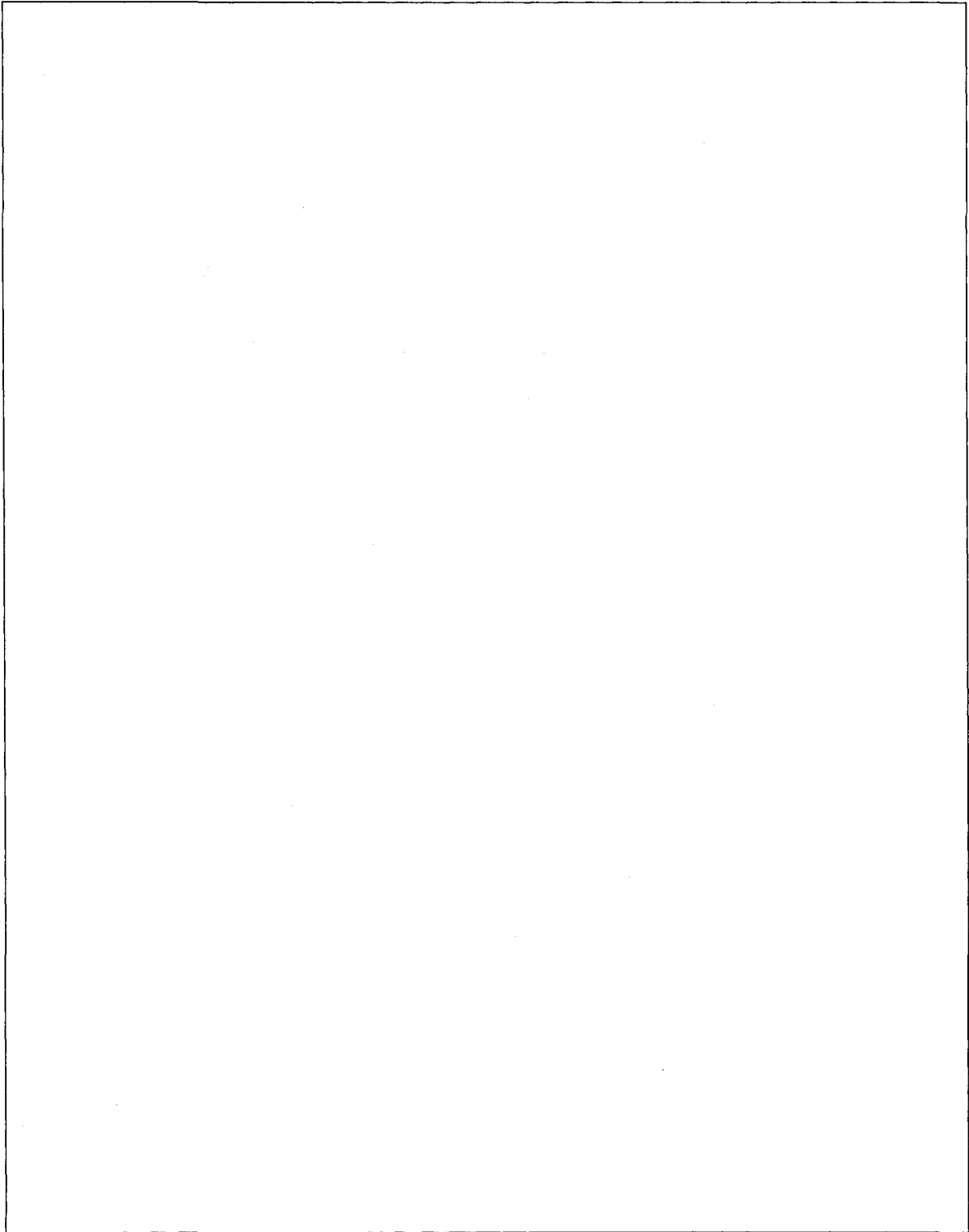
16. N. Bazin after J.-D. de Saint-Jean, *Femme de qualité déshabillée pour le bain* (1685).
BnF Est.



17. N. Bazin after J.-D. de Saint-Jean, *Femme de qualité déshabillée pour le bain* (1686).
BnF Est.



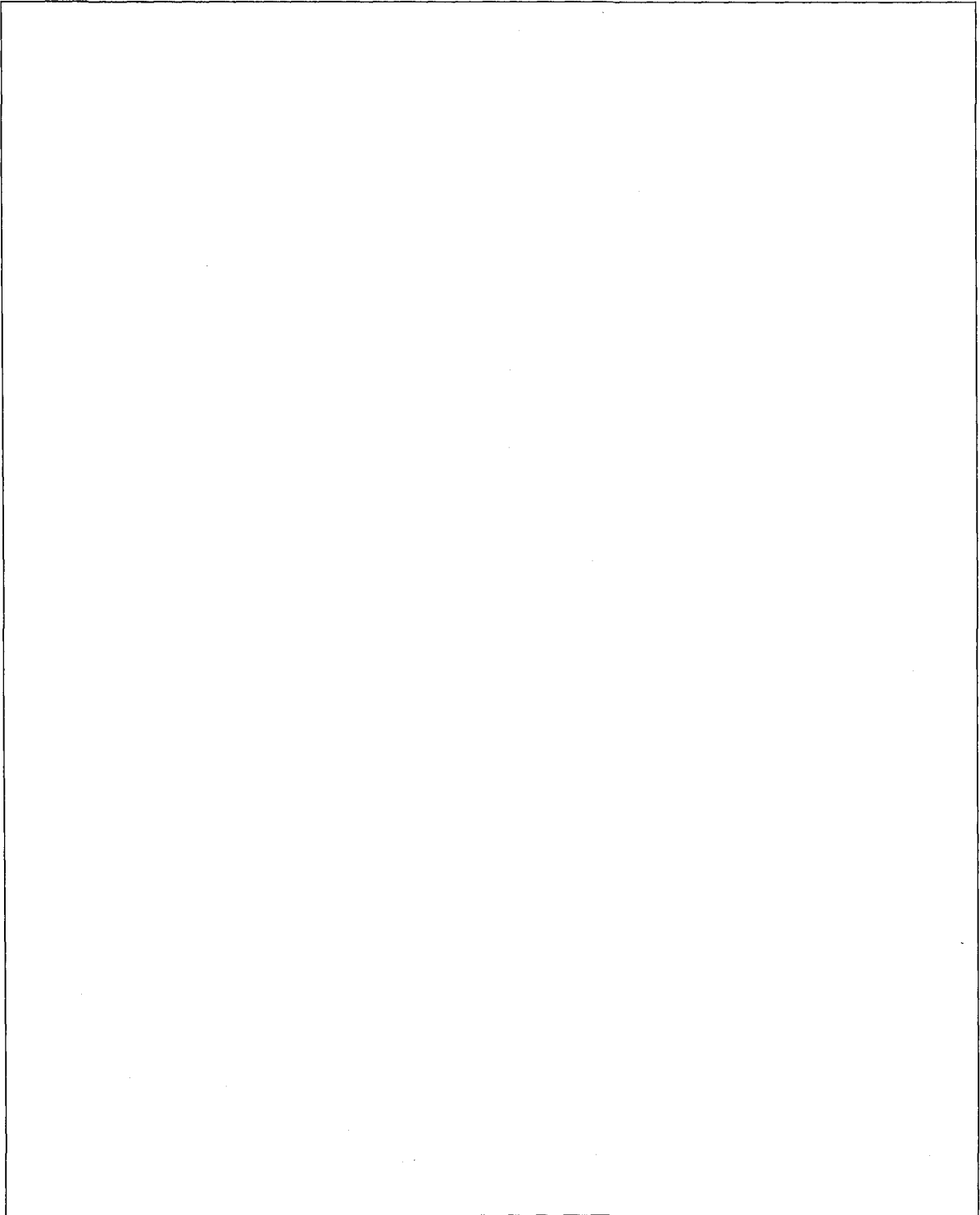
18. F. Guerard, *Le Jeu a deviner*. BnF Est.



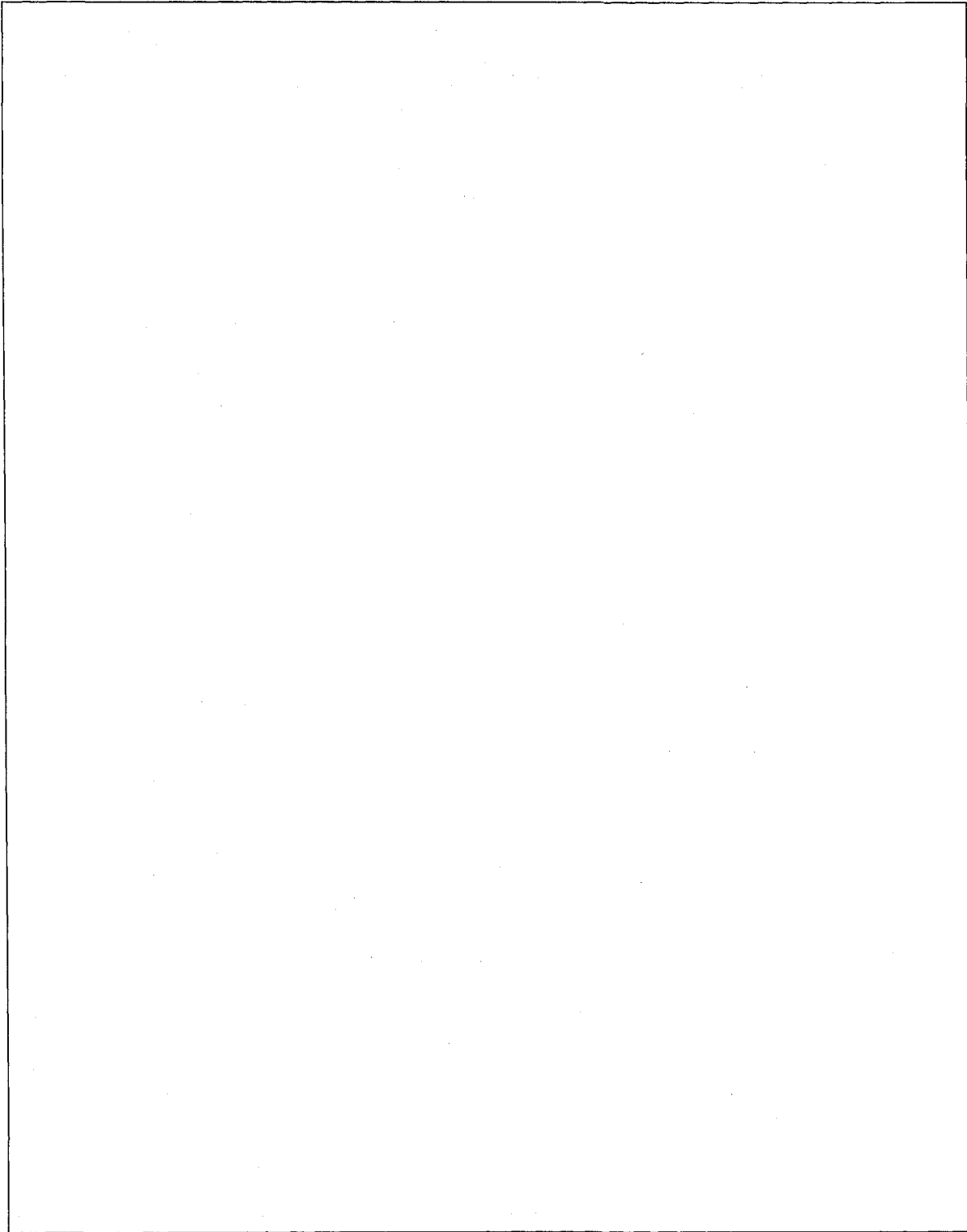
19. C.-N. Cochin père after J.-F. De Troy, *Le jeu de pied-de-boeuf*. BnF Est.



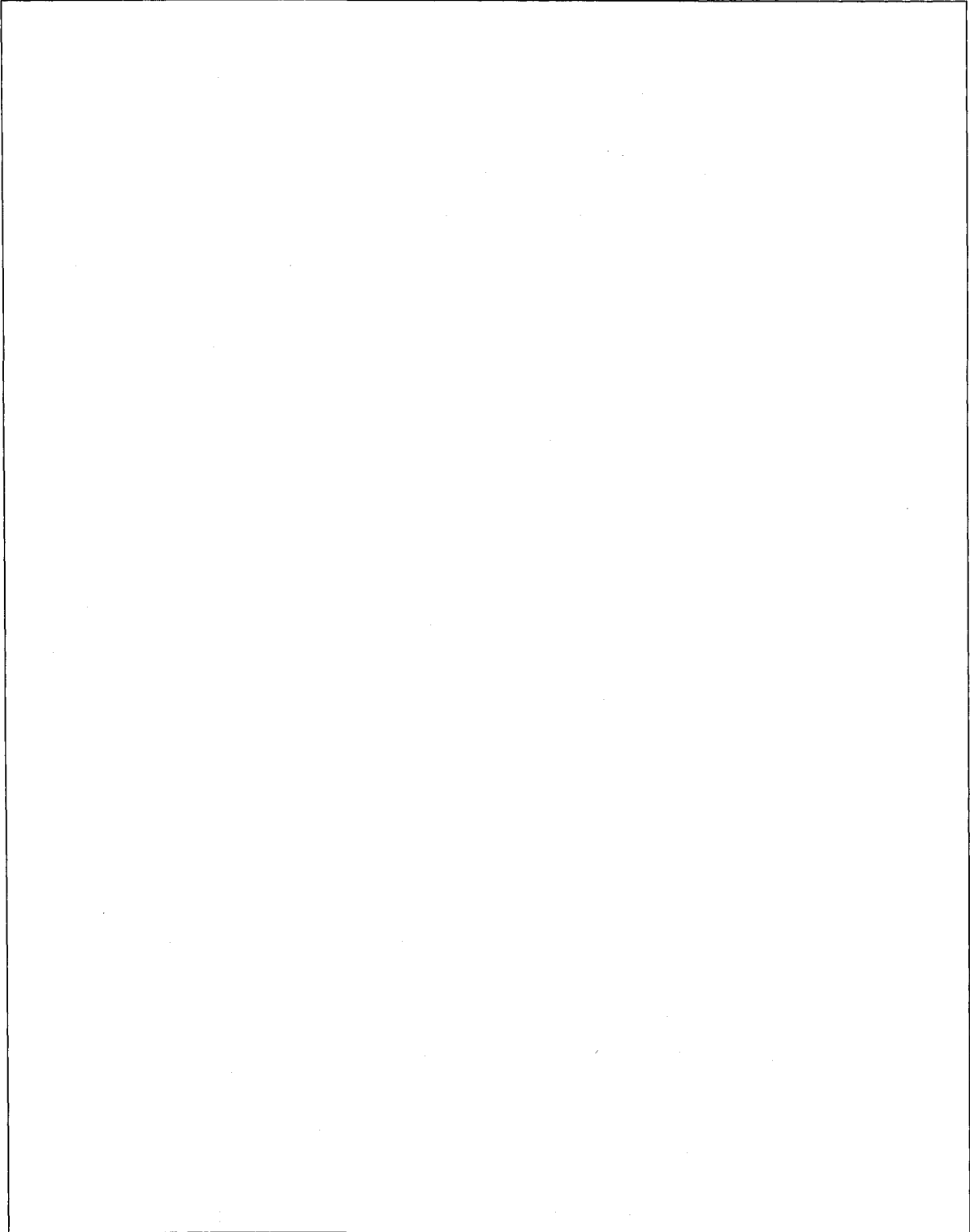
20. J.-F. de Troy, *Vertumne et Pomone*. The Ball State University Museum of Art,
Muncie, IN



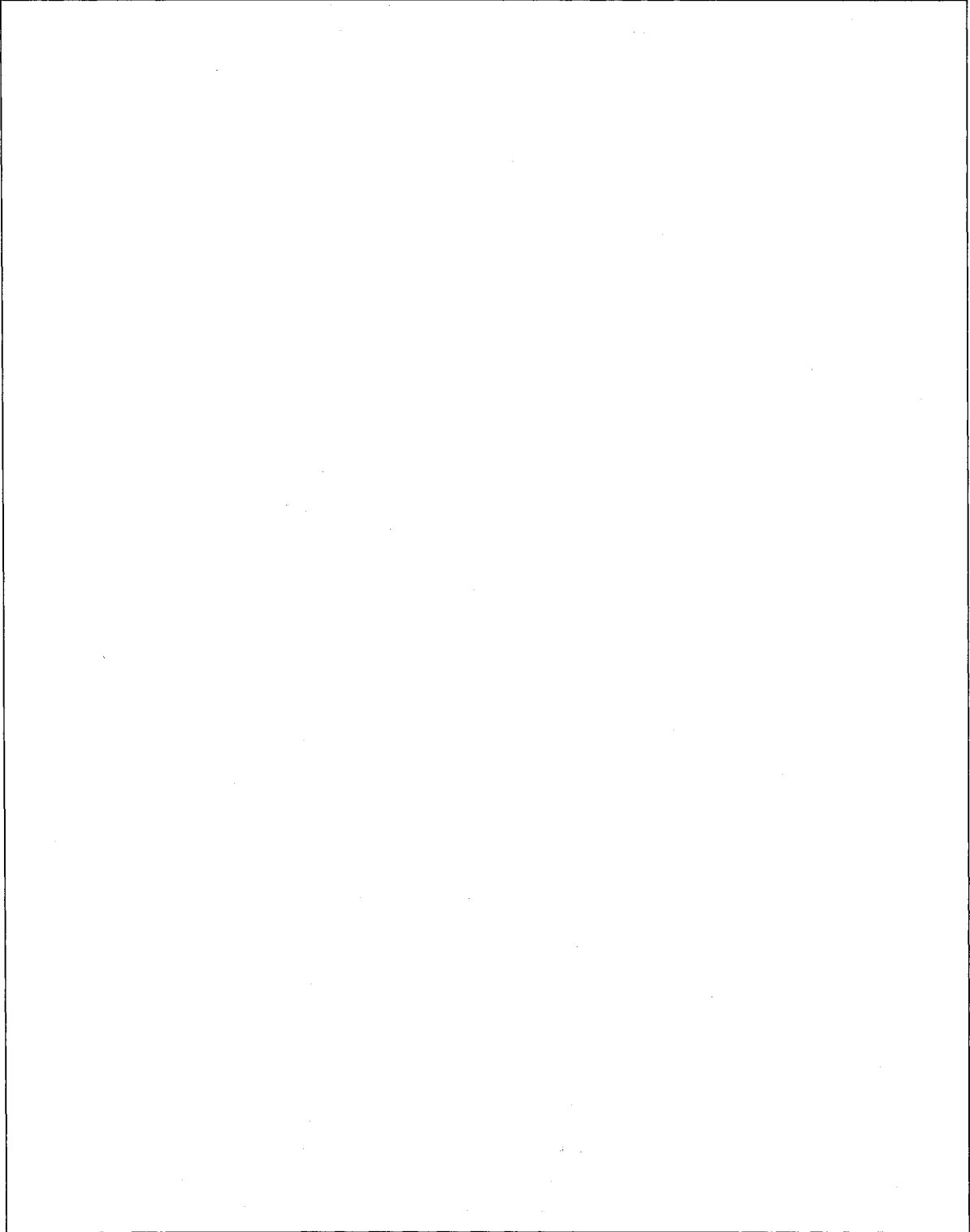
21. J.-F. de Troy, *Lecture de Molière*. Private Collection, U.K.



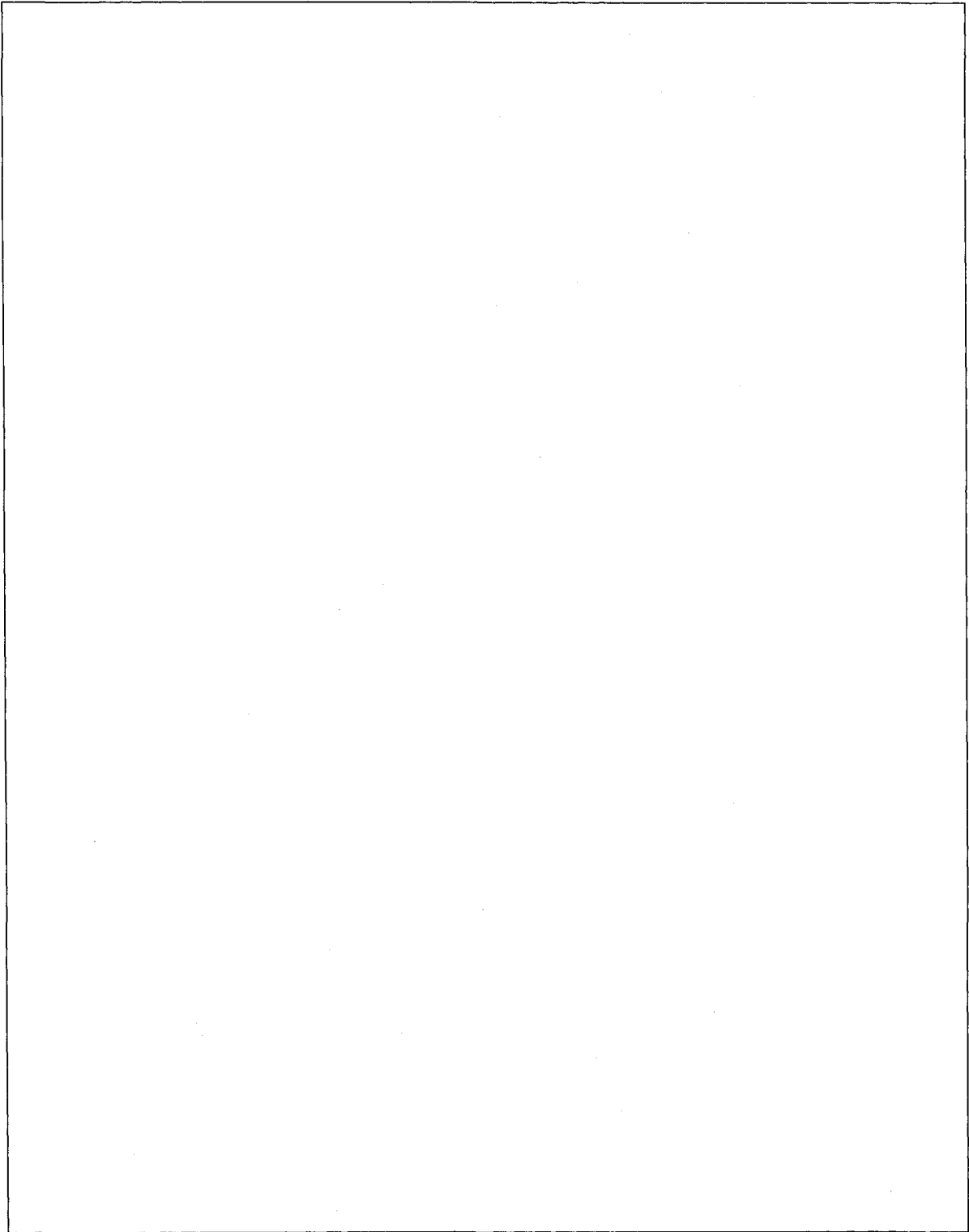
22. J.-B.-S. Chardin, *La Gouvernante*. National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa



23. F.-B. Lépicie after J.-B.-S. Chardin, *La Mère laborieuse*. BnF Est.



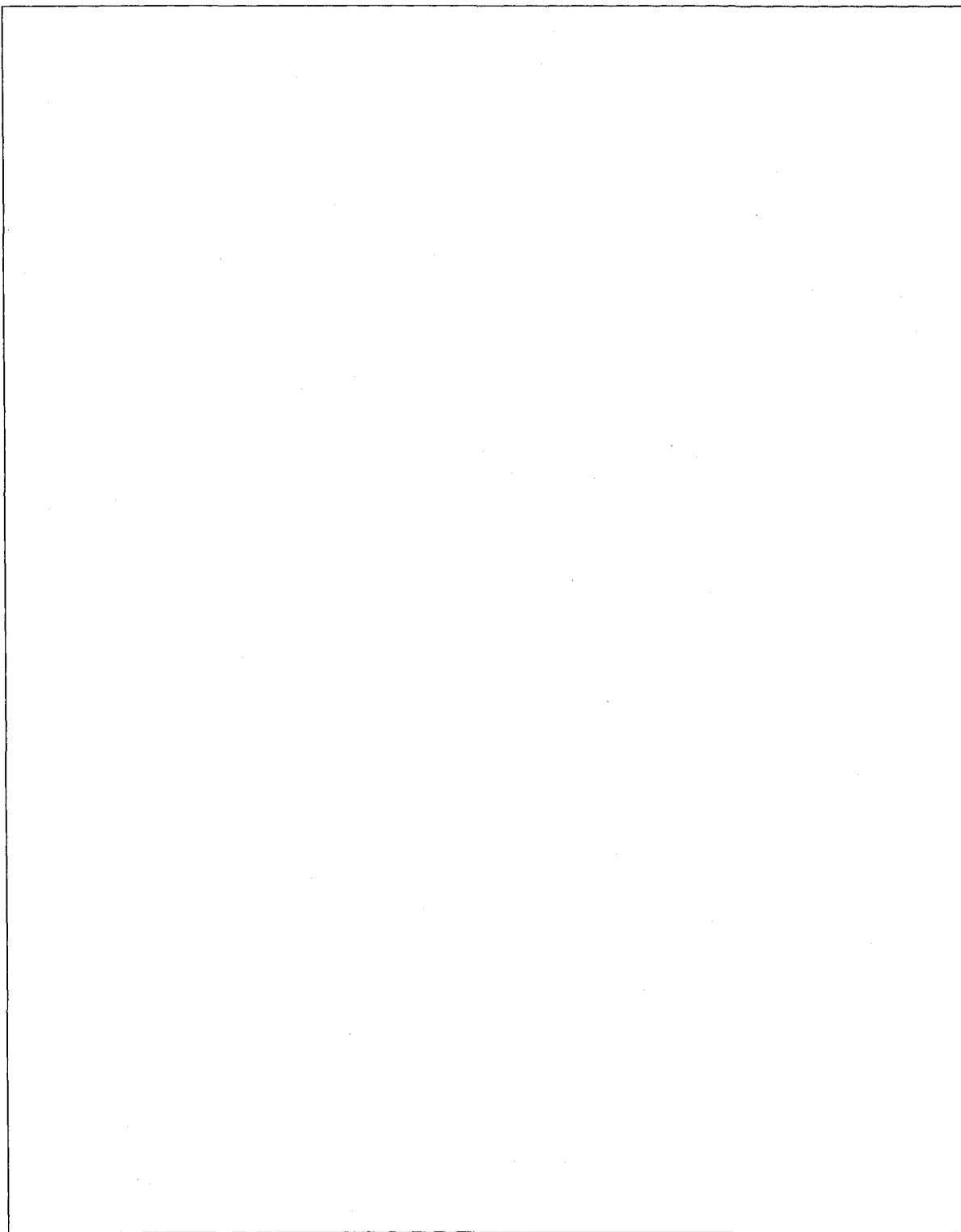
24. J.-B.-S. Chardin, *Le Bénédicité*. Louvre, Paris



25. J.-B.-S. Chardin, *Le Bénédicité*. Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam



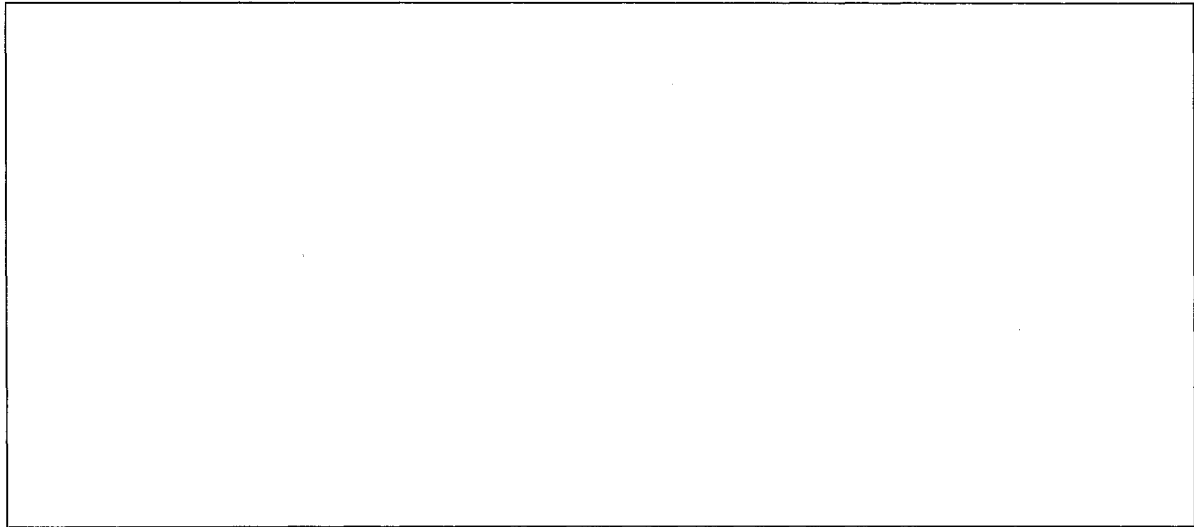
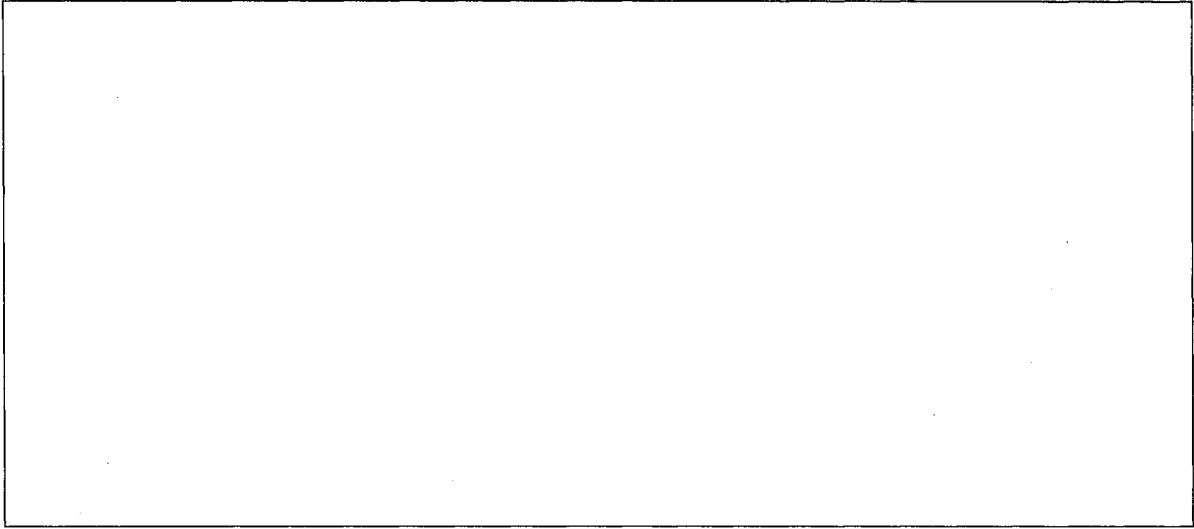
26. R.-E.-M.. Lépicie after J.-B.-S. Chardin, *Le Bénédicité*. BnF Est.



27. J.-B.-S. Chardin, *Une petite fille jouant au volant*. Private Collection



28. C.-N. Cochin père after J.-B.-S. Chardin, *La Blanchisseuse*. BnF Est.

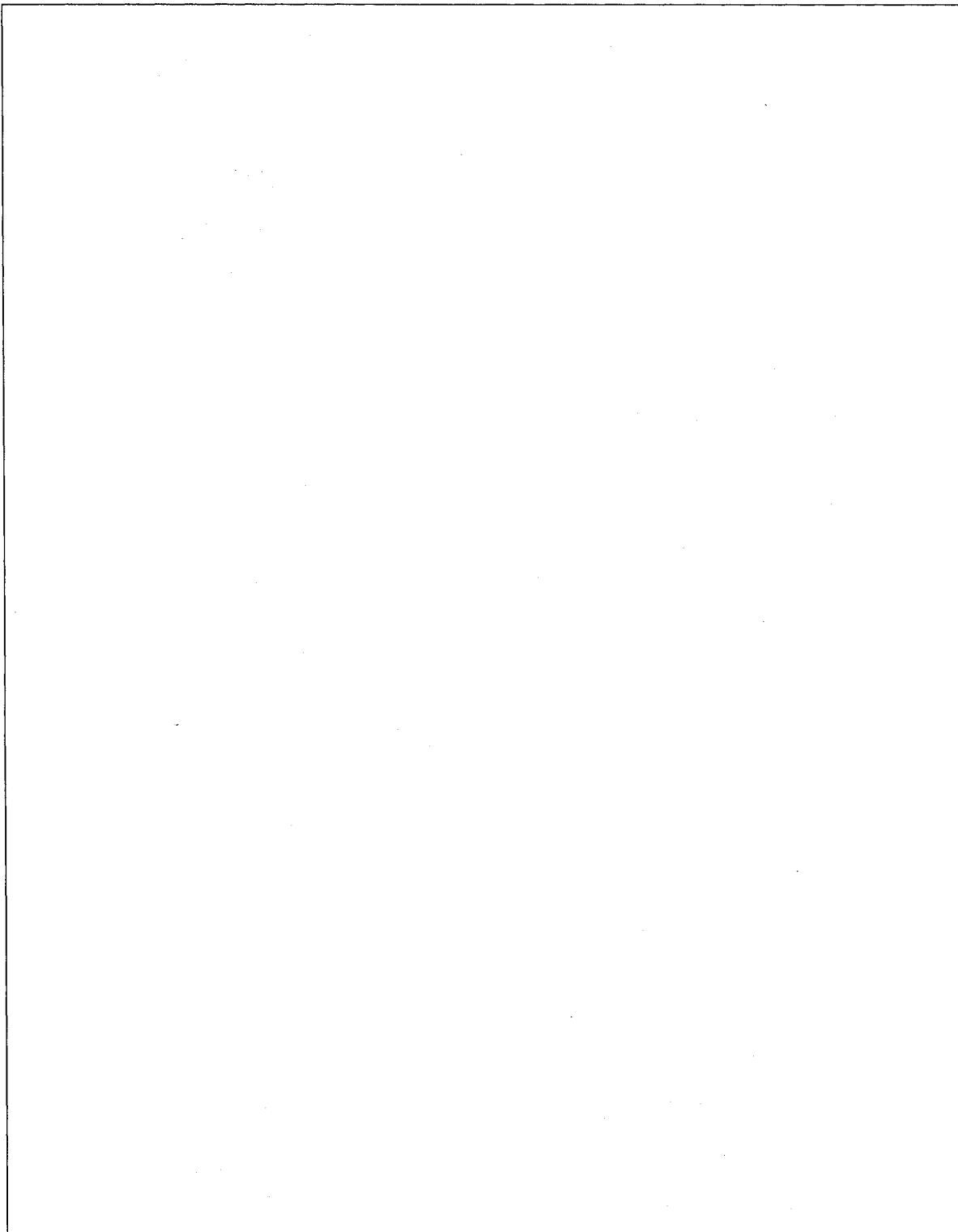


29. C.-N. Cochin père after J.-B.-S. Chardin, *Le garçon cabaretier*. BnF Est.

30. C.-N. Cochin père after J.-B.-S. Chardin, *La récupreuse*. BnF Est.



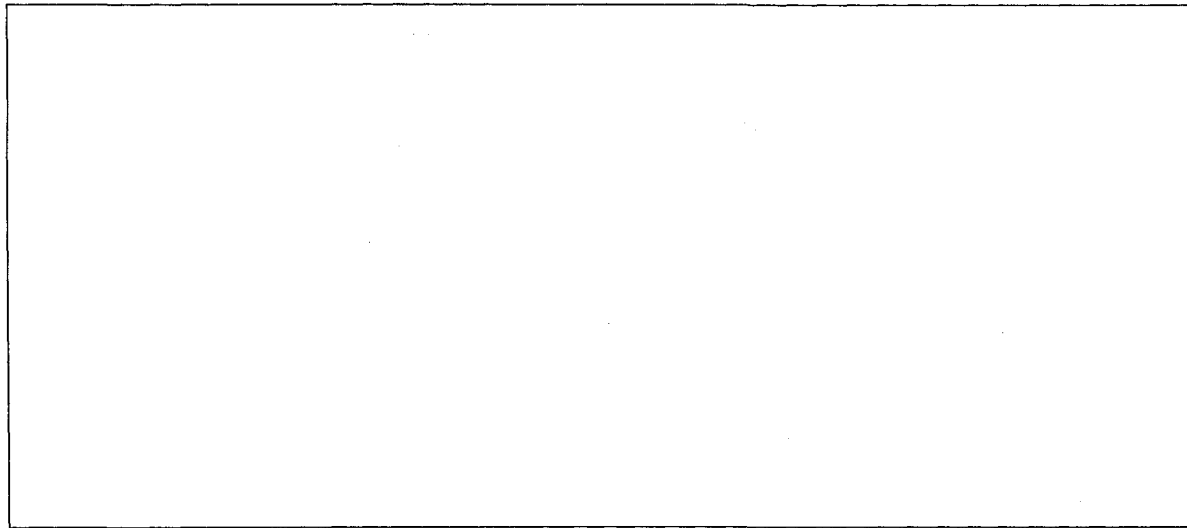
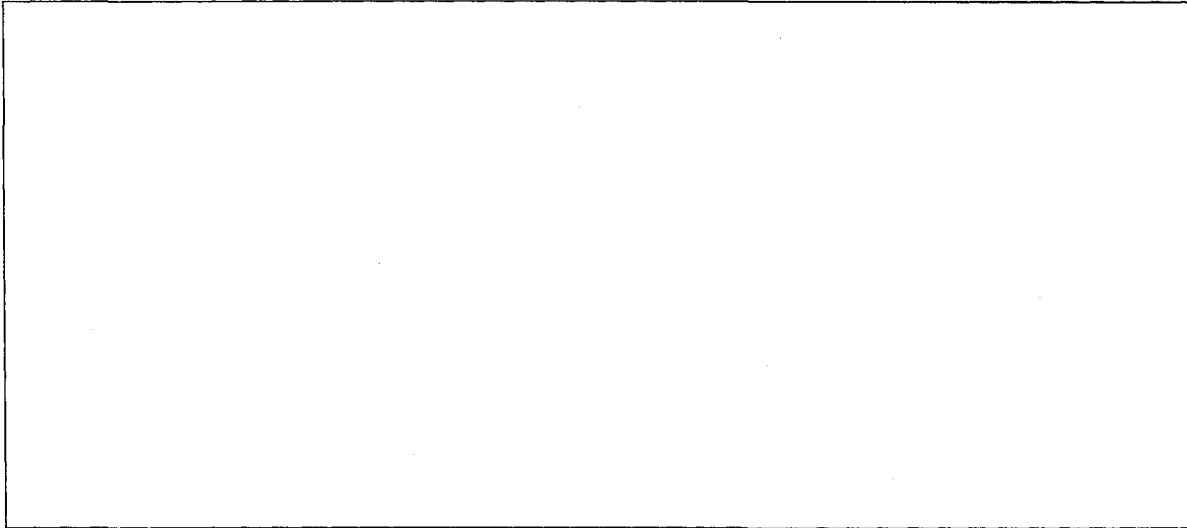
31. Étienne Fessard after J.-B.-S. Chardin, [*Une Femme occupée à cacheter une lettre*].
BnF Est.



32. J.-B.-S. Chardin, *Le Négligé ou Toilette du Matin*. Nationalmuseum, Stockholm

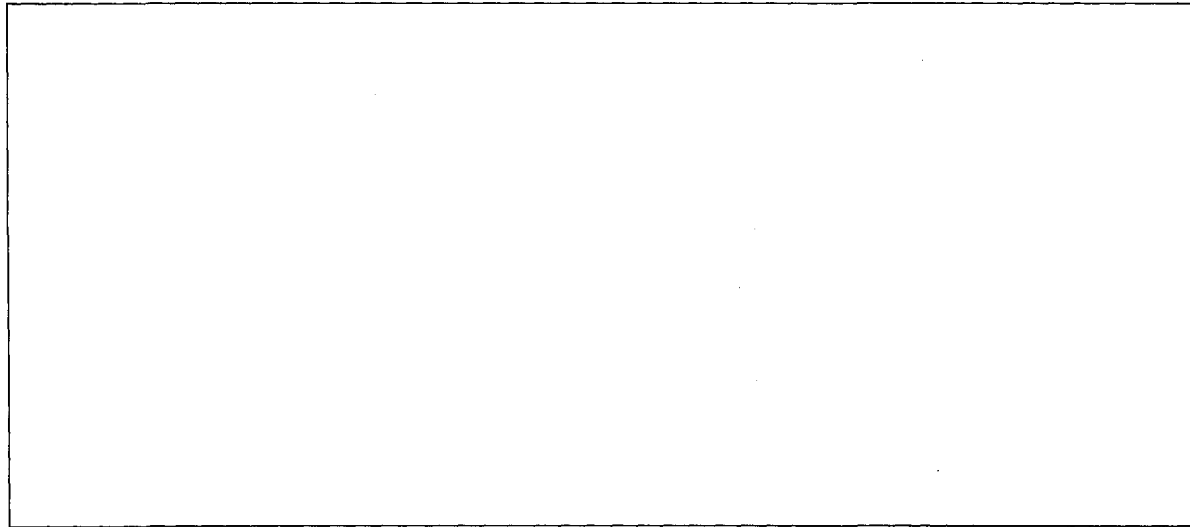
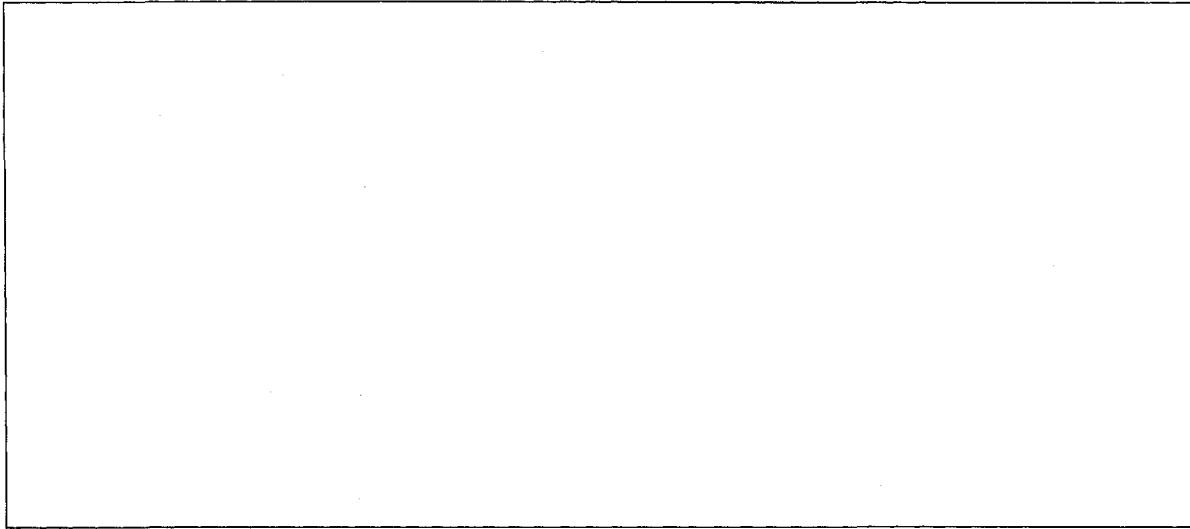


33. J.-P. Le Bas after J.-B.-S. Chardin, *Le Négligé ou Toilette du Matin*. BnF Est.



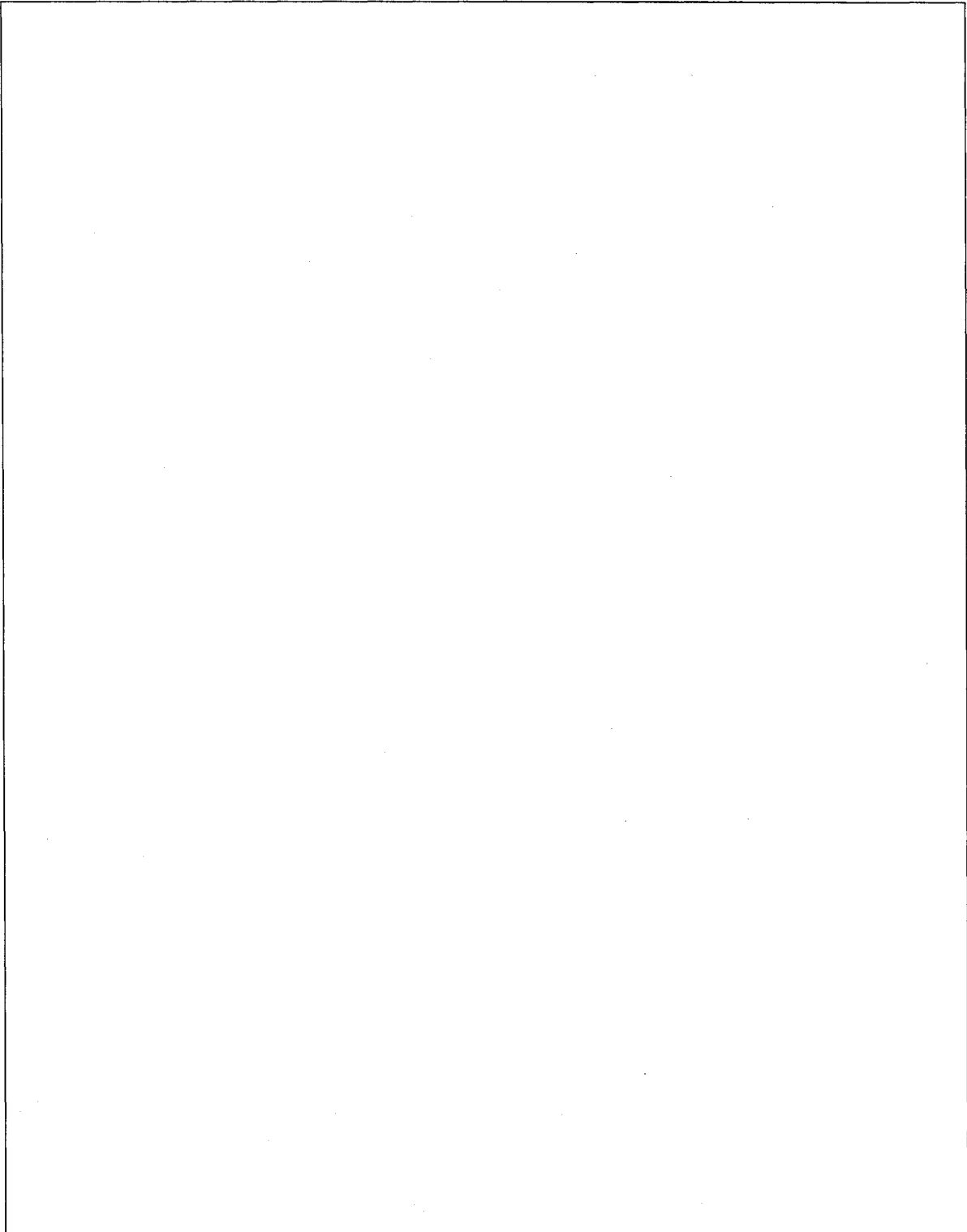
34. Detail of smoke trail, J.-B.-S.
Chardin, *Le Négligé ou Toilette du
Matin*

35. Detail of smoke trail, J.-P. Le Bas
after J.-B.-S. Chardin, *Le Négligé ou
Toilette du Matin*

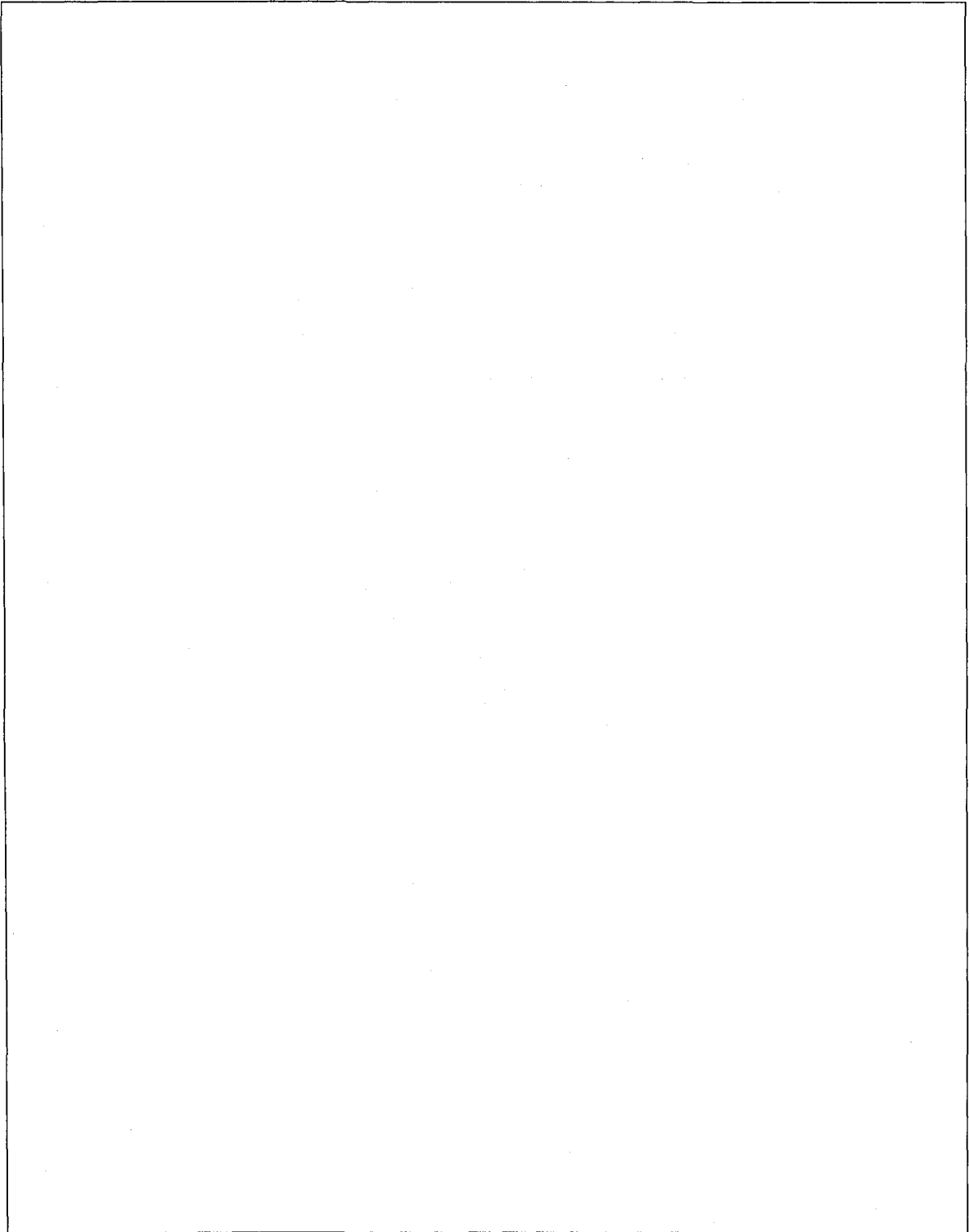


36. Detail of clock, J.-B.-S. Chardin,
Le Négligé ou Toilette du Matin

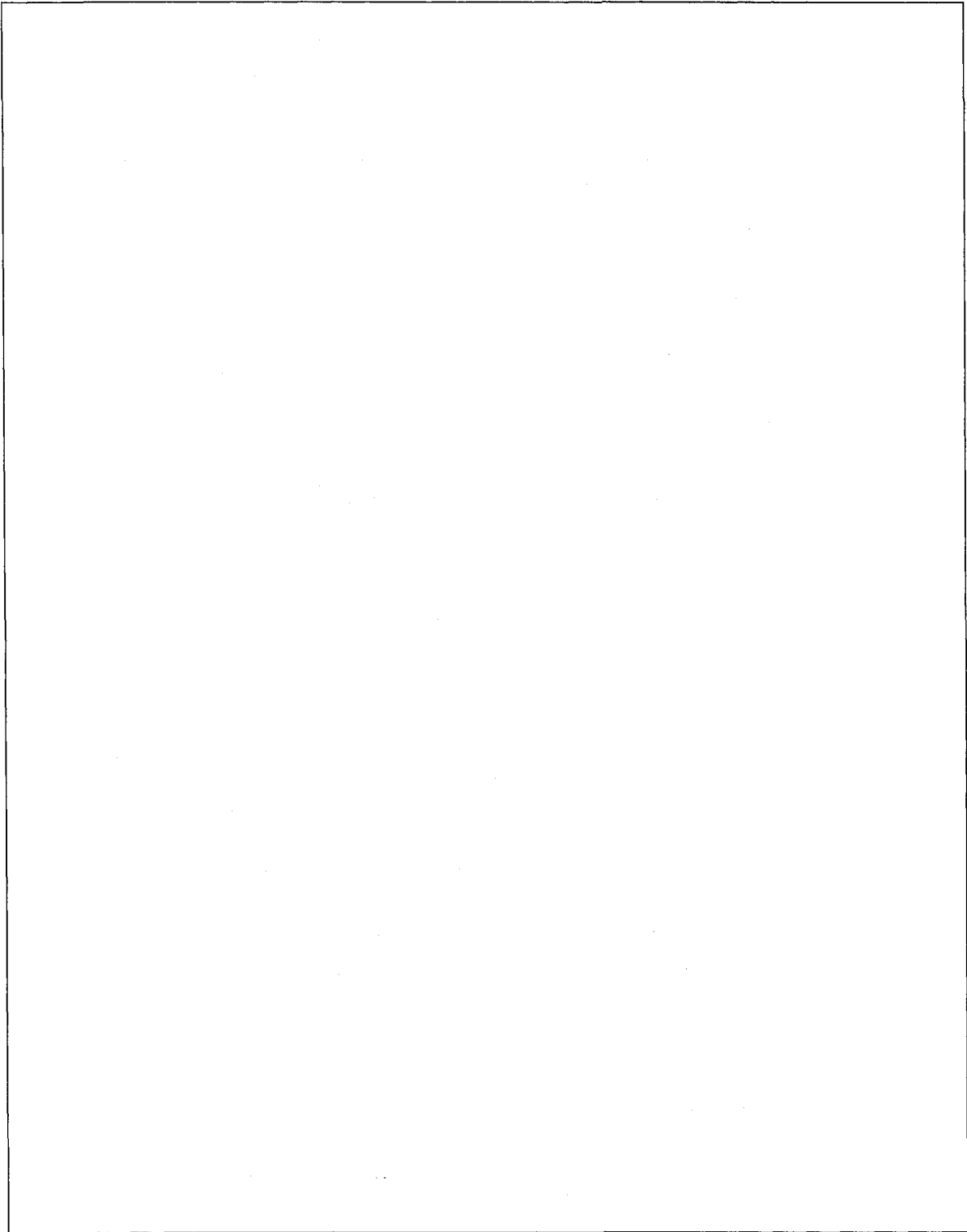
37. Detail of clock, J.-P. Le Bas after
J.-B.-S. Chardin, *Le Négligé ou Toilette du
Matin*



38. J.-B.-S. Chardin, *Un jeune dessinateur taillant son crayon*. Louvre, Paris



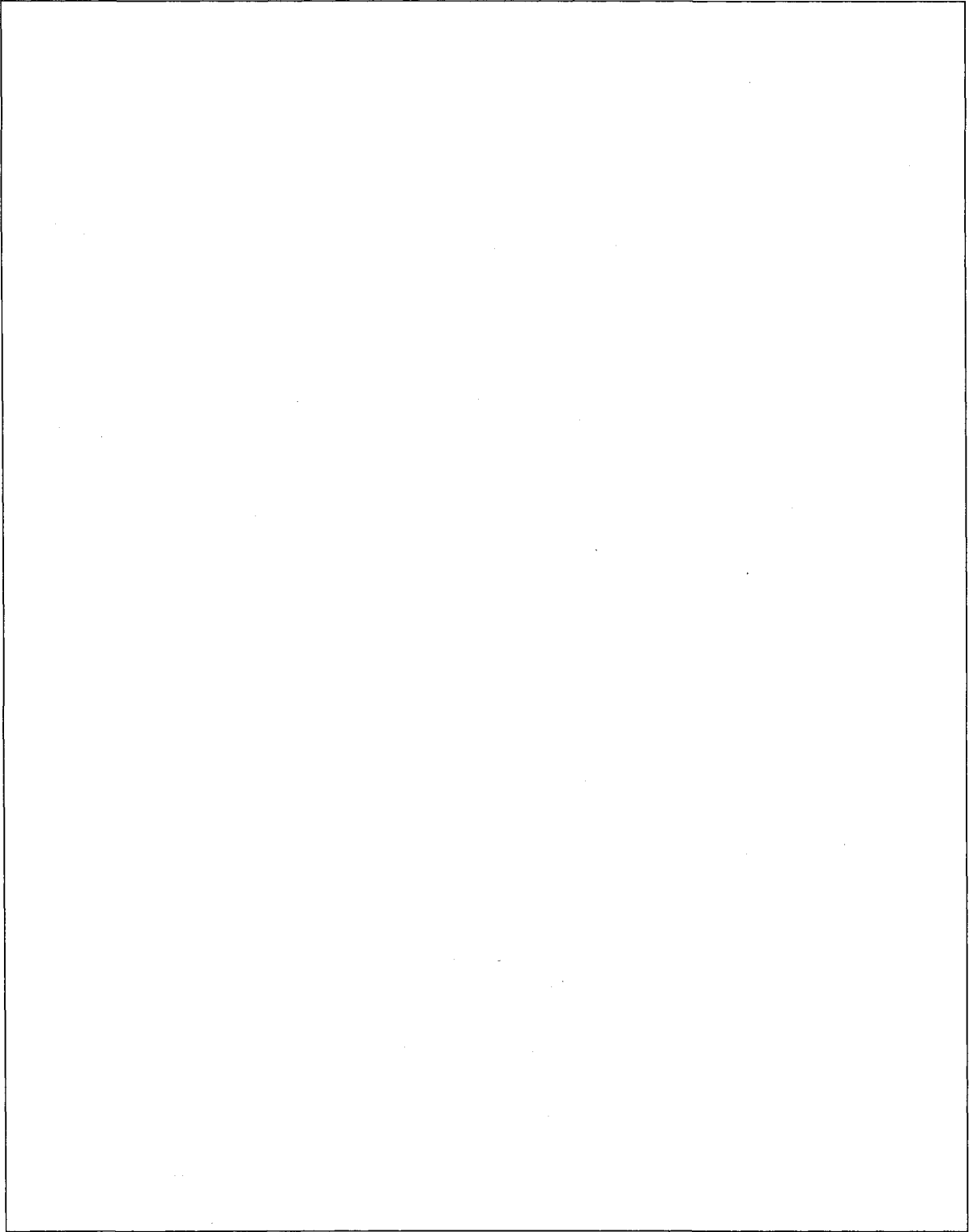
39. Pierre Fillœul after J.-B.-S. Chardin, *Les bouteilles de savon*. BnF Est.



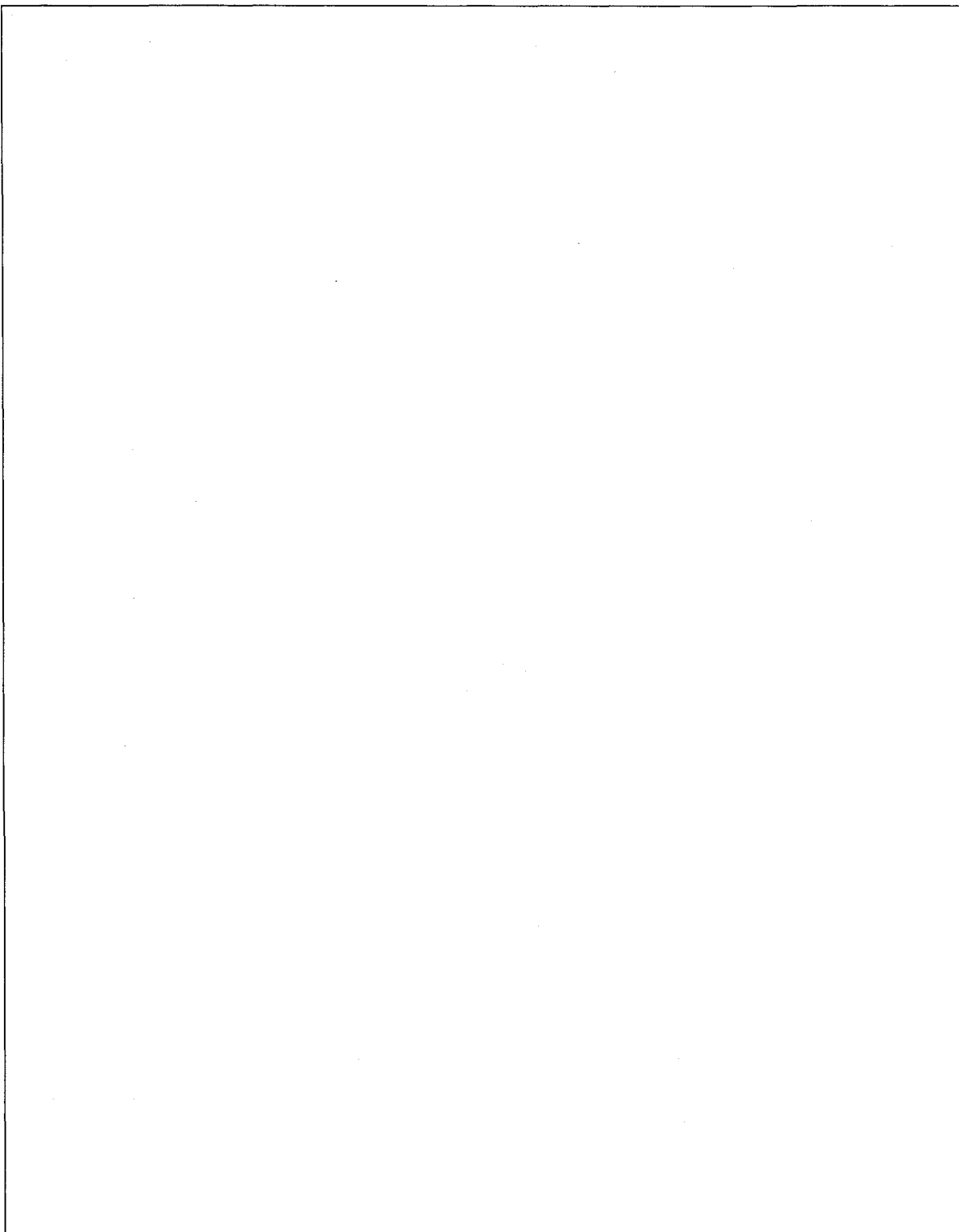
40. F.-B. Lépicié after J.-B.-S. Chardin, *La Gouvernante*. BnF Est.



41. Laurent Cars after J.-B.-S. Chardin, *Une Dame variant ses amusements*. BnF Est.



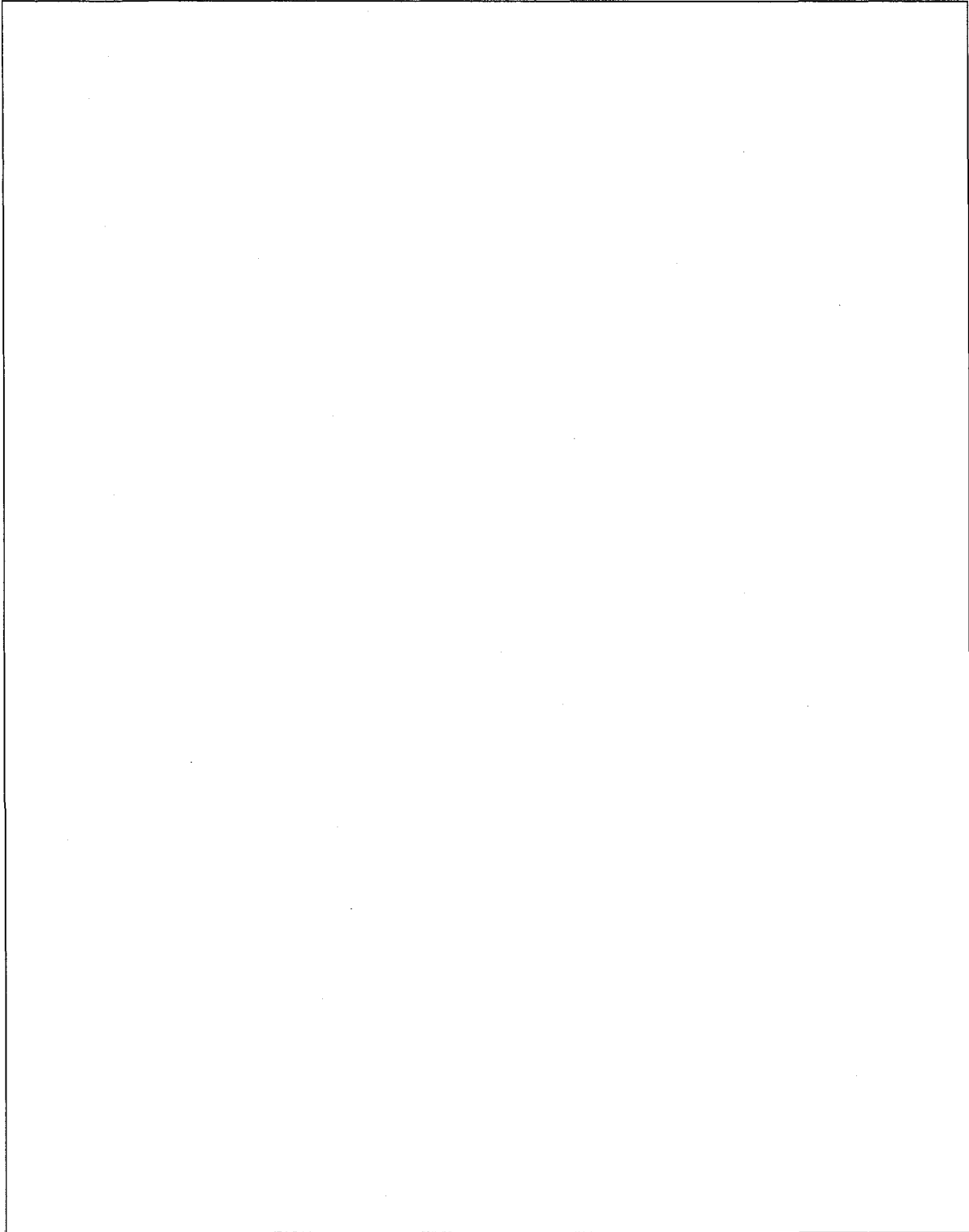
42. Jacques Aved, *Madame Crozat*. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Montpellier



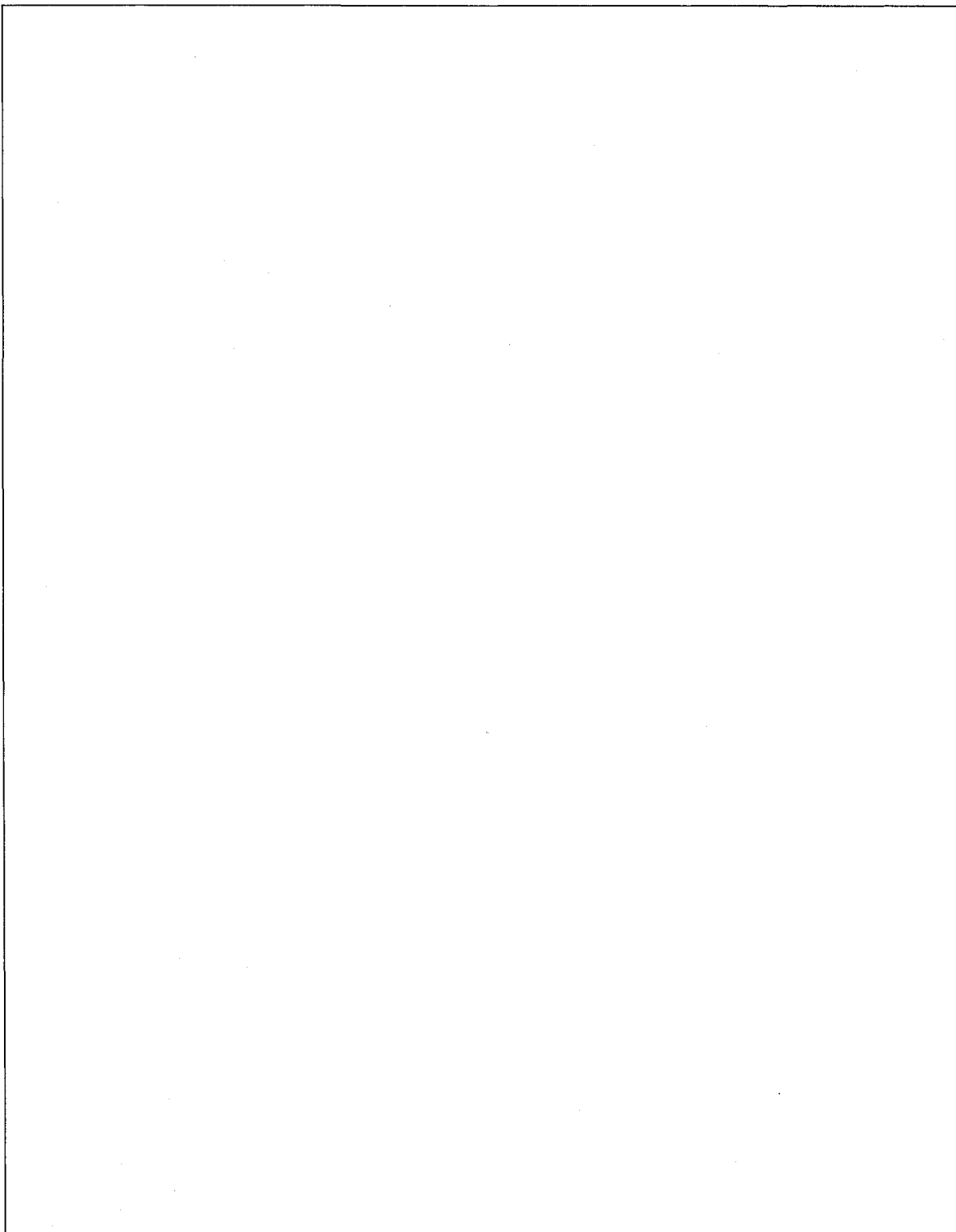
43. F.-B. Lépicié after J.-B.-S. Chardin, *La Pourvoyeuse*. BnF Est.



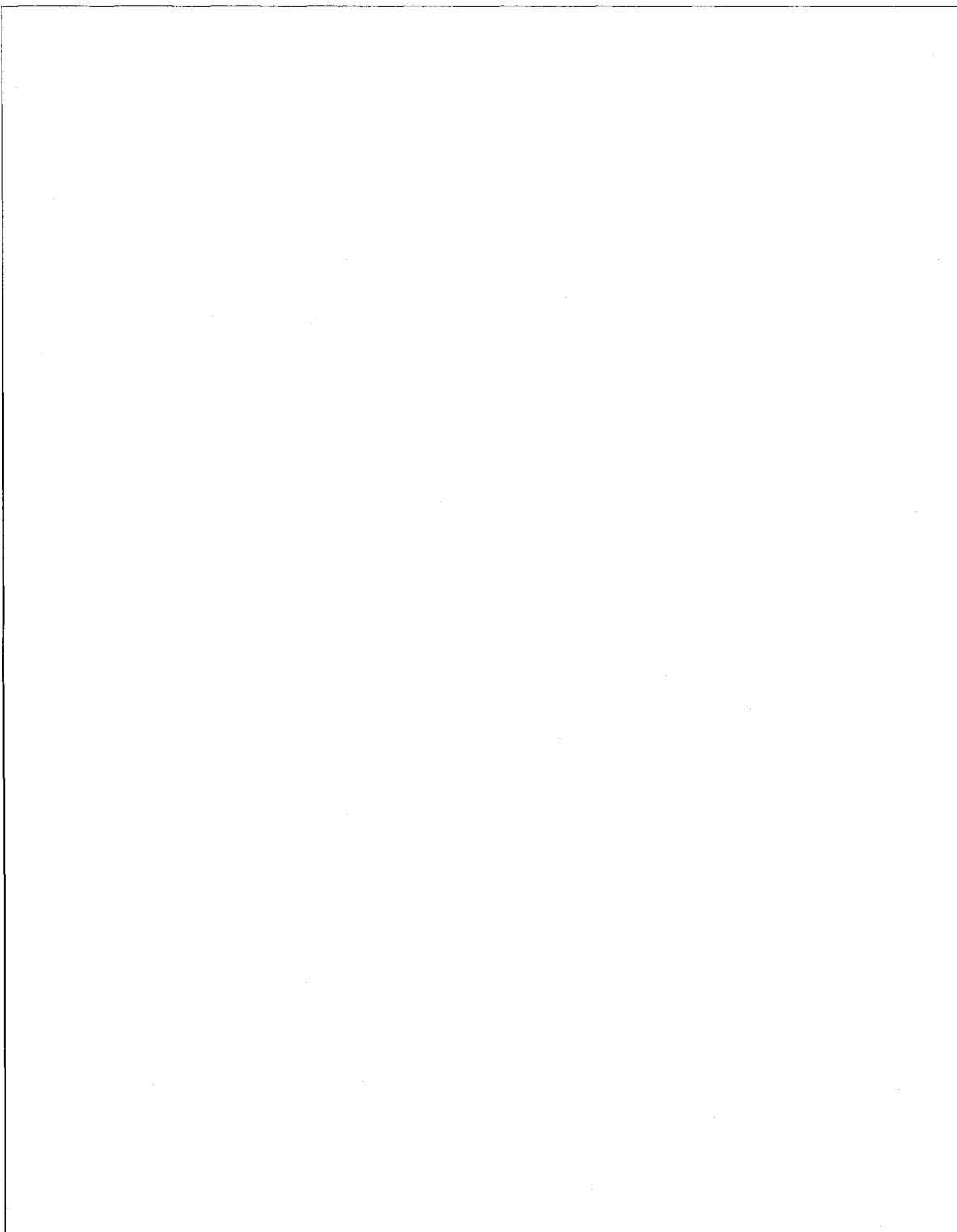
44. Pierre Dupin after 'J.-B.-S. Chardin', *La Ménagere*. BnF Est.



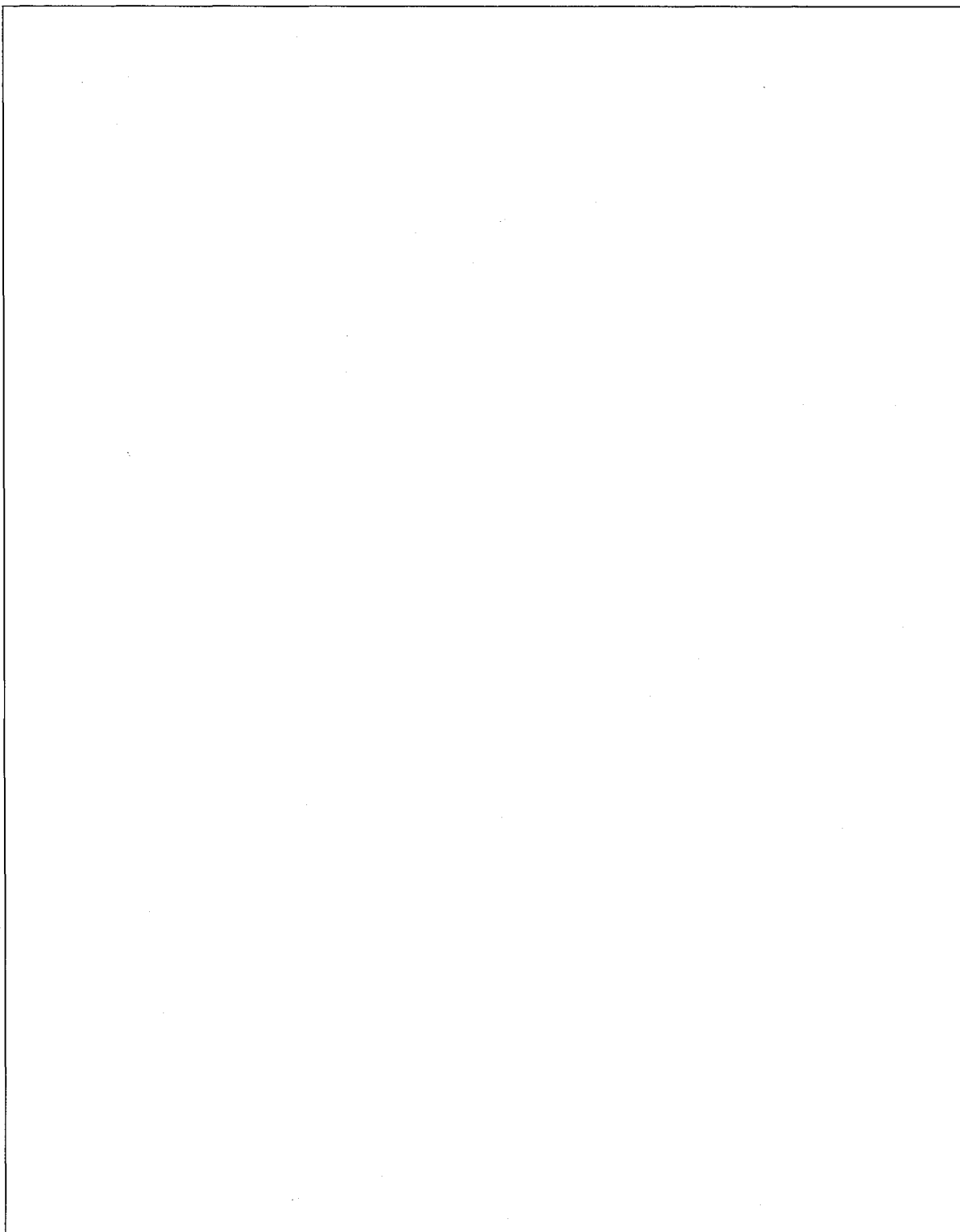
45. J.-F. Beauvarlet after Etienne Jeaurat, *L'éplucheuse de salade*. BnF Est.



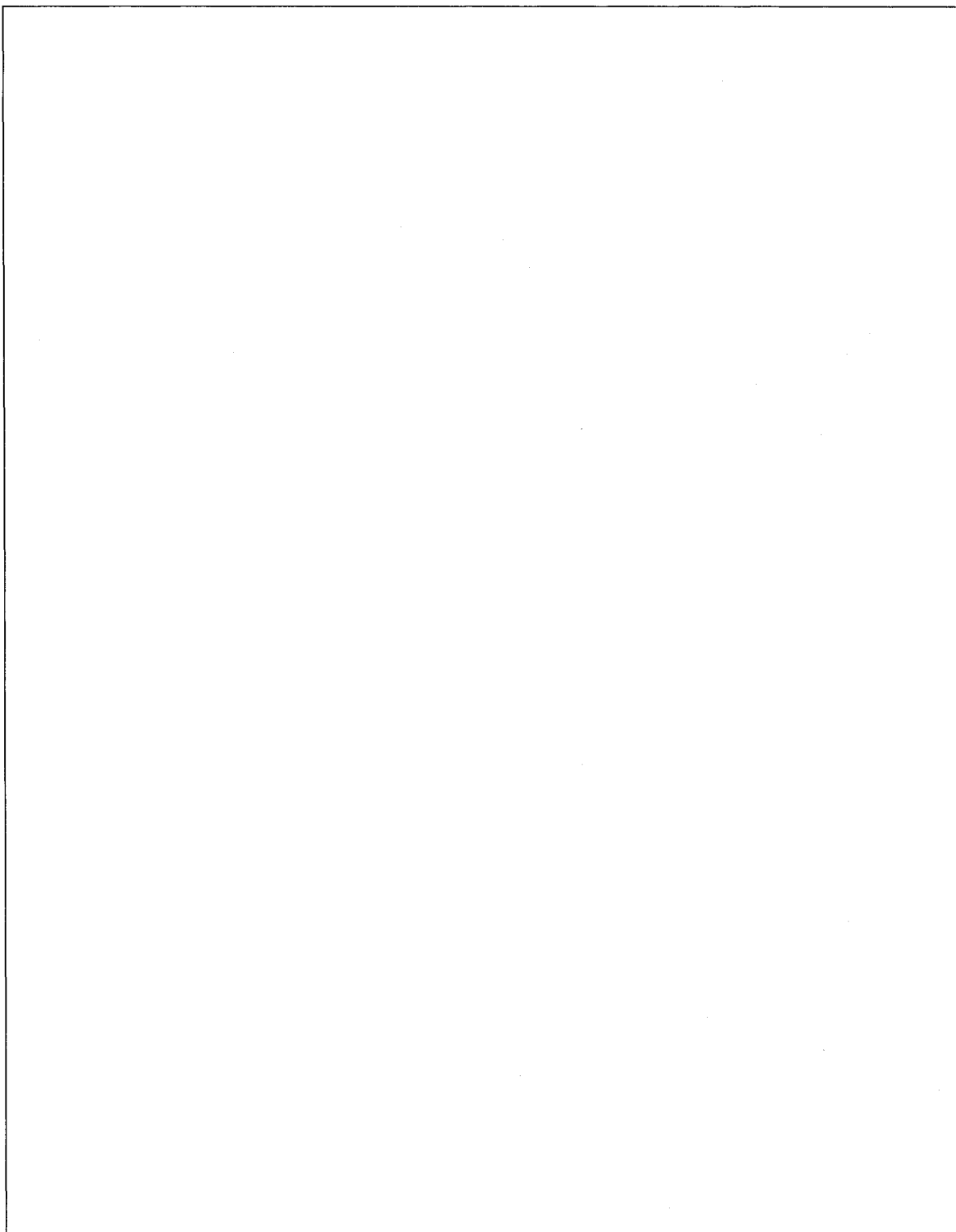
46. Louis Desplaces after Charles Coypel, *Education douce et insinuante donnée par une Sainte*. BnF Est.



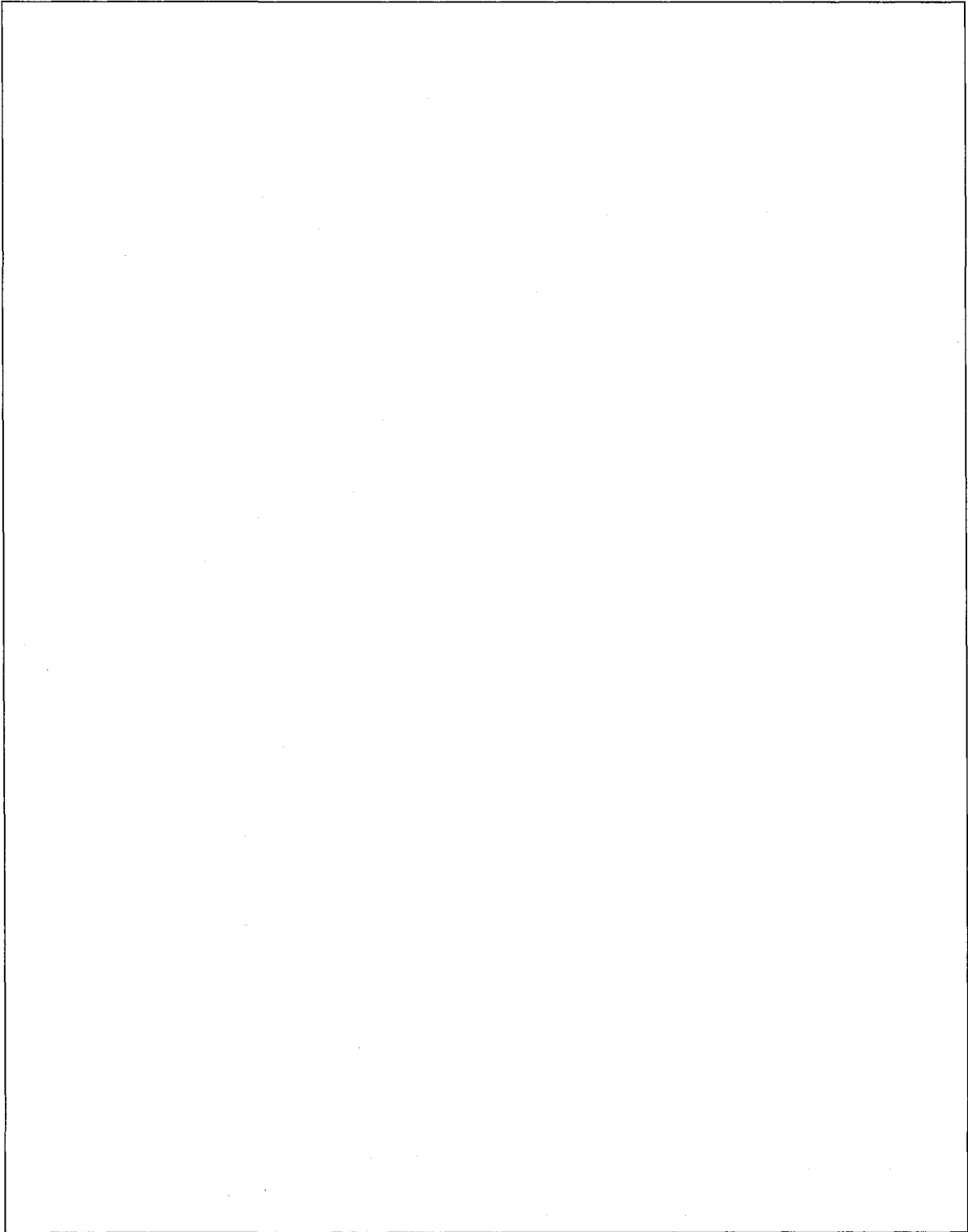
47. Louis Desplaces after Charles Coypel, *Education Seche et rebutante donnée par une prude*. BnF Est.



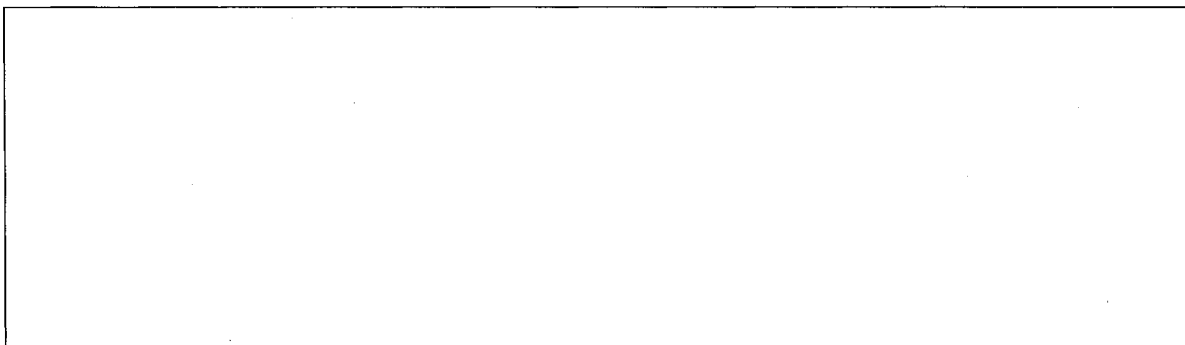
48. J.-P. Le Bas after J.-B.-S. Chardin, *La Bonne Education*. BnF Est.



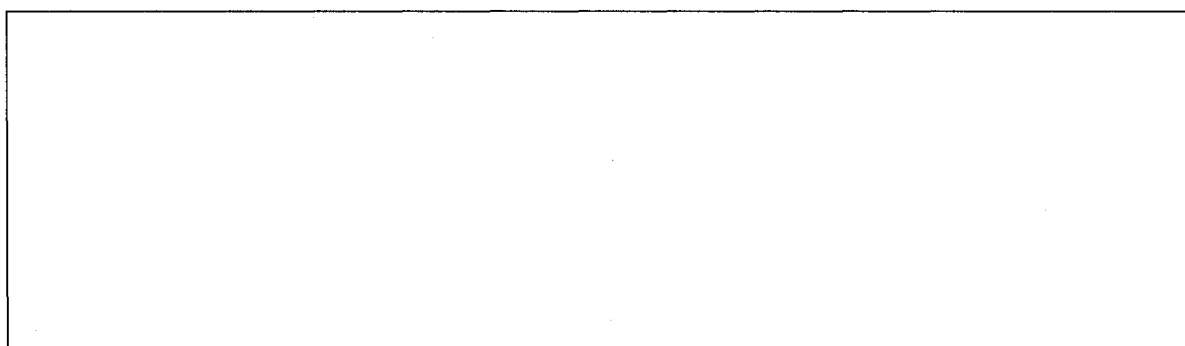
49. Etienne Charpentier after 'J.-B.-S. Chardin', *La mère trop rigide*. BnF Est.



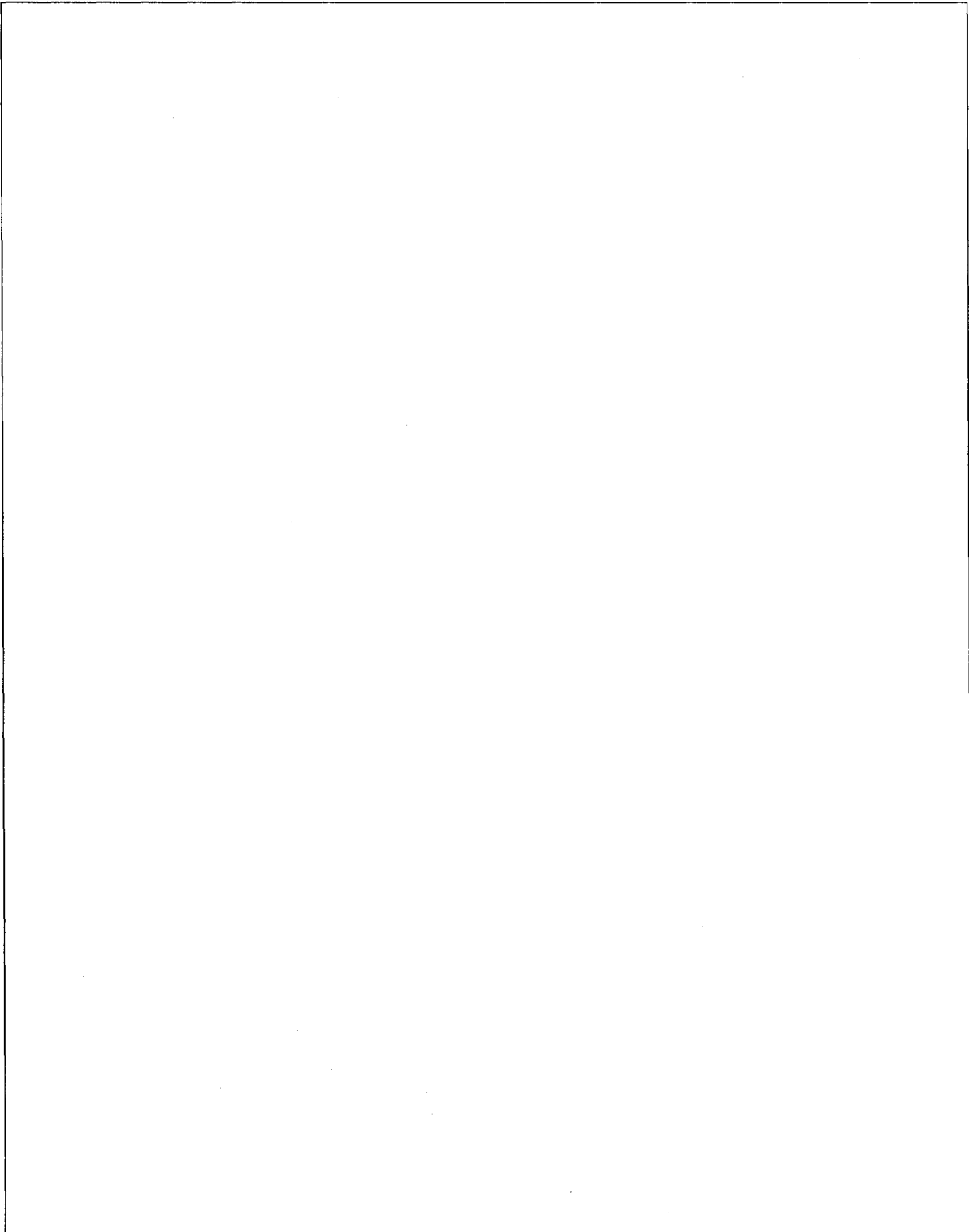
50. F. Guerard. *Embaras de Paris*. BnF Est.



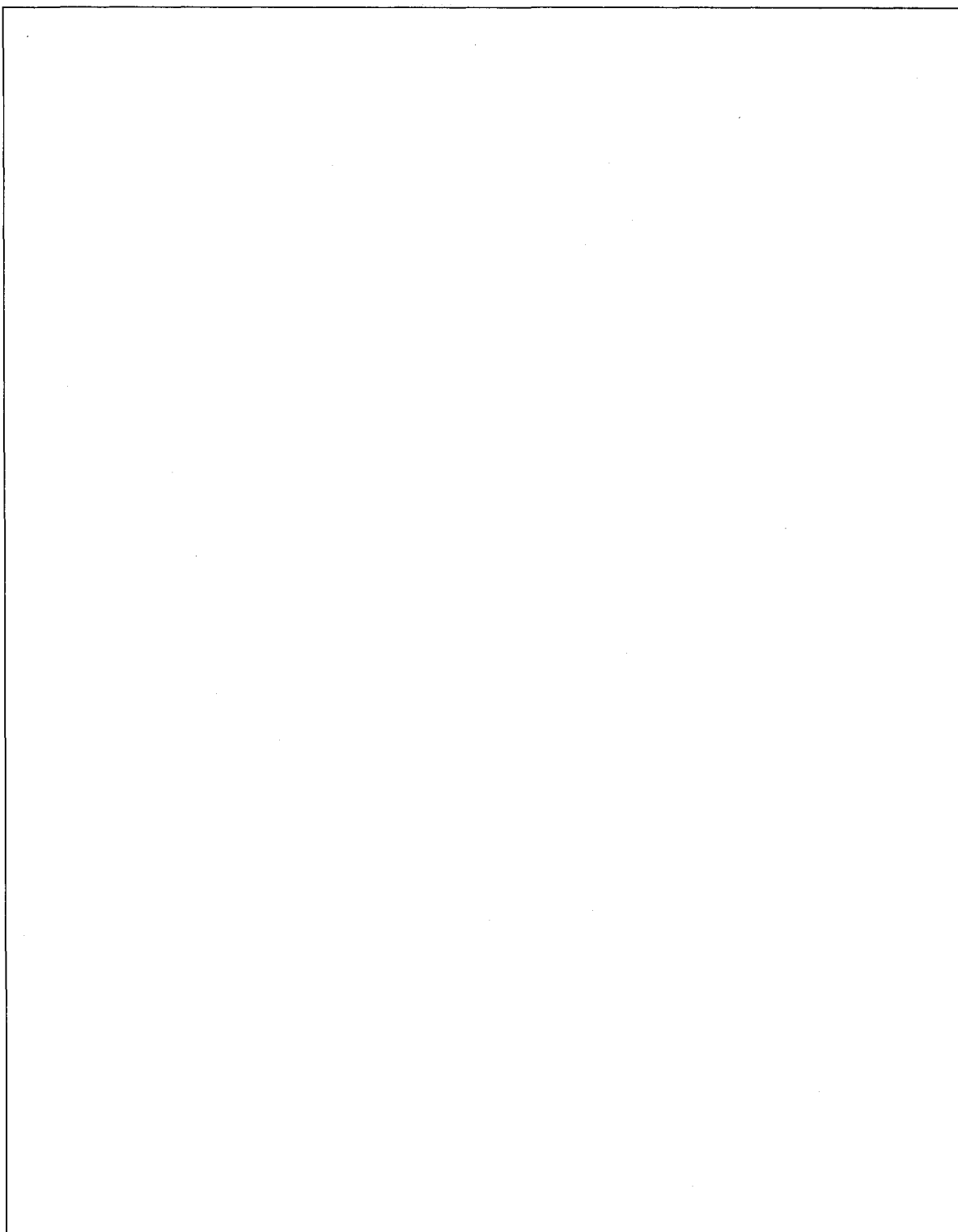
51. S.-F. Ravenet after F. Boucher, *Chaudronier*. BnF Est.



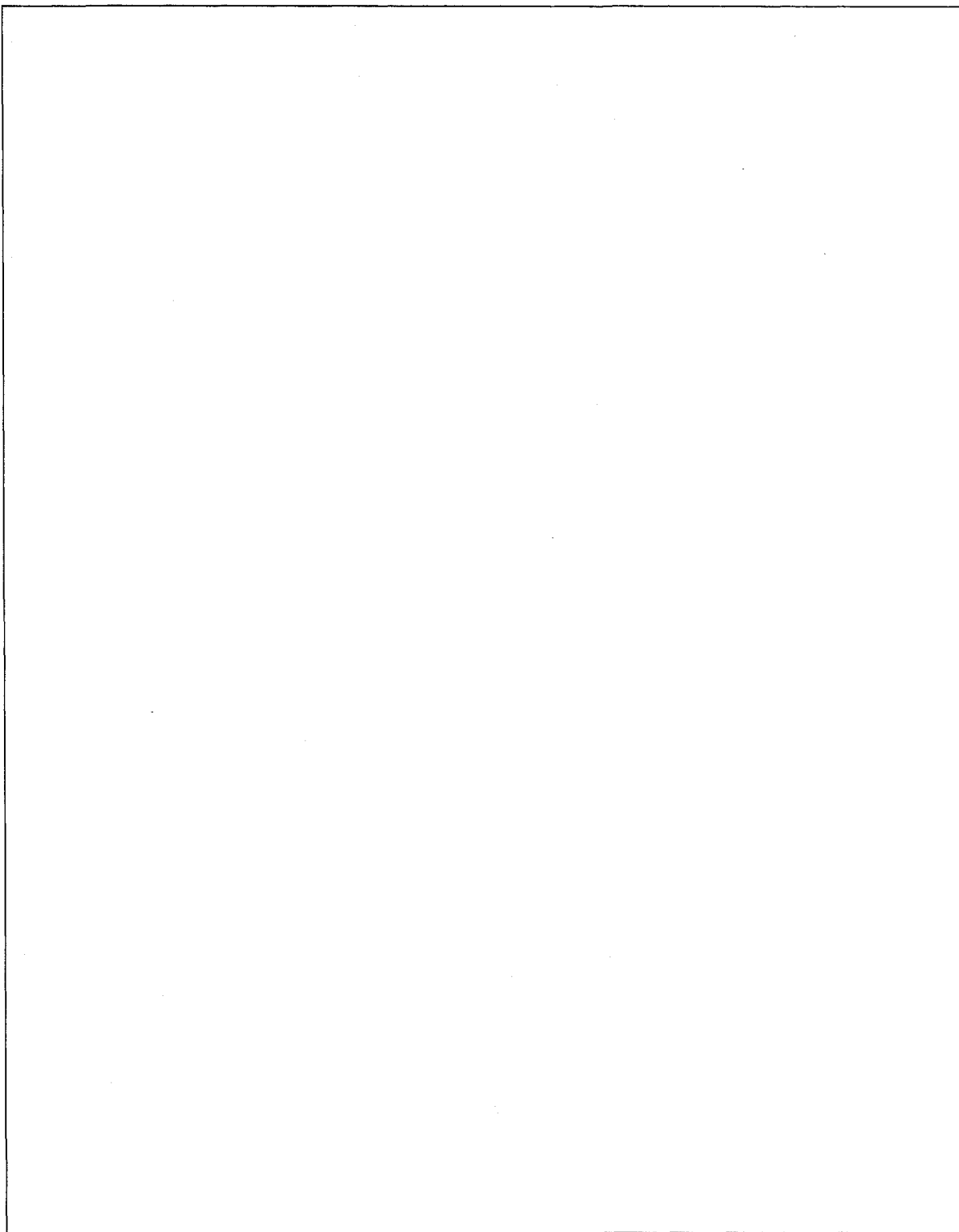
52. S.-F. Ravenet after F. Boucher, *Au Vinaigre*. BnF Est.



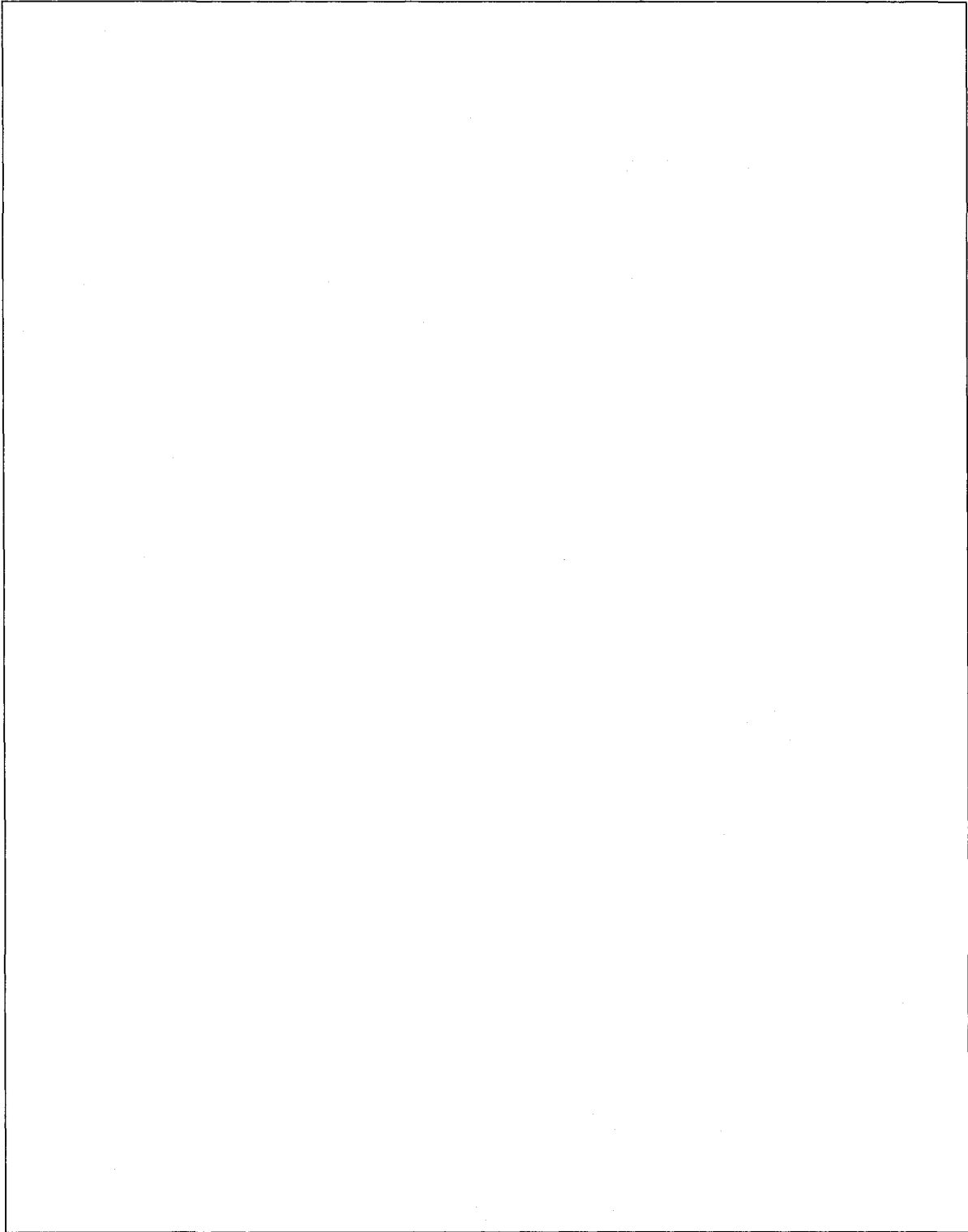
53. Comte de Caylus after E. Bouchardon, *Porteur d'Eau*. BnF Est.



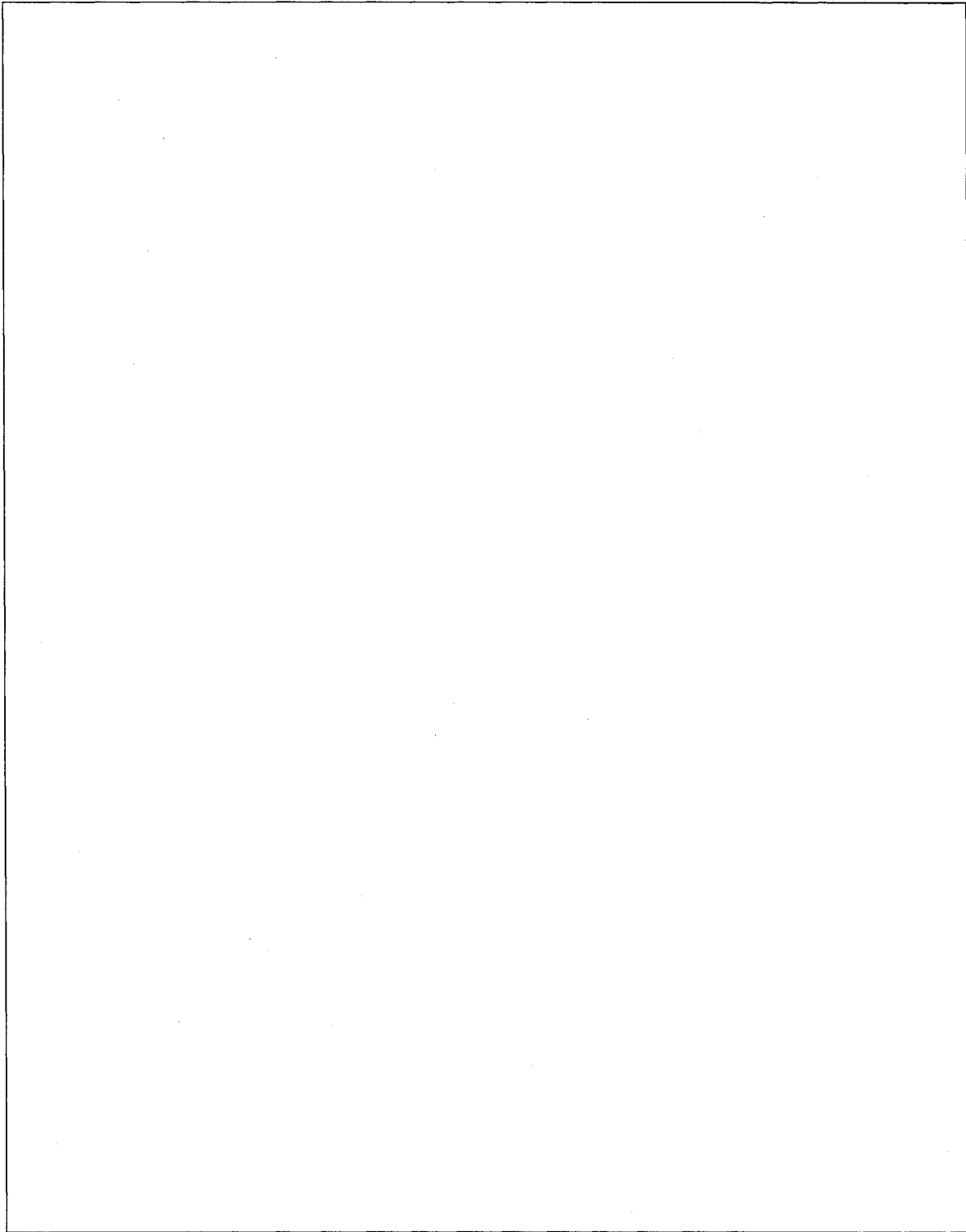
54. J. Aliamet after E. Jeaurat, *La Place Maubert*. BnF Est.



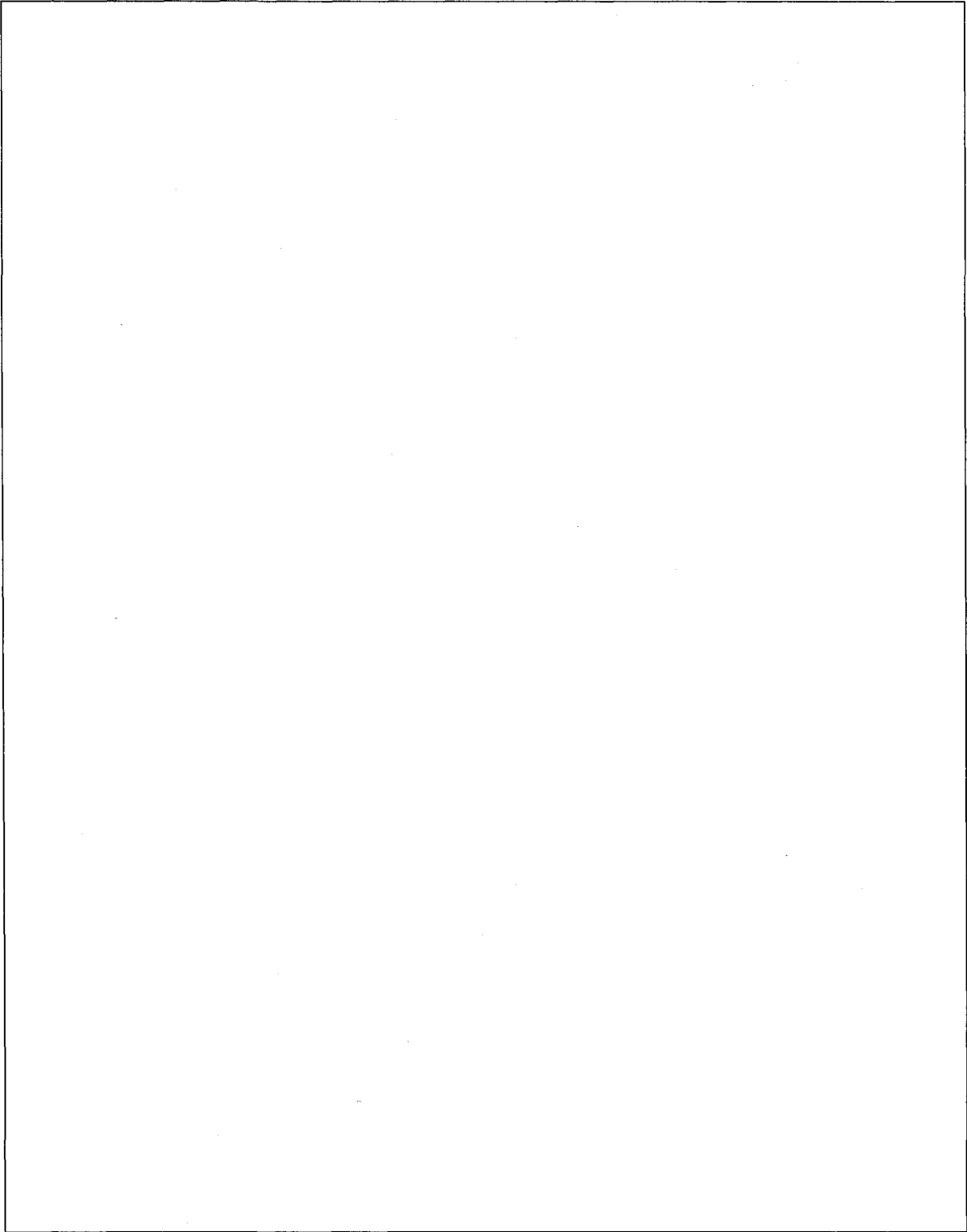
55. J. Aliamet after E. Jeurat, *La Place des Halles*. BnF Est.



56. E. Jaurat, *Atelier d'un Peintre*. Collection Paul Goldschmidt



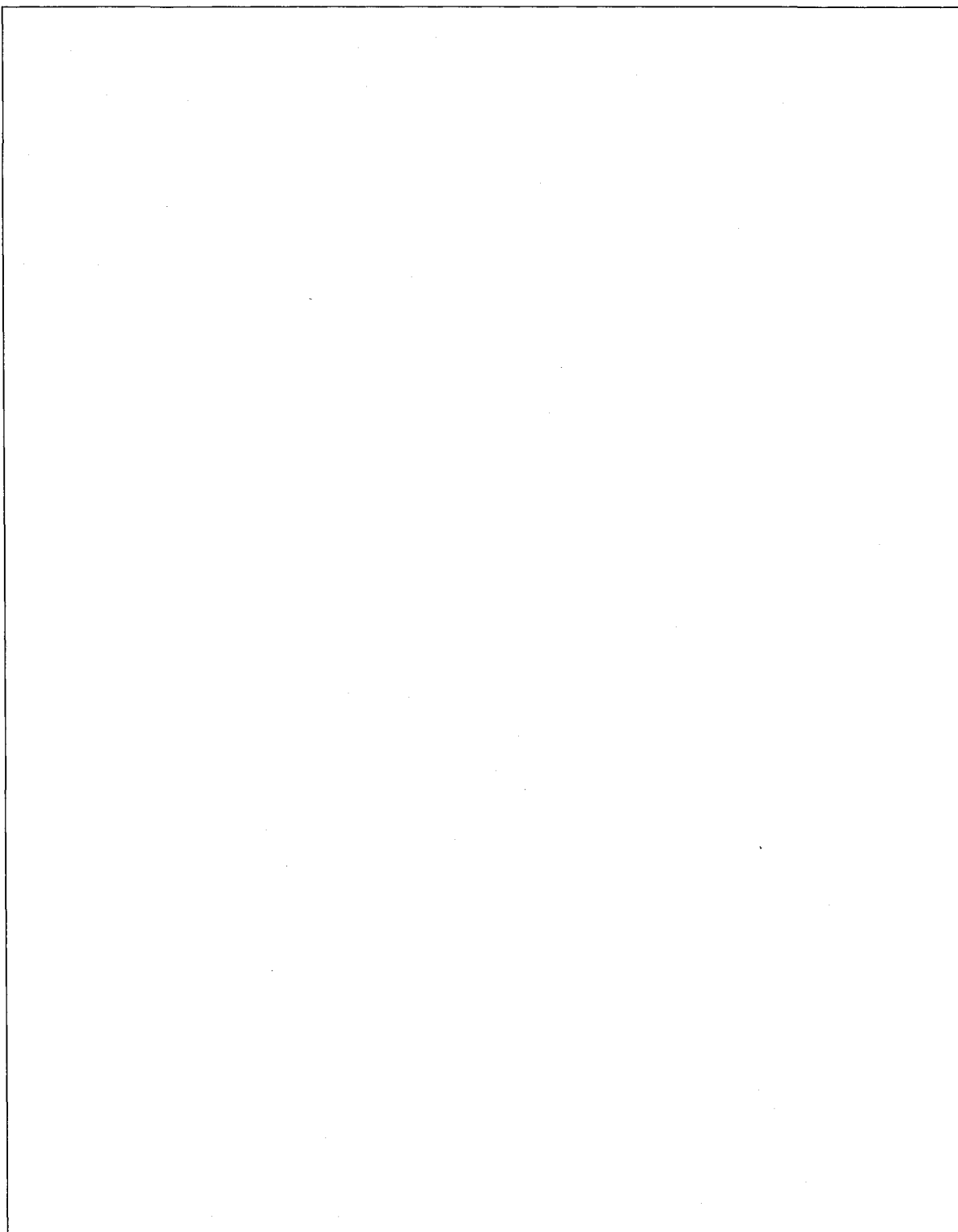
57. A. van Ostade after A. van Ostade, *Le Peintre*. Musée Teyler, Haarlem



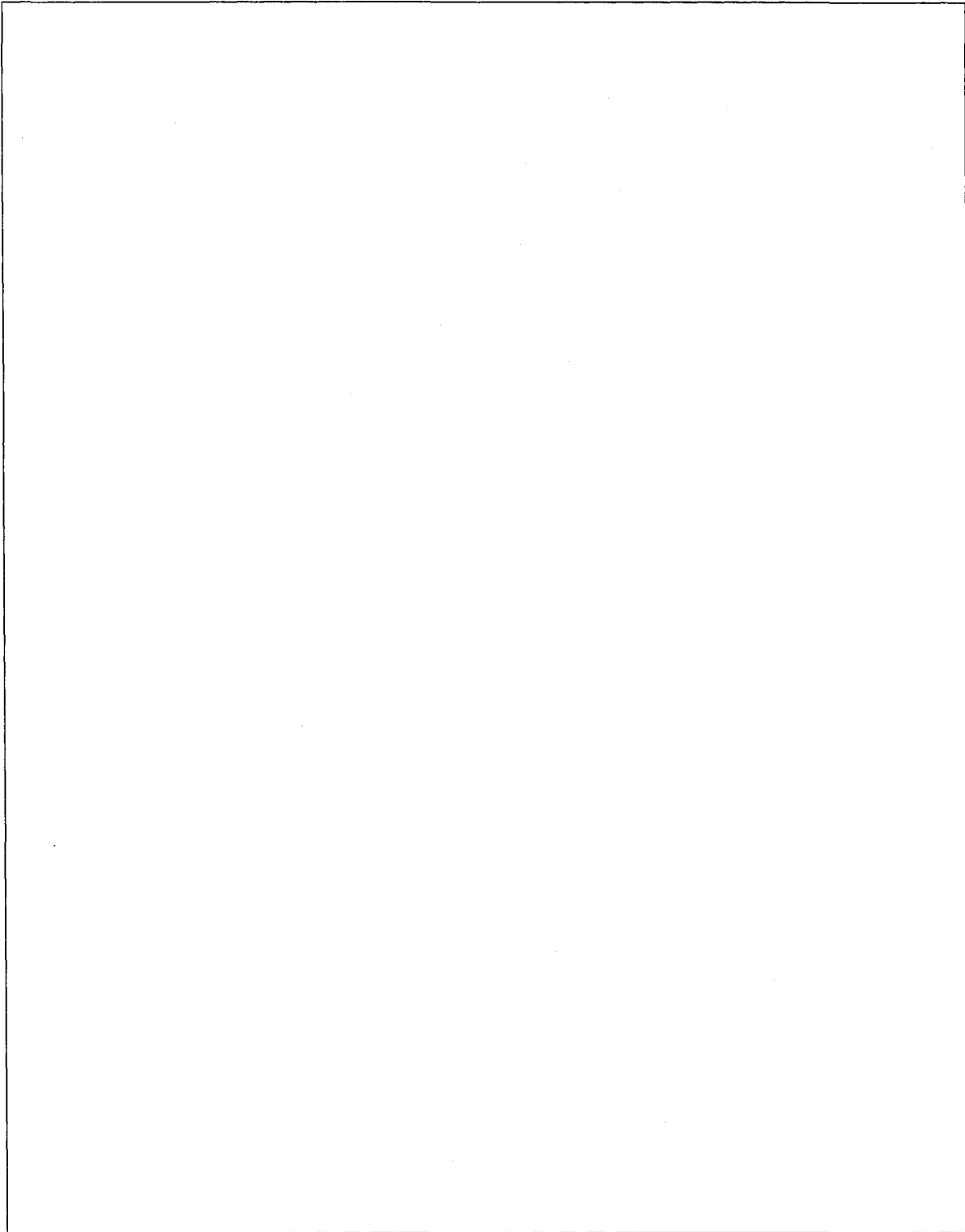
58. P.-L. Debucourt, *Vue de la Halle, prise à l'instant des réjouissances publiques données par la Ville le 21 Janvier 1782, à l'occasion de la naissance de Monseigneur le Dauphin*. Musée Carnavalet, Paris



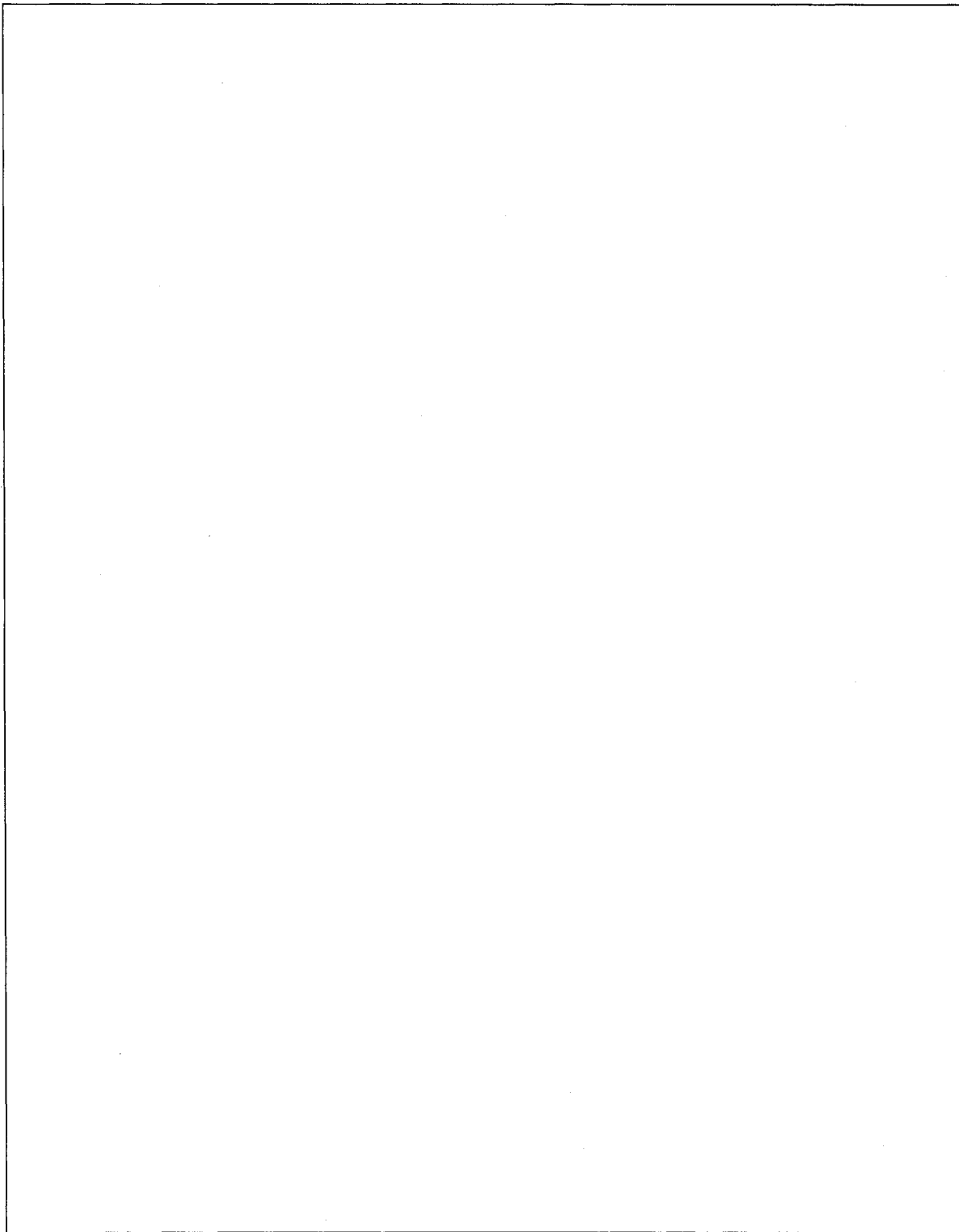
59. E. Jaurat, *La Conduite des Filles de Joye à la Salpêtrière, lorsqu'elles passent par la porte S. Bernard*. Musée Carnavalet, Paris



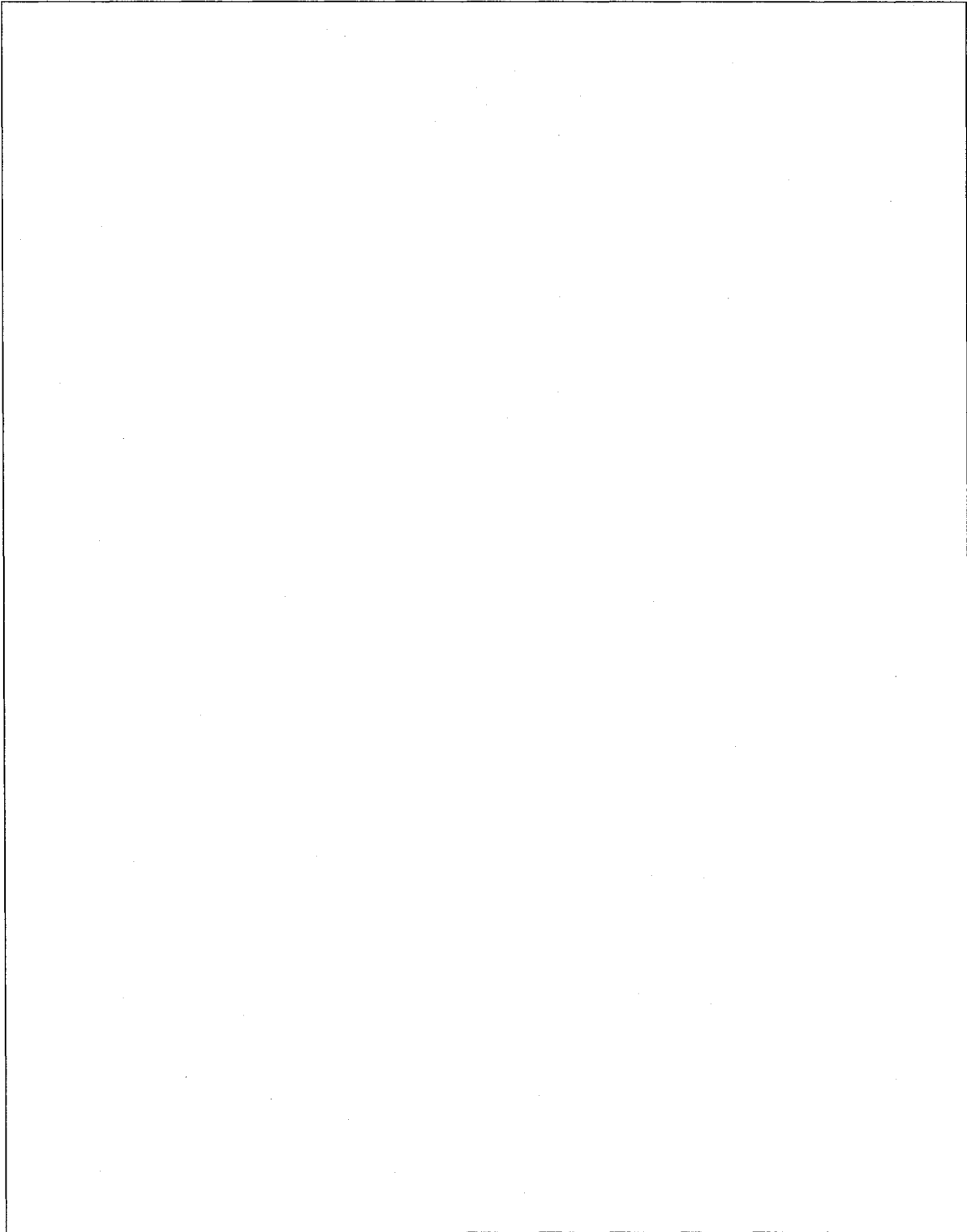
60. Anonymous, *Transport des filles de joie du dépôt Saint-Martin à la Salpêtrière*.
Musée Carnavalet, Paris



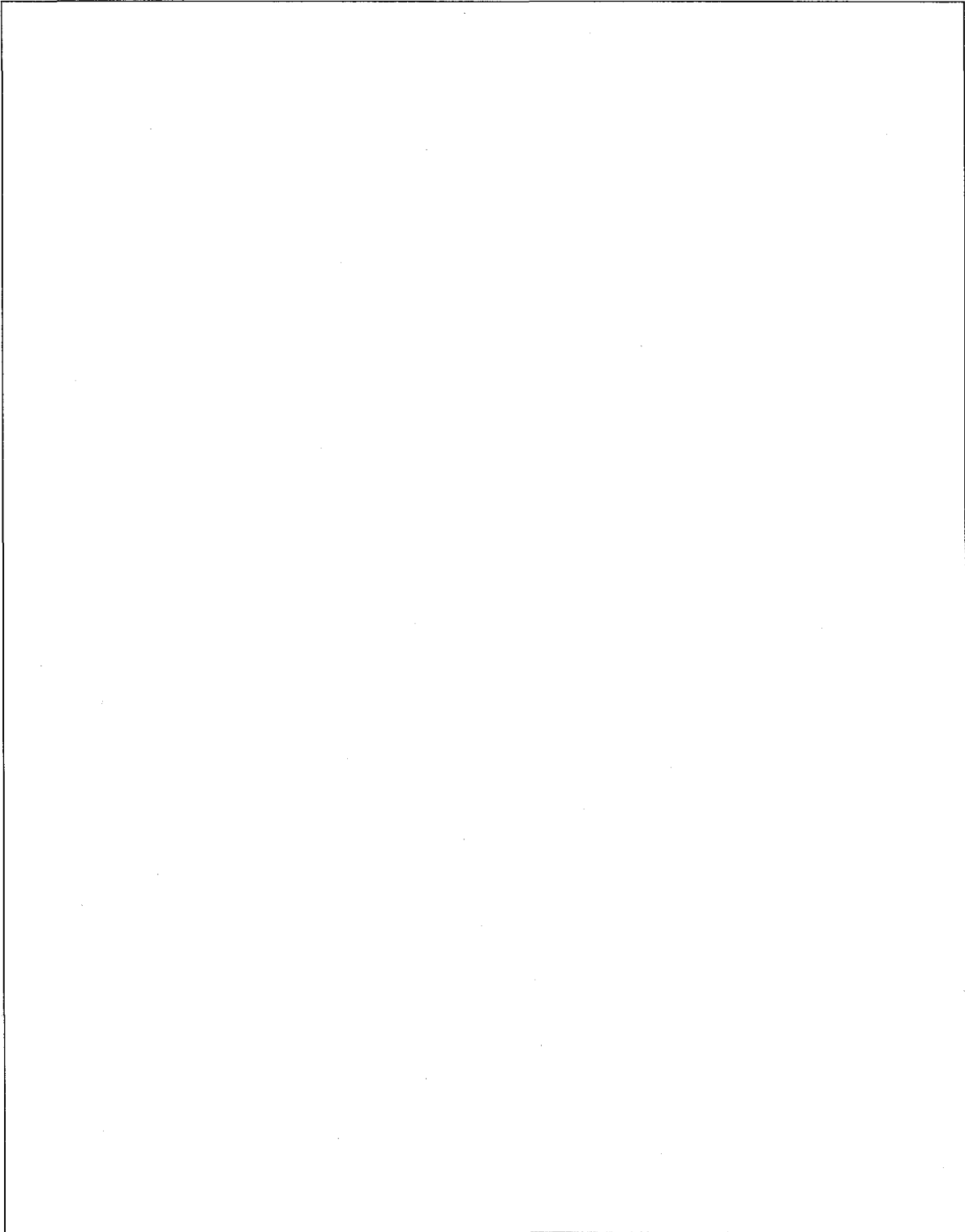
61. P.-E. Moitte after P.-A. Baudouin, *Le Catéchisme*. BnF Est.



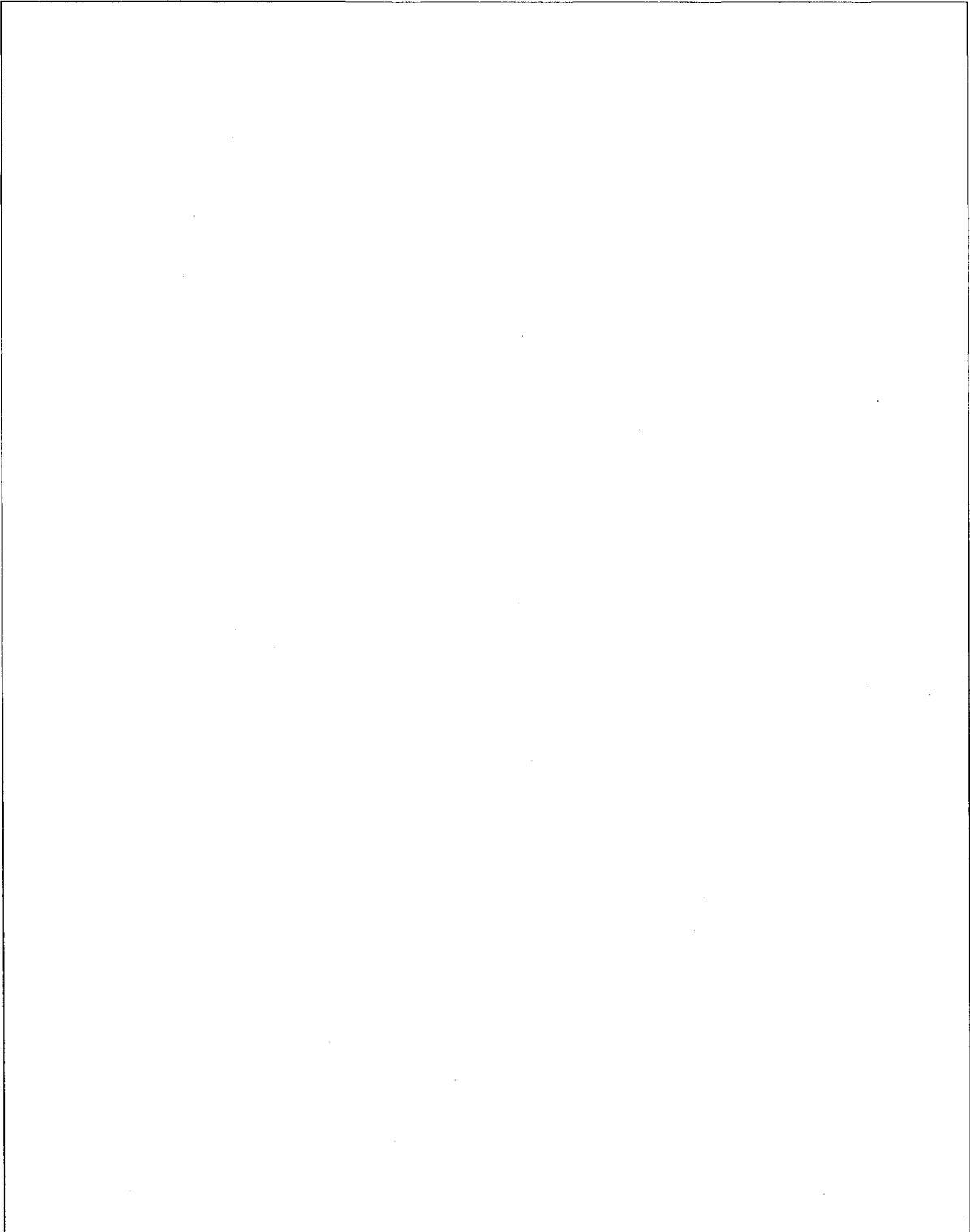
62. P.-E. Moitte after P.-A. Baudouin, *Un Confessional*. BnF Est.



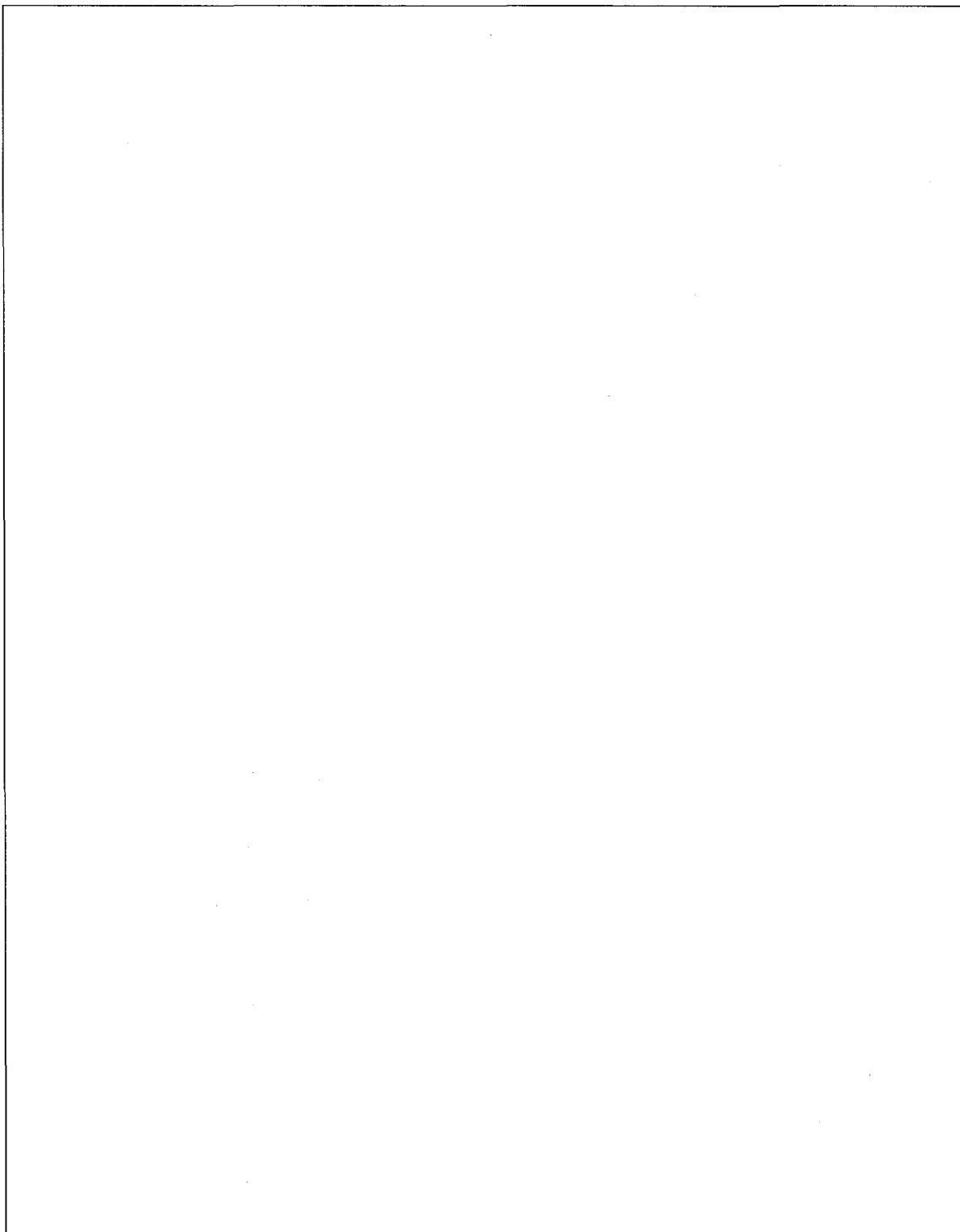
63. C.-N. Cochin fils, frontispiece to the *Encyclopédie*. Collection Douglas Gordon



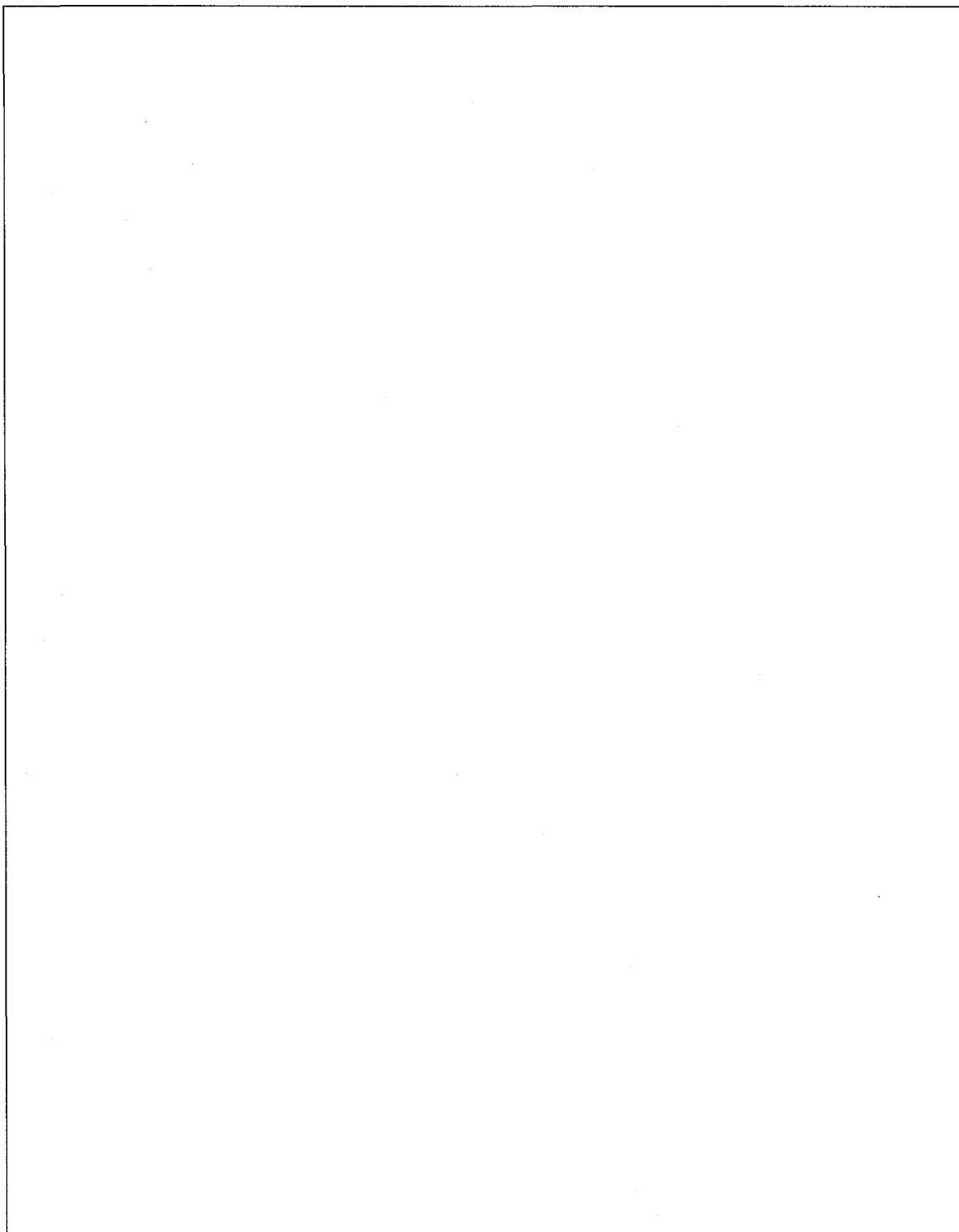
64. Jean-Baptiste Greuze, *La Simplicité représentée par une jeune Fille*. Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth, TX



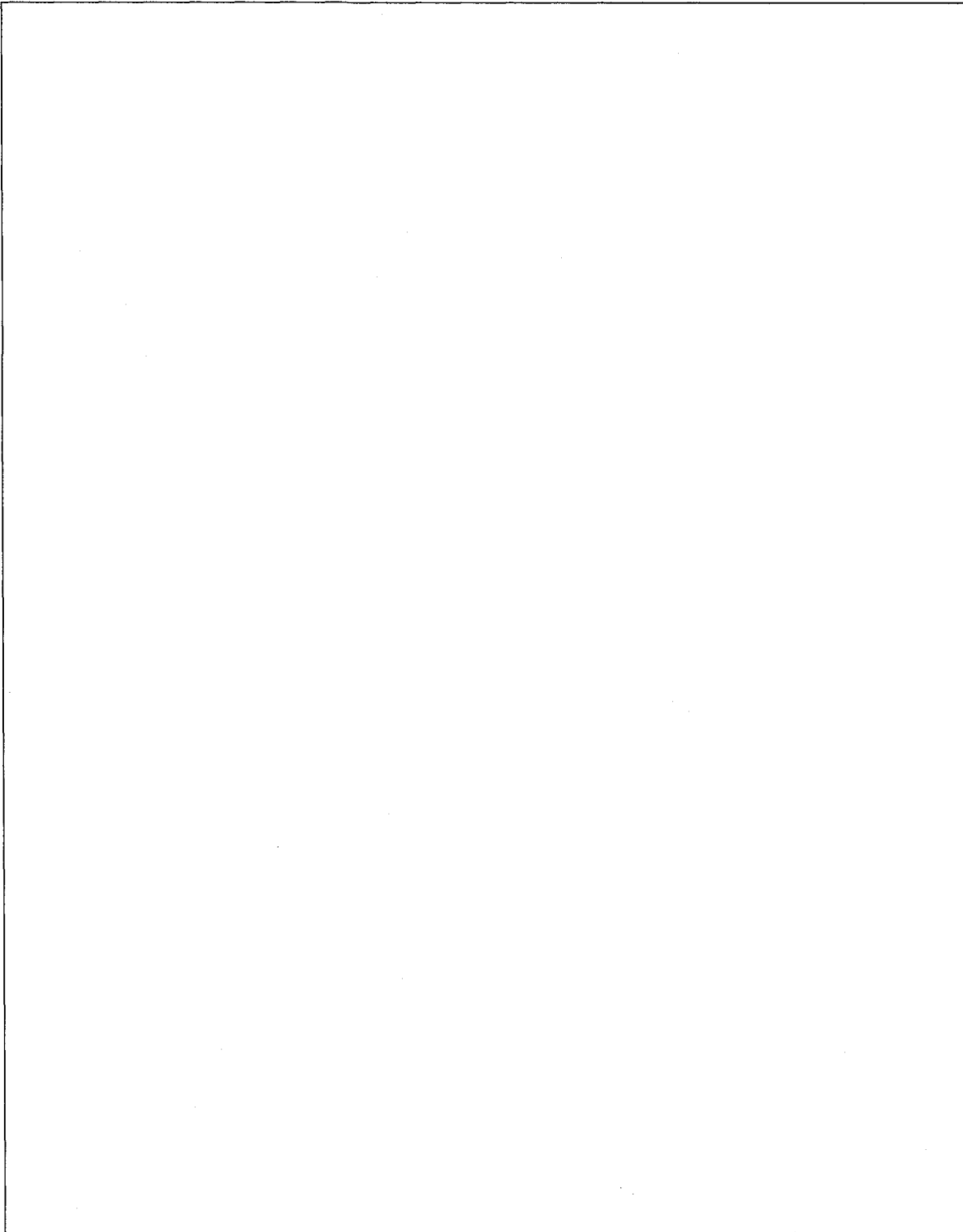
65. Jean-Baptiste Greuze, *Un jeune Berger qui tente le sort pour sçavoir s'il est aimé de sa Bergère*. Musée du Petit Palais, Paris



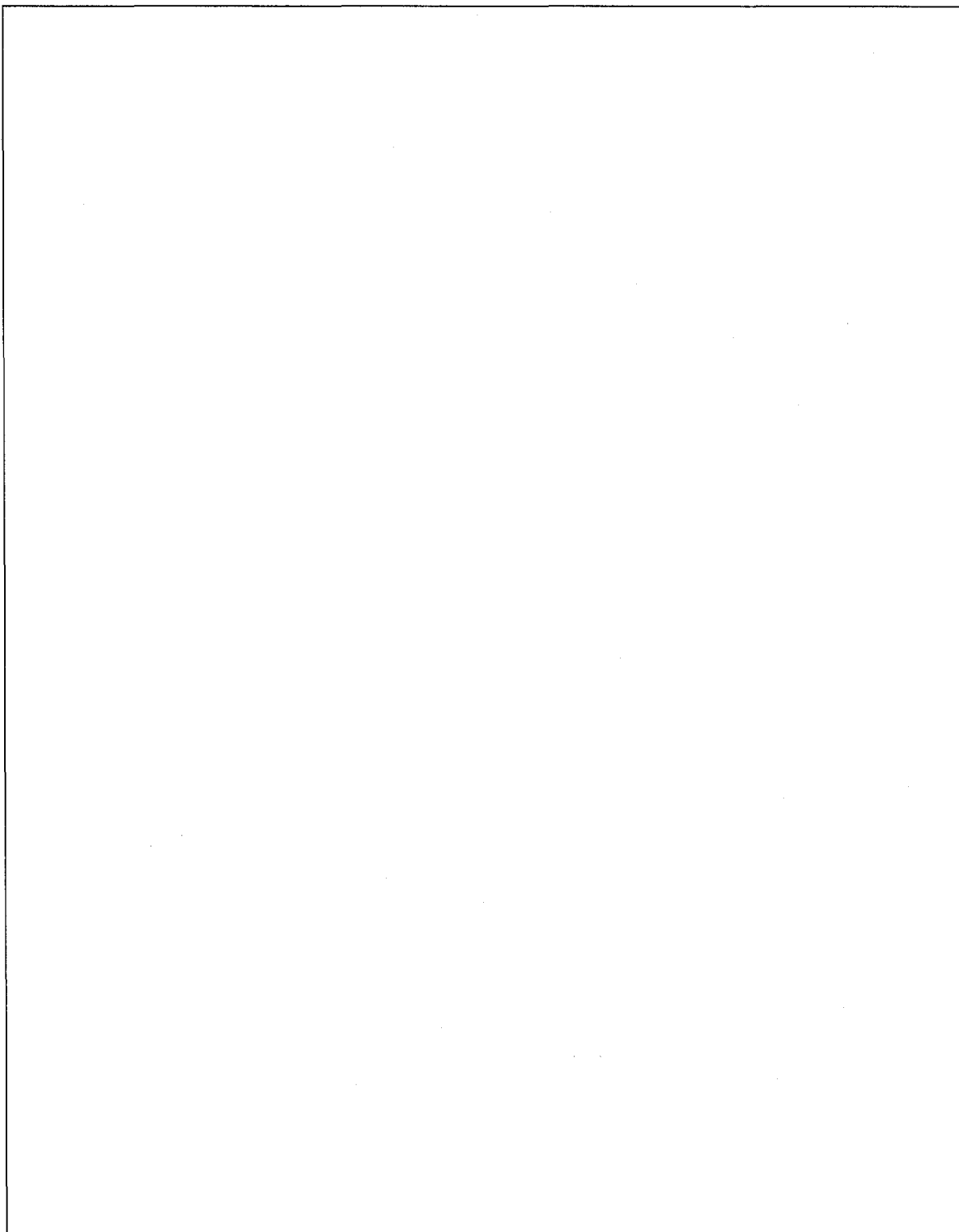
66. J. Massard after Jean-Baptiste Greuze, *La Cruche cassée*. BnF Est.



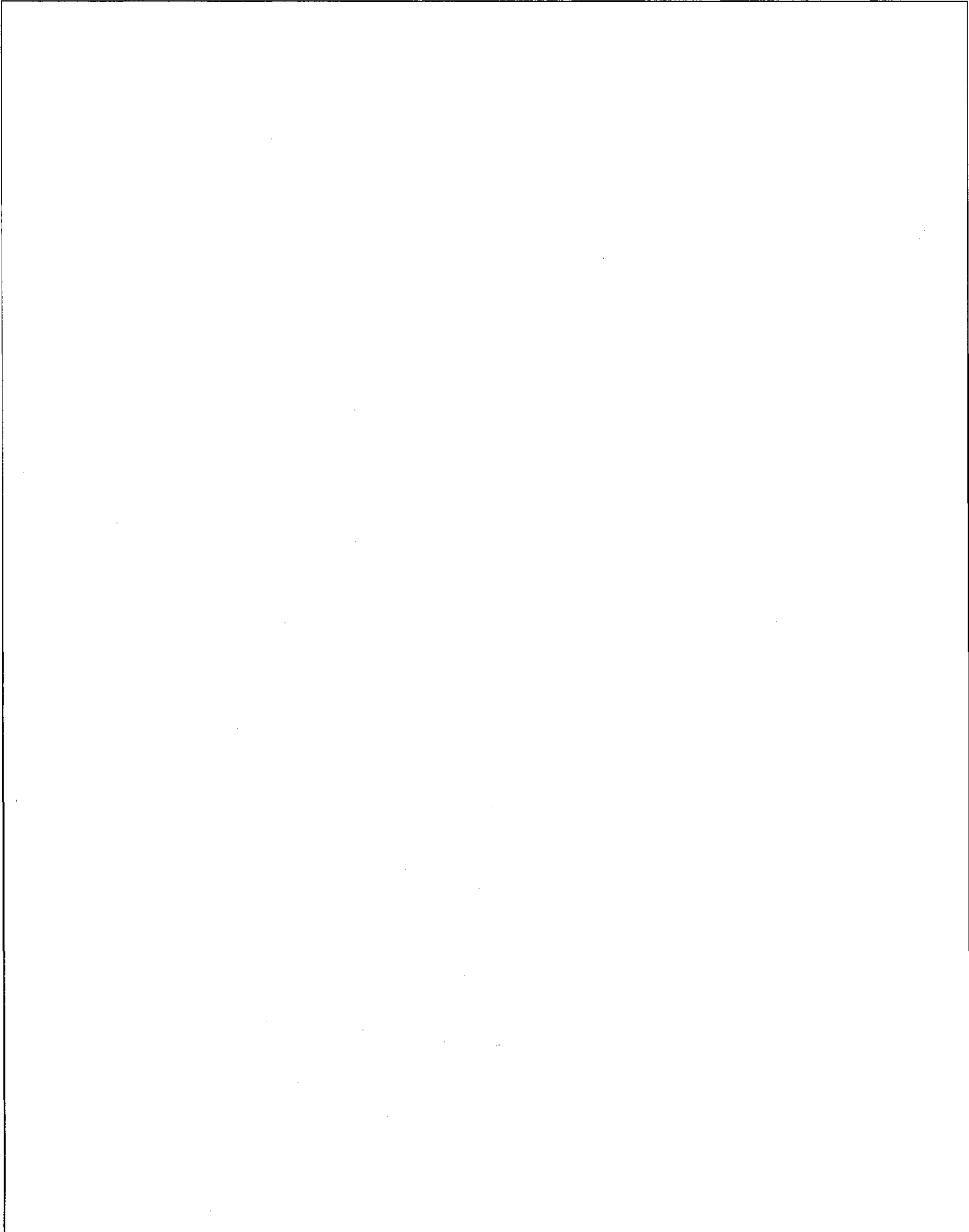
67. J.-M. Moreau le Jeune/Pierre-Charles Ingouf after Jean-Baptiste Greuze, *La Bonne Education*. BnF Est.



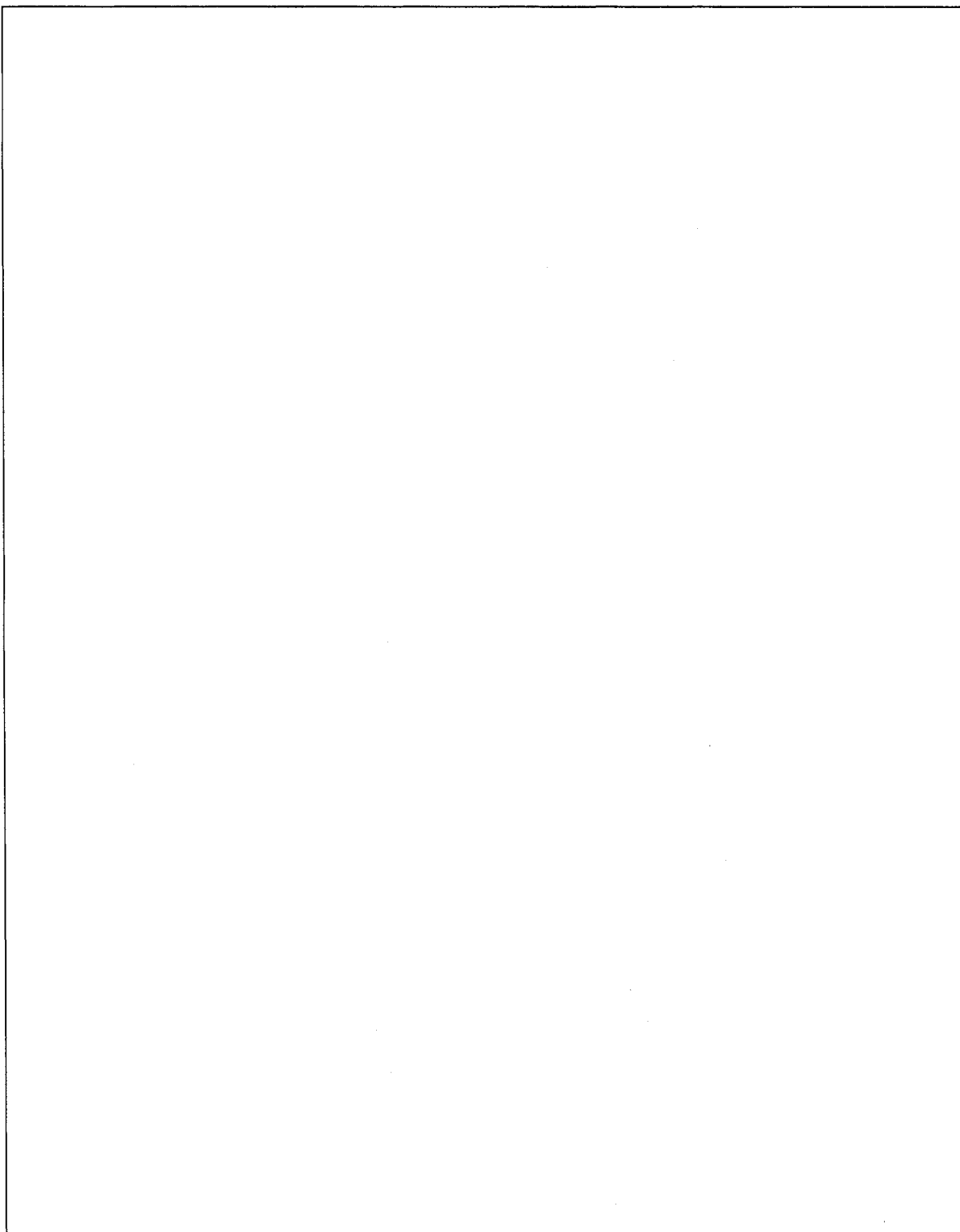
68. J.-J. Flipart after Jean-Baptiste Greuze, *Une jeune fille pleurant son oiseau mort*.
BnF Est.



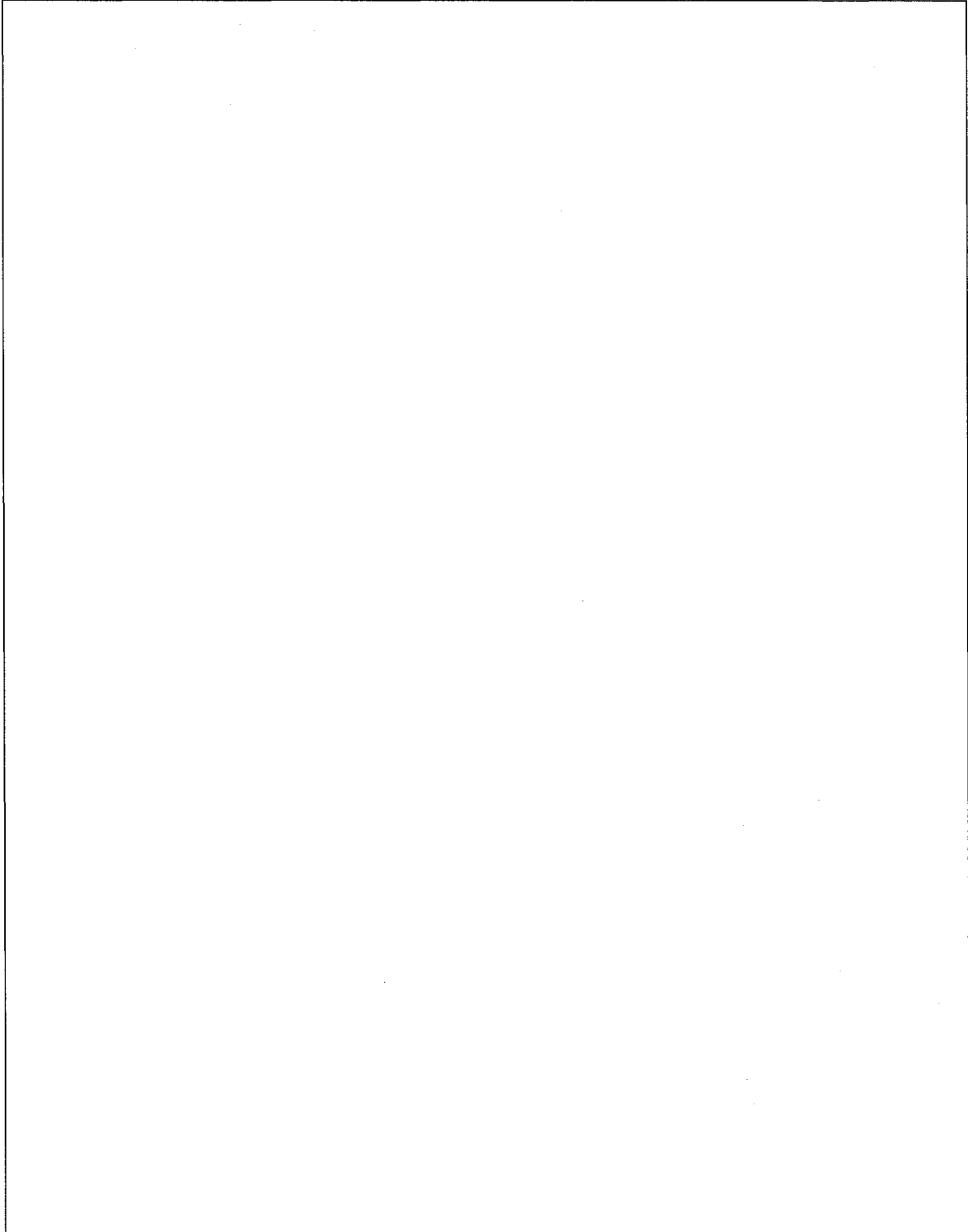
69. Jean-Baptiste Greuze, *Silence!* Collection of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II.



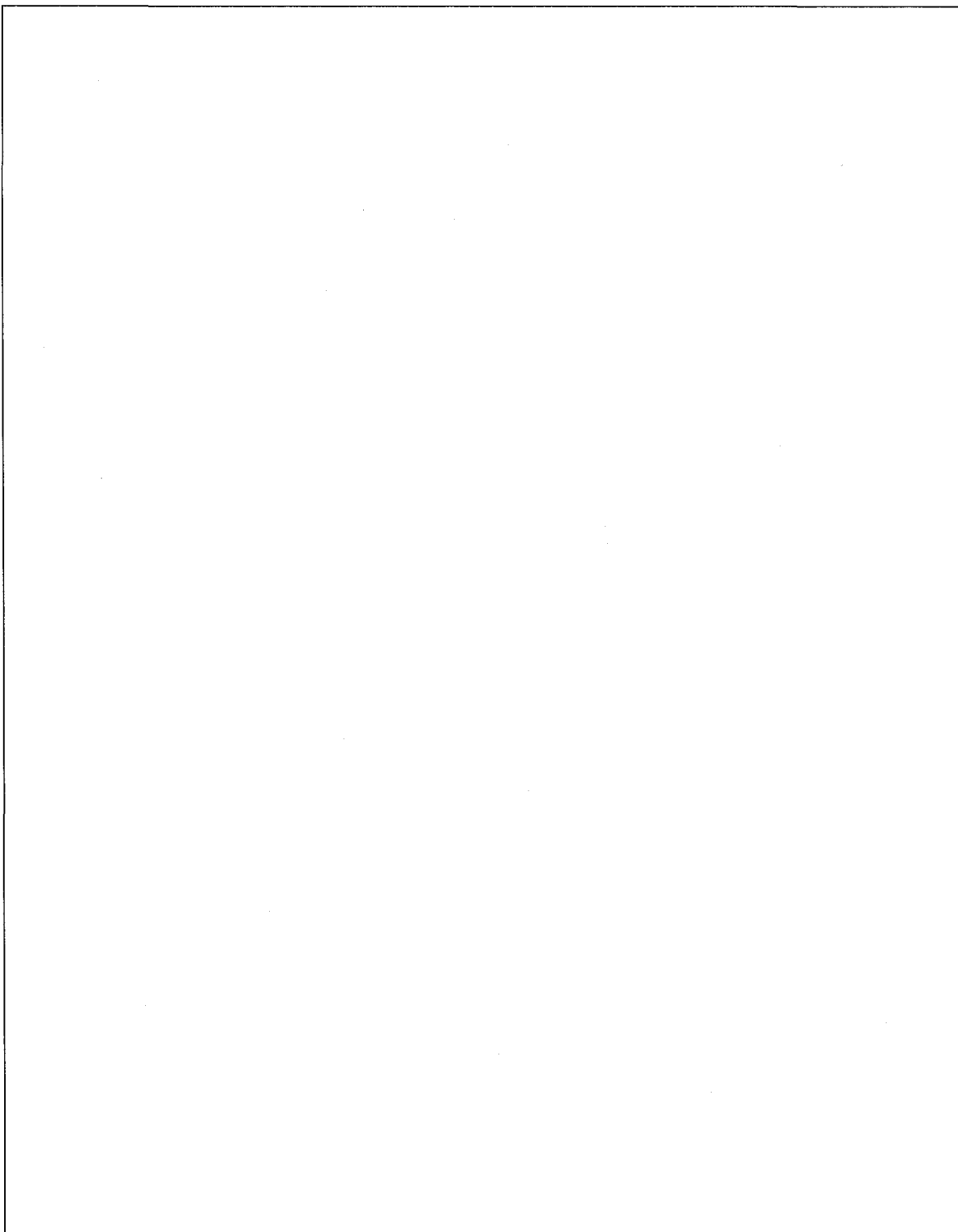
70. Jean-Baptiste Greuze, *La Blanchisseuse*. The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles



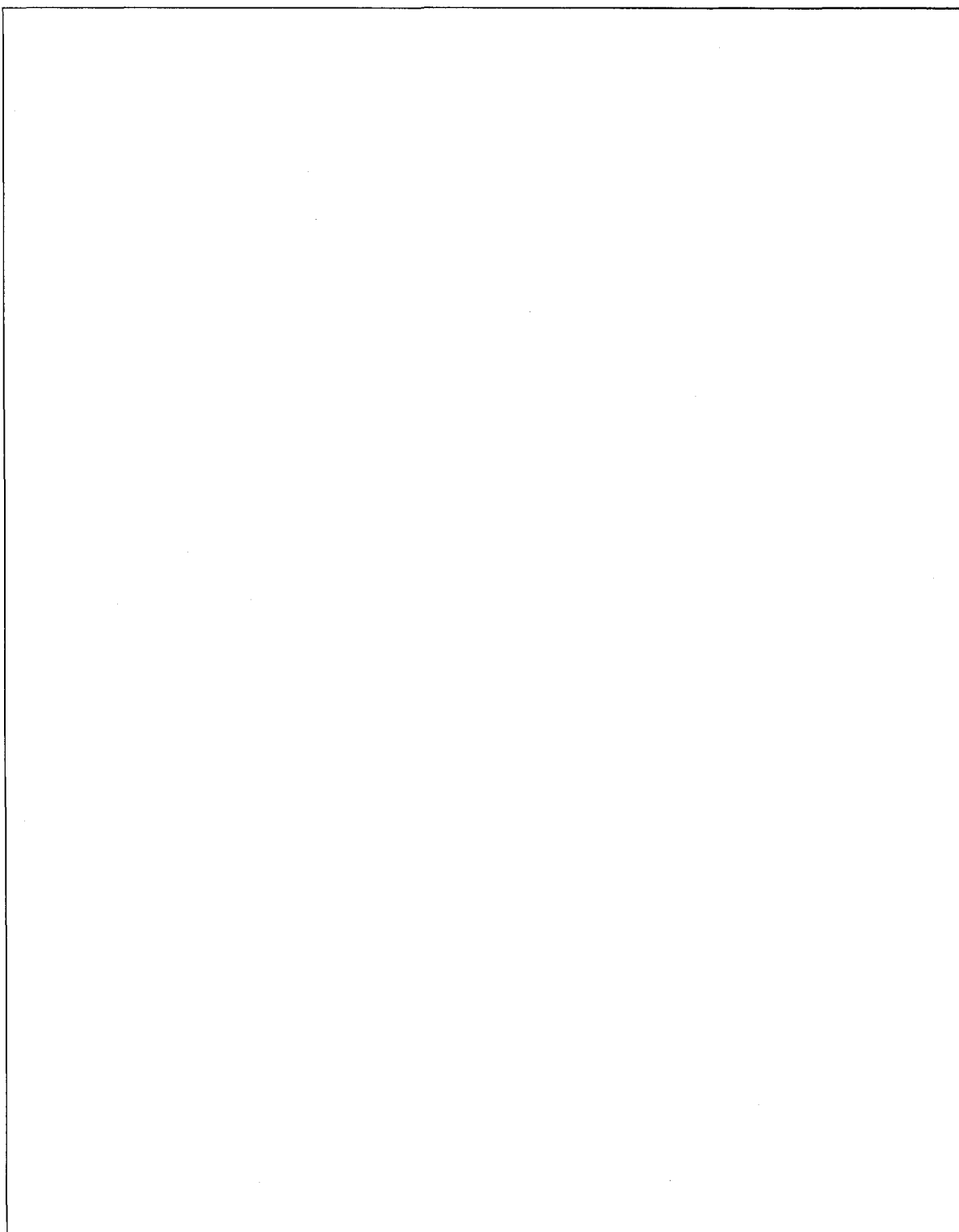
71. Pierre-François Martenasie after Jean-Baptiste Greuze, *Un Père de famille qui lit la Bible à ses Enfants*. BnF Est.



72. J.-J. Flipart after Jean-Baptiste Greuze, *L'Accordée de Village*. BnF Est.



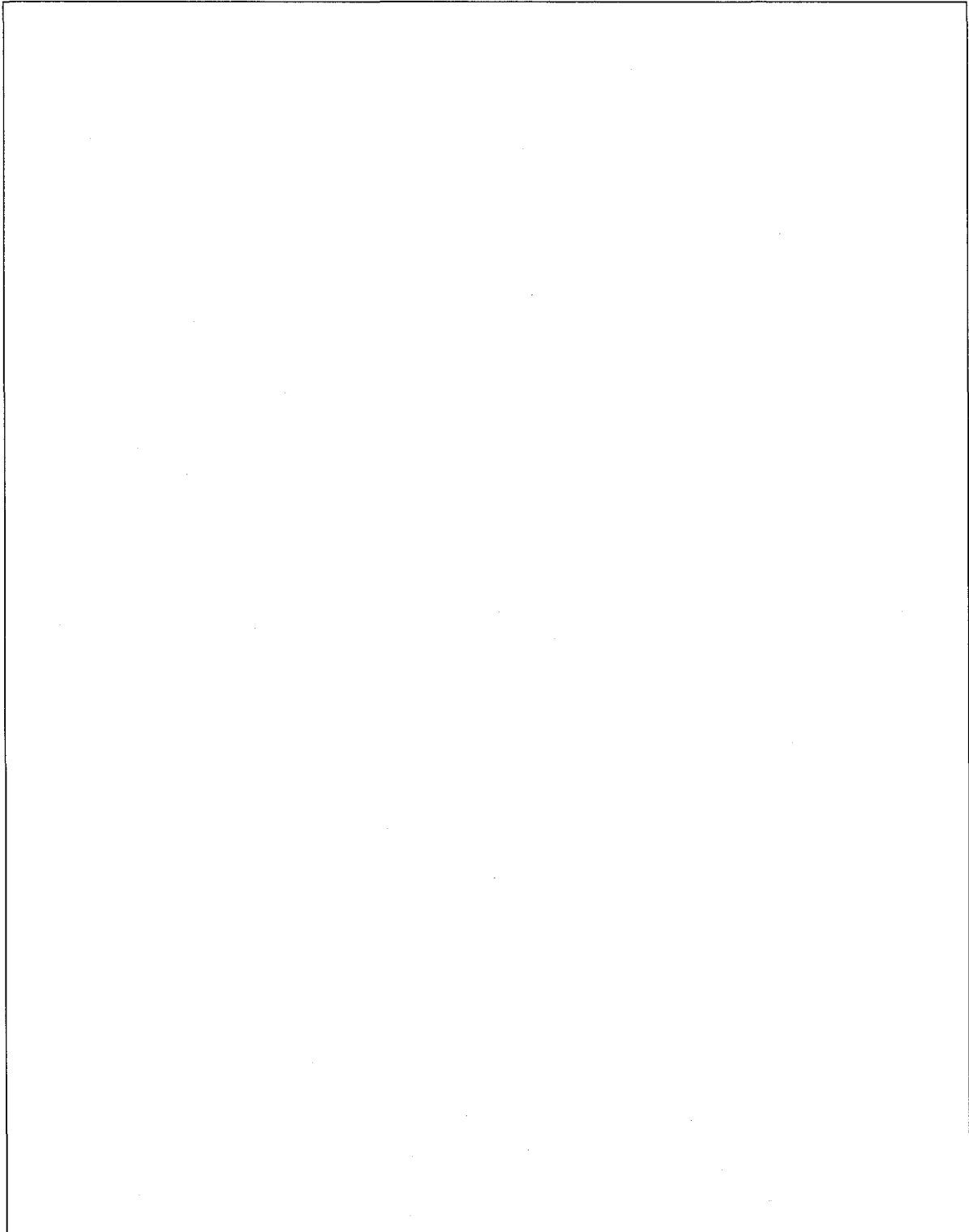
73. Jean-Baptiste Greuze, *La Piété filiale*. The Hermitage State Museum, Saint Petersburg



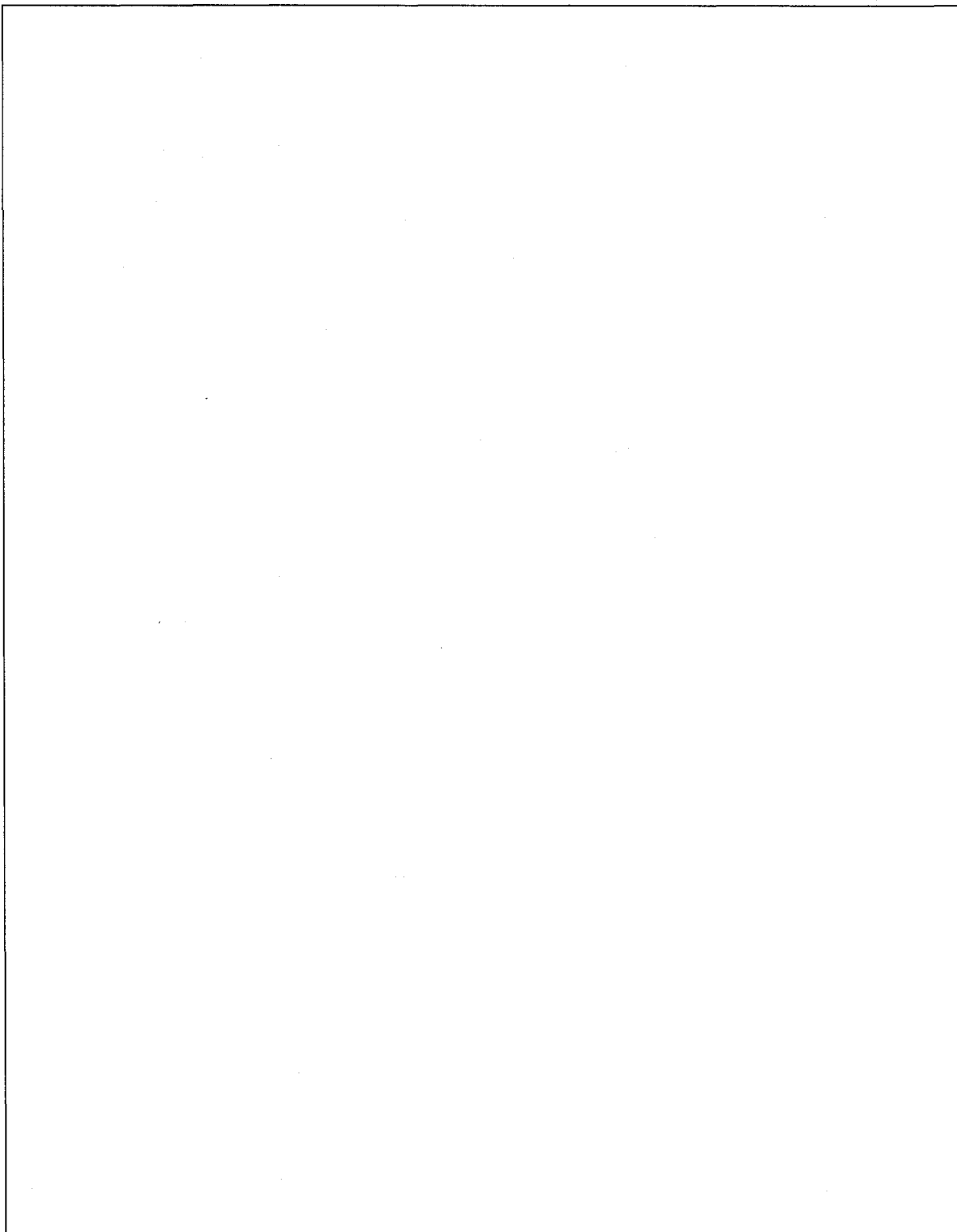
74. J.-J. Flipart after Jean-Baptiste Greuze, *Le Paralytique servi par ses Enfants*. BnF Est.



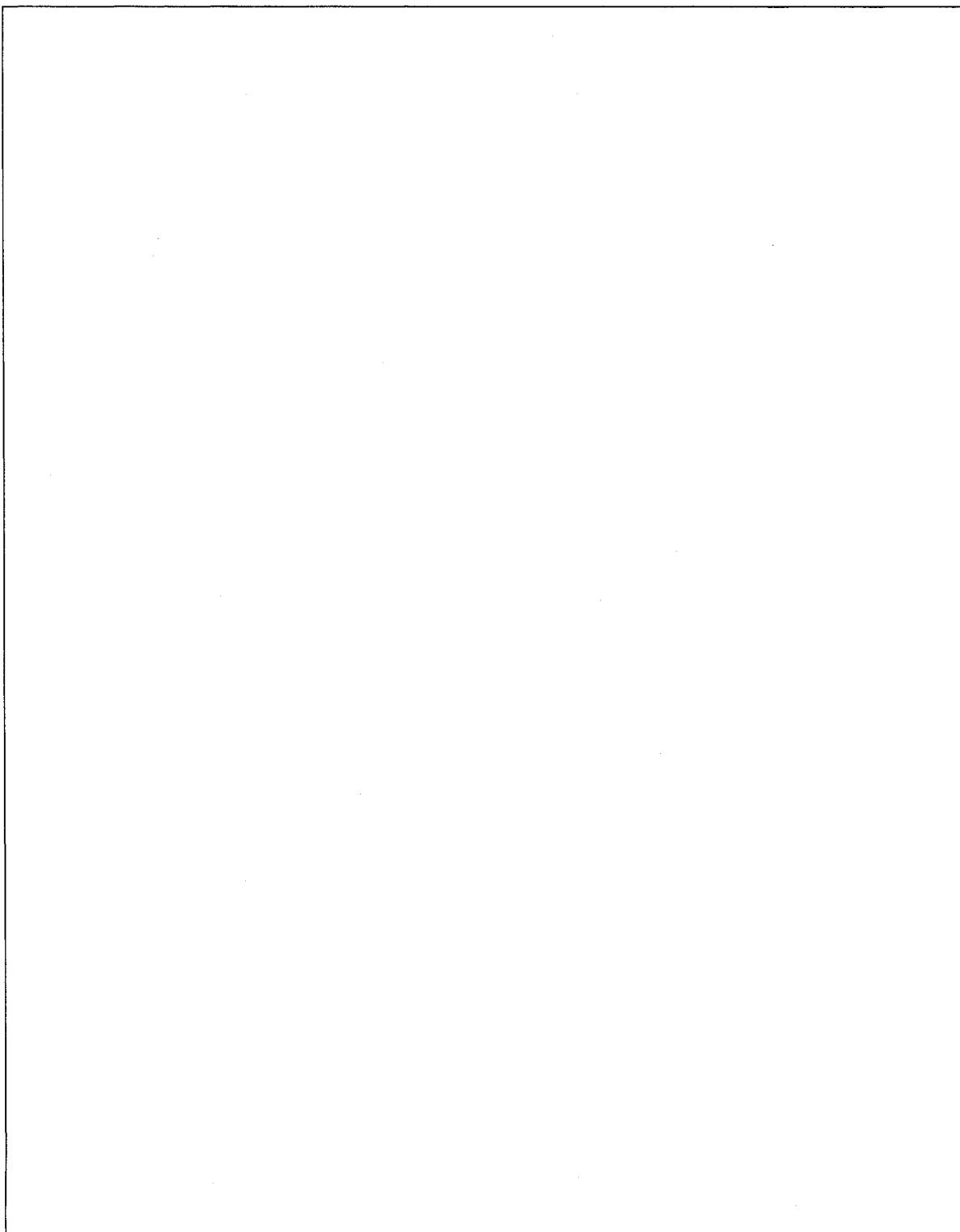
75. Jean Daullé after Dumont le Romain, *La Savoyarde*. BnF Est.



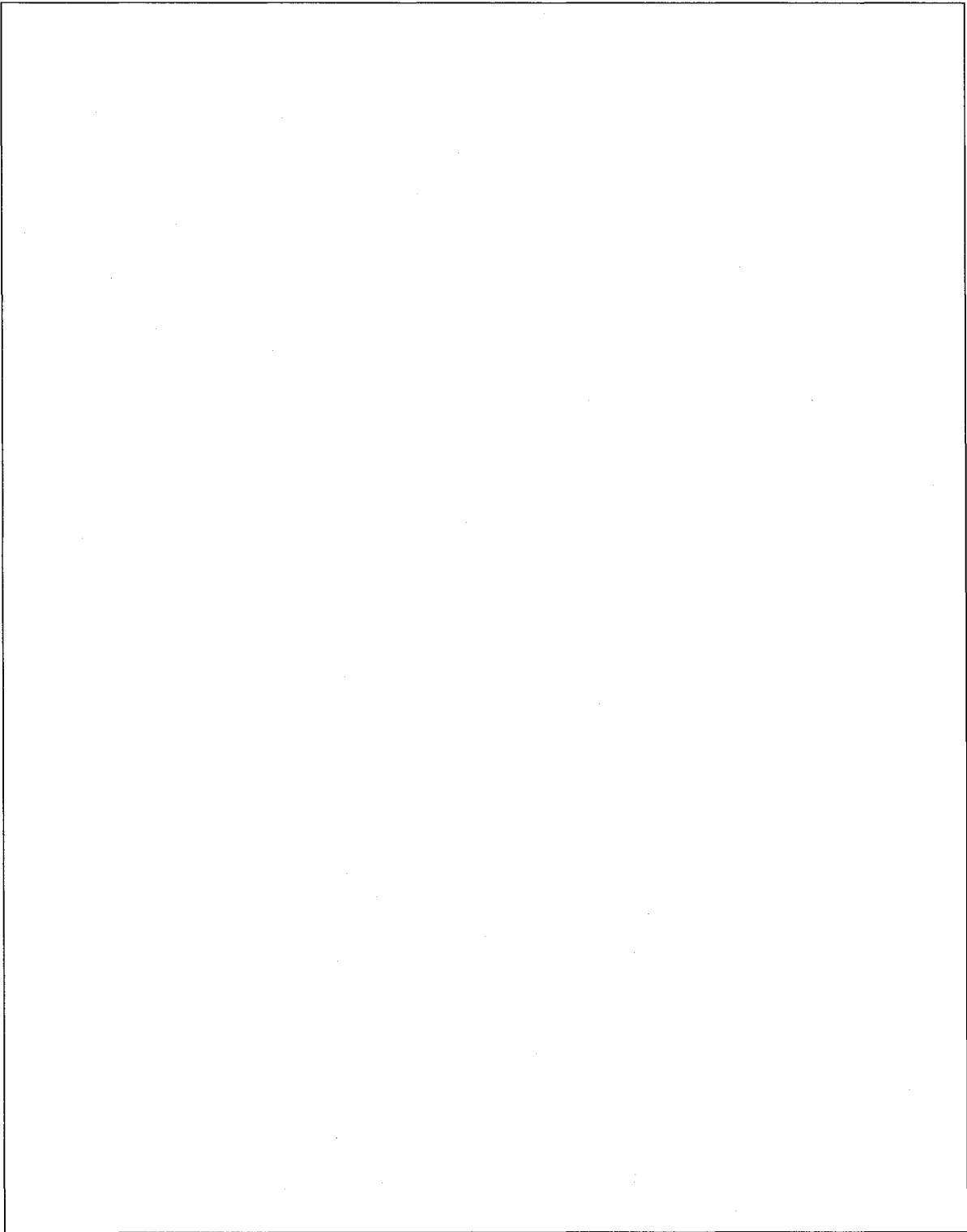
76. Nicolas Poussin, *Death of Germanicus*. Minneapolis Institute of Arts, Minneapolis



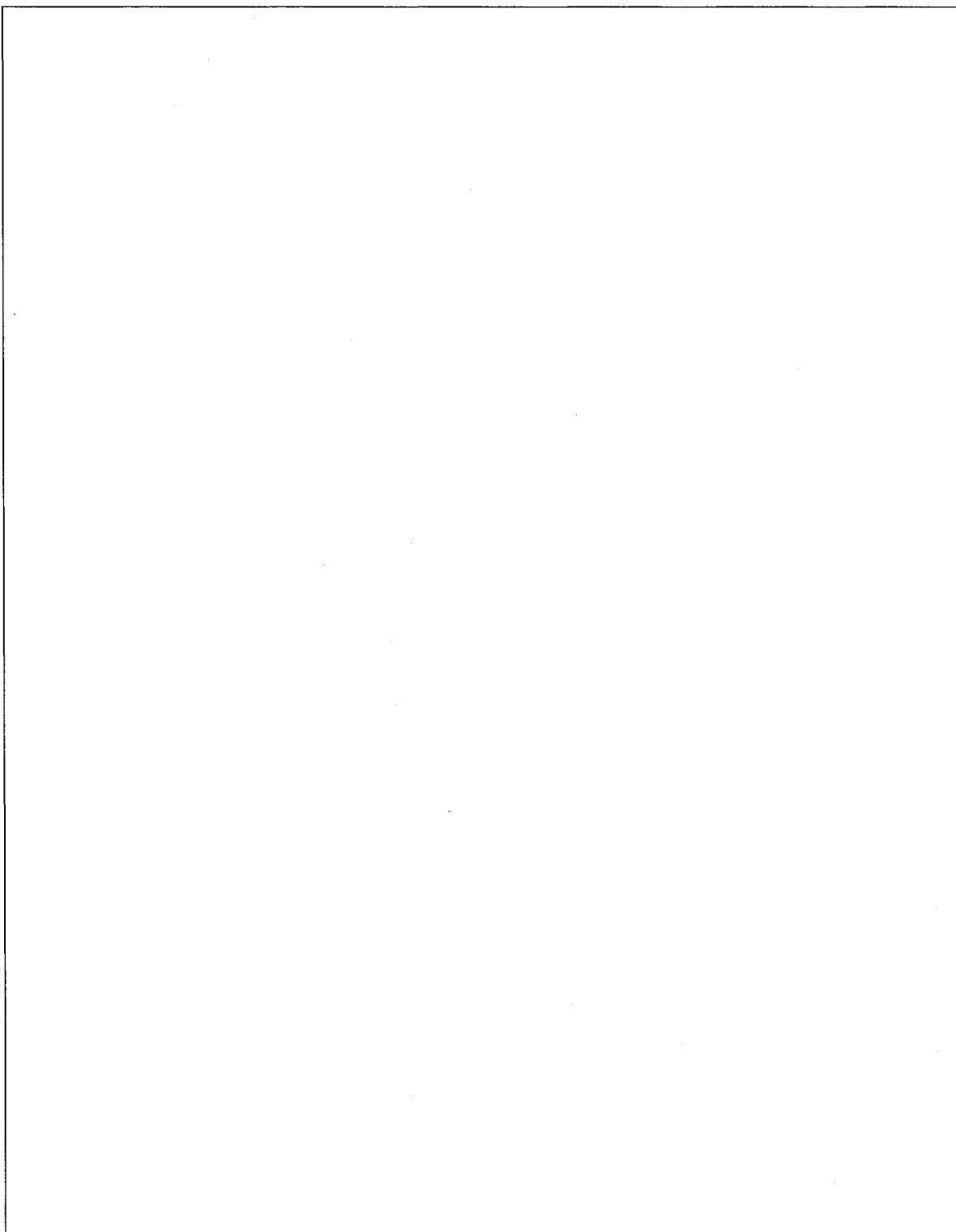
77. J.-B. Greuze, *La Dame de charité*. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lyon



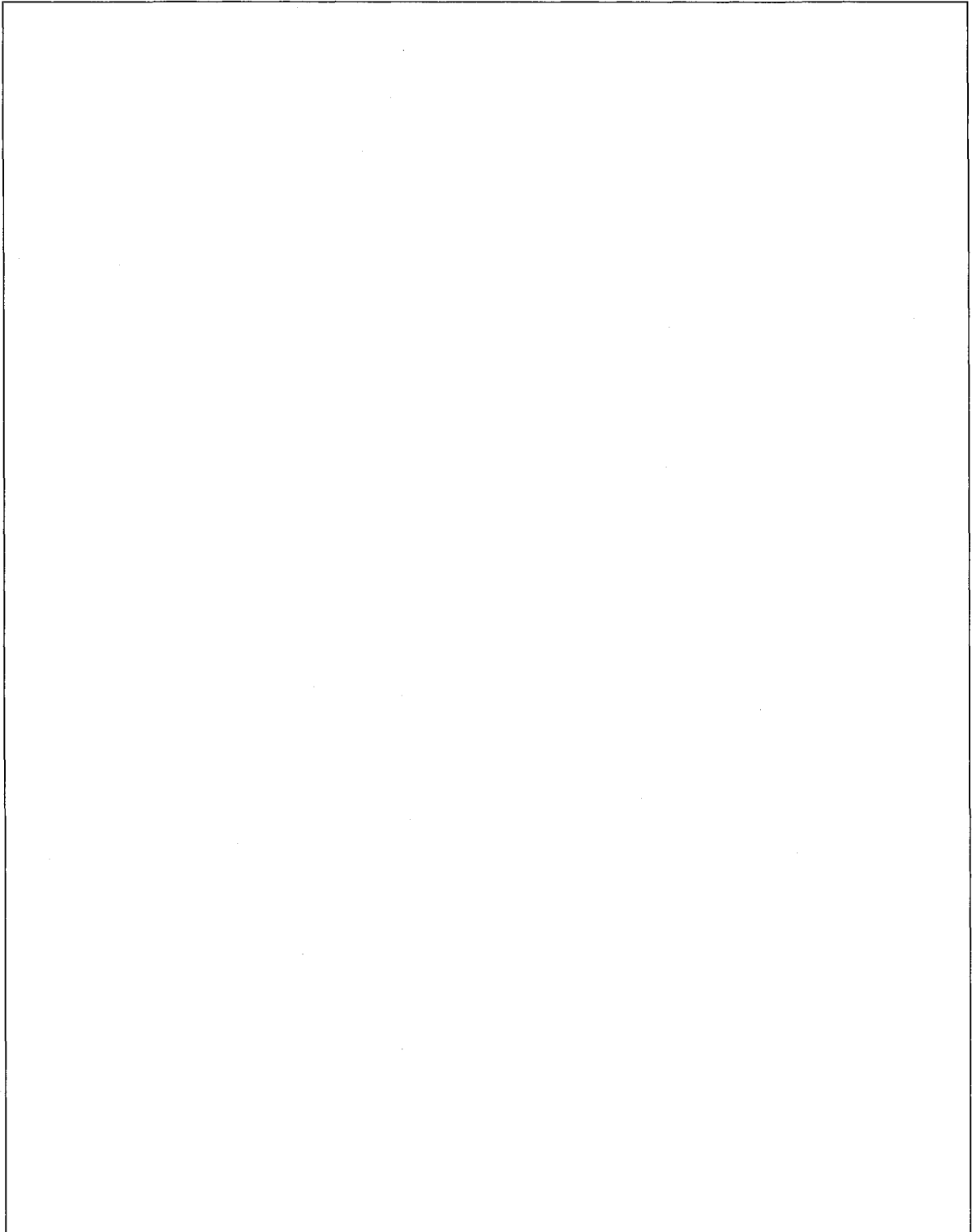
78. J.-J. Flipart after J.-B. Greuze, *Le Gâteau des rois*. BnF Est.



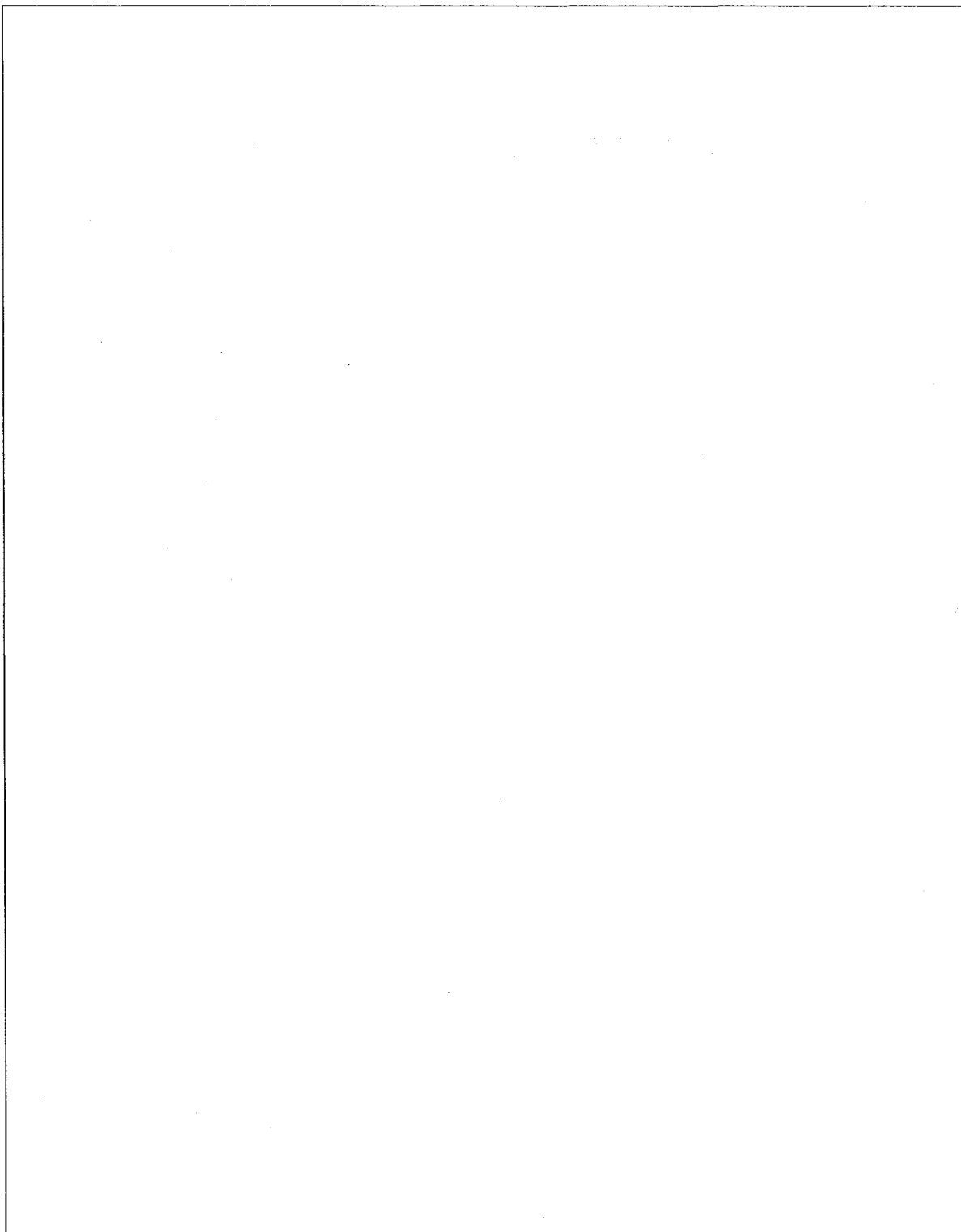
79. L. Cars after J.-B. Greuze, *L'Aveugle trompé*. BnF Est.



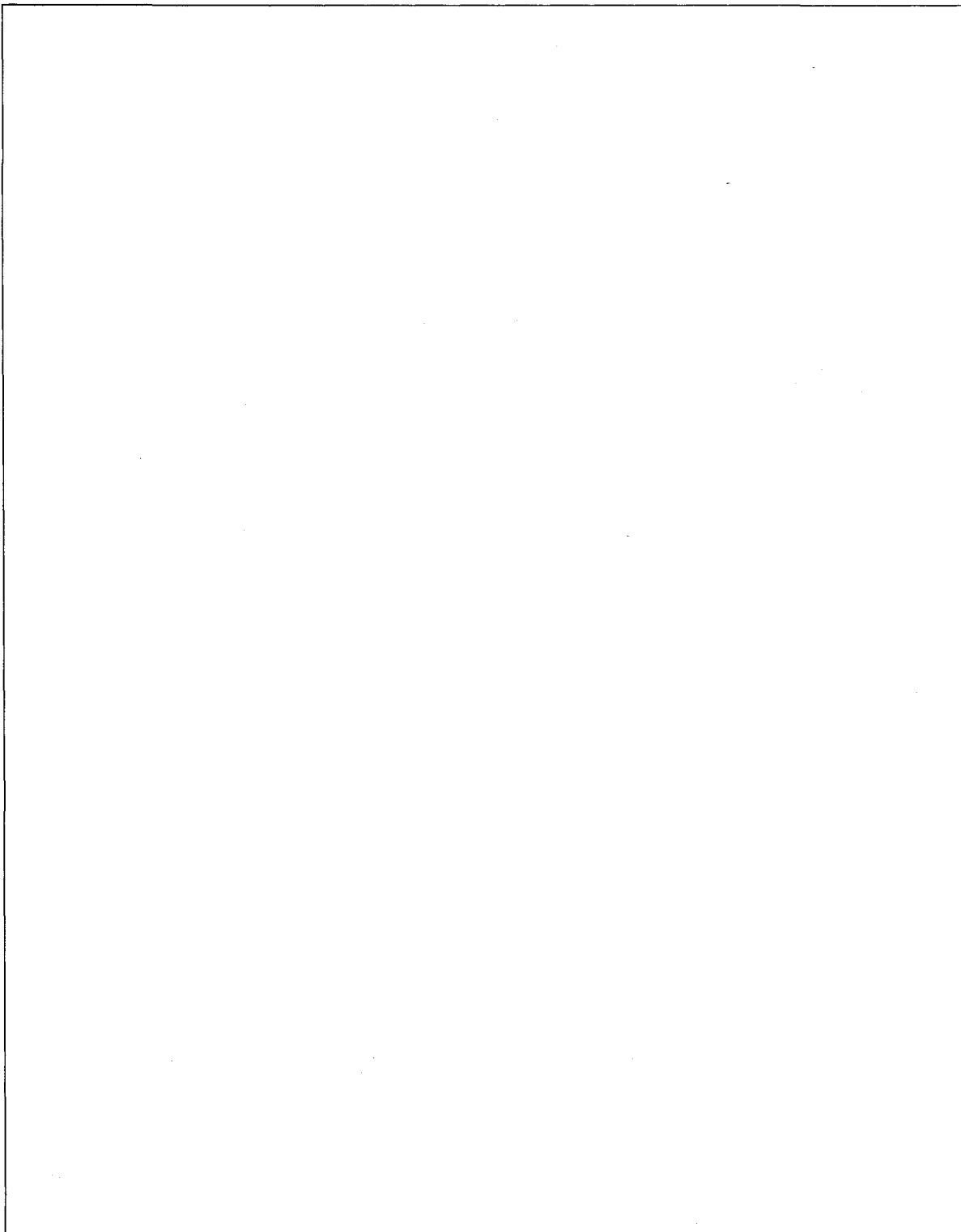
80. J.-P. Le Bas after Philippe Canot, *Le Gâteau des roys*. BnF Est.



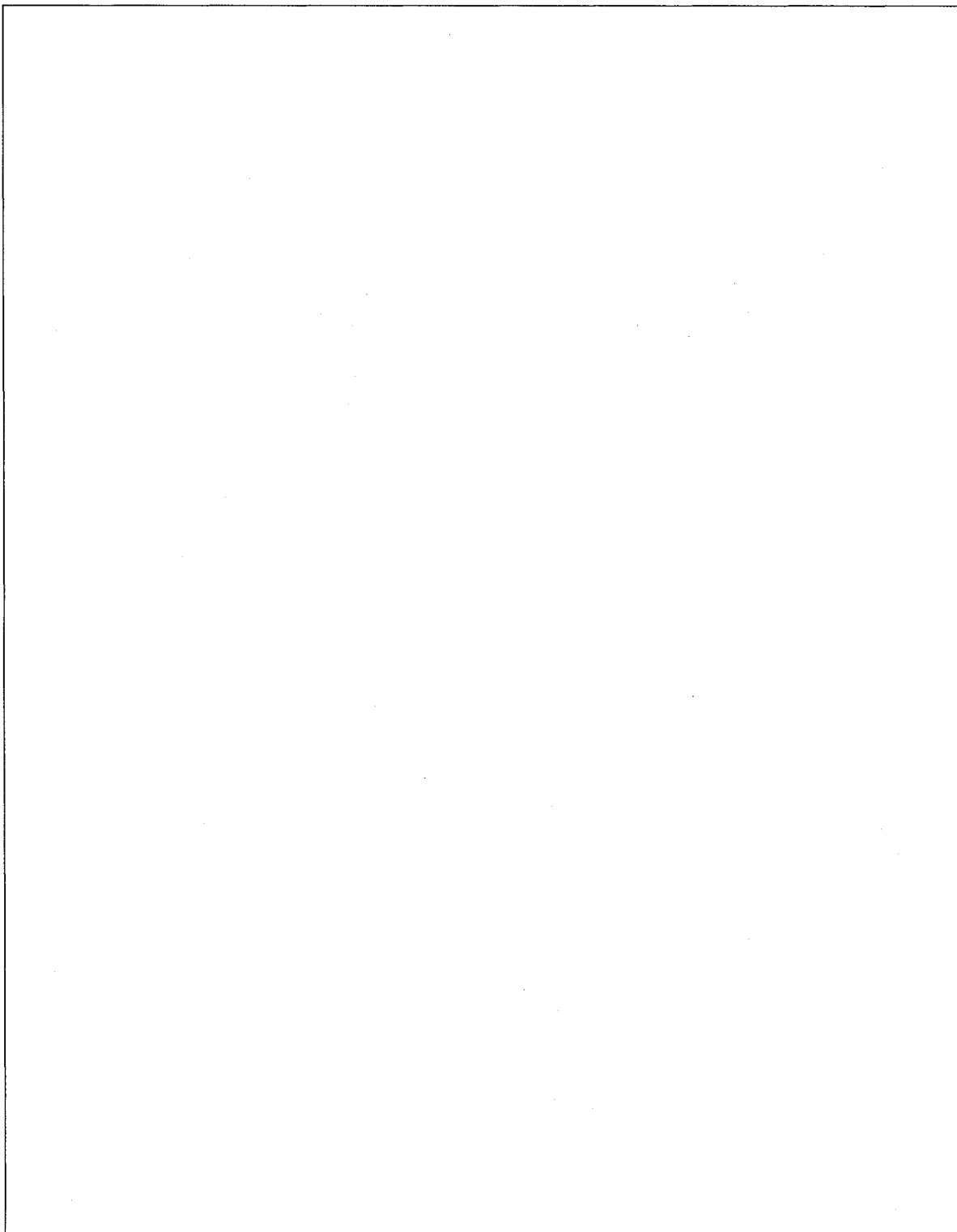
81. F.-B. Lépicié after F. Boucher, *Le Déjeuner*. BnF Est.



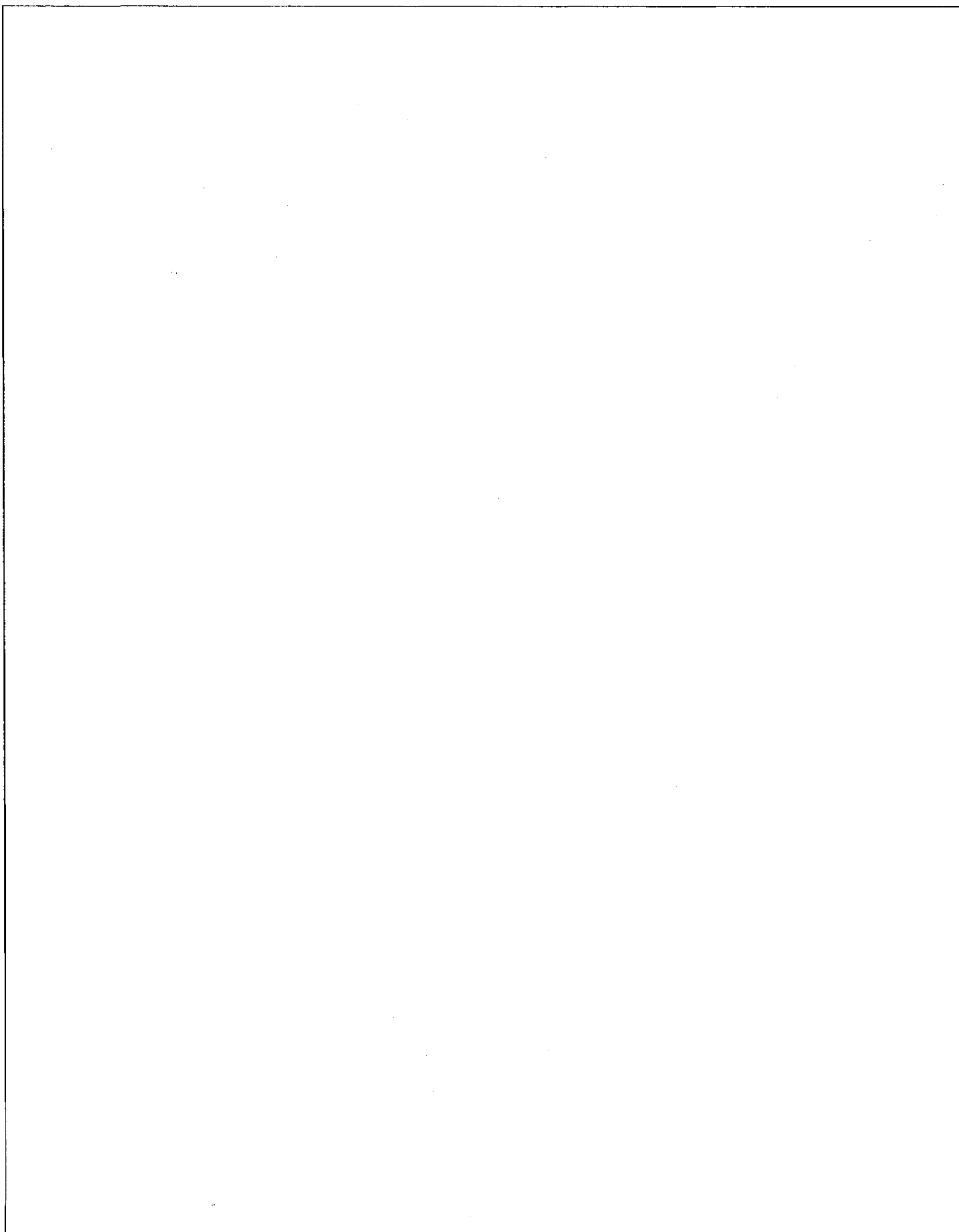
82. J.-B. Greuze, *Le Retour de la nourrice*. Private collection, Strasbourg



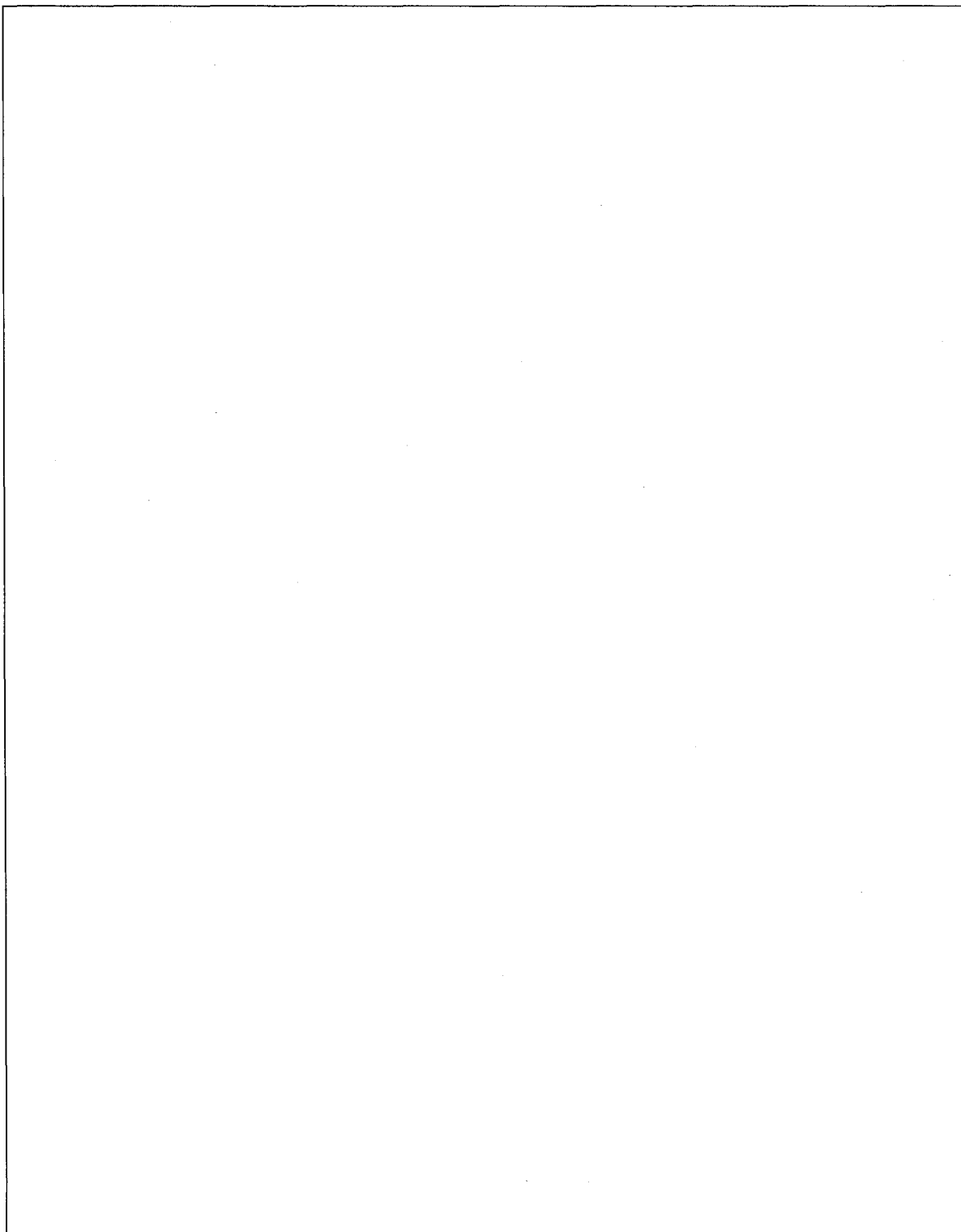
83. J.-B. Greuze, *La Mort d'un père dénaturé*. Musée Greuze, Tournus



84. N.-J. Voyez after Johann Eleazar Zeissig, called Schenau, *Carème-prenant*. BnF Est.



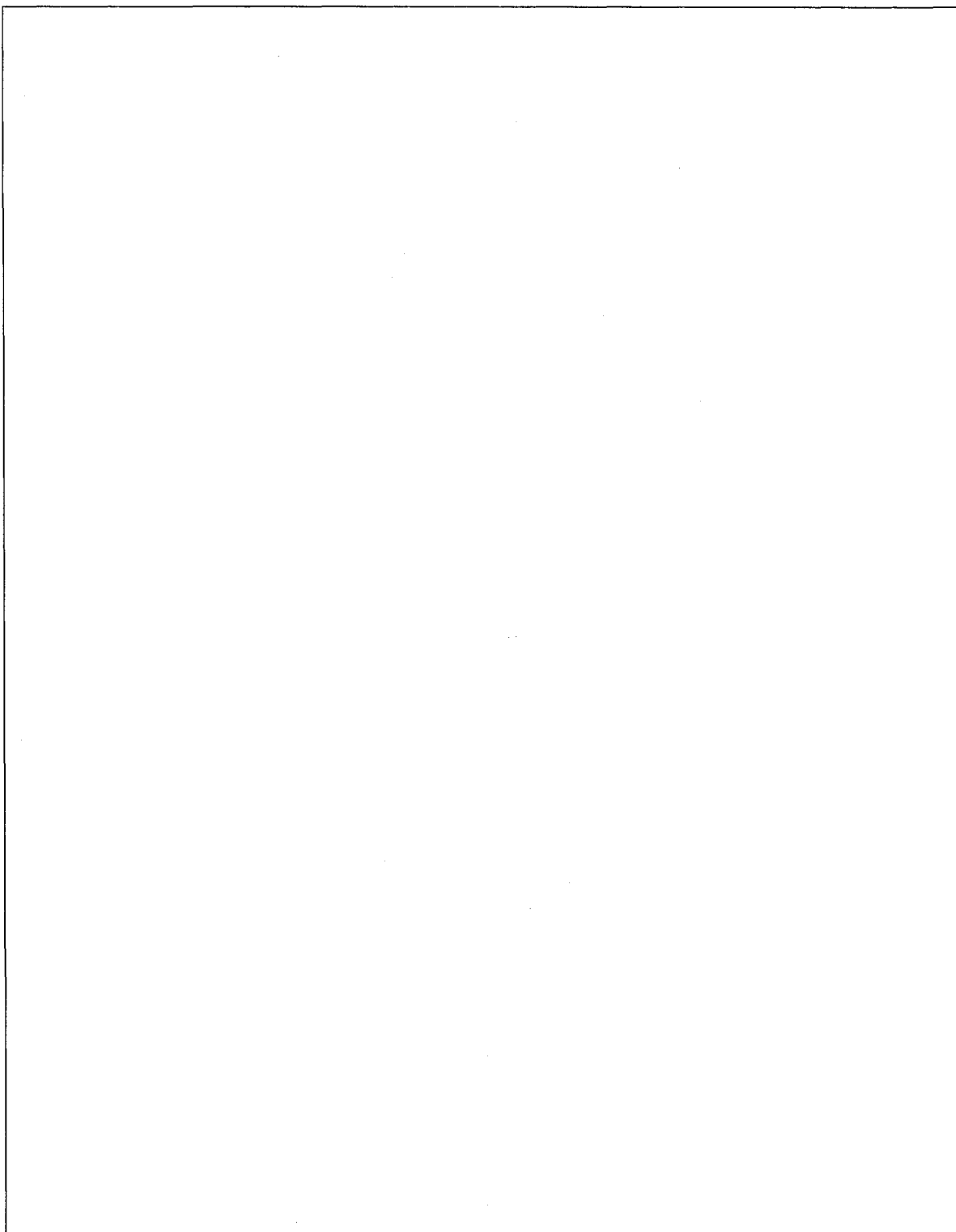
85. J.-P. Malœuvre/J.-P. Le Bas after J.-B. Greuze, *L'enfant gâté*. BnF Est.



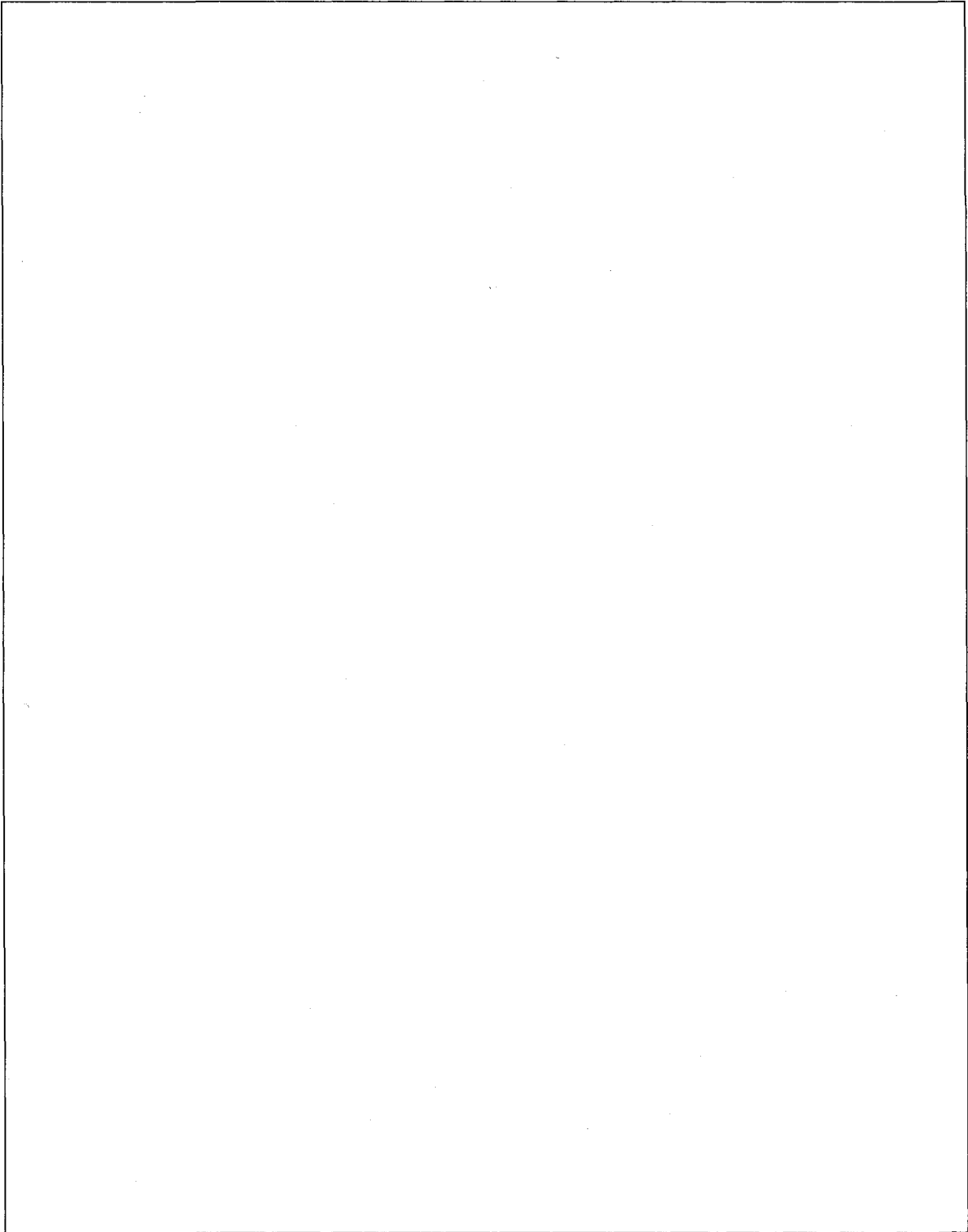
86. Claude Duflos after Schenau, *Le retour désiré*. BnF Est.



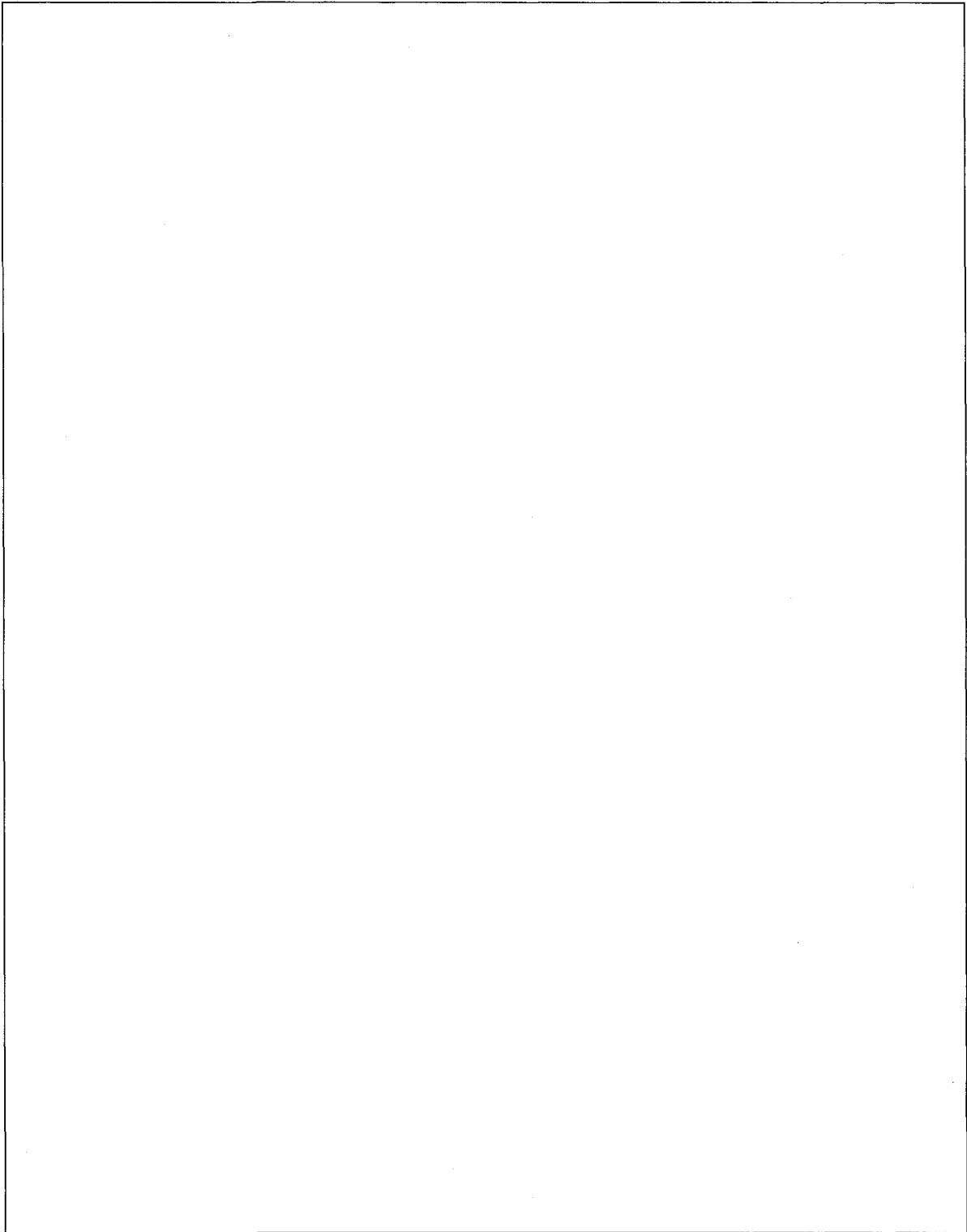
87. J. Massard after J.-B. Greuze, *La Mère bien-aimée*. BnF Est.



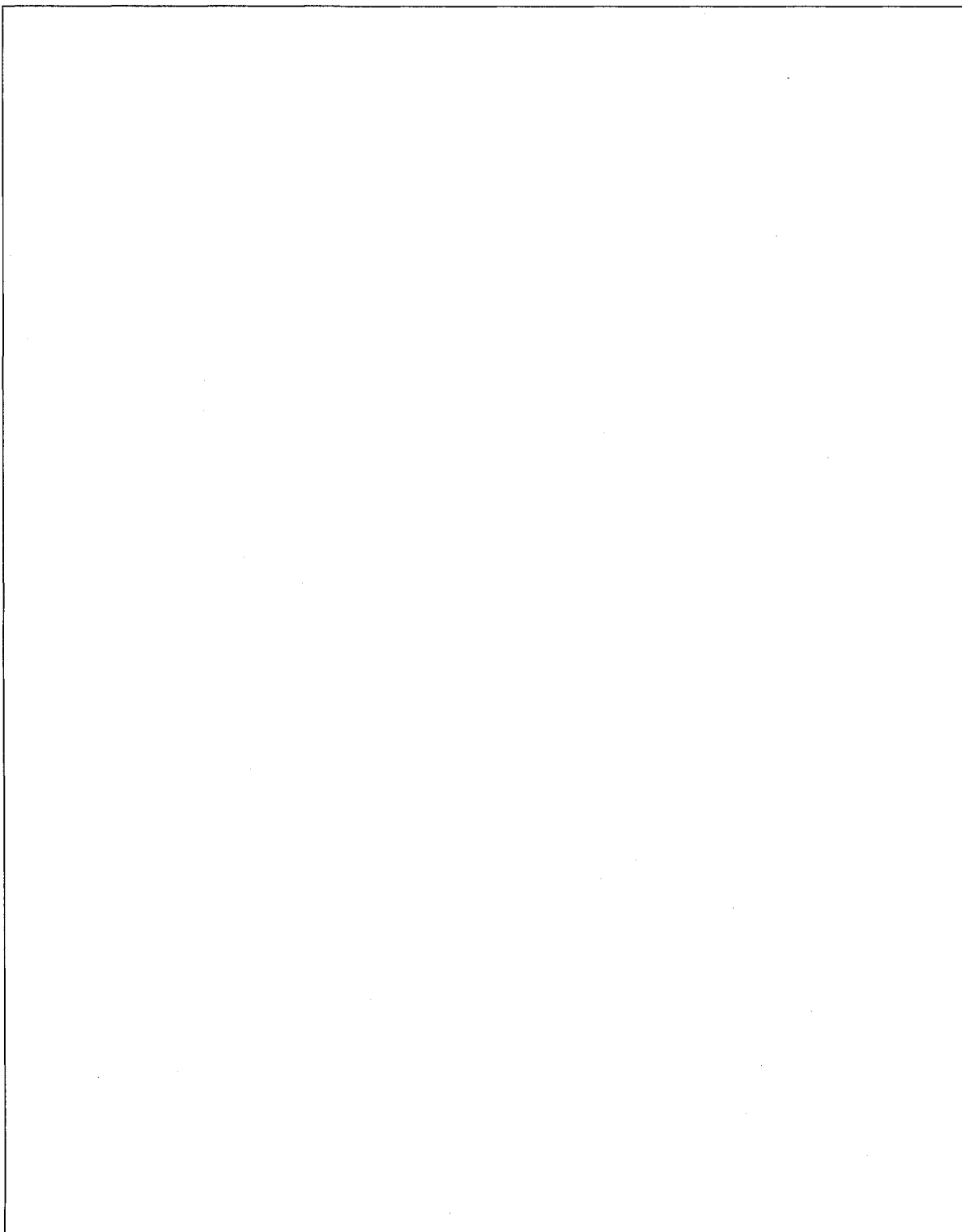
88. J.-L.-C. Pauquet, [La famille aux bustes de Louis XVI et de Marie-Antoinette].
BnF Est.



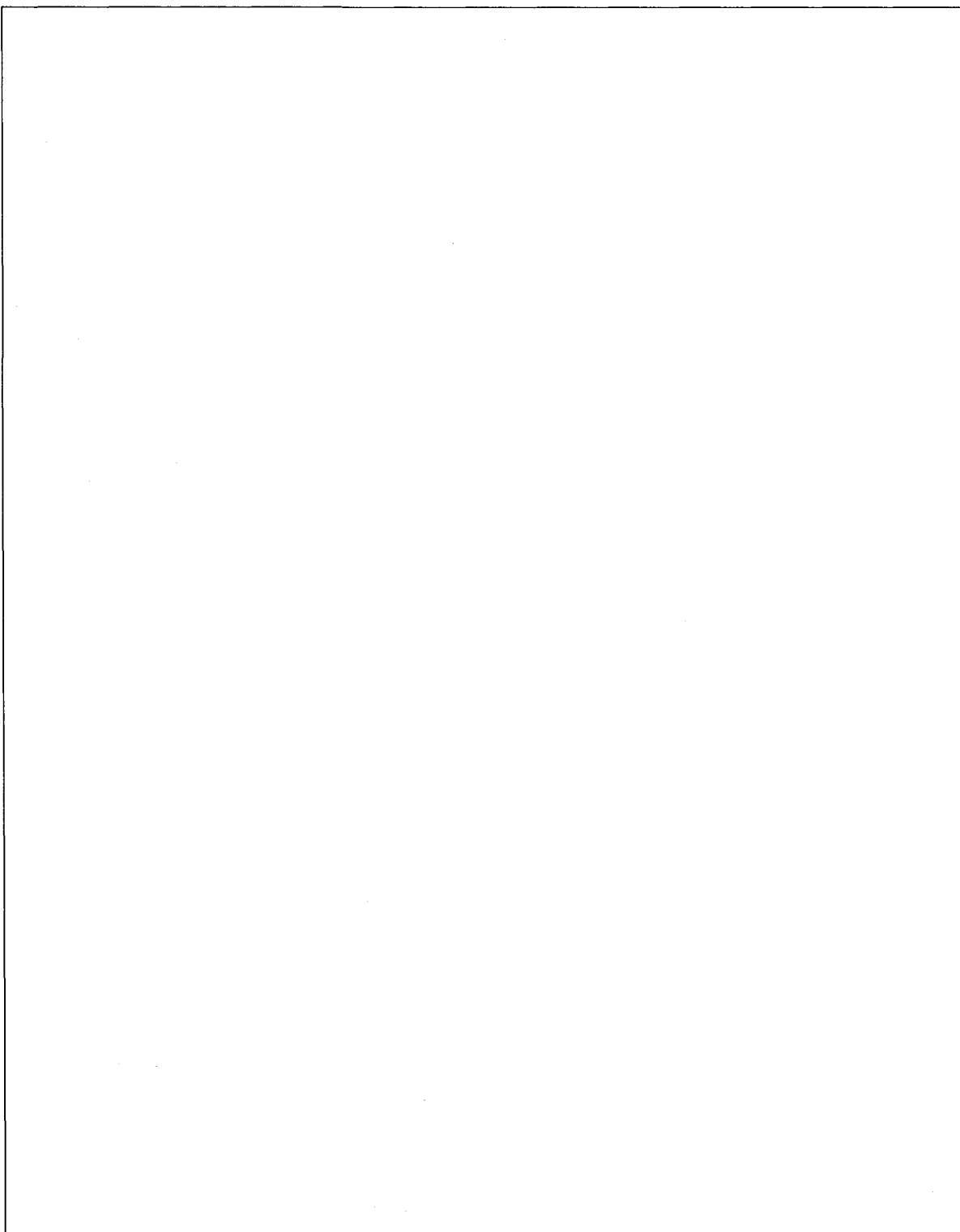
89. Marie-Louise-Adélaïde Boizot after Louis-Simon Boizot, *Louis XVI*. BnF Est.



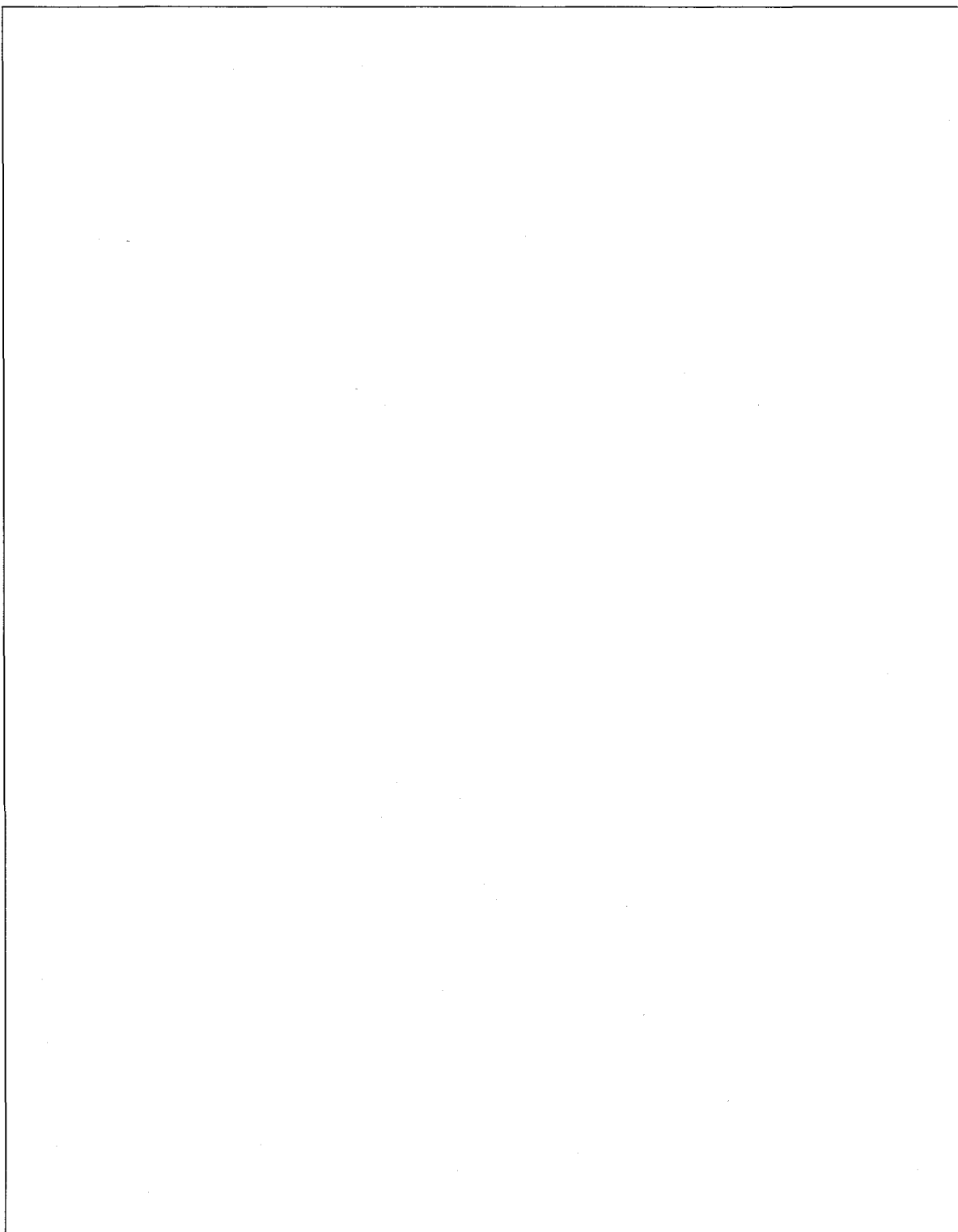
90. Marie-Louise-Adélaïde Boizot after Louis-Simon Boizot, *Marie-Antoinette*. BnF Est.



91. J.-J. Lagrenée le Jeune, *Le Buste de Louis XVI présenté par la Justice*, Musée Carnavalet, Paris



92. J.-F. Janinet after after J.-B. Huet, *Les Sentiments de la Nation*. BnF Est.



93. E. Voysard after A. Borel, *L'Alaitement maternel encouragé*. BnF Est.



94. L. Guyot after P.-L. Debucourt, *Humanité et bienfaisance du Roi*. BnF Est.



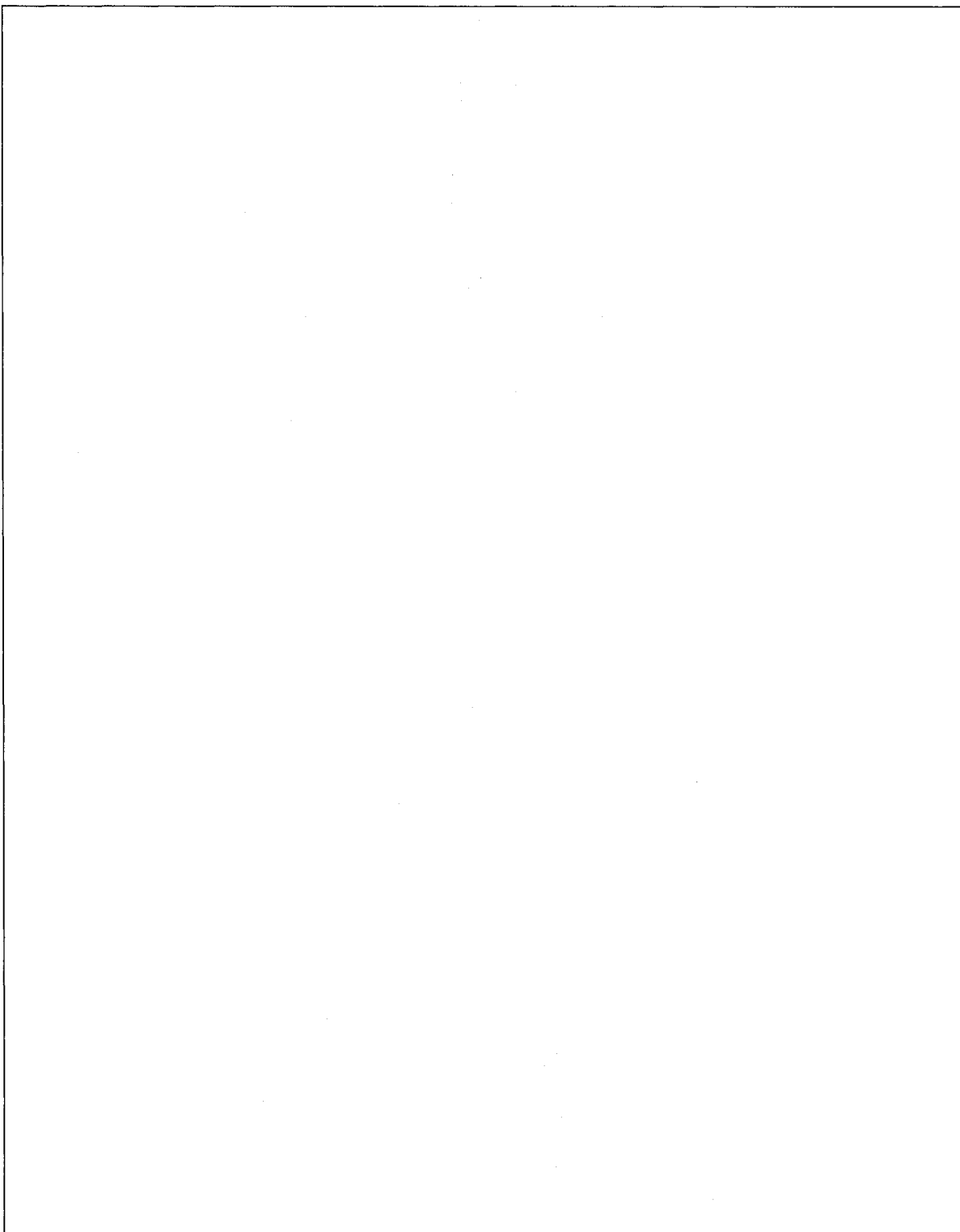
95. P.-L. Debucourt, *Le gentilhomme bienfaisant*. Galerie Cailleux, Paris



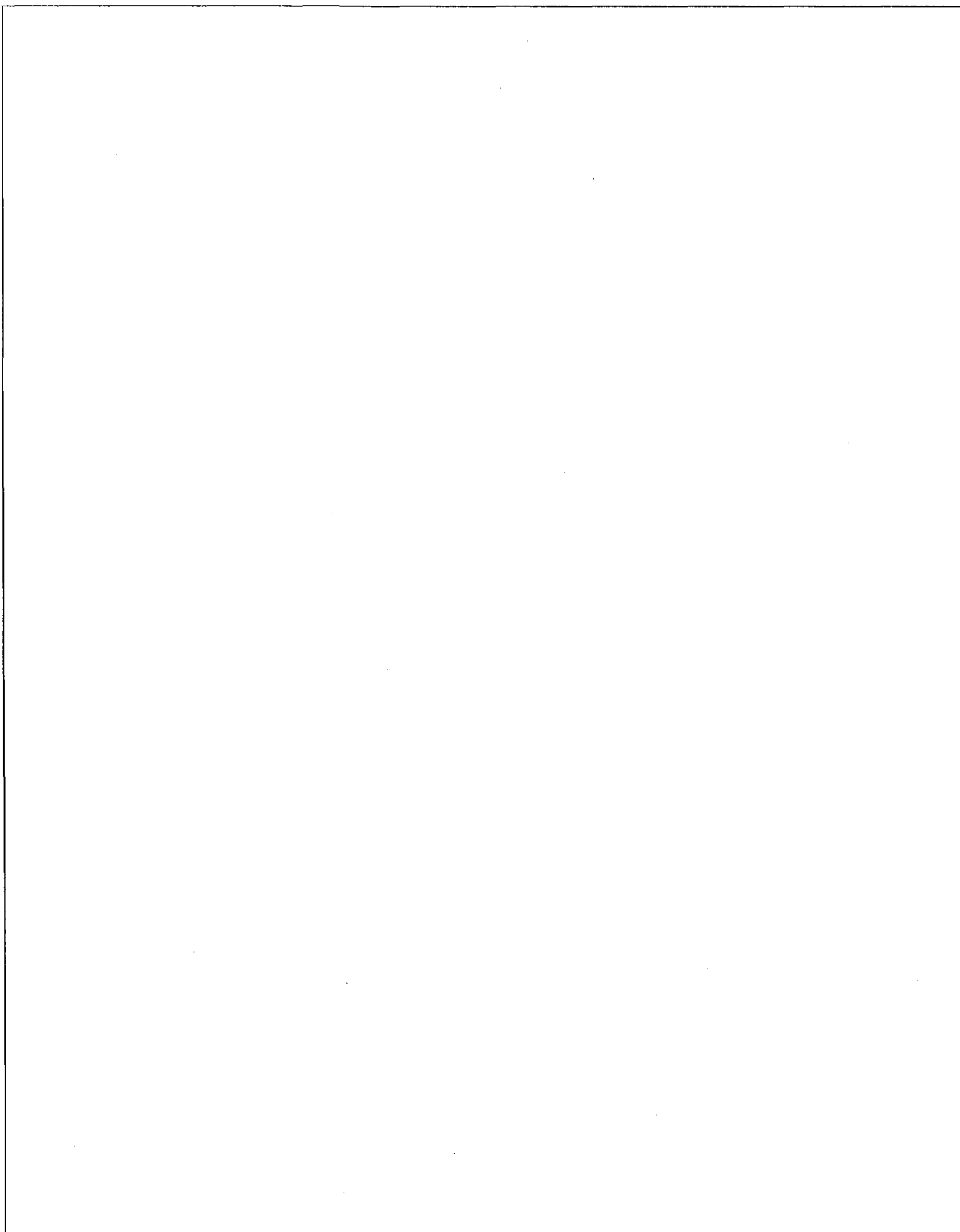
96. Robert De Launay after Jean Defraigne, *L'Acte d'humanité*. BnF Est.



97. N.-B. Lépicie, *L'Atelier d'un menuisier*. Private Collection, New York



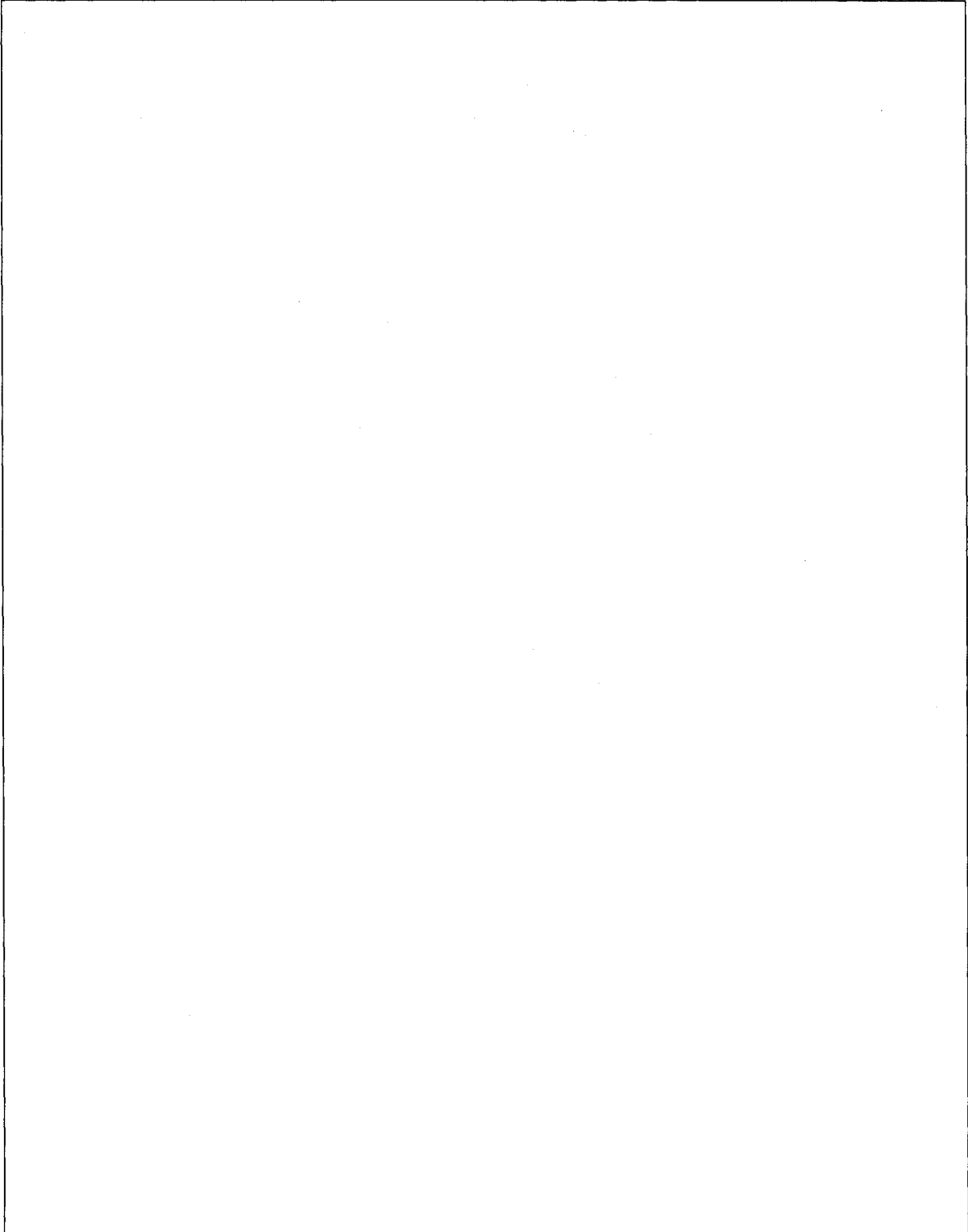
98. Noël Hallé, *L'Education des riches*. Private Collection



99. Noël Hallé, *L'Education des pauvres*. Private Collection



100. Etienne Aubry, *La Première leçon de l'amitié fraternelle*. The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City



101. Robert de Launay after C.-N. Cochin *frs*, frontispiece to J.-J. Rousseau's *Emile*.
BnF Est.