

Portraits of Artists and the Social Commerce of Friendship in Eighteenth-Century France

by

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## Abstract

This dissertation examines the roles that portraits of artists played in the social commerce of friendship in the *ancien régime* of eighteenth-century France. While scholarship on portraiture of the period tends to emphasize a single artist's work or representations of powerful and well-known patrons, this study moves away from a monographic approach and brings a heterogeneous group of works together to show how different forms and types of portraits of artists were generated by ideas and practices of friendships. The study assembles a rich visual corpus, including pastel portraits, small medallion drawings, caricatures, group portraits, and hybrid genre-portraits, which are typically discussed separately in art historical studies. They were created by a range of artists from history painters such as Carle Vanloo and François-André Vincent, draughtsmen such as Charles-Nicolas Cochin, pastellists such as Maurice Quentin de la Tour to female painters such as Adélaïde Labille-Guiard. I argue that portraits served tactical and strategic purposes through their exchange between artists, between artists and patrons, and their display for the viewing public.

The study compares this diverse body of portraits to the *morceaux de réception* portraits commissioned by the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture that defined the institution visually and enforced its inner hierarchy. By using the *morceaux* portraits as a foil, the study highlights the different purposes that portraits of artists served outside official structures of artistic production: as personal gifts, mementos of international travel created by young artists, and assertions of participation in the salons of the

Enlightenment. The word “friend” and the concept of “friendship” are analyzed through primary source documents as self-conscious constructions of social interactions in the eighteenth century, no less so than the portraits themselves. Salon criticism, letters, journals, and published discussions of friendship are used to demonstrate that there were different valences of friendship and that these affected the formats, iconographies, and media of portraits and how and where they circulated. By considering portraiture as a social practice, this study provides new insight into the role of friendship in the lives of eighteenth-century artists and the effects those friendships had on artistic production.

## Chapter 1 Introduction

In 1765, the Salon critic and financier Charles-Joseph Mathon de la Cour made an argument for the importance of sociability to artistic production in France by claiming that friendship always triumphed over an artist's economic self-interest. He introduced one of the published letters he wrote on the works exhibited at the Salon of the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture of 1765 with a question posed to him by a Swedish companion: were all the Royal Academies of France required to expose their work to the public in the same manner as the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture?<sup>1</sup> Rather than answer the question, the critic considered at length the differences between the various academies. He started with competition, explaining the various steps an artist must take to attain the highest positions in the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture, from the drawing *concours* of the young students to reaching the position of *recteur*, one of the highest offices in the Academy's hierarchy.<sup>2</sup> This arrangement, he maintained, was “wonderful for stimulating emulation” and intriguingly compared it to the art of love:

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<sup>1</sup> “Un suédois me demandoit avant-hier monsieur, si toutes les Académies du Royaume rendoient compte au Public de leur travail, comme celle de Peinture. Cette question me surprit, et me fit faire des réflexions sur la différence qui se trouve entre cette Société et les autres.” Charles-Joseph Mathon de la Cour, *Lettres à Monsieur \*\*\* sur les peintures, les sculptures, et les gravures, exposées au Sallon du Louvre en 1765. Seconde Lettre*, in Collection Deloynes, vol. 8, no. 109, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des estampes et de la photographie, Paris.

<sup>2</sup> After becoming full *académiciens*, members of the Academy could be promoted to higher positions, including (in order from lowest to highest) *conseiller*, *adjoint à professeur*, *professeur*, *adjoint à recteur*, and *recteur*. History painters were the only members of the Academy who could achieve ranks higher than *conseillers*. On the Academy's structure see Reed Benhamou, *Regulating the Académie: Art, Rules and Power in Ancien Régime France* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2009) and Hannah Williams, “Portraits of Artists: A Historical Ethnography of the Académie Royale (1648–1793)” (PhD dissertation, Courtauld Institute of Art, 2010), 72.

“It’s like watching a clever coquette play the field with her lovers: by means of progress and skill, she inflames desires and pushes passions to their highest pitch.”<sup>3</sup>

While such intense competition inspired intrigue and disputes in literary societies, Mathon de la Cour insisted that relationships between artists always remained amicable:

In spite of this, nothing bothers their association. They are supportive of each other. They praise with pleasure the good works of their colleagues. Finally, they are friends, albeit rivals, rare advantage much more precious than all talents.<sup>4</sup>

The critic considered this unusual aspect of academic sociability at length, concluding that there was one particular aspect of the lives of the Royal Academy’s artists that allowed them to remain “friends” in the face of such competition: communal education and living together. The “communal education and life” of the Royal Academy made the artists a “single family,” like the ancient Spartans. “Raised in the breast of the Academy,” they studied under the same masters and roof before going to Rome together. Upon returning to Paris, the close habitation continued; they lived and worked at the Louvre.<sup>5</sup>

The critic concluded:

They see each other constantly and consult each other on their works, they relax together after work. Consequently, the men that dare to have gathered together come to love each other like brothers. If money causes

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<sup>3</sup> “La constitution de l’Académie est merveilleuse pour exciter l’émulation... Il me semble voir une coquette habile qui dispute le terrain à ses Amans: A force de gradations et d’adresse, elle irrite les désirs, et porte les passions à leur comble.” Mathon de la Cour, *Lettres à Monsieur* \*\*\*.

<sup>4</sup> “Malgré cela rien ne trouble leur union. Ils se soutiennent les uns les autres. Ils vantent avec plaisir les bons ouvrages de leurs Confrères. Enfin ils sont amis, quoique rivaux, avantage rare et bien plus précieux que tous les talents.” Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> “L’éducation et la vie communes ne faisoient autre-fois de tous les Spartiates qu’une seule famille. Vous voyez de même ici des hommes qui sont élevés dès leur bas âge dans le sein de l’Académie. Ils vont à Rome, et ils y demeurent sous la direction d’un même Maître, et sous le même toit. De retour dans leur Patrie, ils obtiennent des ateliers et des logemens au Louvre.” Ibid.

dissent among them, it is a cloud that dissipates in a moment, and friendship always triumphs.<sup>6</sup>

For Mathon de la Cour, such close and continuous contact “mellow[ed] morals” of visual artists and allowed competition to bring artists together rather than divide them.

Community created friendship, which was the defining feature of the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture for the critic, and separated it from all other royal institutions.

By describing life at the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture in this way, Mathon de la Cour fixed his discussion of it squarely in contemporary theories of sociability, an abstract concept that explained the desire humankind had to participate in society. Louis de Jaucourt defined sociability in Diderot and d’Alembert’s *Encyclopédie ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers* as “[t]his inclination we have to do to others all the good that we can, to reconcile our happiness with that of others, and always to subordinate our personal advantage to the overall and communal advantage.”<sup>7</sup> Enlightenment sociability was based on the idea of reciprocal exchange and

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<sup>6</sup> “Ils se voyent sans cesse, ils se consultent sur leurs Ouvrages, il se délassent ensemble de leurs travaux. Par-là des hommes que le hazard avoit rassemblés, viennent à s’aimer comme des frères. Si des raisons d’intérêt causent entr’eux quelque contestation, c’est un nuage qui se dissipe dans un moment, et l’amitié triomphe toujours.” Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> “La *sociabilité* est cette disposition qui nous porte à faire aux hommes tout le bien qui peut dépendre de nous, à concilier notre bonheur avec celui des autres, & à subordonner toujours notre avantage particulier, à l’avantage commun & général.” Louis de Jaucourt, “Sociabilité” in *Encyclopédie, ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers, etc.*, ed. Denis Diderot and Jean le Rond d’Alembert, University of Chicago: ARTFL Encyclopédie Project, ed. Robert Morrissey (Spring 2011 Edition), <http://encyclopedie.uchicago.edu>. Accessed March 31, 2012. For more discussion of the development of the idea of sociability in the eighteenth century see Dena Goodman, *The Republic of Letters: A Cultural History of the French Enlightenment* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994); Daniel Gordon, *Citizens without Sovereignty: Equality and Sociability in French Thought, 1670–1789* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), especially Chapter 2; Antoine Lilti, *Le monde des salons : sociabilité et mondanité à Paris au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Fayard, 2005).

was intricately linked to commerce, a term which could encompass a variety of practices, from economic exchange to social exchange such as letter writing and conversation.<sup>8</sup>

The notion of sociability in eighteenth-century France has received much scholarly attention in cultural history in recent years, but the discussion of its role in the visual arts is often limited to works of art that appear to represent sociable practices in a very literal way: paintings, prints, and drawings that depict concerts, hunts, and *fêtes galantes*.<sup>9</sup> This dissertation seeks to explore the connection between artistic production and sociability in *ancien régime* France through a different means: by uncovering larger networks of social exchange created by the commerce of artworks through the exchange and display of art. I focus on a particular aspect of sociability, one which Mathon de la Cour highlighted in his discussion of academic life: friendship.

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<sup>8</sup> Jaucourt's fourth principle of sociability claimed it was "une obligation réciproque." Jaucourt, "Sociabilité." On sociability and reciprocity see Goodman, *The Republic of Letters*, 4–8; Gordon, *Citizens without Sovereignty*, chapter 1. The definition of commerce in the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française* from its first edition discussed both the economic and social aspects of commerce, as the "[t]rafic, négoce de marchandises, d'argent, soit en gros, soit en détail" and the "[c]ommunication & correspondance ordinaire avec quelqu'un, soit pour la société seulement, soit aussi pour quelques affaires." "Commerce" in *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française (1694)* in *Dictionnaires d'autrefois*, University of Chicago: The Project for American and French Research on the Treasury of the French Language (ARTFL), <http://artfl-project.uchicago.edu/>. Accessed March 31, 2012.

<sup>9</sup> Maurice Agulhon was the first to use the concept of sociability as a way to describe associations in *ancien régime* France. Maurice Agulhon, *Pénitents et francs-maçons de l'ancienne Provence* (Paris: Fayard, 1968). See also Goodman, *The Republic of Letters*; Gordon, *Citizens without Sovereignty*; Anne Goldgar, *Impolite Learning: Conduct and Community in the Republic of Letters, 1680–1750* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995); Daniel Roche, *France in the Enlightenment*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998); Lilti, *Le monde des salons*. Studies of art and sociability are frequently found in the context of monographic works, see for example: Mary Vidal, *Watteau's Painted Conversations: Art, Literature and Talk in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century France* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992); Paula Rea Radisich, *Hubert Robert: Painted Spaces of the Enlightenment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998). Genre painting, in particular, is often addressed in relation to eighteenth-century sociability, see Colin B. Bailey, Philip Conisbee, and Thomas W. Gaehtgens, *The Age of Watteau, Chardin, and Fragonard: Masterpieces of French Genre Painting*, exh. cat. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003); Philip Conisbee, ed. *French Genre Painting in the Eighteenth Century*, Studies in the History of Art (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007). The relationship of sociability and the decorative arts has been addressed in Mimi Hellman, "Furniture, Sociability, and the Work of Leisure in Eighteenth-Century France," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 32, no. 4 (1999): 415–445; Dena Goodman and Kathryn Norberg, eds., *Furnishing the Eighteenth Century: What Furniture Can Tell Us About the European and American Past* (New York: Routledge, 2006).



*Amitié*, or friendship, was linked to the practices of exchange and reciprocity that came to define sociability in the eighteenth century. In the first edition of the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française* of 1694, friendship was defined as “a mutual, reciprocal affection between two persons more or less equal.”<sup>10</sup> By mid-century, Claude Yvon defined it in the *Encyclopédie* first and foremost as “nothing other than the practice of maintaining a decent and pleasant commerce with someone.”<sup>11</sup> While a discussion of the historiography of the concept of friendship would fall outside the scope of this study, it is important to note that conceptions of friendship had long been rooted in the idealized descriptions of Cicero, Aristotle and, later, Michel de Montaigne, which considered friendship a perfect, intimate, and frequently exclusive relationship between two men.<sup>12</sup> In the eighteenth century, however, there was a shift in describing sociability from simple social interactions to a more abstract and politicized ideal that was a product of the growing numbers of spaces of voluntary association such as academies, Masonic lodges, coffee houses, and salons. In the face of these changes, the definition of friendship had to broaden, and was adapted to the emerging public sphere of the eighteenth century.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> “Affection mutuelle, réciproque entre deux personnes à peu près d’égale condition.” “Amitié” in *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française, 1<sup>st</sup> Edition (1694)* in *Dictionnaires d'autrefois*, University of Chicago: The Project for American and French Research on the Treasury of the French Language (ARTFL), <http://artfl-project.uchicago.edu/>.

<sup>11</sup> Denis Diderot and Claude Yvon, “Friendship,” *The Encyclopedia of Diderot & d’Alembert Collaborative Translation Project*, trans. Jeffrey Merrick (Ann Arbor: MPublishing, University of Michigan Library, 2003) <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/spo.did2222.0000.182>. Accessed March 25, 2012. Originally published as “Amitié,” *Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers*, (Paris, 1751), 1:361–362.

<sup>12</sup> For a historiographic overview of friendship, see Daniel T. Lochman and Maritere López, “Introduction: The Emergence of Discourse: Early Modern Friendship,” in *Discourses and Representation of Friendship in Early Modern Europe, 1500-1700*, ed. Daniel T. Lochman and Maritere López (Burlington: Ashgate, 2011), 1–28.

<sup>13</sup> As Dena Goodman has argued, the emerging public sphere, conceptualized by Jürgen Habermas, grew out of the private sphere. While scholarship on the public and private in early modern Europe has in the past had a tendency to put these two spaces up against one another, the “emerging public sphere” should not be considered as one half of a strict binary between public and private. See Dena Goodman, “Public Sphere and Private Life: Toward a Synthesis of Current Historiographical Approaches to the Old Regime,” *History and Theory* 31, n. 1 (February 1992): 1–20.

Importantly, this was not a smooth transition; older idealized aspects of friendship and newer, more generalized conceptions fed off each other.<sup>14</sup> As Anne Vincent-Buffault has claimed, “sociability became the theater where intimate friendship was given public esteem.”<sup>15</sup>

Mathon de la Cour’s explanation of friendship in the Royal Academy implied that friendship was restricted to those at the top of the academic hierarchy. The critic painted in broad strokes the typical experience of an academician. Not all artists were “raised from a young age at its breast,” and even those who began their training with the sponsorship of an academician were not guaranteed a trip to Rome. After their return to Paris, not all were given housing at the Louvre. And while the critic explained that members rose through the ranks only when they earned it because of the competitive nature of artistic training, he conveniently ignored the fact that not all members could rise to the highest ranks, which were reserved for history painters.<sup>16</sup>

Yet when the word *ami* was employed in discussions of works at the Salon, it most often appeared in relations to portraits and portraitists, not history painting. Thus, Mathon de la Cour’s discussion of friendship within the top tiers of the Royal Academy is at odds with the actual appearance of the word in other Salon criticism. It exposes a paradox that operated at a linguistic level as well as at the level of artistic practice. This study seeks to explore the tension between theories and practices of friendship, and

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<sup>14</sup> Anne Vincent-Buffault, *L’exercice de l’amitié pour une histoire des pratiques amicales aux XVIIIe et XIXe siècles* (Paris: Seuil, 1995), 85.

<sup>15</sup> “La sociabilité devient le théâtre où l’amitié intime est gratifiée de l’estime publique.” Ibid., 86.

<sup>16</sup> Article XIII *Status et Règlements* of the Academy stated: “Que nulle personne à l’avenir, ne sera reçue [sic] et ladite charge de Professeur qu’il n’ayt esté nommé Adjoint, et nul sera nommé Adjoint qu’il n’ayt fait connoistre sa capacité en la figure et en l’Histoire, soit en Peinture ou en Sculpture, et qu’il n’ayt mis dans l’Académie le tableau d’histoire, ou bas-relief, qui luy aura este ordonné.” The rules and regulations of the Academy have been outlined and described by Benhamou, *Regulating the Académie*, 124; Williams, “Portraits of Artists,” Appendix 1.

uncover the different valences friendship had for artists in France before the 1789 Revolution.

The chapters that follow explore the friendships of eighteenth-century artists through the portraits they created, collected, and exchanged. I take as case studies groups of portraits which make manifest professional and amicable relationships. They exemplify changes in the pictorial rhetoric through which those relationships were represented. This phenomenon crossed a diversity of artistic milieu: from history painters such as Carle Vanloo and François-André Vincent to artists working in minor genres, such as Maurice Quentin de la Tour and Charles-Nicolas Cochin, to women artists such as Adélaïde Labille-Guiard, and to foreign artists such as Johann Tobias Sergel. I treat these artists as “hubs” of social networks, central figures within a group who depicted the artists with whom they interacted. The individuals in these artistic and patronage networks could be connected through business, friendship, or family, but these relationships were not always mutually exclusive. By examining a range of portrait formats, from humorous caricatures that circulated between artists to ambitious hybrid-genre portraits that were displayed and discussed at the Salon exhibition, I use different formal typologies of portraiture to investigate the role portraits played in relationships formed both inside and outside official structures of artistic production.

Portraits are used to trace the social connections between individuals, but it is not enough to map out social networks by describing who depicted whom. It is equally important to consider the role of these different but frequently intersecting networks in artists’ careers and their effects on artistic production. This study pairs an exploration of formal typologies with a close attention to the function of the works. I examine the places

and circumstances of the portraits' creation as well as their subsequent circulation among artists, between artists and patrons, and between artists and the viewing public at the Salon of the Royal Academy. In some cases, the works were kept by the men and women who created or were represented in them, inscribing the artists and sitters in networks of friendship. In other cases, they were displayed at the Salon exhibition or were reproduced in engravings destined to be sold, whether or not they were intended to do so from their inception. When shown to a larger audience, these works acted as displays of public intimacy. By treating portraits as material objects that were exchanged between and collected by men and women, and displayed in range of spaces—the open venue of the Salon of the Academy as well more controlled viewing spaces, such as the salons of *hôtels particuliers* or artists' studios—this project argues that portraiture was an important part of the social lives of eighteenth-century artists in France, both as an impetus for sociability and as a product of it. Influenced by the work of sociologists and cultural anthropologists on the intersection of social and cultural capital and taste, I examine the role portraits played in friendship networks in the eighteenth century and the social value that those networks had for both artists and patrons.

The role of portraiture in artists' lives in the emerging public sphere in eighteenth-century France has been underestimated.<sup>17</sup> Since the publication of Thomas Crow's *Painting and Public Life in Eighteenth-Century France*, art historians have taken an

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<sup>17</sup> The emerging public sphere of the eighteenth century was first discussed in Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. Thomas Burger (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1989). Habermas's work was published in German in 1962 and then into French in 1978. For a discussion of this work in relation to the interest in private life in the eighteenth century that was undertaken at the same time Haberman's work was translated into English, see Goodman, "Public Sphere and Private Life," 1–20. Goodman argues that the emerging public sphere described by Habermas is a dimension of the private sphere articulated by Roger Chartier and his collaborators in *A History of Private Life* series, which addressed the eighteenth century in the third volume, *Passions of the Renaissance*, ed. Philippe Ariès and Georges Duby (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1989).

interest in the role of art in the public sphere, but this view is strongly biased towards history painting.<sup>18</sup> Crow included only seven portraits in his book.<sup>19</sup> As Tony Halliday has noted, portraiture's seemingly private and particular interest was at odds with the new public role of art described by Crow.<sup>20</sup> To summarize briefly, Crow argues that a public for visual art was initially invented by the Royal Academy to help justify its existence; the idea of creating art for an ill-defined public helped wrest production away from the guild system and particular patrons, and tie it to the state. By the end of the *ancien régime*, this public became defined more or less as Salon visitors. Crow's narrative, which relies on the assumption made by both the Academy and critics that art had some sort of edifying role for the new viewing public created by the Salon, may explain the relative lack of scholarly interest in the role of the portrait during the period.<sup>21</sup>

At the beginning of the century, portraiture was awarded a relatively high and respected position in the hierarchy of genres. Over the course of the century, the genre became increasingly derided as a symbol of selfishness, a sign of vanity in a sitter, and a display of avarice in the artist.<sup>22</sup> The only exceptions were portraits of *grands hommes*,

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<sup>18</sup> Thomas E. Crow, *Painters and Public Life in Eighteenth-Century Paris* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985). For authors who have worked on art and the public sphere, see Andrew McClellan, "D'Angiviller's 'Great Men' of France and the Politics of the Parlements," *Art History* 13, no. 2 (1990); Reed Benhamou, *Public and Private Art Education in France 1648–1793*, vol. 308, *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 1993); Paula Rea Radisich, *Hubert Robert*; Tony Halliday, *Facing the Public: Portraiture in the Aftermath of the French Revolution* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999); Mark Ledbury, *Sedaine, Greuze and the Boundaries of Genre* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2000); Colin B. Bailey, *Patriotic Taste: Collecting Modern Art in Pre-Revolutionary Paris* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002); Charlotte Guichard, *Les amateurs d'art à Paris au XVIIIe siècle* (Seysssel: Champ-Vallon, 2008).

<sup>19</sup> Crow included two caricatures of La Font de Saint Yenne, François Boucher's 1756 portrait of Madame de Pompadour, Greuze's portrait of Louis de Silvestre, Jean-Bapiste Pigalle's Monument to Louis XV, François-Hubert Drouais's *Madame du Barry as Muse*, and Jacques-Louis David's portraits of the Count Stanislas Potocki, the Lavoisiers, and the *Death of Marat*.

<sup>20</sup> Tony Halliday, *Facing the Public*, 6.

<sup>21</sup> See especially Chapter 6, "Whose Salon?" in Crow, *Painters and Public Life*.

<sup>22</sup> Jean Locquin, "La lutte des critiques d'art contre les portraitistes au XVIIIe siècle," *Archives de l'art français, nouvelle période* II (1913): 309–320. For more on the slow decline of respect for portraiture over the course of the century, see also Chapter 1 of Halliday, *Facing the Public*.

individuals whose actions could be an example to Salon viewers.<sup>23</sup> By the eve of the Revolution, a portrait's value was determined in terms of the greatness of the artist and the importance of the sitter.

This view of portraiture has influenced modern art historical scholarship on the genre in *ancien régime* France. Discussions of French portraiture tend to take the form of monographic studies of artists, focusing particularly on large-scale portraits commissioned by members of the court—in other words, the portraits that were the most publicly visible during the eighteenth century, commonly through their exhibition at the Salon.<sup>24</sup> Recent scholarship on art of the *ancien régime* has turned to portraiture with a view toward the performance and representation of the self to others, focusing on issues as varied as political power, gender politics, and psychology.<sup>25</sup> These studies have opened up the interpretative possibilities of portraits, but they tend to emphasize a single

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<sup>23</sup> The promotion of *grands hommes* was tied to the Royal Academy's campaign to promote history paintings, for example D'Angiviller's series of representing French history and a series of statues of *grands hommes*. Jean Locquin, *La peinture d'histoire en France de 1747 à 1785* (Paris: Arthéna, 1978), 48–53; McClellan, "D'Angiviller's 'Great Men,'" 175–192; Jean-Claude Bonnet, *Naissance du Panthéon, Essai sur le cultes des grands hommes* (Paris: Fayard, 1998), 127–132. For more on the popularity of the *grands hommes*, see Thomas Gaehtgens, "Du Parnasse au Panthéon : la représentation des *hommes illustres* et des *grands hommes* dans la France du XVIIIe siècle," in *Le culte des grands hommes, 1750–1850*, ed. Thomas Gaehtgens and Gregor Wedekind (Paris: Maison des sciences de l'homme, 2009), 135–171.

<sup>24</sup> Many of these monographs take the form of exhibition catalogues. While there has been a wealth of focused exhibitions of the careers of artists such as Jean-Marc Nattier, Alexandre Roslin, and Maurice Quentin de la Tour, many of these artists have not been the focus of a non-exhibition-based monograph since the early twentieth century. Portraits by history painters, on the other hand, have been more thoroughly examined. Recent works on artists such as François Boucher and Jacques-Louis David address their portrait production, although most frequently focusing on members of the royal family, the king's mistresses, and men who would have been considered *grands hommes* during the period.

<sup>25</sup> Mary Sheriff, "Invention, Resemblance, and Fragonard's *Portraits de fantaisie*," *The Art Bulletin* 69, no. 1 (1987): 77–87; Ewa Lajer-Burcharth, "Psyche in the Boudoir," in *Necklines* (New Haven: Yale University, 1999), 236–306; Melissa Hyde, "The 'Makeup' of the Marquise: Boucher's Portrait of Pompadour at her Toilette," *The Art Bulletin* 82, no. 3 (2000): 453–475; Ewa Lajer-Burcharth, "Pompadour's Touch: Difference in Representation," *Representations* 73, no. Winter (2001): 54–88; Melissa Hyde, "Under the Sign of Minerva: Adélaïde Labille-Guiard's Portrait of Madame Adélaïde," in *Women, Art and the Politics of Identity in Eighteenth-Century Europe*, ed. Melissa Hyde and Jennifer Milam (Burlington: Ashgate, 2003), 139–163; Laura Auricchio, "Self-Promotion in Adélaïde Labille-Guiard's 1785 Self-Portrait with Two Students," *The Art Bulletin* 89, no. 1 (2007): 45–62. For more general discussions of the performance of the self in portraiture, see also Richard Brilliant, *Portraiture* (London: Reaktion Books, 1991); Harry Berger Jr., *Fictions of the Pose: Rembrandt Against the Italian Renaissance* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000).

artist's work in the context of representations of powerful and well-known patrons.<sup>26</sup>

What is missing is an extended study of the social role of portraiture in the context of eighteenth-century artistic practice.

This dissertation seeks to address that lacuna in scholarship. The social connections that are evidenced through the creation and movement of portraits open the door to explore relationships between sculptors, engravers, and painters across Europe; between portraitists, genre and history painter; between men and women. These connections expose intersections between the categories of nationality, medium, genre, and gender that are typically separated in discussions of eighteenth-century artistic production, and they give us a better understanding of the social practices of artists during the period.

Art historians frequently use the word “friend” to describe the relationship between artists and sometimes artists and patrons demonstrated in portraits in many media. A primary reason for the connection between portraits and friendship is the perception that portraits can act as “documents” of social relationships in a manner quite

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<sup>26</sup> Hannah Williams's dissertation, which she generously shared with me, is one of very few examples of scholarly works which looks at portraiture with a holistic view. Her study examines portraiture as a means of defining the Academy as a community of artists from its foundation in 1648 until its dissolution in 1793. It is currently being revised for publication under the title *Face-to-Face with the Académie Royale (1648–1793): An Ethnography in Portraiture*. See Williams, “Portraits of Artists.” Scholarship on portraiture produced in France after the 1789 Revolution frequently shifts the focus from portrait as object to portraiture as practice. Portrait-making is interpreted in the light of ensuring artists' economic survival in the wake of the elimination of royal and aristocratic patronage in France. See Musée Cognac-Jay, *Marguerite Gérard, artiste en 1789, dans l'atelier de Fragonard*, exh. cat. (Paris: Paris musées, 2009); Halliday, *Facing the Public*; Amy Freund, “Revolutionary Likenesses: Portraiture and Politics in France, 1789–1804” (PhD Dissertation, University of California Berkeley, 2005). One also sees more interest in the idea of portraiture as a social product in studies of eighteenth-century British art. See Marcia R. Poinon, *Hanging the Head: Portraiture and Social Formation in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993); Kate Retford, *The Art of Domestic Life: Family Portraiture in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006). The 2007 exhibition *Citizens and Kings (Portraits publics, portraits privés)* was a rare non-monographic examination of portraiture, although it focused on the last decades of the eighteenth century and the early nineteenth century. See the catalogue Norman Rosenthal, *Citizens and Kings: Portraits in the Age of Revolution, 1760–1830*, exh. cat. (London Royal Academy of Arts, 2007).

unlike other art objects. They are typically products of a specific encounter or series of encounters between artist and sitter, yet at the same time they are constructed, highly self-conscious representations of those interactions.

I regard the portraits themselves to be primary documentary evidence of friendship, but with the understanding that the word “friend” was just as self-conscious a construction of social interactions in the eighteenth century as the portraits purported to represent them. Mathon de la Cour’s discussion of friendship between artists quoted at the beginning of this introduction—“they are friends, albeit rivals”—for example demonstrates the complexity of friendship within the academic structure. Rivalry and competition were thought to advance the progress of the visual arts, and the importance of both to artistic education was demonstrated in the emphasis the Academy placed on the role of emulation in training artists.<sup>27</sup> Mathon de la Cour’s emphasis on friendship suggests that for rivalry to remain productive it had to be rooted in amicability, not discord.

Rivalry, of course, did not always resolve itself into friendship, as demonstrated by the feud between Charles Lebrun and Pierre Mignard in the 1650s.<sup>28</sup> The *salonnière* Marie-Thérèse Geoffrin, for one, noted in a letter to the king of Poland in 1766 that

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<sup>27</sup> Emulation has been well addressed in discussions of eighteenth-century artistic education. See Thomas Crow’s discussion throughout *Emulation: Making Artists for Revolutionary France* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995). See also Nicolas Mirzoeff, “Revolution, Representation, Equality: Gender, Genre and Emulation in the Académie Royale de Peinture et Sculpture, 1785–1793,” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 31, no. 2 (Winter 1997/1998): 153–174. For a discussion of emulation and gender, see Laura Auricchio, “The Laws of *Bienséance* and the Gendering of Emulation in Eighteenth-Century French Art Education,” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 36, no. 2 (2003): 231–240. For a more general discussion of emulation in the last half of the eighteenth century, see John Iverson, “Emulation in France, 1750–1800,” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 36, no. 2 (Winter 2003): 217–230.

<sup>28</sup> Jennifer Montagu, “The Early Ceiling Decorations of Charles Lebrun,” *Burlington Magazine* 105 (1963): 395–408; Lada Nikolendo, *Pierre Mignard: the Portrait Painter of the Grand Siècle* (Munich: Nitz, 1983); Paul Duro, *The Academy and the Limits of Painting in Seventeenth-Century France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997). On rivalry and portraiture in the Academy, see Williams, “Portraits of Artists,” Chapter 6.



“[Boucher and Vien] are friends, which is rare to find between artists.”<sup>29</sup> Jacques-Louis David was “raised in the breast of the Academy,” to borrow Mathon de la Cour’s phrase, but he harbored grudges against artists who beat him in the Prix de Rome competition.<sup>30</sup> In other words, Mathon de la Cour’s dramatic claim in his Salon pamphlet that friendship reigned supreme in the Royal Academy is hyperbole. By examining the particular contexts of portraits’ creation, and taking their viewership and circulation into consideration, I wish to call attention to the multifaceted nature of the relationships between eighteenth-century artists and between artists and their patrons.

Not coincidentally, Mathon de la Cour’s explanation of the importance of friendship between artists appeared at a moment when the usage of the word *ami* in French publications was increasing dramatically. According to the Project for American and French Research on the Treasury of the French Language ARTFL-FRANTEXT database, the use of the word *ami* doubled over the course of the eighteenth century (Table 1.1).<sup>31</sup> The increase in the appearance of the word *ami* coincided with a decrease in the appearance of the word *amitié* during the same period.

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<sup>29</sup> “[Boucher and Vien] sont amis, ce qui est rare à trouver chez les artistes...” Letter from Geoffrin to Poniatowski dated January 29, 1766. Published in Stanislas-Auguste Poniatowski and Madame Geoffrin, *Correspondance inédite du roi Stanislas-Auguste Poniatowski et de Madame Geoffrin (1764–1777)*, ed. Charles de Mouÿ (Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1970), 208.

<sup>30</sup> On David’s Prix de Rome losses, see Crow, *Emulation*. As will be discussed in the Epilogue, David used his political power during the Revolution to exact what might be called revenge on some of the artists he competed against while a student at the Academy, most notably Joseph-Benoît Suvée, by accusing them of counter-Revolutionary activities or sentiments.

<sup>31</sup> ARTFL pulls its data from over 3,500 French language texts from the twelfth to the twentieth centuries. The word *ami* had an average of 2.2 appearances per 10,000 words in the first half of the century to 3.83 in the 1760s and 4.57 in the 1770s. “Ami” and “amitié” in ARTFL-FRANTEXT, The Project for American and French Research on the Treasury of the French Language (ARTFL), University of Chicago, <http://artfl-project.uchicago.edu/content/artfl-frantext>. Accessed June 1, 2011.

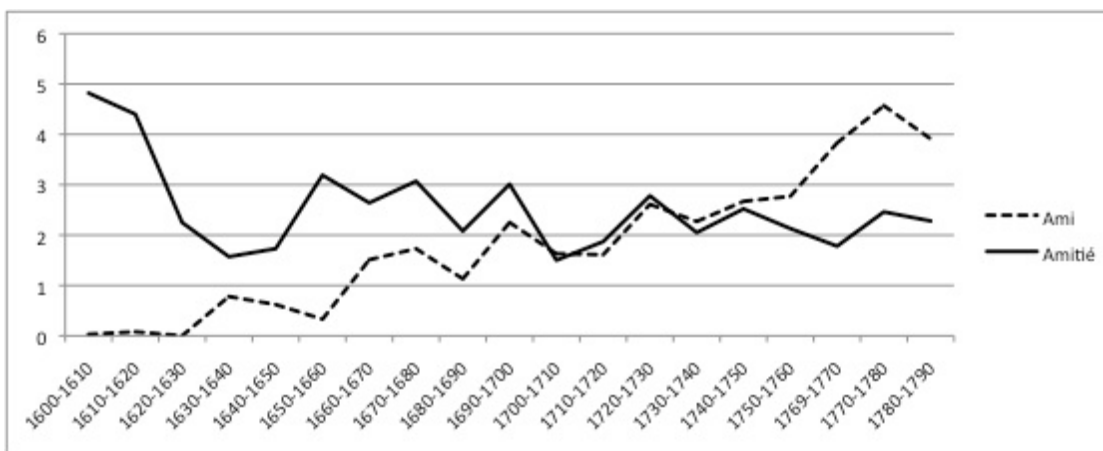


Table 1.1 Frequency per 10,000 Words of *Ami* and *Amitié* between 1600–1789 (Data from the ARTFL-FRANTEXT database)

The increase of the word *ami* is largely due to the proliferation of epistolary novels, such as Jean-Jacques Rousseau’s *Julie ou la Nouvelle Héloïse*; ninety-six percent of the eighteenth-century novels in the database contain the word *ami*, while only thirty-one percent of the novels in the seventeenth century contain the word. At the same time, one sees a small decrease in the numbers of treatises and essays that mention *amitié* (Table 1.2). This trend aligns with Anne Vincent-Buffault’s analysis of texts about friendship in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The decrease of philosophical texts and increase of friendship in fiction continued into the nineteenth century; philosophical texts on the idea of friendship all but disappeared and were replaced by a proliferation of fiction, poetry, and educational literature that took friendship as their themes.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>32</sup> Vincent-Buffault, *L’exercice de l’amitié*, 76.

## 1600-1699

<b>Genre</b>	<b>Number of Works</b>	<i>Ami</i>	<b>Percentage</b>	<i>Amitié</i>	<b>Percentage</b>
Correspondance	33	13	39.39%	24	72.73%
Éloquence	22	6	27.27%	10	45.45%
Mélanges littéraires	11	7	63.64%	8	72.73%
Mémoires	8	8	100.00%	8	100.00%
Poésie	67	20	29.85%	50	74.63%
Roman	41	13	31.71%	36	87.80%
Théâtre	118	70	59.32%	98	83.05%
Traité et essai	69	33	47.83%	50	72.46%

## 1700-1789

<b>Genre</b>	<b>Number of Works</b>	<i>Ami</i>	<b>Percentage</b>	<i>Amitié</i>	<b>Percentage</b>
Correspondance	16	15	93.75%	16	100.00%
Éloquence	5	2	40.00%	3	60.00%
Mélanges littéraires	35	31	88.57%	24	68.57%
Mémoires	11	11	100.00%	10	90.91%
Poésie	37	26	70.27%	19	51.35%
Roman	127	122	96.06%	118	92.91%
Théâtre	108	99	91.67%	88	81.48%
Traité et essai	112	84	75.00%	74	66.07%

Table 1.2 Occurrences of *Ami* and *Amitié* in Works by Genre, 1600–1789 (Data from the ARTFL-FRANTEXT database)

The proliferation of the word “friend” in texts was due in part to the broadening of the definition of friendship in the eighteenth century. Yvon defined friendship in the *Encyclopédie* as “nothing other than the practice of maintaining a decent and pleasant commerce with someone,”<sup>33</sup> but his further description reveals a complex relationship with older descriptions of friendship that were being negotiated due to the growing

<sup>33</sup> Denis Diderot and Claude Yvon, “Friendship.”

importance of sociability. As Kenneth Loiselles has pointed out, Yvon's definition of friendship in the *Encyclopédie* was largely plagiarized from the definition given by Claude Buffier in 1726.<sup>34</sup> Both descriptions recognized that friendships formed in a variety of circumstances and played different roles in the lives of individuals:

[Friendship] is diversified by an infinite number of circumstances, which change according to not only the diverse and infinite degrees and characters of friendship or the advances each makes on their own.<sup>35</sup>

Yvon similarly explained that "one owes in friendship in proportion to its degree and character, which means as many different degrees and characters of duties."<sup>36</sup>

A single trait unified the various circumstances and types of friendship: equality.

In both Buffier and Yvon's definitions, friendship required a sense of equality so that friends could feel free to express their thoughts.<sup>37</sup> They both asked: Can a king only be friends with other kings?<sup>38</sup> Far from it, for according to both writers: "friendship either finds or creates equals" (*Amicitia aut pares invenit, aut facit*).<sup>39</sup> While the equality created by friendship proved useful as individuals had new spaces such as salons, academies, and Masonic lodges that allowed men of different social classes to mix, it also served to emphasize the exclusionary nature of friendship as an intimate bond between two individuals or a select group of people. Friendship provided equality on an individual

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<sup>34</sup> Kenneth Loiselles, "'New but True Friends': Freemasonry and the Culture of Male Friendship in Eighteenth-Century France" (PhD dissertation, Yale University, 2007), 66.

<sup>35</sup> "[E]lle se diversifie par une infinité de circonstances, qui changent non seulement selon la diversité infinie des degrés et des caractères d'amitié, ou des avances qu'on y a faites chacun de son côté." Claude Buffier, *Traité de la société civile, et du moyen de se rendre heureux, en contribuant au bonheur des personnes avec qui l'on vit* (Paris: Jean-Luc Nyon, 1726), 171.

<sup>36</sup> Diderot and Yvon, "Friendship."

<sup>37</sup> Claude Buffier, *Traité de la société civile*, 173. Diderot and Yvon, "Friendship."

<sup>38</sup> "Un grand Monarque ne peut-il donc avoir des amis? faut-il que pour en avoir il les cherche en d'autres Monarques, ou qu'il donne à ses autres amis un caractère qui aille de pair avec le pouvoir souverain?" Buffier, *Traité de la société civile*, 172.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.* Yvon uses the same Latin phrase in the entry in the *Encyclopédie*.

basis, not for society as a whole. Furthermore, in these discussions of friendship, the relationship is gendered. For both authors, the emerging public sphere was, in theory, a space for men, which had the effect of reinforcing older conceptions of friendship as a relationship between two males.<sup>40</sup> Buffier and Yvon's reliance on older theories of friendship even while promoting a newer, expanded definition of it exposes a complex relationship between the hierarchical structure of ancien régime France and the rising egalitarianism created by sociability during the period.

The notion of equality has been important for modern interpretations of eighteenth-century friendship. The historian Maurice Aymard has argued that during the period friendship, "whether freely contracted...or sought for mutual interest," allowed the adult man to "assert his independence from the family and from the superficial relations of ordinary social intercourse." Men "attempted to organize, codify and institutionalize [friendship], to make it comfortable and peaceful...to create a setting outside the home where they could be on a footing of equality with others."<sup>41</sup> However, the idea of equality eighteenth-century writers promoted and the proliferation of the word "friend" has also led to questions about its use. Antoine Lilti and Charlotte Guichard, influenced by Pierre

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<sup>40</sup> Despite the idea that sociability and the emerging public sphere was for men only, cultural historians have brought to light the role of women in eighteenth-century sociability. See for example, Margaret C. Jacob, *Living the Enlightenment: Freemasonry and Politics in Eighteenth-Century Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), Goodman, *The Republic of Letters*; Susan Dalton, *Engendering the Republic of Letters: Reconnecting Public and Private Spheres in Eighteenth-Century Europe* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's Press, 2003); Benedetta Craveri, *The Age of Conversation*, trans. Teresa Waugh (New York: New York Review of Books, 2005). Furthermore, as Vincent-Buffault has shown, women writers were particularly interested in the subject of friendship, particularly the possibility for men and women to be friends. See Vincent-Buffault, *L'exercice de l'amitié*, 91. Friendship between men has also been a productive area of study for queer studies, see George E. Haggerty, "Male Love and Friendship in the Eighteenth Century," in *Love, Sex, Intimacy and Friendship Between Men, 1550–1800*, ed. Katherine O'Donnell and Michael O'Rourke (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 70–81; Alan Bray, *The Friend* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003); Jeffery Merrick, "Male Friendship in Prerevolutionary France," *GLQ* 10, no. 3 (2004): 407–432.

<sup>41</sup> Maurice Aymard, "Friends and Neighbors," in *A History of Private Life: Passions of the Renaissance*, ed. Philippe Ariès and Georges Duby (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1989), 490.

Bourdieu's theories of the unconsciously interested gift, have interpreted friendship in the context of Enlightenment salons as a means of masking eighteenth-century patron-artist relationships. Friendship was a means of disguising an interested, unequal relationship as a disinterested, egalitarian one, and furthermore, they argue that the word "friend" was employed consciously and purposefully.<sup>42</sup> This idea was present in Buffier's discussion of friendship; his primary example of the equalizing power of friendship was in the realm of the Arts:

The friend of a Prince shall speak to him on the subject of Arts and Literature, of poetry or eloquence, of painting or sculpture, with the same openness and frankness as if he were his equal; if the Prince does not give him this liberty in these subjects, and if he demands complacent subservience to his own individual tastes and ideas, then by this very servility he shall not be a friend at all; far from exercising friendship, he instead exercises tyranny.<sup>43</sup>

The use of the rhetoric of friendship has a long history; it allowed a decidedly more powerful patron, such as a king, to appear gracious and kind.<sup>44</sup> It also played an important role in promoting the higher status of artists, making artist and patron equals in virtue, thus lessening the disparity in social status between artist and patron.<sup>45</sup> In eighteenth-

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<sup>42</sup> Lilti, *Le monde des salons*, 182–186; Guichard, *Les amateurs d'art*, 72–75.

<sup>43</sup> "L'ami d'un Prince, en matière de beaux Art et de belles Letres [sic], lui parlera, de poésie ou d'éloquence, de peinture ou de sculpture, avec la même ouverture et la même franchise que s'il étoit son égal ; si le Prince ne lui donne pas cette liberté en ces matières là, et qu'il exige un asservissement de complaisance pour ses goûts et ses idées particulières, en cela même il ne sera point son ami ; et loin d'exercer l'amitié [sic], il exercera plutôt une tyrannie [sic]." Ibid., 173.

<sup>44</sup> One of the oldest examples of this tradition is the story of Alexander the Great and the painter Apelles in Pliny the Elder's *Natural History*. Alexander gives his mistress Campaspe to Apelles as a gesture of appreciation and friendship.

<sup>45</sup> For example, this was a strategy used by Giorgio Vasari in his *Lives of the Artists* in describing patron-artist relationships. Emphasizing equality of virtue also helped draw attention away from the economic transaction that the patronage of art entailed. On the rhetoric of friendship in patronage during the Renaissance, see Guy Fitch Lytle, "Friendship and Patronage in Renaissance Europe," in *Patronage, Art and Society in Renaissance Italy*, ed. F.W.Kent and Patricia Simons (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987); 47–62. Jill Burke, "Patronage and the Art of Friendship: Piero del Pugliese's Patronage of Filippino Lippi" in

century France, where artists were increasingly encountering patrons in new spaces of voluntary association that emphasized reciprocity between participants, the appearance of equality took on new valence, not only for artists but also for patrons.

Like Lilti and Guichard, I am interested in the confluence of economic and social capital that was a product of adapting friendship to eighteenth-century sociability. By situating portraiture within the larger social practices of exchange, I argue that artists were aware of the social value of portraiture. They consciously used the exchange and display of portraits as a way of demonstrating their allegiance to individuals in social networks that could have both social and economic benefit for both artists and sitters. The sheer number of extant portraits of artists and the wide variety of portrait formats they chose when depicting each other suggest that the significance of friendship was more complex than a binary opposition of interestedness and disinterestedness. It is the objective of this study to bring out that complexity.

The tensions between hierarchy and equality, and between interest and disinterestedness were very much present in the main institution of artistic sociability, the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture which sought to control artistic production in France over the course of the eighteenth century.<sup>46</sup> Like other royal institutions, the Royal Academy promoted an “internal equality of privilege” not at odds with the hierarchical structure of *ancien régime* society.<sup>47</sup> The Royal Academy’s goal from its foundation in

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*Changing Patrons: Social Identity and the Visual Arts in Renaissance Florence* (College Station: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2004), 85–101.

<sup>46</sup> The Royal Academy’s attempt to control production and the viewing of art is highlighted in the way it worked to shut down other institutions of production and viewing, such as the Académie de Saint Luc and Pahin de la Blancherie’s *Salon de la Correspondance*. See Jules Guiffrey, “Histoire de l’Académie de Saint-Luc,” *Archives de l’art français* 9 (Paris: Champion, 1915); Goodman, *Republic of Letters*, 249–253, Laura Auricchio, “Pahin de la Blancherie’s Commercial Cabinet of Curiosity (1779–87),” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 36, no. 1 (2002): 47–61.

<sup>47</sup> Roche, *France in the Enlightenment*, 282.

1648 was to separate artists from artisans; its members were, in theory, equal in their superiority to those who were not members of the Royal Academy. But the Royal Academy, as an institution of the *ancien régime*, was also structured around a hierarchy that divided its members by age, rank, genre, and media. Not all artists in the Academy were treated equally: students and provisionally-accepted artists, known as *agrées*, had no voting rights in the Academy's assembly. Only history painters were eligible for its highest offices. The few women artists who were admitted into the Academy were never awarded studio space in the Louvre, a privilege enjoyed by many of their male colleagues.<sup>48</sup>

Portraits were one of the primary mechanisms through which the Royal Academy defined itself as an institution, promoted the higher social status of its members, and enforced its internal hierarchy. The series of official portraits, called the *morceaux de réception*, that the Royal Academy required artists seeking entry into the Academy as portraitists to submit helped achieve those goals. The origins of the *morceaux* tradition are found very early in the institution's history, with François Lemaire's portrait of the sculptor Jacques Sarazin of 1657. By the late seventeenth century, the Royal Academy decided that every portraitist seeking membership would be required to submit two portraits of established academicians: one painter and one sculptor.<sup>49</sup> The development of the formal standards for these portraits was intricately intertwined with the very history

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<sup>48</sup> Although women were technically forbidden from entering the Academy in 1706, the rule was poorly enforced. In 1770, the Academy began to accept women officially, but the number was limited to four. See Melissa Hyde, "Women and the Visual Arts in the Age of Marie-Antoinette," in *Anne Vallayer-Coster, Painter to the Court of Marie-Antoinette*, ed. Eik Kahng and Marianne Roland Michel, exh. cat. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 74–93

<sup>49</sup> Williams McAllister Johnson, "Les *morceaux de réception* : protocole et documentation," in *Les peintres du roi*, exh. cat. (Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 2000), 36. Hannah Williams's dissertation has recently updated and corrected many aspects of Johnson's description of this process, in what is the first extended study of the *morceaux de réception* in recent years. Williams, "Portraits of Artists," Chapter 1.



of the institution. By the 1680s, the Royal Academy appears to have settled on a formal type for the portrait; the vast majority of the works represented their sitters with artistic attributes or art works, in formal dress and in an interior setting.<sup>50</sup> In short, as the Royal Academy became firmly established as the official institution of artistic production in France, the portraits of its members became more standardized.<sup>51</sup> Furthermore, the body of works was destined, almost from its conception, to be collected by the Royal Academy as a means of representing its members; the Royal Academy had discussed collecting images of its members as early as 1655.<sup>52</sup>

The *morceau de réception* process served a dual purpose, both as a visualization of the Academic community and as a rite of passage through which members became part of that community.<sup>53</sup> Senior *officiers'* portraits entered into the Royal Academy's collection and were hung on the walls in the Louvre, while the painters who painted these images became full-fledged members of the institution through the act of painting them. A portraitist became an official member of the elite body through the *morceaux de réception*, but the process also acted to reinforce the Royal Academy's hierarchy, as younger portraitists were required to paint older, more established men.<sup>54</sup>

It is important to remember, however, that these official portraits represented the minority of portraits of artists produced at the time. Smaller scale portraits were far more common and far more frequently displayed; only twenty-six of the one hundred ninety portraits of artists displayed at the Salon exhibition of the Royal Academy between 1737

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<sup>50</sup> According to Williams, of the eighty-seven portraits of artists submitted as *morceaux de réception*, eighty-four included tools or works, seventy-one depict the sitter in a "relatively empty interior setting," and eighty show the sitter in formal dress. Williams, "Portraits of Artists," 44–45.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid.

<sup>53</sup> On the *morceaux de réception* as a rite of passage, see Ibid. Chapter 2.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid.

and 1789 were *morceaux de réception* portraits. The portraits that are the focus of this study acted as a foil to official portraits. If the *morceaux de réception* worked to uphold the inner hierarchy of the Royal Academy, the unofficial portraits show us that outside the Royal Academy's walls these distinctions were not necessarily upheld. This project brings to light professional and social relationships that, although they may have had their origins within the academic system, were cemented away from it, in artists' and patrons' homes in Paris, and the cafés and private academies in Rome.

### **Chapter Summary**

In Chapter 2, I address smaller, more informal portraits of artists that were exhibited to a wide audience at the Salon exhibitions of the Royal Academy. Using portraits of artists by Charles-Nicolas Cochin, Maurice Quentin de la Tour, and Adélaïde Labille-Guiard as case studies, I explore how artists working in marginalized genres or media used portraits of their colleagues to legitimize themselves in the art world through an intense involvement with the sociable world of the eighteenth century. I maintain that the creation, exchange, and display by Cochin, La Tour, and Labille-Guiard of portraits of artists were “tactics,” a term I borrow from Michel de Certeau, that allowed them to negotiate the discourse of criticism emerging around the genre of portraiture and, in the case of Labille-Guiard, her gender. I show that portraits functioned not only privately as signs of friendship between artists, but also that the public display of friendship could be used to artists' advantage in the forum of the Salon.

The next two chapters explore the exchange of friendship portraits among artists in Rome. The importance of Rome in eighteenth-century artistic education cannot be

overstated. The cosmopolitanism of the city drew artists from all over Europe who worked and socialized together. They celebrated their international friendships by adopting two unusual portrait formats: group portraits and caricatures. These works were not exhibited publicly; instead, they circulated through private exchange and acted as mementos for the artists depicted. These formats provide a view into the private sociable practices of artists and how they expressed their friendships.

Group portraits of artists, the focus of chapter 3, were exceedingly rare in eighteenth-century France, yet French artists such as François-André Vincent and the architect Pierre Rousseau represented themselves and were represented in group portraits with artists they had met or with whom they had studied in Rome. They appropriated an older typology of portraiture long associated with friendship and travel, the triple portrait, to represent the friendships they formed abroad. Vincent moved the triple portrait into the realm of fantasy by depicting himself and two of his colleagues, Rousseau and the Flemish painter Philippe-Henri Coclers van Wyck, in costume in his *Portrait of Three Men* (1774, Musée du Louvre). By re-contextualizing this often overlooked work within the tradition of the triple portrait and its use by artists in Rome in the eighteenth century, I show how friendship forged through the common bond of artistic practice provided inspiration for an ambitious re-invention of the genre.

Chapter 4 examines a selection of over one hundred caricatures I have identified that were produced in Rome by the French painter François-André Vincent, the French sculptor Jean-Baptiste Stouf, and the Swedish sculptor Johan-Tobias Sergel. Most scholarly discussion of artists' caricatures treat these objects as aberrations in otherwise serious careers, and underplays the number of drawings of this type that the artists

created. The large number of drawings suggests that caricature represented a particular pictorial language that systematically expressed friendships formed in Rome, and was not merely a vehicle for sporadic displays of humor. These works were products of exchanges that emphasized equality and informality. I explore the social conditions that encouraged the use of caricature to represent artists' relationships, with particular attention to the way caricature developed to represent the male homosocial friendships that developed in Rome. By situating these informal drawings within the context of eighteenth-century discussions of laughter, I show how artists used humor to define themselves as a group while avoiding displays of social and artistic hierarchy.

In my final chapter, I return to Paris to address the use of portraits in sociable spaces outside of the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture. I examine the works of art commissioned by Marie-Thérèse Geoffrin, one of the most celebrated *salonnières* of the eighteenth century. Geoffrin held a Monday night gathering for artists and amateurs, the only one of its kind. Her reputation was built, in part, on her "friendship" with the artists who attended her salon. Like the portraits addressed in my previous chapters, Geoffrin's collection was a visual representation of social interactions. But she is notably absent from almost all the works of art linked to her salon, especially those that circulated in a public fashion. I contend that the deliberate absence of Geoffrin from these works is a form of displaced self-representation, which promoted the feminine virtue of modesty that was key to Geoffrin's role as a *salonnière*. By removing herself from her commissioned works of art, Geoffrin laid claim to a presence for herself in the art world and in society as a representative of the arts, but she did so via her collecting and social activities rather than by means of portraiture. Through this displaced representation of her

social presence, she shifted the perception of her from paying patron to friend of the artists, masked social differences between artists and patrons, and elevated artists' social standing.

By considering portraiture as a social practice, this study provides new insight into the role of friendship in the public and private lives of eighteenth-century artists and the effect those friendships had on artistic production. With the onset of the French Revolution, however, friendship and portraiture faced new challenges. The Salon, which was open to all artists, quickly filled up with portraits, many of which celebrated the heroes of the Revolution. The new emphasis on *fraternité* and public association in the early years of the Revolution led to distrust of private friendship networks, which were seen as self-serving remnants of the previous regime and possibly counterrevolutionary. The epilogue addresses the effect of the Revolution on the social practice of portraiture that had been so important to artists during the *ancien régime*.

## Chapter 2 Friendship at the Salon

### Introduction

On November 19, 1763, the German engraver Johann-Georg Wille recorded in his journal a particularly notable visit to the home of Jean-Baptiste Greuze:

I went to see Monsieur Greuze at his home early this morning, following his invitation to have chocolate with Madame Greuze. Afterward, he asked me to sit by his easel and, to my great surprise, he began my portrait; the sketch was done admirably and is worthy of a Rubens or a Van Dyck. I dined at his house, after which he began work again for as long as the light permitted. I am really quite flattered by my old friend's way of proceeding.<sup>1</sup>

Greuze undertook this surprise portrait to thank Wille for having recommended him as a portraitist to a Russian merchant, one M. Bacherach, an opportunity that provided the artist with twenty-five louis d'or, and for Greuze's work to gain international recognition (Figure 2.1).<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> "Je me rendi chez M. Greuze de grand matin, selon l'invitation qu'il m'avoit faite, pour prendre le chocolat avec Mme Greuze. Cela fait, il me pria de m'asseoir auprès de son chevalet là, à ma grande surprise, il commença mon portrait; l'ébauche en fut faite d'un manière admirable et digne d'un Rubens ou d'un Van Dyck. Je dînai chez lui, après quoi il travailla encore autant que le jour le permit. Je suis fort flatté de la façon d'agir de cet ancien ami." Johann George Wille, *Mémoire et journal de J.-G. Wille graveur du roi, pub. d'après les manuscrits autographes de la Bibliothèque impériale*, ed. Georges Duplessis, 2 vols. (Paris: J. Renouard, 1857), 1:238. Wille also mentions the four additional sittings required to complete the portrait (November 21, 29, December 4, 6).

<sup>2</sup> Wille wrote on November 11, 1763: "M. Bacherach a payé M. Greuze de son portrait qu'il lui avoit fait, vingt-cinq louis d'or ; c'étoit le marché que j'avois fait, car c'étoit moi qui avois engagé M. Bacherach de se faire peindre par cet habile artiste ; le portrait n'étoit qu'un buste sans mains, mais parfait dans toute ses parties. M. Greuze étoit animé par raison de faire honneur à ma recommandation et aussi pour qu'on pût vois à Petersbourg le talent supérieur qu'il possède. C'est le second portrait qu'il fait pour ce pays-là." *Ibid.*, 237.

Painted at the age of forty-eight, the German artist is shown at bust length against a dark background. He wears a black coat and a gold-hued vest embroidered with flowers. Wille's head is turned to his left, gazing intently at something. The turn of the head and off-canvas gaze adds informal spontaneity to the portrait; the viewer has the sense of catching the artist in a moment rather than a man posing for a portrait. He is dignified, relaxed, but does not appear idealized, shown with ruddy cheeks and a slight double chin. Lacking any signs of Wille's profession, the portrait focuses on Wille the man, with whom Greuze appears to have been quite close.

Partnered with Wille's journal, the portrait is evidence of a close friendship between two eighteenth-century artists. Wille frequently referred to Greuze as *mon ami* in his journal over the course of the 1750s and 1760s. The two men socialized in and around Paris; they exchanged and bought each other's works and recommended each other for commissions. This friendship appears to have extended to their families; Wille's son was Greuze's first student, and Wille's wife was the godparent of one of Greuze's daughters.<sup>3</sup>

The closeness of Wille's and Greuze's families is one reason that Greuze's surprise worked so well. The invitation to have chocolate with Madame Greuze was not out of the ordinary and therefore no suspicion was raised in the engraver's mind. When Wille retrieved the finished product from Greuze's house he in turn repeated Greuze's surprise by not telling his family about the portrait while it was in production. He brought the painting home on December 10 unannounced:

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<sup>3</sup> See the entries for January 1, 1762 and February 12, 1765. *Ibid.*, 184, 255–256. The relationship between Greuze and Wille ceases to be mentioned after Greuze's failed attempt at acceptance into the Academy as a history painter. Although Wille makes no judgment on *Septemus Severus and Caracalla*, Greuze's poorly received reception piece, he does remark “[c]ela lui causa bien de la peine; mais personne ne pourroit lutter contre le scrutin du corps général.” *Ibid.*, 415.

I went with my servant Joseph to get my portrait that my friend Greuze painted of me in a manner as perfect as it is generous; and as my wife and my whole household had no idea that he had painted me, I made it appear suddenly which had the greatest effect ever. Everyone was obviously surprised and elated. My son Frederic, jumping up and down as he tends to do, cried out: “Ah! That’s my papa! That’s my papa!” and my eldest son, returning that evening from the convent at Chartreux, where he had been copying Leseuer’s paintings, stood by it for an hour. Indeed, my portrait is quite the best thing this great painter has perhaps done thus far.<sup>4</sup>

With his family apparently overjoyed by Greuze’s gift, Wille decided to repay Greuze, even though the portrait was already a thank-you gift. Wille sent a silver platter with a lid to Greuze’s wife to thank the artist the same day that the portrait was brought home.

Wille wrote that Greuze visited him the following day to scold him for the silver platter, explaining that such a repayment was unnecessary, since he made Wille’s portrait “out of pure friendship.”<sup>5</sup>

As Hannah Williams has shown, Greuze’s portrait of Wille fits into ethnography/sociological modes of gift-economies as described by Marcel Mauss in his well-known work, *The Gift*. It was part of a gift economy not only between Wille and Greuze, but also their families. The artists participated in an exchange of gifts (recommendation, portrait, silver platter) that was both disinterested and obligatory, through which their friendship was performed.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> “J’allai avec mon domestique, Joseph, chercher mon portrait que mon ami Greuze m’a fait d’une manière parfaite que généreuse ; et, comme ma femme et toute ma maison ignoroient qu’il m’avoit peint, je le fis paroître tout à coup cela fit le plus grand effet du monde. Tous étoient sensiblement surpris et contents au suprême degré. Mon fils Frederic s’ecria en sautant, selon son usage: ‘Ah! c’est mon papa! c’est mon papa!’ et mon fils aînée, revenant le soir du couvent des Chartreux, où il a dessiné d’après les tableaux de Lesueur, ne le quitta pas pendant une heure. Effectivement, mon portrait est bien la meilleure chose que ce grand peintre a peut-être faite jusqu’à présent.” Ibid., 241–242.

<sup>5</sup> “...il nous vint voir le lendemain pour nous gronder, comme il disoit de la dépense que j’avois faite pour le présent que j’avois donné à madame Greuze ; qu’il se vengeroit ; qu’il m’avoit fait mon portrait de pure amitié qu’il me portoit ; il m’embrassoit en ce moment, et je le remerciai de nouveau, tant pour ce sentiment que pour son ouvrage parfait en tous points et bien flatteur pour moi.” Ibid., 241.

<sup>6</sup> Williams has intriguingly argued that Wille’s quick return of the gift (in the form of the silver platter) was an error in etiquette that played an important role in the decline of Greuze’s and Wille’s friendship.



Greuze's portrait of Wille is not a unique object in eighteenth-century portraiture. It is one example of a social practice in which artists frequently participated. Artists regularly depicted each other and exchanged these portraits. As personal objects exchanged between artists, portraits were tokens of friendship and lasting reminders of their time together. Exchange, as demonstrated by the example of Greuze and Wille, provides an excellent means of interrogating private friendship. Portraits of artists can be, on one level, documents of social interactions. These works help us to reconstruct the social circles in which artists participated. But these social encounters, both friendly and professional, are only one part of the story. Portraits were more than performances of friendship for a limited viewership in context of artists' homes; they also appeared regularly before much larger audiences at the Salon exhibition. Moving fluidly these two very different spaces, portraits of artists open up questions about how these intimate performances of friendship could be used to artists' advantage in the public forum of the Salon.

The portrait of Wille was included among Greuze's submissions to the 1765 Salon exhibition of the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture, where it was shown alongside portraits of Claude-Henri Watelet (Figure 2.2) and a now-lost pastel portrait of Ange-Laurent La Live de Jully. The Salon of 1765 marked a turning point in Greuze's career.<sup>7</sup> Having reached the heights of his career, he was now beginning to lose the

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Undoubtedly, Greuze's reaction to receiving the platter signals that Wille's gesture was a miscalculation on the engraver's part. Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies*, trans. W. D. Halls (New York: W.W. Norton, 2000); Hannah Williams, "Portraits of Artists: A Historical Ethnography of the Académie Royale (1648–1793)" (PhD dissertation, Courtauld Institute of Art, 2010), 195–206. See also Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 4–8.

<sup>7</sup> Anita Brookner, *Greuze: The Rise and Fall of an Eighteenth-Century Phenomenon* (London: Elek, 1972), 63; Thomas E. Crow, *Painters and Public Life in Eighteenth-Century Paris* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 153–155.

financial support of the *Directeur-général*, the Marquis de Marigny, who was no longer supporting Greuze out of his own pocket, and who had turned his attention to the state's financial support of history painting. Around 1765, Greuze was also passed up, for the first time, for a commission; the Duc de La Rochefoucauld rejected his proposal for a family portrait. Watelet and Marigny eventually saw to it that the commission be given to Alexander Roslin. During this same period, the Academy was getting impatient for Greuze's long-overdue *morceaux de réception*. By 1765, Greuze had been an *agrégé* member for ten years. The Academy was threatening to remove Greuze's right to display at the Salon exhibition if he did not complete his *morceau de réception* and become a full member of the Academy.<sup>8</sup> The lack of support was apparent at the Salon; the narrative works for which he had become famous were shown as sketches, projects that were left incomplete due to a lack of patronage. The only finished paintings Greuze displayed at the Salon were portraits and paintings of children.<sup>9</sup>

The portraits Greuze exhibited in 1765 were probably not randomly selected. Watelet and La Live de Jully were well-known patrons and supporters of the artist.<sup>10</sup> Wille's presence was a similar display of extra-academic patronage; the engraver helped Greuze acquire foreign patrons like Bacherach, a form of support not dependent on the needs and desires of the king's art administration. Wille's pictorial presence at the Salon

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<sup>8</sup> Crow, *Painters and Public Life*, 154. See Brookner, *Greuze*, 65.

<sup>9</sup> Along with the portraits of Wille, Watelet, and La Live de Jully, Greuze exhibited portraits of Jean-Jacques Caffieri, Guibert, Mme Tassart, and *Une jeune fille qui pleure la mort de son oiseau*, *L'Enfant Gaté*, *petite fille qui tient un capucin du bois*, and two *têtes de fille* listed as numbers 110–122 in the *livret*. *Collection de Livrets des Anciennes Expositions depuis 1673 jusqu'en 1800*, ed. Jules Guiffrey, 8 vols., vol 4 (Nogent le Roi: Jacques Laget, 1990).

<sup>10</sup> La Live de Jully was a crucial supporter of Greuze early in the artist's career, buying important works and arranging royal commissions for Greuze. According to Colin Bailey, Greuze was La Live de Jully's favorite painter. He owned several works by the artist, including *The Sleeping Boy*, *The Woolcarder*, and *The Laundress*. See Colin B. Bailey, *Patriotic Taste: Collecting Modern Art in Pre-Revolutionary Paris* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 46–47.

may have also been a much-needed display of support from a fellow-Academician. Although Greuze and Wille had been *agr  e* within month of one another in 1755, Greuze’s relationship with the Academy and its notable members (Charles-Nicolas Cochin in particular) became more hostile overtime. Wille, on the other hand, deepened his connection with the Academy during the 1760s, was *re  u* in 1761, and regularly participated in the Academy’s meetings.<sup>11</sup> In the context of the 1765 Salon, the purpose of Greuze’s portrait of Wille shifted from a performance of personal friendship to a public display of professional support.

Wille’s portrait had private value as a sign of the two men’s friendship. It also had use-value in the public context of the Salon. It demonstrates that in interpreting the performance of friendship in the visual arts, we need to attend not only to the subject of portraits that appeared at the Salon but to the social currency of their display as well. This chapter explores the use-value of the social practice of portraiture, focusing on three artists whose   uvres contain a large number of portraits of artists: Charles-Nicolas Cochin, Maurice Quentin de la Tour, and Ad  la  de Labille-Guiard. While portraits had currency in the private lives of these artists, all three also consistently and cleverly used them to display their extra-Academic sociable lives to gain institutional and public recognition. By attending to patterns of exchange as well as to the critical reception of portraits of artists, I argue that the creation and exhibition of portraits of artists by other artists were a primary means of displaying their extra-Academic sociable ties that could be used for professional gain.

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<sup>11</sup> Brookner, *Greuze*, 66. On the divergence of Wille’s and Greuze’s careers, see Williams, “Portraits of Artists,” 204–205.

Cochin and La Tour belonged to a group of artists that Christian Michel has called the “Gobelins Group.”<sup>12</sup> Many of the members of the Gobelins group worked in so-called “minor” media and genres — pastel, engraving, still life, portraiture, and the larger, poorly-defined category of “genre” painting. Although they had a certain level of renown within the art world, they were restricted from attaining the highest offices of the Royal Academy, which were reserved for history painters.<sup>13</sup> With the appointment of Charles-François Le Normand de Tournehem to the position of *Directeur-Général des Bâtiments du Roi* in 1745, an overhaul of the Royal Academy was undertaken to revive history painting.<sup>14</sup> In the midst of this attention to cultivating a new generation of history painters, artists in the minor genres like Cochin and La Tour sought to legitimize themselves not through academic status but through an intense involvement with the sociable world of the eighteenth century.<sup>15</sup> If they could not attain greatness through the Academy’s estimation of artistic value, they could distinguish themselves by cultivating relationships with patrons outside the realm of the Academy’s royal commissions.<sup>16</sup> Later in the century, Labille-Guiard faced an additional set of challenges as a woman artist. She was an outsider to official artistic networks, excluded from academic training, and competed for one of the last of the four available spots for women artists in the Royal

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<sup>12</sup> This group’s central figure was Charles Parrocel and included French and foreign artists, such as John-Martin Preisler, Jean Restout, Jean-Siméon Chardin, Jacques-Philippe Le Bas, Étienne Jaurat, François Boucher, Jean-Baptiste Massé, Michel-Ange Slodtz, and George-Frederick Schmidt. Christian Michel, *Charles-Nicolas Cochin et l’art des lumières* (Rome: École française de Rome, 1993), 48–51.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 51.

<sup>14</sup> The crisis of history painting in the 1730s and 1740s has been well discussed. See Jean Locquin, *La peinture d’histoire en France de 1747 à 1785* (Paris: Arthena, 1978), 1–13; Crow, *Painters and Public Life*.

<sup>15</sup> Michel, *Charles-Nicolas Cochin*, 50.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 51.

Academy.<sup>17</sup> She integrated herself into the Royal Academy by associating herself with important members of the institution, such as François-André Vincent, Joseph-Marie Vien, and Alexander Roslin.

The creation, exchange, and display of portraits of artists by Cochin, La Tour and Labille-Guiard was a tactic that allowed them to negotiate the discourse of criticism emerging around their genre and gender. I use the word tactic in the sense described by Michel de Certeau:

...a calculated action determined by the absence of a proper locus...The space of the tactic is the space of the other. Thus it must play on and with a terrain imposed on it and organized by the law of a foreign power.<sup>18</sup>

In other words, a tactic is a means to explore how the weak act with agency in the face of power by appropriating and reworking the rules imposed upon them by authority. De Certeau used the notion of the tactic as a means to analyze consumer practices and popular culture, the way that “users — commonly assumed to be passive and guided by established rules — operate.”<sup>19</sup> While his theory was established to examine how consumers use goods in everyday life to give them agency within fields of popular cultural production (reading, watching TV, cooking), the concept is useful for examining how portraitists and genre painters used artistic practices to maneuver in and around an Academic system that was working to elevate history painting to the heights it achieved during the reign of Louis XIV and Jean-Baptiste Colbert.

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<sup>17</sup> Labille-Guiard was accepted into the Academy on May 3, 1783. Anatole de Montaiglon, *Procès-Verbaux de l'Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture 1648–1793*, 10 vols. (Paris: Charavay-Frères, 1889), 9:154.

<sup>18</sup> Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Rendall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 37.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, xiv.

To do this, the Royal Academy sought to control and influence the types of art produced by its members and shown at the Salon. The Academy was increasingly hostile to the minor genres, particularly portraiture. In de Certeau's terms, the Academy's effort to promote history painting might be considered a strategy. According to de Certeau, a strategy is

the calculation of power relationships that becomes possible as soon as a subject with will and power can be isolated. It postulates a *place* that can be delimited as its *own* and serves as the base from which relations with an *exteriority* composed of targets or threats can be managed (customers or competitors, enemies, the country surrounding the city, objectives and objects of research).<sup>20</sup>

As the official locus of artistic production in the eighteenth century, the Academy had ways of operating that would fall securely within de Certeau's concept of a strategy. It established the rules artists were supposed to follow; the threat was the minor genres that appeared to be reducing the production of history painting. One of the Academy's strategies involved focusing on the profit that portrait production offered artists. Over the course of the 1740s, portraiture was increasingly linked to greed and vanity. Economic gain was becoming part of the very definition of the genre. Pierre Richelet defined a portraitist in 1723 as "someone who easily earns what he needs in order to bring home the bacon, because there is no lack of flirtatious and well-to-do women who want to have their portrait done."<sup>21</sup> In 1747, Tournehem lowered the price for portrait commissions and

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<sup>20</sup> Ibid., 35–36.

<sup>21</sup> "...qui y gagne de quoi bien faire bouillir son pot, parce qu'il n'y point de bourgeoisie un peu coquette et un peu à son aise qui ne veuille avoir son portrait." Pierre Richelet, "Portrait," in *Dictionnaire de la langue française ancienne et moderne; augmenté de plusieurs additions d'histoire, de grammaire, de critique et de jurisprudence et d'une liste alphabétique des auteurs et des livres citez* (Amsterdam: aux dépens de la Compagnie, 1732), 453. For more on the criticism of the genre of portraiture, see also Jean Locquin, "La lutte des critiques d'art contre les portraitistes au XVIIIe siècle," *Archives de l'art français, nouvelle période* II (1913): 309–320; Michael Müller, "'Sans nom, sans place et sans mérite'? Réflexions sur l'utilisation du

increased the fee for history painting in an effort to encourage artists towards more prestigious but less profitable history painting. Not coincidentally, this move followed the art critic Étienne La Font de Saint Yenne's description of portraiture as "the most lucrative" genre. In his discussion of the Salon of 1746, he listed the increasing number of portraits at the Salon as a reason for the decline of history painting in France.<sup>22</sup>

Although the Academy tried to de-value portraiture, it still needed it. As discussed in Chapter 1, the *morceaux de réception* tradition had become an important tool for the visual definition of the Royal Academy and its history. The types of portraits that could "acceptably" appear at the Salon became limited—at least from the critics' point of view—to representations of so-called "great men," or *grands hommes*: kings, queens, military leaders, and writers. Artists were increasingly included in this category over the course of the century, and the reception portraits proved an excellent means for artists to demonstrate their place in this category by displaying their status and artistic achievements.

Looking through the official exhibition catalogues of the Salon tells us that approximately one hundred ninety portraits of artists graced the walls of the Louvre in August between 1737 and 1789.<sup>23</sup> Twenty-six of these were *morceaux de réception*

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portrait en France au XVIIIe siècle," in *L'art et les normes sociales au XVIIIe siècle*, ed. Thomas W. Gaehtgens, Christian Michel, and Martin Schieder (Paris: Éditions de la Maison des sciences de l'homme, 2001), 383–402.

<sup>22</sup> "Voilà les principales causes du déclin présent de la peinture. Je ne doute point qu'elles n'aient forcés plusieurs élèves, dans les mains desquels le Génie avoit mis les pinceaux, d'abjurer leur talent, et de se livrer, ainsi que nos auteurs en ouvrages d'esprit, aux sujets futiles de la mode et du temps ; ou bien, au genre le plus lucratif dans cet art, et c'est depuis plusieurs années celui du Portrait." Étienne La Font de Saint-Yenne, *Réflexions sur quelques causes de l'état présent de la peinture en France : avec un examen des principaux ouvrages exposés au Louvre le mois d'août 1746* (La Haye: Jean Neaulme, 1747), 20–21.

<sup>23</sup> Portraits of artists also appeared in the Salon exhibition before it became a regular event after 1737. If one includes all the exhibitions from 1699 onward, the total increases to about two hundred eighteen. The number of portraits that appeared in each Salon varied from one to eighteen, with an overall average of six portraits of artists per exhibition. It is difficult to get an accurate count of the number of portraits that

portraits of newly received academicians whose sitters had been assigned by the Royal Academy. Although the number of portraits at the Salon decreased over the course of the century, the number of portraits of artists increased (Table 2.1). Portraits of artists never surpassed the number of other portraits, but they did make up an increasingly large percent of them. In 1737, 22.7 percent of all the paintings at the salon were portraits, with 5.9 percent of these portraits being portraits of artists. By 1789, only 15.9 percent of Salon paintings were portraits, while 22.9 percent of these portraits were portraits of artists. The consistent display of portraits of artists also suggests that the Salon-going public had an interest in seeing images of them.

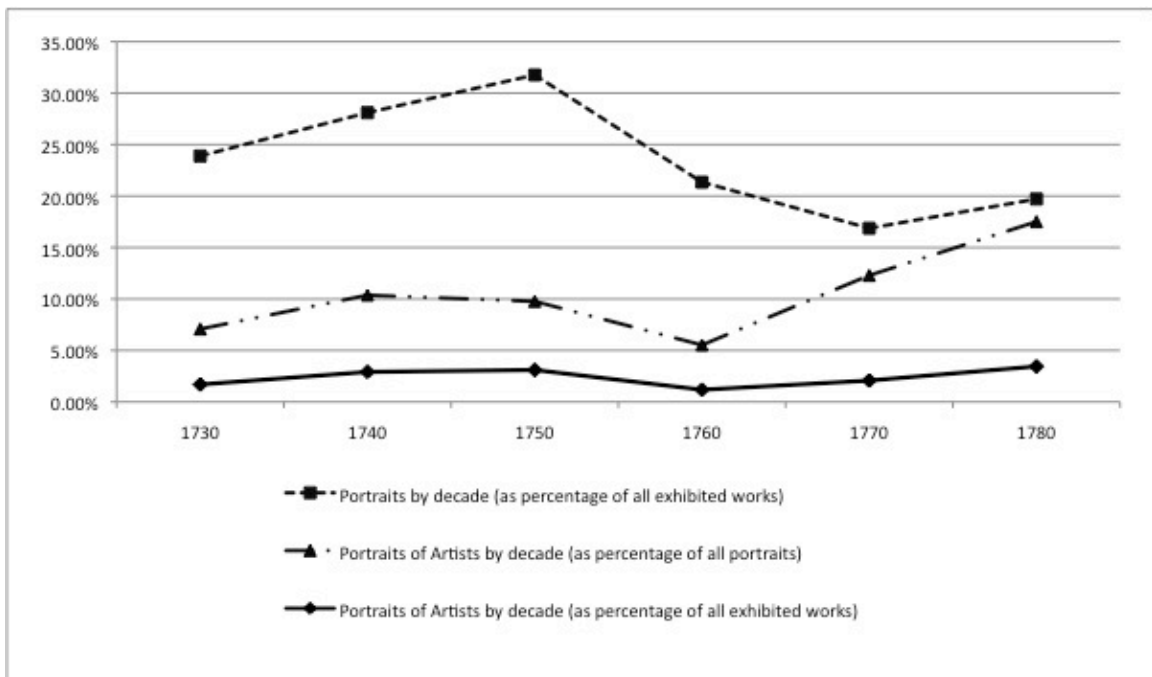


Table 2.1 Portraits of Artists Exhibited at the Salon by Decade, 1737–1789

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appeared due to the grouping together of unnamed portraits under the same number. Sometimes it is possible to identify unnamed sitters in the critics' descriptions.



In the case studies that follow, I show how artists re-oriented the discussion of their works to highlight the social uses of portraiture working around the criticism directed at what they were producing using two tactics. First, they took advantage of the public's desire to see them as sociable people by imitating the Academy's project of collecting images of its members through the *morceaux de réception*. Second, they reframed the discussion of portraits to center on social rather than economic capital.<sup>24</sup> By painting a fellow artist, a painter or sculptor supposedly neglected commissions from wealthy (and therefore paying) customers.<sup>25</sup>

### **Charles-Nicolas Cochin: From salon to Salon**

Charles-Nicolas Cochin exhibited forty-six portrait drawings at the Salon of 1753, described in the Salon *livret* as “small portraits in medallion form.”<sup>26</sup> While neither the official catalogue nor any of the Salon critics gave a precise list of who was represented in these portraits, we know that they included artists. According to M. Huquier le fils the

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<sup>24</sup> Pierre Bourdieu memorably defined social capital as: “The aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition – or in other words, to membership in a group – which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectivity-owned capital, a ‘credential’ which entitles them to credit, in the various senses of the word.” As Bourdieu pointed out, the two forms are not mutually exclusive; in certain instances social capital can be converted to economic capital. Pierre Bourdieu, “The Forms of Capital,” in *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, ed. John G. Richardson (Santa Barbara: Greenwood Press, 1986), 243, 248–249.

<sup>25</sup> Sylvie Martin, “Le portrait d’artiste au XVIIIe siècle et la critique de son temps,” *Histoire de l’art*, no. 5/6 (1989): 71–72.

<sup>26</sup> “Quarante-six petits Portraits en Médaillons dessinés par M. Cochin le fils,” listed under number 179. *Collection de Livrets des Anciennes Expositions depuis 1673 jusqu’en 1800*, vol. 3. Cochin’s portraits are listed in the *addition* to the *livret*. An earlier version of the *livret*, in the Collection Deloynes, mentions only twenty-five portraits, implying Cochin added more portraits to the group than he originally intended to show. *Explication des peintures, sculptures, et autres ouvrages de Messieurs de l’Académie Royale ; Dont l’Exposition a été ordonnée, suivant l’intention de Sa Majesté, par M. de Vandieres, Conseiller du Roy en ses Conseils, Directeur & Ordonnateur General des Bâtimens, Jardins, Arts & Manufactures de S. M. dans le grand Salon du Louvre ; & l’arrangement conduit par les soins du Sieur Portail, de l’Académie Royale de Peinture & de Sculpture, Garde des Plans & Tableaux du Roy. A commencer le jour de S. Louÿs 25. d’Aoust 1753. pour durer jusqu’au 25. Septembre.*, in Collection Deloynes, vol. 5, no. 53, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des estampes et de la photographie, Paris.

drawings represented “the illustrious modern men among whom are with good reason almost all artists whose works we see at the Salon.”<sup>27</sup>

The forty-six drawings represent a small fraction of the number of portraits Cochin produced over the course of his career. A complete inventory of these drawings has yet to be made, but at least one hundred fifty of the portrait drawings were engraved. Among the engravings, fifty-four painters, sculptors and engravers were depicted (Figure 2.3, 2.4).<sup>28</sup> The idea for these portraits appears to have originated in the Monday salons held at the home of Marie-Thérèse Geoffrin in the 1740s.<sup>29</sup> At least forty-three of the pencil portraits remained in Geoffrin’s collection.<sup>30</sup> These most likely represented the

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<sup>27</sup> “[L]es Hommes illustres Modernes parmi lesquels sont avec justice ceux de presque tous les artistes dont on voit des ouvrages au Salon.” [Gabriel] Huquier fils, *Lettre sur l’exposition des tableaux au Louvre avec des notes historiques*, 1753 in Collection Deloynes, vol. 5, no. 60, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des estampes et de la photographie, Paris.

<sup>28</sup> Michel notes “Il est aujourd’hui impossible d’identifier les modèles d’une large partie des portraits non-gravés, sans doute souvent ceux des amis ou de relations de Cochin peu connus.” He limits his list of models, therefore, to those whose drawings were engraved. See Annex 3 in Michel, *Charles-Nicolas Cochin*, 617–626. Charles-Antoine Jombert, in his 1770 catalogue of the works of Cochin, claimed that the engravings could be found “chez Mademoiselle Cellier, demeurant chez M. Cochin, aux galeries du Louvre, chez M. de Saint Aubin...et chez les différents Graveurs qui les ont mis au jour.” It is worth noting that Jombert felt it was necessary to separate the portrait medallions from the rest of Cochin’s work, claiming: “comme cette suite est très considérable, pour la satisfaction des amateurs qui désirent les voir rassemblés sous un même coup d’œil, afin de pouvoir les arranger plus facilement dans l’œuvre de Cochin fils.” Jombert lists only 121 engravings; however, his catalogue is not complete, as Cochin lived and was quite productive after 1770. Charles-Antoine Jombert, *Catalogue de l’œuvre de Ch. Nic. Cochin fils : ecuyer, chevalier de l’Ordre du roy ... secrétaire & historiographe de l’Academie royale de peinture & de sculpture* (Paris: Imprimerie de Prault, 1770), 122–131.

<sup>29</sup> According to Claude Catroux: “Cochin les a dessinés pour lui plaire, ainsi que ses autres familiers et certaines des hôtes de marque étrangers, qui n’ont pas manqué, lors de leur passage à Paris, de la venir saluer. De petits médaillons encadrent ces délicates productions. Ils sont là, en buste, de profil et si vivants qu’elle a l’illusion de leur présence. C’est Caylus, son ‘grand croquant,’ David Hume, son ‘gros drôle,’ Boucher, Chardin, Guay, le graveur en pierres fines, Vien qu’elle aime plus qu’aucun et qui le lui rend de surcroît, Pierre, M. de Marigny, Mariette, M. de La Live. Voici Clerk, qui entre, s’attarde, ne sait plus s’en aller, l’importune, qui lui plait tout de même ; M. de Croismare, haut dignitaire ‘du sublime ordre des Lanturlus,’ dont Mme de La Ferté-Imbault est ‘l’extravagante majesté’ ; d’Argenson, de Sartine, le comte de Baudouin, le baron d’Holbach, Montesquieu, d’autres encore, enfin toutes les têtes, parmi les meilleures, qui se groupaient ‘autour d’un des meilleurs entendements qui se soient rencontrés.’” R. Claude Catroux, “Hubert Robert et Mme Geoffrin,” *Revue de l’art ancien et moderne* 40, no. 227 (1921): 40. The role of these portraits in the context of Geoffrin’s salon is addressed in Chapter 5.

<sup>30</sup> Forty-three portraits were sold in 1921, see Jules Féral, *Catalogue de huit tableaux par Hubert Robert, quarante-trois dessins par Cochin, portraits du XVIIIe siècle, provenant du salon de madame Geoffrin, et appartenant au comte de La Bédoyère dont la vente aura lieu à Paris, Galerie Georges Petit, le mercredi 8 juin 1921* (Paris: Galerie Georges Petit, 1921). In the 2011 exhibition “Madame Geoffrin une femme

illustrious artists and amateurs who attended her Monday salon, which was dedicated to the discussion of the visual arts, and her Wednesday salon dedicated to literary discussion.

The small size and conventional profile format made these portraits easy to produce fairly quickly, both in the drawn format and in engravings made from them. Each sitter is represented in a short bust-length profile drawing about ten centimeters in diameter. In the engravings made after them, the portraits were made to mimic miniatures: the engravers added frames and bows, giving the illusion that the miniature portraits hang on a marble wall.

We have no direct record of where exactly in Geoffrin's home they were displayed, but one imagines they would have been shown together, at least in small groups.<sup>31</sup> The 2011 exhibition *Madame Geoffrin : une femme d'affaires et d'esprit*, gave an idea of the overall effect of such a display.<sup>32</sup> In the exhibition, a group of seven of Cochin's medallion portraits were displayed together in a single case in separate but identical frames (Figure 5.17). Even in a group of seven, the small works take on a greater sense of grandeur when seen as an ensemble; seeing a larger number of these small objects, systematically displayed and organized in Geoffrin's salon, would have

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d'affaires et d'esprit" a group of eight portraits was displayed from an undisclosed private collection; none of these were listed in the 1921 sale catalogue. If the displayed medallions were from the descendant's collection, it suggests that not all the portraits were auctioned in 1921. In this case, Geoffrin would have owned at least fifty-one.

<sup>31</sup> In the background of Hubert Robert's painting of Madame Geoffrin in her home, one sees small portraits hanging on the wall, but it is impossible to determine who these images represent, and if they are by Cochin. See Figures 5.31 and 5.32 of this dissertation.

<sup>32</sup> The exhibition included portraits from a private collection of Geoffrin's daughter, Marie-Thérèse Geoffrin (Madame de La Ferté-Imbault), the philosopher baron d'Holbach, M. de Pilli, a *valet de chambre* of Louis XV, the author Bernard Le Bouyer de Fontenelle, the painter Joseph Vernet, the scientist Jean-Jacques d'Ortous de Mairan, the architect Julien-David Leroy, George-Martin Guérin, a former surgeon in the king's army, and an anonymous portrait. See the catalogue *Maison de Chateaubriand, Madame Geoffrin une femme d'affaires et d'esprit*, exh. cat. (Milan: Silvana, 2011), 156–157. The Louvre has two Cochin drawings that also came from Geoffrin's collection, one of Jean-Siméon Chardin, illustrated here, and one of Ange-Laurent La Live de Jully.

been quite striking. The effect would have mimicked a *galerie de grands hommes*, a common practice of collecting portraits of illustrious individuals from France and throughout Europe, but on a miniature scale.<sup>33</sup>

In the context of Geoffrin's salon, all the *grands hommes* were men with whom Geoffrin had personal contact in her home. These works had value for Geoffrin in the context of her salon as representations of the illustrious members of her circle. Cochin appropriated the production of these portraits, begun in Geoffrin's salon, for his own professional gain.<sup>34</sup> By exhibiting similar portraits in the context of the public Salon exhibition, he displayed his extra-Academic sociability. Furthermore, Cochin later expanded this project from one that represented personal contact to a systematic representation of the great men of Cochin's time, including those with whom he did not have personal contact. Indeed, Cochin seems to have been aware of the profitable nature of such a project; according to Christian Michel engravings were done primarily of individuals who were of greater interest to the public so that Cochin could profit from their sale.<sup>35</sup> As a form of tactical portraiture, Cochin's medallions provided space to

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<sup>33</sup> The collection of portraits of famous individuals displayed in one gallery has a long history. One of the most celebrated examples of a *galerie de grands hommes* in France was the portrait collection of Cardinal Richelieu at the Palais Cardinal (now Palais Royale) which was subsequently donated to the Sorbonne. See Sylvain Laveissière, "Le conseil et le courage : la galerie des Hommes illustres au Palais-Cardinal, un autoportrait de Richelieu," in *Richelieu : l'art et le pouvoir*, ed. Hilliard Todd Goldfarb, exh. cat. (Montreal: Snoeck, 2002), 64–71; Friedrich Polleross, "La galerie de portraits entre architecture et littérature essai de typologie," in *Les grandes galeries européennes XVIIe–XIXe siècles*, ed. Claire Sonstans and Mathieu da Vinha (Paris: Maison des sciences de l'homme, 2010), 67–90. The collection of engraved portraits of illustrious individuals was also a common practice in the eighteenth century. See Marcia R. Pointon, *Hanging the Head: Portraiture and Social Formation in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 53–78; David Bell, *The Cult of the Nation in France: Inventing Nationalism, 1680–1800* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003), 113.

<sup>34</sup> The belief that this project originated in Geoffrin's salon and then was expanded is based on a description by Hugues-Adrien Joly, the curator of the king's drawings. "Madame Geoffrin donne chez elle un dîne des Arts, et tandis que les uns sont à la conversation, Le S. Cochin se recrée à dessiner ou ses confrères ou des amateurs, en sorte que son intention de les faire graver tous pour en faire une suite de portraits." Quoted in Charlotte Guichard, *Les amateurs d'art à Paris au XVIIIe siècle* (Seysssel: Champ-Vallon, 2008), 220.

<sup>35</sup> Michel, *Charles-Nicolas Cochin*, 617.

maneuver within the academic binary of greatness versus profit. Creating portraits of great men was both good for the nation and lucrative for the artist.

Importantly, the initial series of drawn portraits appears to have had value in a third arena: the Royal Academy. Cochin's plans for these portraits extended beyond the private confines of Geoffrin's home and their public viewing at the Salon. We learn from a letter written by Cochin to the genre painter Jean-Baptiste Descamps that Cochin had another destination in mind for the portraits of artists in Geoffrin's collection; they were supposed to have been left to Cochin in Geoffrin's last will and testament:

I have retrieved your portrait from Madame de la Ferté-Imbault, daughter of Madame Geoffrin. I believe that I told you about the plan I had of bartering with her for the return of the portraits of our artists. Madame Geoffrin had promised to leave them to me in her last will and testament, but she forgot or did not manage to do it. Whatever the matter, I've gotten yours back. Perhaps you would like me to send it to you, but how do we settle this with my desire to give all these portraits to the Academy.<sup>36</sup>

Cochin's letter gives us a sense of the personal nature of these objects. That Geoffrin had allegedly promised to leave them to the artist suggests these works were not commissioned, bought, and paid for by Geoffrin; the gesture of return situates the portrait drawings in a larger eighteenth-century tradition in which it was customary to return evidence of personal relationships that had been exchanged between two parties—letters, portraits, gifts—at the end of the friendship or amorous affair, whether the end resulted

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<sup>36</sup> “J’ai retiré votre portrait de chez Mme de la Ferté-Imbault, fille de Mme Geoffrin. Je crois que je vous avais communiqué le projet que j’avais de lui proposer des trocs pour ravoire ces portraits de nos artistes. Mme Geoffrin m’avait promis de me les laisser par son testament, mais elle l’a oublié ou on le lui a fait obtenir. Quoi qu’il en soit, j’ai retiré le vôtre. Vous auriez peut-être envie que je vous le renvoyasse, mais comment arranger cela avec le désir que j’ai de donner tous ces portraits à l’Académie.” Cochin to Descamps, March 9, 1778. Quoted in Michel, *Charles-Nicholas Cochin*, 121. According to Michel, forty-three of Cochin's médaillon portraits were in Geoffrin's collection, including the portraits of Boucher, Chardin, Pierre, Vien and Guay, who attended Geoffrin's Monday salon for artists.

from a rupture or death.<sup>37</sup> Geoffrin followed this rule in her own life; she returned letters from the king of Poland after a rupture between them, explaining to him “I could have burned [the letters], but I didn’t have the strength: it seemed to me less cruel to put them back in the hands that wrote me these sacred letters.”<sup>38</sup> Geoffrin’s similar promise to return Cochin’s portraits suggests that these works of art were treated much like other eighteenth-century “documents” of intimate relationships.

Geoffrin’s prolonged illness at the end of her life caused this promise to be left unfulfilled.<sup>39</sup> Cochin was left to find another means to get them back: bartering (*des trocs*), although with what or in what manner we do not know. Cochin’s letter to Descamps points to a different and in this case conflicting destination for the works. Cochin claims that Descamps wanted his own portrait back, but Cochin informed him that he hoped to give the original drawings to the Academy.<sup>40</sup> The portraits’ roles shift from gifts offered to a patron responsible for a major site of extra-academic and unofficial socializing to demonstrations of the artists’ places in the official institution of artistic production of the period.

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<sup>37</sup> The idea that Geoffrin’s relationship with artists went beyond that of traditional artist/patron relationships is often discussed in the scholarly literature on her salon. I discuss this aspect of her patronage at length in Chapter 5.

<sup>38</sup> “J’aurais pu brûler [les lettres], mais je n’en ai pas eu la force: il m’est moins cruel de les remettre entre les mains qui m’ont tracé ces sacrés caractères.” Mme Geoffrin to the king of Poland, 1768. Published in Stanislas-Auguste Poniatowski and [Marie-Thérèse] Geoffrin, *Correspondance inédite du roi Stanislas-Auguste Poniatowski et de Madame Geoffrin (1764–1777)*, ed. Charles de Mouÿ (Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1970), 347. Geoffrin and Stanislas had close relationship that seems to have been broken during her visit to see him in Poland, perhaps because she was meddling in court affairs. Maurice Hamon, *Madame Geoffrin femme d’influence, femme d’affaires au temps des Lumières* (Paris: Fayard, 2010), 442–488.

<sup>39</sup> Geoffrin suffered an attack of erysipelas August 28, 1776 that left her paralyzed for the final year of her life.

<sup>40</sup> This donation, however, seems to have never been made, as there is no record of Cochin’s drawings in the Academy’s inventory, nor do we find a significant body of Cochin’s medallion portraits in the collection of the École nationale supérieure des beaux-arts, or the Louvre where the majority of the Royal Academy’s collection are held today.

In one sense, Cochin's gesture was not out of the ordinary. Artists often donated portraits to the Academy, and the Academy depended on such donations in order to increase its collection. Over the course of the eighteenth century, members of the Academy donated twenty-six portraits.<sup>41</sup> Sometimes the portraits were representations of long-dead artists that had been collected by members of the Academy. In other cases, the portraits were donated in memory of the artists who painted them. Roslin offered a portrait of Jacques Dumont le Romain by his wife, Marie-Susanne Roslin (née Giroust) to the Academy after her death in 1772. Jean-Baptiste II Lemoyne donated his portrait of Charles Parrocel to the Academy in 1752. Lemoyne had given this portrait to Parrocel. Parrocel, in return, left the portrait to Lemoyne in his will after his death in 1752.<sup>42</sup> Chardin donated his portrait by Maurice Quentin de La Tour in 1775.<sup>43</sup>

The donated portraits supplemented the official pictorial record created by the Academy's *morceaux de réception* portraits. By the mid-eighteenth century, the artists chosen by the Academy to be depicted were always *officiers* and, more specifically, *adjoints à professeur* or higher.<sup>44</sup> Since artists who were not history painters could only achieve the rank of *conseiller* (the level below the *adjoint*), the practice of the *morceaux de réception* excluded portraitists, genre, and still-life painters from being represented in the institutional portrait gallery.

The assignment and collection of the reception portraits was an institutional strategy to create a visual history of the Academy. By the mid-eighteenth century, it was

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<sup>41</sup> André Fontaine noted that these types of gifts were the driving force behind the growth of the Academy's collection. Over the course the eighteenth century, fewer artists were accepted to the Academy—and therefore there were fewer reception pieces—but donations grew. See André Fontaine, *Les Collections de l'Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture*, 2 vols. (Paris: H. Laurens, 1910), 1:55–85.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 70. In the same séance, Dandré-Bardon offered his portrait by Alexandre Roslin (Salon of 1756).

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>44</sup> Williams, "Portraits of Artists," Appendix 4.

also a tool with which to promote its history painters at a time when the institution was seeking to rejuvenate the practice of history painting. Those left out of the visual history of the Academy created by the *morceaux de réception* thus sought other means to be included in it. Cochin created portraits of thirty-two *officiers*, more than half of whom were not eligible to be chosen as subjects for the reception portraits because they were below the level of *adjoints à professeur*. Of the fifty-four artists drawn by Cochin and subsequently engraved by him or amateurs, only fourteen had been the subject of a *morceau de réception* portrait. Cochin's desire to donate portraits of artists to the Academy can thus be read as a Certeauian tactic to "correct" the absence of non-history painters in the institution's visual record.<sup>45</sup>

The donated portraits also run counter to the *morceaux de réception* portraits in the types of relationships they display. The subject of the reception portraits were in most cases assigned by the *officiers* of the Academy. The process put the artist and sitter in relation to one another in a way that displayed the internal hierarchy of the Royal Academy. By being required to paint older, more established history painters, younger portraitists displayed their lower rank vis-à-vis the artist they represented.<sup>46</sup> Cochin's portraits, in contrast, bore witness to how artists socialized outside of the institution, namely in Geoffrin's salon, where these hierarchies may have been downplayed.

Like Greuze's portrait of Wille, Cochin's elaborate portrait project was a means of representing extra-academic association. A third notable example of representation and subsequent exchange is found in the last will and testament of Maurice Quentin de La

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<sup>45</sup>As an engraver, Cochin was himself never the subject of a reception portrait, despite his relatively high position in the Royal Academy as *secrétaire perpétuel* of the Royal Academy, a position he attained in 1755. See Michel, *Charles-Nicolas Cochin*, 81–91.

<sup>46</sup>Williams, "Portraits of Artists," 66–105.



Tour. At his death in 1788, La Tour bequeathed to an astounding number of artists “*leurs portraits et miniatures*” (their portraits and miniatures).<sup>47</sup> The vague description makes it difficult to determine who the authors of these portraits were. Were they portraits by La Tour? Were they self-portraits or perhaps even by a third party? That the list includes people who were not artists suggests that they are images *of* people rather than works *by* them. Even without the knowledge of the authors of these works, the list is a remarkable record of the most important artists of the period (Vien, Pigalle), several members of the Gobelins group (Cochin, Wille), up-and-coming artists of the 1780s (Vincent, David, Berthélemy) and two women artists, “Mme Guiart” (Adélaïde Labille-Guiard) and “Mme Lebrun” (Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun).<sup>48</sup>

La Tour’s collection of portraits of artists matched his own production of them. His known output of portraits of artists and members of their families — thirty-four are identified in Albert Besnard’s catalogue raisonné — is the largest of any eighteenth-

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<sup>47</sup> “[À] Messieurs et dames : Houdon ; Casanova ; Berthélemy, Callet, Ducreux ; Rigaud ; Bailly ; Faujas de Saint-Fond ; Soulavie ; Baral ; Mongoldier ; Charles et Robert , frères ; l’abbé Regley ; Monjoie, peintre ; Cochin ; Pierre, premier peintre ; Vien ; Demours, sa femme et son fils ; Vincent ; Boizot ; Nelson ; Brérion, au Louvre ; Gois ; Brenet ; Bachelier ; Tardieu ; Lépicier ; Pajou ; Belle ; Monot, architecte ; Doyen ; Bridan ; Pasquier ; Greuze ; Mme Guiart ; Mme Lebrun ; David ; M. Piscatory ; Voiriot ; Wille ; Lagrenée ; Lagrenée le jeune, Renou, ½ part ; Guérin ; Robert ; Pigalle et son épouse ; Sorbier ; Fayol ; Boulanger ; Mouchy ; Durameau ; Roslin ; Duplessis ; Loir ; Beaufort ; Rouillé de l’Étang ; Marigny ; leurs portraits et miniatures.” La Tour’s testament is published in Albert Besnard, *La Tour: la vie et l’œuvre de l’artiste* (Paris: Les Beaux-arts, 1928), 117. La Tour also left portraits to Mme Clairon and Forbonnais. There are no records of portraits of any of these individuals by La Tour, although it is possible that extant portraits by La Tour with unidentified sitters could be some of these individuals.

<sup>48</sup> The appearance of two women artists in this list is noteworthy. The number of portraits of male artists outnumbers those of women artists, in part because women were by far in the minority in official realm of artistic production. But, even with this discrepancy taken into account, we find far more portraits of male artists by women artists than portraits of women artists by men. While Vigée-Lebrun, Labille-Guiard, and other women artists regularly represent their male colleagues, the favor was rarely returned. On Vigée-Lebrun, see Louise Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun, *Souvenirs*. 2 vols. (Saint-Didier: L’Escalier, 2010); Mary Sheriff, *The Exceptional Woman: Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun and the Cultural Politics of Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996). On Labille-Guiard, see Anne-Marie Passez, *Adélaïde Labille-Guiard : 1749–1803, biographie et catalogue raisonné de son œuvre* (Paris: Arts et métiers graphiques, 1973); Melissa Hyde, “Under the Sign of Minerva: Adélaïde Labille-Guiard’s Portrait of Madame Adélaïde,” in *Women, Art and the Politics of Identity in Eighteenth-Century Europe*, ed. Melissa Hyde and Jennifer Milam (Burlington: Ashgate, 2003), 139–163; Laura Auricchio, *Adélaïde Labille-Guiard: Artist in the Age of Revolution* (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2009).

century French painter, rivaled only by that of his friend and contemporary, Jean-Baptiste II Lemoyne.<sup>49</sup> Like Greuze's portrait of Wille and Cochin's medallion portraits, these works had a place in viewing contexts outside the home. Many of La Tour's portraits of artists made appearances at the Salon exhibition, in which he participated regularly from 1737 until 1773. Throughout his career, the artist displayed portraits of his fellow artists and their families alongside representations of other celebrated figures such as Madame de Pompadour, Louis XV, and Jean-Jacques Rousseau.<sup>50</sup>

At the Salon, La Tour's works were well-received, not only for the artist's skillful mastering of the medium of pastel, but also for the men and women represented in them. While we lack the behind-the-scenes commentary about the production and circulation of these works found in the examples of Wille and Cochin, a close examination of the critical commentary on La Tour's portraits of artists reveals much about public perceptions of artistic sociability and how the Salon viewer's reaction to the sociability of artists could work in an artist's favor.

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<sup>49</sup> For Lemoyne's œuvre, see Louis Réau, *Une dynastie de sculpteurs au XVIIIe siècle : Les Lemoyne* (Paris: Édition d'études et des documents, 1927). La Tour's portraits include: Françoise Boucher's wife, Jean Restout, a portrait of Madame Restout, his teacher Claude Dupouch, Dumont le Romain, René Frémin, Charles Parrocel, Jean-Baptiste II Lemoyne, the architect Ange-Jacques Gabriel, Joseph Charles Garnier d'Ilse, Louis de Silvestre, Jean-Simeon Chardin, Laurent Cars, Hubert-François Bourguignon, called Gravelot, Charles-Étienne Briseux, Étienne Jeaurat, Jean-Marc Nattier, Hyacinthe Rigaud, and Joseph Vernet. Several of these artists had their portraits painted by La Tour more than once. He also depicted well-known amateurs: the Abbé le Blanc, Madame le Comte, Louis Petit de Bachaumont, and Claude-Henri Watelet. A large number of La Tour's portraits of artists are found today in the Musée Antoine Lécuyer in La Tour's native town of Saint Quentin in Haute Picardie. La Tour's brother, who inherited much of La Tour's collection and contents of the artist's studio, offered most of the artist's work to his hometown of St. Quentin.

<sup>50</sup> He exhibited portraits of Françoise Boucher's wife (1737), Jean Restout (1738 and 1747) a portrait of Madame Restout (1738), his teacher Claude Dupouch (1739), Dumont le Romain (1742 and 1748), René Frémin (1743), Charles Parrocel (1743), Jean-Baptiste II Lemoyne (1747 and 1763), the architect Ange-Jacques Gabriel (1747), Joseph Charles Garnier d'Ilse (1751), Louis de Silvestre (1753), Marguerite le Comte (1753), Jean-Simeon Chardin (1761), Laurent Cars (1769) and Hubert-François Bourguignon, called Gravelot (1769). See La Tour's catalogue raisonnée in Besnard, *La Tour*.

## Maurice Quentin de La Tour: Using Your Famous Friends

In 1747, La Tour exhibited a portrait of the sculptor Jean-Baptiste II Lemoyne (Figure 2.5). It is a closely cropped bust-length portrait. Lemoyne is shown bewigged, in an elegant coat, sitting on an upholstered chair. The portrait differs greatly from the portraits of artists La Tour had previously sent to the exhibition, such as those of Jean Restout (Figure 2.6), Claude Dupouch (Figure 2.7), and René Frémin (Figure 2.8), which were substantially larger, half-length portraits that referenced their sitters' careers. Devoid of any reference to his métier, even his hands, it is a portrait of Lemoyne the man, not Lemoyne the famous sculptor. The simplicity of this portrait is perhaps one reason why the work did not receive any critical commentary until the following year, when Louis-Guillaume Baillet de St. Julien, in his discussion of Lemoyne's reciprocal portrait of La Tour (Figure 2.9), noted:

By [this portrait of] M. La Tour, M. Le Moine wanted to pay back the debt of his pastel portrait, exhibited at the preceding Salon and received with applause by all the Public. How M. Le Moine has paid it in full and oh how few in the world have such good credit!<sup>51</sup>

La Tour's portrait of Lemoyne was appreciated by the public in 1747, but it appears not to have been worth mentioning in published criticism until it was recognized as part of a reciprocal exchange. La Tour's only other portrait of a fellow artist with such a simple

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<sup>51</sup> "Par celui de M. la Tour, M. le Moine a voulu acquitter la dette de son portrait au pastel, exposé par celui-ci au Sallon (sic) précédent et reçu avec applaudissement de tout le Public. Que M. le Moine l'a bien acquittée et qu'il est peu dans le monde d'aussi bon payeurs!" Baron Louis-Guillaume Baillet de Saint-Julien, *Réflexions sur quelques circonstances présentes contenant deux lettres sur l'exposition des tableaux au Louvre cette année 1748, à M. le comte de R\*\*\*, et une lettre à Voltaire au sujet de sa tragédie de 'Sémiramis'*, in Collection Deloynes, vol. 3, no. 38, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des estampes et de la photographie, Paris.

format from the 1740s, his 1743 portrait of Charles Parrocel (Figure 2.10), was similarly exhibited without comment, not even mentioned by name in the Salon *livret*.<sup>52</sup>

The exchange between La Tour and Lemoyne was between two unequal academicians: the pastellist had recently been accepted into the Royal Academy, the sculptor had been a member for ten years. Although Salon viewers were accustomed to seeing portraits of established artists by newly accepted ones as *morceaux de réception* portraits, it was highly unusual for the established artist to return the favor. The unusual inequality of the exchange may indicate a close and voluntary relationship between the two artists.<sup>53</sup> This argument is further supported by the fact that the exchange was repeated at the Salon of 1763 where Lemoyne displayed a portrait of La Tour, possibly the same one, and La Tour exhibited a new portrait of Lemoyne (Figure 2.11).<sup>54</sup>

Baillet de Saint-Julien described the portrait and its display in terms of commerce between two men (“*M. le Moine a voulu acquitter la dette de son portrait*”). The *Encyclopédie* defined commerce as “that reciprocal dependency of men, by way of the variety of commodities they may provide, extending to actual needs or those one believes one has.”<sup>55</sup> While commerce is largely associated today with systems of market exchange, in the eighteenth century any form of exchange was considered a form of commerce, including social exchanges such as letter writing, conversation, and

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<sup>52</sup> As Besnard notes, the display of Parrocel’s portrait was mentioned in a handwritten note in the *livret* in the Collection Deloynes. Besnard, *La Tour*, 35.

<sup>53</sup> A further analysis of the significance of the inequality of this exchange is found in Williams, “Portraits of Artists,” 174–177.

<sup>54</sup> Xavier Salmon has suggested that Lemoyne may have submitted the same portrait of La Tour twice. Xavier Salmon, *Le voleur d’âmes : Maurice Quentin de la Tour*, exh. cat. (Versailles: Artlys, 2004), 60.

<sup>55</sup> “Cette dépendance réciproque des hommes, par la variété des denrées qu’ils peuvent se fournir, s’étend sur des besoins réels ou sur des besoins d’opinion.” “Commerce,” in *Encyclopédie, ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers, etc.*, ed. Denis Diderot and Jean le Rond d’Alembert. University of Chicago: ARTFL Encyclopédie Project, ed. by Robert Morrissey, (Spring 2011 Edition), <http://encyclopedia.uchicago.edu/>. Accessed July 27, 2010.

friendships. Dena Goodman has demonstrated, for example, the serious nature of correspondence in the eighteenth century, when the agreement to correspond implied reciprocal responsibilities.<sup>56</sup> Letter writing necessitated replies in order for a relationship to be maintained.

Social commerce was key to eighteenth-century understandings of sociable practice. As the definition of *société* shifted in the eighteenth century from the notion of pleasurable company to that of a large-scale, basic unit of human organization, *sociabilité* became the abstract philosophical idea that tried to explain mankind's desire to participate in *société*.<sup>57</sup> The adjective *sociable* underwent a similar shift, from a personal quality that described someone who was polite and pleasant company to, as Daniel Gordon put it, "an anthropological fact, an element of national character, and an individual psychological trait."<sup>58</sup>

The separation of sociable commerce from economic commerce rested largely on the principle of disinterestedness. A belief in equal exchange was crucial to sociable practice. One's ability to reciprocate signaled an individual's civility. The Marquis de Mirabeau, one of the pioneers of liberal economics, for example, insisted on a difference between *cupidité* (greed) and *sociabilité*. As noted by Gordon,

[b]y employing commerce to denote the entire field of sociable relations, [Mirabeau] made commerce synonymous with *société*. In this way he suggested that economic production and trade were not acquisitive activities but civilized activities based on the rational quest for happiness within a field of human interdependence.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> Dena Goodman, *The Republic of Letters: A Cultural History of the French Enlightenment* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994), 141.

<sup>57</sup> Daniel Gordon, *Citizens without Sovereignty: Equality and Sociability in French Thought, 1670–1789* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 52.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, 72.

The allusion to a transaction is clear in Louis-Guillaume Baillet de St. Julien's comment: La Tour's pastel portrait created a debt that Lemoyne felt obliged to pay. But between two artists such a debt could only be paid in the form of another portrait, not with currency as in a typical transaction with a patron. The author also emphasized that the reciprocal public display of the portraits was part of the payment of the debt. The reciprocity of the transaction made it an equal exchange, a form of sociable commerce, rather than an economic exchange. The reciprocity of the exchange and the equality it implied thus placed these portraits in stark contrast to the *morceaux de réception* which represented the patronage system of homage from a person of lower to a person of higher rank.

It is particularly striking that a discussion of a portrait exchange in these terms would happen in 1748, when criticism of portraiture as the most profitable genre was coming to the forefront. La Tour's portraits of artists do not appear to have been commissioned; considering the high prices he charged, it is unlikely they were. Increasingly in demand as a portraitist over the course of the 1750s, he became notorious for charging outrageous sums for his portraits, primarily because he could afford to do so. His normal fee was twelve hundred *livres*, but in some cases he charged as much as five thousand *livres*. In most cases, wealthy individuals were willing to pay high prices to be depicted by an artist known for his paintings of the royal family and nobility, because it was a display of personal wealth to be able to pay these prices.<sup>60</sup>

La Tour's tactic of displaying portraits that emphasized sociable and disinterested

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<sup>60</sup> Rena Hoisington, "Maurice Quentin de La Tour and the Triumph of Pastel Painting in Eighteenth-Century France" (PhD dissertation, New York University, 2006), 182.

commerce over economic gain appears to have resulted in an important shift in the critical discourse surrounding his work. As his fame as a portraitist increased, his portraits were frequently discussed with reference to friendship, further removing the exchange between artist and sitter from interested (economic) commerce and placing it in the realm of sociable and friendly (and thus disinterested) commerce. The increasing role of friendship in La Tour's professional persona was most strikingly suggested by Denis Diderot. In his discussion of the Salon of 1767, the critic recounted the story of Jean-Baptiste Perronneau's portrait of La Tour shown in 1750 (Figure 2.12). According to Diderot and subsequent scholars, La Tour, jealous of Perronneau's rising star, displayed a self-portrait at the Salon to show up the younger artist's portrait of La Tour. Although the tale may be apocryphal (there is no record that La Tour displayed a self-portrait at the 1750 Salon) the critic implied that La Tour did not have to treat his inferiors with the same respect that Lemoyne had paid him in 1748.<sup>61</sup> At first glance, it appears to be a story of rivalry. Diderot cast La Tour's "retaliation" as a fit of insecurity and jealousy, decidedly unfriendly characteristics:

Singular man, but good man, gallant man. La Tour would not do that today. Ah! Friend La Tour, was it not enough that Perronneau said to you, you are the strongest? Couldn't you be happy unless the public said that, too? Well, you should have waited a moment, and your vanity would have been satisfied and you wouldn't have humiliated your colleague.<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> Hoisington pointed out the discrepancy between Diderot's description of La Tour's self-portrait and the actual work exhibited at the Salon. *Ibid.*, 208–209.

<sup>62</sup> "Homme singulier, mais bon homme, mais galant homme, La Tour ne ferait pas cela aujourd'hui...Eh! Ami La Tour, n'était pas assez que Perronneau te dît, tu es le plus fort? Ne pouvais-tu être content, à moins que le public ne le dît aussi? Eh bien, il fallait attendre un moment, et ta vanité aurait été satisfaite et tu n'aurais point humilié ton confrère." Denis Diderot, "Salon of 1767," in *Salons III : Ruines et paysages. Salons de 1767*, ed. Else Marie Bukdahl et. al (Paris: Hermann, 1995), 241–242.

Ultimately, the critic's point seems to have been that the artist became a *better* friend as his career advanced; the La Tour of the late '60s "would not do that today." He had become a better man, a better *friend* than the La Tour of 1750.<sup>63</sup> Diderot's story, even if invented, speaks volumes about La Tour's sociable public persona that was promoted over the course of his Salon career. It is worth noting that Diderot used the informal "tu" in his commentary. This would not be the only time La Tour was addressed this way by critics. In 1769, the author of *Sentimens sur les tableaux exposés au salon* wrote to La Tour directly—the only artist addressed in the second person in his pamphlet—stating: "tu es ami de tes modèles."<sup>64</sup> The use of the informal "tu" suggested a more intimate relationship between sitter and artist than mere acquaintance. La Tour's intimacy appeared to have extended not only to his fellow artists but to the general public as well.

During the period when La Tour was sending his largest number of portraits of artists to the Salon exhibition, the promotion of a sociable side of portraiture was also present in theoretical discourses on portraiture. In his *discours* on portraiture read at the assembly of the Royal Academy in 1750, Louis Tocqué made the following recommendation to young artists:

Be gentle, read, speak little, listen a lot, seek out friendship with those who combine the great customs of society with the purity of morals. Acquire from them the noble tone so necessary to be admitted into good company. Only good company can put us in a position to express—nobly, vividly, and delicately—the passions of the soul so difficult to render adequately in painting.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> Hoisington also points out what appears to be Diderot's interest in La Tour's human qualities in this passage, probably due to the close personal relationship Diderot had with the artist. See Hoisington, "Maurice Quentin de La Tour," 209; 336–352.

<sup>64</sup> Daude de Jossan, *Sentimens sur les tableaux exposés au Salon*, in Collection Deloynes, vol. 9, no. 122, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des estampes et de la photographie, Paris.

<sup>65</sup> "Soyez doux, liants parlez peu, écoutez beaucoup, recherchez l'amitié de ceux qui joignent le grand usage du monde à la pureté de mœurs. Acquérez avec eux ce ton noble si nécessaire pour être admis dans la bonne compagnie. La bonne compagnie seule peut nous mettre en état d'exprimer vivement, noblement et



For Tocqué, friendship was a way for artists to be socialized. It taught them the proper behavior that allowed them to enter into “good” company. Sociability was a means for the betterment of an artist’s work, to learn how to “to express the passions of the soul.”

While Tocqué extolled the effect of sociability on art, Donat Nonnotte saw other benefits to artists from being surrounded by *bonne compagnie*: profit and social elevation. In “Les avantages du portrait et la manière de le traiter,” a *discours* on portraiture that he gave at the Academy of Fine Arts in Lyon in 1760, the portraitist recognized the role of sociability in the career of Pierre Mignard, one of the most celebrated portraitists during the reign of Louis XIV:

I will go further and say that it is only because of his portraits that M. Mignard, first painter to the King, received such elevation. He painted them superbly, and it was for him a sure way to earn a living and to make friends.<sup>66</sup>

Nonnotte argued that Mignard’s portraits were alone responsible for his promotion to the highest position an artist could achieve, that of *premier peintre*. Portraiture was a way of earning a living and of making friends, and these two aspects were intricately linked when the “friends” in question were the same individuals providing the artist with his living. In fusing friendship, profit, and social elevation together in the passage, Nonnote relied on an older rhetoric of friendship in the context of patronage. A patron and an artist could be “friends” on the basis of an equality of virtue, even if they were not equals in

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avec délicatesse les passions de l’âme si difficiles à bien rendre en peinture.” Louis Tocqué, *Le discours de Tocqué sur le genre du portrait*, ed. Arnauld Doria (Paris: J. Schemit, 1930), 18.

<sup>66</sup> “Je vais encore plus loin, et je dis, que ce n’est qu’a ses portraits que M. Mignard premier peintre du Roy fut redevable de son élévation. Il les traitoit superieurement, et c’est etoit pour lui un moien sûr de gagne de bien et des se faire des amis.” Donat Nonnette, *6e discours de M. Nonnotte les avantages du portrait et la manière de le traiter*, Ms 193, folio 59–69, Académie des sciences, belles-lettres, et arts de Lyon.

social status. Casting patronage in terms of friendship allowed the patron to seem generous and helped to elevate the artist's social position. Here, Nonnotte adapted this older rhetoric to eighteenth-century sociability by tying portraiture to the social commerce of friendship. Equal exchange, not virtue, was the basis for friendship between two individuals of differing social and economic positions. The social exchange inherent to friendship as it was defined by sociability was used to de-emphasize the economic exchange of portraiture. In both Nonnotte and Tocqué's descriptions, sociability, not profit, was both an impetus for and product of portraiture.

Nonnotte's *discours* addressed at length how the most famous history painters—Titian, Rubens, Van Dyck, among others—produced a number of important portraits of important people. This list emphasized that portraiture had an important role to play in history, and promoted the usefulness of the genre. Friendship remained intricately linked to fame. In his explanation of the history of portraiture, friendship is listed as one of the primary motivating factors in the production of portraits:

From its beginnings this art excited a universal enthusiasm. Gradually achieving its perfection, one employs it to represent all that can touch the heart and please the mind. Friendship, respect, recognition erected monuments to the memory of parents, friends, great men. The sublime talent of making lively and spiritual likenesses generated astonishing feats. The great princes, philosophers, heads of families, virtuous men, beauty and the graces, became models whose images we believed we needed to leave for posterity.<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>67</sup> "Cet art de sa naissance excita un empressement universelle. Parvenu peu à peu à sa perfection, on l'emploi a représenter tout ce qui pouvoit toucher le cœur et plaire à l'esprit. L'amitié, le respect, la reconnaissance élèvent des monuments à la mémoire des parens, des amis, des grands hommes. Le sublime talent de faire des ressemblances vives et spirituelle, fit eclore des prodiges qui étonnèrent. Les grands Princes, les Philosophes, les chefs de familles, les hommes vertueux, la Beauté et les Graces, devinrent des modeles, dont on crut devoir laisser des image a la postérité." Ibid.

The trio of “friendship, respect, and recognition” was a driving force behind portrait practice. This description of the potential uses of portraiture resonated with the types of portraiture that were considered acceptable at the Salon exhibition, as summed up by La Font de Saint-Yenne’s discussion of portraits in the Salon of 1753:

[T]here are several Portraits that the public always views with pleasure and they should always be offered for viewing. They are of good Kings, virtuous Queens, and all our kind and generous Rulers.<sup>68</sup>

These portraits contrasted with images of unknown and unimportant people: “the mass of obscure men, without name, without talent, without reputation, even without physiognomy.”<sup>69</sup>

While La Font de Saint Yenne’s preference for certain portraits over others was tied to the increasing emphasis on the Salon as a place of edification for the public, he frequently ascribed the importance of these portraits’ to having “interest” for the public. The public’s desire to see representations of these people went beyond learning from the sitters’ deeds. It was also part of the creation of the modern celebrity. The eighteenth-century French writer Nicolas Chamfort defined celebrity as “the privilege of being known by people who don’t know you.” Celebrity became a new form of social recognition, different from glory or fame. As the status of an individual began to depend more on achievements than on birth, the types of people who began to achieve celebrity

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<sup>68</sup> “...il est plusieurs Portraits que le public voit toujours avec plaisir, et qu’il convient même d’offrir à ses yeux. Tels sont ceux des bons Rois, des Reines vertueuses, et de tous nos Souverains humains et bienfaisans.” Étienne La Font de Saint-Yenne, *Sentiments sur quelques ouvrages de peinture, sculpture et gravure, écrits à un particulier en province*, in Collection Deloynes, vol. 6, no. 69, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des estampes et de la photographie, Paris.

<sup>69</sup> “[C]ette foule d’hommes obscurs, sans nom, sans talents, sans réputation, même sans phisionomie [sic].” Ibid. La Font de Saint Yenne used the same words when he similarly lambasted portraiture at the Salon of 1747: “...des êtres obscurs sans caractère, sans nom, sans places, et sans mérite.” La Font de Saint-Yenne, *Réflexions*, 22.

multiplied. In France, the appearance of the word *célébrité* in writings reached a peak between the 1760s and 1780s.<sup>70</sup> To be *célèbre* was to be famous, and this word, as well as its synonyms—*fameux* and *illustre*—was sprinkled liberally throughout the salon criticism that discussed portraits.<sup>71</sup>

Many scholars attribute the rise of the celebrity to the important social and cultural shifts brought about by the growth of publishing, the rise of literacy, and the development of newspapers.<sup>72</sup> These were new forums for the dissemination of portraits, both written and visual, and provided ways for the public to learn about people of note, and even to possess images of them. The proliferation of imagery of famous or notorious individuals resulted in the increasing importance of these individuals in the public consciousness and it was also a driving force behind it.<sup>73</sup> To the dissemination of written accounts of the actions of celebrities and their printed portraits must be added the display of their portraits at public exhibitions. As art historian Gill Perry has discussed in her study of actresses in eighteenth-century England, the display of a portrait commissioned from a famous artist and shown to the public in the Royal Academy exhibitions in London was an important means of self-construction and self-presentation, both for the

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<sup>70</sup> Antoine Lilti, “The Writing of Paranoia: Jean-Jacques Rousseau and the Paradoxes of Celebrity,” *Representations* 103, no. Summer (2008): 55. Lilti examines the rise of the modern celebrity in the eighteenth century, focusing specifically on the public persona of Jean-Jacques Rousseau. Much scholarly interest in Rousseau as celebrity has come from the *philosophe*’s particularly dramatic reaction to it: his purported psychic break described in his own *Dialogues de Rousseau jugé par Jean-Jacques* of 1772. The personal and psychological effects of celebrity aside, Rousseau’s awareness that readers thought they knew him, despite never having met him, is an important sign of the changing concept of celebrity.

<sup>71</sup> By the 1780s, the *Dictionnaire de l’Académie française* had added an important set of distinctions to the definition of *célèbre* in order to delineate it from its synonyms famousness (*fameux*) or illustrious (*illustre*): “Il dit moins qu’*illustre*, et il est plus noble que *fameux*.” “Célèbre,” Jean-François Féraud, *Dictionnaire critique de la langue française (1787–88)* in *Dictionnaires d’autrefois*, University of Chicago: The Project for American and French Research on the Treasury of the French Language (ARTFL), <http://artfl-project.uchicago.edu/>. Accessed July 13, 2010.

<sup>72</sup> Lilti, “The Writing of Paranoia,” 55.

<sup>73</sup> Chris Rojek has referred to this process as “celebrification.” See Chris Rojek, *Celebrity* (London: Reaktion, 2001), 181–199. See also Joseph Roach, *It* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2007), 17–21.

sitter and the artist. A successful portrait could act as an advertisement for the artist's services and for the actress's talents.<sup>74</sup> The Salon exhibition in Paris served a similar purpose for artists as subjects and makers.

Artists, both as creators of and sitters for portraits, were increasingly included in the changing category of celebrity.<sup>75</sup> La Font included in his list of acceptable portrait subjects "our excellent authors whose morals, genius, vast and useful knowledge illuminate their country either in the sciences, literature or the Fine Arts."<sup>76</sup> Salon critics identified artists in portraits, even when they were not identified in the Salon *livret*, as with portraits displayed "under the same number," suggesting that these men were identifiable and that their identity was worth sharing with the larger public.

La Tour's career shows us how an artist during the period could profit from this new form of renown. He was the first artist accepted into the Royal Academy who worked exclusively in the medium of pastel. Undoubtedly, he took advantage of the popularity and legitimacy of the practice created by the visit of the Italian painter Rosalba Carriera to Paris in 1720-1721.<sup>77</sup> La Tour rode the vogue for having one's portrait painted in pastel that Carriera created, and paired the fashionable new medium with famous faces. He launched his career with a portrait of Voltaire painted in the spring of 1735.<sup>78</sup> It was not exhibited publicly but the engraving (Figure 2.13) and dissemination of the

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<sup>74</sup> Gill Perry, *Spectacular Flirtations: Viewing the Actress in British Art and Theatre 1768–1820* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008). See especially Chapter 2, "Spectacular Appearances: Exhibiting the Actress and 'Divine Excess.'"

<sup>75</sup> For an overview of the change in status of the artist in Europe see Vivien Greene, "Un espace d'expérimentation: le portrait d'artiste," in *Portraits publics, portraits privés, 1770–1830*, ed. Sébastien Allard, et al., exh. cat. (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 2006), 180–203.

<sup>76</sup> "Nos excellens auteurs, dont les mœurs, le genie, les vastes et utiles connoissances illustrent leur patrie soit dans les sciences, le Belle-letters, ou les Beaux arts." La Font de Saint-Yenne, *Sentiments sur quelques ouvrages de peinture, sculpture et gravure, écrits à un particulier en province*.

<sup>77</sup> Christine Debrie and Xavier Salmon, *Maurice Quentin de la Tour : Prince des Pastellistes* (Paris: Somogy Éditions, 2000), 44.

<sup>78</sup> Hoisington, "Maurice Quentin de La Tour," 56–57.

portrait created a demand for the artist's services. Over the course of his career, La Tour earned recognition by attaching his name to names that were already well known to the public, displaying portraits of other artists as well as of prominent or up-and-coming intellectuals and musicians. He met many of these individuals by attending salons, such as those of Alexandre-Jean-Joseph Le Riche de la Pouplinière and Madame Geoffrin.<sup>79</sup>

At the Salon, La Tour inscribed himself into intellectual and cultural networks by showing their portraits, and used the celebrity of his sitters to become a celebrity himself. At the height of his career, La Tour exhibited eighteen pastels at the Salon of 1753, the largest number of works the artist had ever shown at one Salon.<sup>80</sup> This group included the director of the Royal Academy, Louis de Silvestre; three *associés-libres* of the Royal Academy: the Marquise de Voyer, Claude-Henri Watelet, and the Marquis de Montalembert; two members of the Académie française: the dramatist Pierre-Claude Nivelle de la Chaussée and the author Charles Pinot Duclos; three members of the Royal Academy of Sciences: the Abbé Nolet, the Marquis de la Condamine, and Jean le Rond d'Alembert. Portraits of the writer Louis Petit de Bachaumont, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, and the Italian singer Manelli were also shown.<sup>81</sup> Unlike the descriptions published for

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<sup>79</sup> La Tour's participation in salon circles in order to attract clientele has been well addressed by Hoisington. See *ibid.*, 183–189.

<sup>80</sup> On May 27, 1751, La Tour achieved the rank of *conseiller* in the Royal Academy, the highest office a portraitist could attain. He also received lodgings at the Louvre, an annual pension of 1,000 *livres*, and he benefitted from commissions from the royal family. Besnard, *La Tour*, 52.

<sup>81</sup> Entries 74–91 in the catalogue, *Collection de Livrets des Anciennes Expositions depuis 1673 jusqu'en 1800*, vol. 4. As scholars have noted, the appearance of Manelli alongside that of Rousseau and d'Alembert was La Tour inserting himself into and perhaps even declaring allegiances in the *Querelle des Bouffons*, a fight over the merits of Italian and French music. Manelli was a performer with the group called the Bouffons that spurred the debate. Rousseau was staunchly pro-Italian. D'Alembert's allegiance is harder to gauge. While the majority of the *encyclopédistes* promoted Italian music, d'Alembert never made any claims to being on one side or the other, although historians have often debated the subject. See Robert M. Isherwood, "The Conciliatory Partisan of Musical Liberty: Jean Le Rond d'Alembert, 1717–1783," in *French Musical Thought, 1600–1800*, ed. Georgia Cowart (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 1989), 95–120. On La Tour and this debate see Debrie and Salmon, *Maurice Quentin de la Tour: Prince des Pastellistes*, 189; Hoisington, "Maurice Quentin de La Tour," 192–196.

previous salons, the *livret* of 1753 identified every one of La Tour's sitters and also listed their titles and professional affiliations.

The numerous commentaries on this notable group of portraits focused on the value they had for posterity. The Comte de Caylus claimed: "[La Tour] prefers the consolation of making portraits of illustrious men over those of wealthy people."<sup>82</sup> The claim is an exaggerated one; as noted earlier, La Tour had a clientele of unrenowned people whom he was more than happy to paint for profit, and not prestige.<sup>83</sup> The impressive number of portraits of celebrities that La Tour exhibited at the Salon of 1753 successfully distracted the critics from this aspect of the artist's practice. The critics discussed these portraits as if the subjects had been chosen by La Tour himself and were not commissioned—in other words unpaid—works. The Abbé Leblanc, for example, claimed that La Tour had painted the portraits displayed in the 1753 Salon purely for his own "pleasure."<sup>84</sup>

The appearance of two members of the new generation of *philosophes*, Jean le Rond d'Alembert (Figure 2.14) and Jean-Jacques Rousseau (Figure 2.15) among numerous well-established individuals suggests that La Tour's use of the new category of celebrity was not one-sided. Both d'Alembert and Rousseau were on the cusp of fame. Already a member of the Royal Academy of Sciences, d'Alembert would be elected to the Académie française the following year, in 1754, in no small part due to the *Discours*

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<sup>82</sup> "...il préfère la consolation de faire le portrait des homme illustres, à l'avantage de faire celui des gens opulens." *Mercur de France*, (October 1753), 162. Also quoted in Hoisington, "Maurice Quentin de La Tour," 198.

<sup>83</sup> As Hoisington notes, the artist displayed plenty of portraits of wealthy patrons at the Salon. Hoisington, "Maurice Quentin de La Tour," 198.

<sup>84</sup> "un plaisir de peindre ceux comme lui ont sçu se rendre célèbres dans les Arts ou dans les Sciences." Abbé Jean-Benard Leblanc, *Observations sur les ouvrages de MM. de l'Académie de peinture et de sculpture, exposés au Salon du Louvre en l'année 1753 et sur quelques écrits qui ont rapport à la peinture, à M. le président de B\*\**, in Collection Deloynes, vol. 5, no. 63, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des estampes et de la photographie, Paris.

*Préliminaire des Éditeurs* of the *Encyclopédie*, published in 1751. The third volume of the *Encyclopédie* would be published in October, only a few months after the Salon. The publication of this volume was an important renewal of the project after a forced hiatus of eighteenth months.<sup>85</sup> The display of his portrait at the Salon would have been welcome publicity. Rousseau had attracted public attention for his *Discours sur les sciences et les arts* in 1750. The *Discourse on Inequality*, published in 1755, would appear shortly after the Salon of 1753, but he would not reach the height of his fame until 1761 with the publication of *Julie, ou la nouvelle Heloïse*.

It is clear that La Tour's involvement in private salons where he could encounter and mingle with famous clients was a ploy to fashion himself as the artist of the *philosophes*.<sup>86</sup> It is likely, however, that young *philosophes* like d'Alembert and Rousseau were equally enthusiastic to have an artist who could promote their importance in the public venue of the Salon. Jacques La Combe, like other critics, claimed, that La Tour's portraits possessed significance because of the importance of the sitters. But he also acknowledged that the fact that La Tour's choice to represent these men was equally important:

This celebrated artist exhibited at the Salon several of these masterpieces of Art which we cannot stop admiring. He seems to have wanted to give double value to his works; the curious ... will seek [the portraits] out one

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<sup>85</sup> In February of 1752, the first two volumes of the *Encyclopédie* were suppressed by royal decree, after several articles were denounced as heretical. See "General Chronology of the *Encyclopédie*," in University of Chicago: ARTFL *Encyclopédie* Project, ed. by Robert Morrissey (Spring 2011 Edition), <http://encyclopedie.uchicago.edu/>. Accessed April 3, 2012.

<sup>86</sup> On this point, see Hoisington, "Maurice Quentin de La Tour," 183–201; Thomas Gaehtgens, "Du Parnasse au Panthéon : la représentation des *hommes illustres* et des *grands hommes* dans la France du XVIIIe siècle," in *Le culte des grands hommes, 1750–1850*, ed. Thomas Gaehtgens and Gregor Wedekind (Paris: Maison des sciences de l'homme, 2009), 145–150.



day, because they are by M. La Tour and because they represent the Illustrious Men of our century.<sup>87</sup>

D'Alembert and Rousseau, having just published works that established their places in the Republic of Letters, had an opportunity to present their faces to the public through La Tour's talents. Lacombe's and other critics' description of the young *philosophes* as "illustrious men" validated and endorsed their work.<sup>88</sup>

Friendship was central to this display of mutual self-promotion. Verses by the playwright Jean-François Marmontel were written on the portrait of Rousseau which firmly fixed the portrait's creation in friendship: "At these features traced by zeal and friendship/ Stop, wise men; move on, fashionable people." Salon critics did not fail to notice this inscription.<sup>89</sup> The idea the Rousseau's features had been "traced by friendship" was not entirely an exaggeration. La Tour intended this portrait to be a gift when he painted it. Writing about the events of 1759 in *Les Confessions*, Rousseau described his portrait by La Tour thusly:

Sometime after my return to Mont-Louis, La Tour, the painter, came to see me and brought my portrait in pastel, which had been exhibited at the Salon a few years before. He wanted to give me the portrait, but I did not accept it. But Madame d'Épinay, who had given me her portrait and wanted to have La Tour's portrait of me, requested that I ask him for it

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<sup>87</sup> "Cet Artiste célèbre a exposé au *Salon* plusieurs de ces Chefs-d'œuvres de l'Art qu'on ne peut se lasser d'admirer. Il semble avoir voulu donner un double prix à ses Ouvrages ; les curieux les rechercheront un jour, parce qu'ils sont de M. de la Tour et parce qu'ils représentent des Hommes Illustres de notre siècle." Jacques Lacombe, *Le Salon, en vers et en prose ou jugement des ouvrages exposées au Louvre en 1753*, in Collection Deloynes, vol. 5, no. 58, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des estampes et de la photographie, Paris.

<sup>88</sup> I thank Dena Goodman for this insight.

<sup>89</sup> "A ces traits par le zèle et l'amitié tracés,/Sages arrêtez-vous; gens du monde passe." This was mentioned by Lacombe as well as in the *Correspondance littéraire* in September of 1753. See Lacombe, *Le Salon*; Melchior Grimm and Denis Diderot, *Correspondance littéraire*, ed. Jacques-Henri Meister, 15 vols. (Paris: Furne, 1829) 6:61. The verses were not added to subsequent copies of Rousseau's portrait. The *Correspondance* also noted the verse written under d'Alembert's portrait "A ce front riant, dirait-on/ Que c'est-là Tacite ou Netwon." It is important to note that, in 1753, Rousseau was still on good terms with d'Alembert, Marmontel.

again. He took sometime to retouch it. In the interval came my break with madame d'Épinay. I gave her portrait back; with no reason to give her mine, I put it in my room at the petit château.<sup>90</sup>

Eventually, Rousseau gave the portrait to the Maréchal du Luxembourg. La Tour, in turn, created a second portrait of Rousseau, which Rousseau also tried to refuse at first, but finally accepted.<sup>91</sup> He wrote to La Tour in 1764 on the subject of this new work:

Yes, sir, I accept my second portrait. You know that I gave the first one a purpose as honorable to you as to me. Monsieur le Maréchal de Luxembourg deigned to accept it: Madame la Maréchale deigned to keep it. This monument of your friendship, your generosity, your rare talents, occupies a place worthy of the hand from whence it came... it shall remain before me each day of my life; it speaks ceaselessly to my heart. It will be passed down in my family, and what flatters me the most about that is that it will allow our friendship to be remembered forever.<sup>92</sup>

Beyond the Salon, the portrait took on an important role: it was offered to Rousseau's patron, most likely as a gesture of appreciation. In Rousseau's description of these events to La Tour, he insisted that giving the portrait to the Maréchal was just as much an honor for La Tour as it was for Rousseau. By extending the gift to the Maréchal, Rousseau

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<sup>90</sup> "Quelque temps après mon retour à Mont-Louis, La Tour, le peintre, vint m'y voir, et m'apporta mon portrait en pastel, qu'il avait exposé au salon, il y avait quelques années. Il avait voulu me donner ce portrait, que je n'avais pas accepté. Mais madame d'Épinay, qui m'avait donné le sien et qui voulait avoir celui-là, m'avait engagé à le lui redemander. Il avait pris du temps pour le retoucher. Dans cet intervalle vint ma rupture avec madame d'Épinay ; je lui rendis son portrait ; et n'étant plus question de lui donner le mien, je le mis dans ma chambre au petit château." Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Les Confessions de J.J. Rousseau* (Paris: Charpentier, 1869), 523.

<sup>91</sup> His hesitation to accept the portrait is found in a letter dated January 9, 1763 to Toussaint-Pierre Lenieps. See Besnard, *La Tour*, 63.

<sup>92</sup> "Oui Monsieur, j'accepte encore mon second portrait. Vous savez que j'ai fait du premier un usage aussi honorable à vous qu'à moi, et bien précieux à mon cour. Monsieur le Maréchal de Luxembourg daigna l'accepter : Madame la Maréchal daigné le recueillir. Ce monument de votre amitié, de votre générosité, de vos rares talents, occupe une place digne de la main dont il est sorti...il sera sous mes yeux chaque jour de ma vie ; il parlera sans cesse à mon cœur ; il sera transmis à ma famille, et ce qui me flatte le plus dans cette idée est qu'on s'y souviendra toujours de notre amitié." Rousseau to La Tour, October 14, 1764, quoted in *ibid.*, 68–69.

played forward La Tour's initial gift of showing his portrait at the Salon, which presented Rousseau's face to the public, and placed him among the *grands hommes*, free of charge.

### **Celebrity Undressed**

Critics were impressed by the ambitious number of La Tour's portraits at the Salon of 1753 and the cultural importance of the men and women depicted. They noted, however, a distinct shift in La Tour's style:

We count in this Salon up to eighteen portraits by M. de la Tour. Among this great number, there is only that of M. Bachaumont which is done in the taste that you have already seen from this artist. All the other portraits are in a new manner. The colors are less blended, and one should not look at them up close. Despite this criticism, we cannot help but recognize in the pastels of this master a freshness that erases all that is done in oil.<sup>93</sup>

Within this stylistic shift, critics also noted that not all of La Tour's sitters were painted the same way. His portraits of artists differed from his portraits of military men, aristocrats, and the royal family. The Abbé Le Blanc observed the following:

Those of the Marquis de Voyer and M Silvestre are no less perfect each in their own way. As the latter is a portrait of a painter, we could say that M. de la Tour has made it for painters, and in effect those who know best the difficulties of art are those who will admire it the most. In this portrait there are imperceptible passages of light in the shadows, and shadows in the light, which give it all the relief and fullness of nature.<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>93</sup> "On compte dans le Sallon [sic] jusqu'à dix-huit portraits de M. de la Tour. Parmi ce grand nombre, il n'y a que celui de M. Bachaumont qui soit fait dans le goût de ce que vous avez déjà vû de cet Artiste. Tous les autres portraits sont d'une nouvelle manière. Les couleurs y sont moins fonduës, et on ne doit pas les regarder de près. Malgré ce reproche, on ne peut se défendre de reconnoître dans le pastel de ce Maître une fraîcheur qui efface tout ce qui est à l'huile." Pierre Estève, *Lettre à un ami sur l'exposition des tableaux, faite dans le grand Sallon au Louvre le 25 août 1753*, in Collection Deloynes, vol. 5, no. 56, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des estampes et de la photographie, Paris.

<sup>94</sup> "Ceux de M. le Marquis de Voyer et de M. Silvestre ne sont pas moins parfaits chacun dans son genre. Comme ce dernier est un Portrait de Peintre, on pourroit dire que M. de La Tour l'a fait pour les Peintres, et qu'en effet ce sont ceux qui connoissent le mieux les difficultés de l'Art qui l'admireront le plus. Il y a dans

In this discussion of La Tour's style, Le Blanc intriguingly suggests that there was a distinction between works created for painters from those directed at the general public.

The stylistic shift perceived in La Tour's 1753 submissions was described as a looser use of pastels, less dependent on the blending of pigment (*moins fonduës*).<sup>95</sup> This style emphasized strong individual strokes of pastels so that "one should not look at them up close." It also emphasized the physical traces of the artist's own hand. The tactility of the medium of a pastel was seen as one of its defining traits. Claude-Henri Watelet, in his poem *L'Art de peindre*, emphasized the tactile nature of pastel: "Without [the] brush, the finger alone places and starts each shade."<sup>96</sup> After placing and blending large areas of color, often with the use of fingers, small details — contours, reflections of light, embroidered lace — are formed by leaving heavy lines of unblended color on top of smooth areas, producing a layered surface.

The expressive display of *touche* was loaded with meaning in the eighteenth century, as many art historians have noted.<sup>97</sup> According to Watelet, the artist's touch was a tool for both representation and expression. It was used to make the image as well as to display how the artist "felt" at the moment of its creation. Over the course of the eighteenth century, *touche* was increasingly seen as a mark of the artist's individuality.

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cette tête des passages imperceptibles, des clairs dans les ombres, et des ombres dans les clairs, qui lui donnent tout le relief et toute la rondeur de la nature." Leblanc, *Observations sur les ouvrages*.

<sup>95</sup> For a full analysis of critical discussions of La Tour's multiple styles, see Hoisington, "Maurice Quentin de La Tour," 145–170.

<sup>96</sup> "Sans pinceau, le doigt seul place & fond chaque teinte." Claude-Henri Watelet, *L'Art du peindre : poème avec des réflexions sur les différentes parties de la peinture* (Amsterdam: Aux dépens de la Compagnie, 1761), 58.

<sup>97</sup> See especially Mary Sheriff, *Fragonard: Art and Eroticism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 140–141; Melissa Hyde, "The 'Makeup' of the Marquise: Boucher's Portrait of Pompadour at her Toilette," *The Art Bulletin* 82, no. 3 (2000): 453–475; Ewa Lajer-Burcharth, "Pompadour's Touch: Difference in Representation," *Representations* 73, no. Winter (2001): 54–88; Mary Sheriff, *Moved by Love: Inspired Artists and Deviant Women in Eighteenth-Century France* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 136–137.

Amateurs' and theorists' interest in touch was the product of the recognition of the connection between paint — or in this case, pastel — and the artist.

The looser style La Tour developed in the 1750s and 1760s not only brought his viewers closer to the sitter but also to the artist who created the portraits. Joseph Roach has described what he calls the rise of a “publicly intimate genre of personal effigy-making” as an important part of the development of the modern concept of celebrity. He notes the production and distribution of personal images, begun in the seventeenth-century, underwent a continuous, growing expansion over the course of the eighteenth century, and soon became part and parcel of celebrity culture. It provided everyone, not just heads of state or men of the Church, with the opportunity to publicize themselves by making their faces public.<sup>98</sup> As Roach has stated, “along with such premeditated appearances came a concomitant desire to appear spontaneous. This required readiness on the part of the performers to adopt an air of “life-like” informality, which actors call public intimacy and portraitists *déshabille*.”<sup>99</sup>

“Public intimacy” and “*déshabille*” are separate but equivalent ideas in Roach’s assessment; both suggests a sort of personal closeness between the actor/sitter and the viewer. Their relationship to a notion of “life-like” informality is one that became increasingly important to La Tour, whom critics frequently claimed was an artist who captured his sitters’ souls (*âmes*). In La Tour’s portraits, artists do not appear in *déshabille* in the traditional sense associated with portraits of ladies at their toilet, such as Louis-Michel Vanloo’s portrait of Madame de Marigny and her husband (Figure 2.16) or with the casual collector, such as Greuze’s portrait of Watelet (Figure 2.2). But they have

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<sup>98</sup> Roach, *It*, 49.

<sup>99</sup> Joseph Roach, “Celebrity Erotics: Pepys, Performance, and Painted Ladies,” *The Yale Journal of Criticism* 16, no. 1 (2003): 214–215.

as their goal the representation of their sitters in the frame of “life-like” informality. They abandon much of the pomp and circumstance of portraits of artists from the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, traditions to which the Academy-mandated *morceaux de réception* clung.

As the Academy became a fixed institution in the last quarter of the seventeenth century, the image of its members, created through the *morceaux de réception*, became standardized. The vast majority of these portraits depicted their sitters in an elaborate, three-dimensionally conceived space, shown either at work or holding artistic attributes, such as brushes, palette, chisels.<sup>100</sup> This sort of painting is exemplified by one of Jean Valade’s 1754 *morceaux de réception*, a portrait of the history painter Louis de Silvestre (Figure 2.17) who had been elected director of the Academy two years earlier. Silvestre is represented at work. He wears a luxurious blue velvet coat and rose-colored silk *gilet* that is elegantly embroidered with gold, appropriate to a man of his position. He is seated next to a blank canvas with a loaded palette, brushes and mahl stick in his left hand. In his right, he holds a brush as if he is about to dab the paint on his palette and make the first stroke on his canvas.

La Tour eschews the full-length format of Valade’s Silvestre, preferring a barely half-length format for his portrait of the same sitter (Figure 2.18). Frequently his portraits of artists disregard the standard depiction of artists with the tools of their trade, such as palettes, brushes, or chisels. If tools are included, as is the case with his portrait of Silvestre, the sitters are in an indeterminate space, rather than an elaborately depicted studio. La Tour has presented Silvestre to us in a traditional form of artistic *déshabille*; rather than wearing his wig and powder, the painter wears a kerchief on his head,

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<sup>100</sup> For the development of the *morceaux de réception* type, see Williams, “Portraits of Artists,” 31–45.

seemingly more appropriate dress for painting than the finery he wears in Valade's portrait.

La Tour's use of *déshabille* is more than just the dress and pose we find in the representation of Silvestre. It finds an analogy in the style that La Tour painted it. There is little or no attempt to mask the lines drawn by the artist's hand, to smooth the powdery substance in a way that mimics the sheen of silk or satin. In the lower right of the canvas, the painter holds an empty palette, rendered so roughly that it would be indistinguishable if it were not for the flesh-toned blob that is his thumb. In Silvestre's face, the obvious lines of pastel are even more striking. Strokes of pink, yellow, white and black build up the curves and crevices of Silvestre's face. The colors lie on top of each other and side-by-side, unblended. Looking at the pastel as a whole, La Tour's technique gives a certain softness to the portrait; rather than a fixed image, Silvestre seems to quiver with life.

Among La Tour's different styles, this one emphasized the trace of his hand on the paper. His *touche* appears to have been used most commonly on those men who were counted among La Tour's closest allies, and particularly his professional colleagues. La Tour would continue this looser painting style throughout the 1760s, when he depicted artists in an increasingly informal manner. The appearance of La Tour's *touche* is strikingly evident in his portraits of Jean-Siméon Chardin (Salon of 1761; Figure 2.19) and Jean Baptiste II Lemoyne (Salon of 1763; Figure 2.11). Unlike the half-length format La Tour used for his portraits of René Frémin and Silvestre, Chardin and Lemoyne are shown in bust-length, in tightly cropped frames. La Tour's handling in both these pastels is incredibly loose. They lack the finish of the artist's earlier portraits of the royal family and members of the court; instead, broad areas of color, such as those on the sitters'

clothing, lack the heightened description of fabric texture so often praised in La Tour's early work. Lemoyne's coat comes across as surprisingly flat, the buttons not so much clearly defined as suggested. La Tour's attention to detail increases at the portraits' focus on the sitters' faces. Yet it is precisely in this area where La Tour's handling of the pastel is most evident. When viewed closely, one can see that both Lemoyne's and Chardin's faces are made up by easily distinguished strokes of the pastel crayon; heavy strokes of red create the ruddiness of Lemoyne's cheeks, and his brushy eyebrows are formed by individual strokes of black. The corner of Chardin's right eye is delineated by sepia pastel, and thick patches of black create the effect of wrinkles and bags under the aging painter's eyes. It is impossible to view the faces of these artists without thinking of the hand that painted them. La Tour extended the idea of *déshabille* from the sitters' dress and attitude to the physical nature of the portrait. La Tour's portraits of artists constantly display the artist's *touche* to signify that they are his productions. The works' style is as informal as the attitude of their subjects.

### **Adélaïde Labille-Guiard: Problematic Appropriations**

In the 1780s, the tactics demonstrated by La Tour and Cochin would be appropriated by one of La Tour's students, the portraitist Adélaïde Labille-Guiard. While Cochin and La Tour effectively used portraiture as a form of self-promotion in the face of growing criticism against minor genres in the 1750s, Labille-Guiard had an entirely different set of roadblocks for her career: her gender.

As a woman, Labille-Guiard was not eligible for "official" (that is, state-sponsored) training. All women artists of the eighteenth century were trained outside the



Academy, usually by fathers, husbands or other male relatives who were practicing artists.<sup>101</sup> Labille-Guiard's situation was similar, as much of her initial artistic training was supervised by a neighbor and family friend, the miniaturist François-Élie Vincent, and was furthered by her acceptance into the Académie de Saint-Luc.<sup>102</sup> However, these unofficial avenues allowed her to develop a vital network of friends, teachers and colleagues. Following the Académie de Saint-Luc's closure in 1776, Labille-Guiard's training continued through her interactions with artists who lived in her neighborhood. Scholars suggest she may have continued her studies with La Tour, whom she likely met through Alexandre Roslin; we can say with more certainty that she later worked with François-André Vincent, a childhood friend whom she later married.<sup>103</sup> Through Vincent, Labille-Guiard was ushered into a network of artists connected through friendship and education that included some of the Academy's most important figures and rising stars. She profited from an education exterior to the Academy's traditional structures through the friendships and exchanges that took place elsewhere.

Aware of the importance of this network, Labille-Guiard chose to represent it through portraiture. She depicted ten artists between 1782 and 1785: François-André

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<sup>101</sup> Anne Vallayer-Coster, one of Labille-Guiard's contemporaries, received much of her early training from her father, a goldsmith at the factory at Gobelins, while Élisabeth Vigée-Lebrun claimed to be self-taught. Ann Sutherland Harris and Linda Nochlin, *Women Artists, 1550–1950*, exh. cat. (Los Angeles: Los Angeles Museum of Art, 1976), 40–44.

<sup>102</sup> Although modeled after the Royal Academy, members of the Académie de Saint-Luc were ineligible for officially commissioned history painting, and its product was therefore deemed inferior. Any members of the Académie de Saint-Luc who achieved any fame did it by eventually joining the Royal Academy. See Reed Benhamou, *Public and Private Art Education in France 1648–1793* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 1993).

<sup>103</sup> Laura Auricchio has highlighted the number of artists who lived in close proximity to Labille-Guiard and the community's importance to her education. Many of these artists lived on the same street where Labille-Guiard grew up, the rue Neuve des Petites Champs. Alexandre Roslin, who was good friends with Vien, presented Labille-Guiard for membership in the Royal Academy on May 31, 1783. As Auricchio notes, Roslin was supportive of women artists as he was married to one, Marie-Suzanne Giroust, herself a student of Vien and member of the Royal Academy. Auricchio, *Adélaïde Labille-Guiard*, 8–11. For more on Roslin and Giroust, see Magnus Plausson and Xavier Salmon, *Alexandre Roslin 1718–1793 : Portraitist pour l'Europe*, exh. cat. (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 2008), 97.

Vincent (Figure 2.20), Joseph-Benoît Suvée (Figure 2.21), Joseph-Marie Vien (Figure 2.22), Jean-Jacques Bachelier (Figure 2.23), Guillaume Voiriot, Jacques-Antoine Beaufort, Étienne-Pierre-Adrien Gois, Augustin Pajou (Figure 2.24), Charles-Nicolas Cochin, and Joseph Vernet (Figure 2.25).<sup>104</sup> These men played a crucial role in Labille-Guiard's election to the Royal Academy in 1783, taking one of the last available openings for women in the institution.

The names of many of the men Labille-Guiard represented appear together in archival documents and throughout the scholarly literature on eighteenth-century painting. They were all part of an existing social circle of which Labille-Guiard was undoubtedly a member.<sup>105</sup> Many of these friendships would last throughout Labille-Guiard's lifetime. For example, the wedding contract of one of Labille-Guiard's students was signed in 1788 by Suvée, Vincent, as well as Augustin Pajou and Cochin, two other artists she represented.<sup>106</sup> That the portraits also had personal value for the artists depicted is suggested by the exchange of them. The portrait of Vincent was painted for Suvée; Suvée's portrait was copied by Labille-Guiard and given to Vincent. The portrait of Vien remained in Vincent's collection until his death, kept as a reminder of his teacher and friend.<sup>107</sup> The portrait of Beaufort was likewise destined for Vincent's collection. Labille-Guiard's oil portrait of Cochin in 1785 was painted for Vernet. Vernet likewise had a portrait of himself painted for Cochin. These works likely commemorated their

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<sup>104</sup> For provenance and display histories of these works see Passez, *Adélaïde Labille-Guiard*.

<sup>105</sup> Anne-Marie Passez noted, "[Vincent] jouissait à l'Académie de l'estime générale, aussi ne lui fût-il pas difficile de solliciter auprès de plusieurs personnalités: J.-M. Vien...Bachelier, son ami Suvée, la faveur de poser devant le chevalier d'Adélaïde." *Ibid.*, 16.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*, 151.

<sup>107</sup> The most concise source of information on the sitters and the provenance of the portraits are the catalogue entries in Passez's catalogue raisonnée.

collaboration on the engraving of Vernet's *Ports of France* series, painted between 1754 and 1765.

Like Cochin's medallion portraits, these bust-length portraits represent a group of artists Labille-Guiard encountered and interacted with outside the Academy. Within this group of ten portraits, four stand out as a particularly cohesive group: Vincent, Suvée, Vien and Bachelier. Suvée was a close friend of Vincent's, the two having spent several years together at the French Academy in Rome.<sup>108</sup> Vien and Bachelier were their teachers. Labille-Guiard highlighted the amicable and academic connections among these four men by pairing each student and teacher through the formal orientation of the three-quarter of their poses. Both Vien and Bachelier are seated facing to the right, while Vincent and Suvée, their students, are posed facing to the left. Each has the same relaxed expression with mouths upturned in a slight smile as if they are engaged in pleasant conversation. A similar color scheme also connects the generations. Vincent and Vien wear the same subdued red jackets while Suvée and Bachelier wear cooler tones. Likewise, the sitters are connected through lighting, as all four portraits are lit from the same direction. The light falls from the right, leaving the right side of the faces of the younger generation slightly in shadow, and brightly illuminating the faces of the older generation. This lighting is emphasized through Labille-Guiard's use of pure white pastel to show the reflection of light off the velvet of the sitters' jackets, highlighting the dusting of wig powder on their shoulders. The three-quarter turned pose and the uniform lighting scheme are standard devices employed in pendant portraits, as is seen in

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<sup>108</sup> On Suvée, see Sandra Jannsens and Paul Knolle, *Bruges, Paris, Rome: Joseph-Benoît Suvée et le néoclassicism*, exh. cat., (Gent: Snoeck, 2007). For the friendship between Vincent and Suvée see: Henry Lemonnier, "Suvée et ses amis à l'école de Rome," *Gazette des beaux-arts* 30 (August 1903): 97–110; Elizabeth Mansfield, *The Perfect Foil: François-André Vincent and the Revolution in French Art* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 2012), 39.

Netherlandish pair-portraiture of the seventeenth century. Through the use of these formal connective devices, the portraits appear as pendants when viewed together, relating the passage of artistic knowledge from teacher to student.

The theme of friendship and education is continued in Labille-Guiard's portrait of Pajou, displayed in 1783 under the title *M. Pajou modeling the portrait of M. Lemoine his teacher*. Like La Tour's sitters, Pajou is shown in a state of *déshabille*. Shown almost at half-length, Pajou is a rather disheveled figure when compared to his companions. He has no jacket, his sleeves are rolled back, and his necktie is missing, allowing his shirt to fall open. The disheveled appearance is explained by his action; Labille-Guiard has represented the sculptor in the process of creation. His right hand gently cradles the clay bust he is modeling while he holds his modeling knife in his left hand. He looks up at the viewer as if caught by surprise in a moment of inspiration. Throughout the work, Labille-Guiard explicitly displays her own touch. Pajou's hand cradles the cheek of his master, an area where unblended marks of pastel are used to model the flesh, at times appearing like hatch marks. Short, strong strokes of black left unblended on the smooth surface of flesh-toned pastel create the wrinkles of Lemoine's eyes, marks which are reminiscent of La Tour's use of pastel in the portraits of Chardin and Lemoine. Labille-Guiard applied such a virtuoso display of her own touch to model the face of a man that La Tour himself had portrayed thirty-six years earlier.<sup>109</sup>

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<sup>109</sup> Like La Tour's portrait of Lemoine, Labille-Guiard's portrait had a sculptural counterpart: Pajou did, in fact, sculpt a bust of his teacher, although it was done twenty-four years earlier. The bust was easily recognizable and would have been known to the public. The young Pajou's sculpture was well received at the Salon of 1759, praised by Diderot with the words: "O le beau buste que celui de Monsieur Lemoine, il vit, il pense, il regarde, il voit, il entend, il va parler." Pajou reproduced the work in bronze and marble, and it was re-shown in each medium in 1779 and 1789 respectively. Quoted in James David Draper and Guilhem Scherf, *Augustin Pajou: Royal Sculptor, 1730–1809*, exh. cat. (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1997), 72. Passez, *Adélaïde Labille-Guiard*, 109. At least one critic referenced La Tour in his discussion of Labille-Guiard: "Le genre de pastel, depuis M. La Tour, avoit été totalement négligé à

Labille-Guiard's use of this series of portraits as a tactic of self-promotion predated her bid for acceptance into the Academy and her participation in the Salon of 1783. Many of Labille-Guiard's portraits of artists, including the portrait of Pajou, were exhibited at Pahin de la Blancherie's Salon de la Correspondance in the years leading up to her application to the Academy. This semi-public exhibition, open to subscribers of Pahin de la Blancherie's *Nouvelles de la République des lettres et des arts*, was one of few spaces where women artists could display their works.<sup>110</sup> In the *Nouvelles de la République des lettres et des arts*, Pahin de la Blancherie wrote that the Pajou portrait was admired due to:

the double interest it presents, in offering the traits of an artist who has been admired successively at past Salons by for his statues of Boussuer, Descartes and Pascal and that of the famous Lemoine, of whom Pajou was a student and a friend, and whom he in fact emulates.<sup>111</sup>

The “double interest” lies in the fact that this portrait is much more than a celebration of one artist. It is a celebration of *two* artists — student and teacher, and, like La Tour's portraits, viewers were interested in the fame of Lemoyne, as well as the friendship between the two men. The reiteration of the subject in the very title of the portrait, *M.*

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l'Académie; il manquoit un modèle en ce genre, quand Madame Guiard a paru.” Anonymous, *Suite de Marlborough au Salon de 1783. Confession promise par le peintre allemand*, in Collection Deloynes, vol. 13, no. 302, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des estampes et de la photographie, Paris.

<sup>110</sup> As Laura Auricchio has shown, the Salon de la Correspondance was as much a curiosity cabinet as it was an art exhibition. The appearance of works by women was beneficial not only to the artists; it also attracted attention to Pahin de la Blancherie's exhibition as the public was drawn to the “curiosity of women artists. Laura Auricchio, “Pahin de la Blancherie's Commercial Cabinet of Curiosity (1779–87),” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 36, no. 1 (2002): 47–61. For more on Pahin de la Blancherie, see also Goodman, *The Republic of Letters*, 242–253. Women artists could also show at the exhibition of the Académie de Saint-Luc, as well as the Salon de la Jeunesse, held at the Place de la Dauphine during the Fête-Dieu.

<sup>111</sup> “Ce nouvel ouvrage a été applaudi à cet égard par le double intérêt qu'il présente, en offrant les traits d'un Artiste qui s'est fait admirer successivement aux dernier Salons, par les statues de Bossuer, Descartes et Pascal et ceux du célèbre Lemoine, dont M. Pajou fut l'élève & l'ami, & dont il est en effet l'émule.” *Nouvelles de la république des lettres et des arts* (February 26, 1783): 69.

*Pajou modelant le portrait de M. Lemoine son maître*, called the viewer's attention to that aspect of the portrait.<sup>112</sup>

At the same time that this work represents a network of friendships, it demonstrates an important maneuver in terms of Labille-Guiard's bid for acceptance into the Academy. Painted only months before she applied for membership, the work's format falls well within the boundaries of a traditional *morceau de réception* portrait. Under normal circumstances, an artist was assigned the subject of the *morceau de réception* at the time of *agrément*. Labille-Guiard, however, like the majority of the women accepted into the Academy, was *agrée* and *reçue* the same day, and therefore her *morceau de réception* was chosen from among her existing works.<sup>113</sup> This portrait's adherence to academic standards shows that as Labille-Guiard prepared her bid for the Royal Academy, she was aware not only of the set requirements but also of the significance of the reception portraits for the Academy's self-image. She composed this work to fulfill the role of *morceau de réception*, while simultaneously keeping with the theme of friendship and artistic lineage that shaped her other portraits of artists.

## Conclusion

After officially becoming a member of the Academy, Labille-Guiard made a public statement about her place within this group of prestigious artists at her first official

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<sup>112</sup> The portrait was always listed under this title, never as *Portrait de M. Pajou*. See the *Nouvelles de la république des lettres et des arts* for February 12, 19, and 22, 1783 and entry no. 125 in the *Collection de Livrets des Anciennes Expositions depuis 1673 jusqu'en 1800*, vol. 5.

<sup>113</sup> Male artists who were trained in the Academy would be *agrée* and then, after completion of their assigned *morceau*, would become full members. Women artists were *agrée* and *reçue* the same day because of their outsider status. See, for example, Élisabeth Vigée-Lebrun, who was accepted into the Academy the same day as Labille-Guiard. Labille-Guiard was requested to complete a second *morceau de réception* at that time, a portrait of Amédée Vanloo, shown at the 1785 Salon. Passez, *Adélaïde Labille-Guiard*, 148, 154.

Salon by exhibiting her own self-portrait (now lost) alongside her portraits of Suvée, Vien, Bachelier, Pajou and Gois.<sup>114</sup> Considering the teacher-student thematic demonstrated by the portraits of Suvée, Vien, Bachelier, and Pajou, her decision to show the portrait of Gois, rather than that of Vincent, is peculiar. But this substitution was likely intentional, and, like the whole series, tactical in nature. When Labille-Guiard displayed the portrait of Vincent at the *Salon de la Correspondance*, rumors of a sexual relationship between the artist and her teacher had begun to circulate.<sup>115</sup> She would have wanted to avoid calling attention to this relationship at her first Salon. One imagines she hoped that literally removing Vincent's face from her network of artists would shift focus from the rumors about her private life to her talent. Unfortunately this preemptive defensive maneuver was not enough; the pamphlet *Suite de Marlborough au Salon de 1783* made direct reference to their supposed sexual relationship.<sup>116</sup>

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<sup>114</sup> Numbers 124–130 and 133 in the livret, *Collections de Livrets*, vol. 5.

<sup>115</sup> This scandal was tied to the idea that Vincent was creating Labille-Guiard's works for her. Pahin de Blancherie noted in his discussion of Labille-Guiard's pastels: "Nous contractons chaque jour de nouvelles obligations avec Mde. Guyard. En effet, quel plus digne emploi pourroit-elle faire d'un talent aussi distingué que le sien? Elle conserve à la postérité l'image des hommes, qui par leurs talents et leur patriotisme méritent à juste titre l'estime et la reconnaissance de leurs contemporains. Nous avons déjà exposé de sa main le portrait d'un Artiste dont le mérite semble avoir devancé l'âge [Vincent] et qui soutient avec tant d'éclat l'opinion que le public avoit conçue de lui, ainsi que celui d'un excellent citoyen [Bachelier], à qui la Capitale doit un des plus beaux établissements que nous ayons pour l'instruction publique, et ceux de plusieurs autres Artistes d'un mérite connu. Nous félicitons Mde. Guyard de la confiance que des hommes aussi distingués témoignent en ses talents ; elle détruit bien complètement [sic] la fausse opinion que l'envie ou l'ignorance s'étoit empressée de répandre dans le public, que le mérite de ses ouvrages étoit dû à une main étrangère ; nous espérons encore des nouvelles preuves de la solidité de son talent, par le portrait de M. Pajou, représenté modelant celui de M. Lemoine. Il nous reste à présenter à Mde. Guyard les vœux public, pour lui devoir le Portrait du célèbre Latour ont elle est l'élève, et fut les traces duquel elle marche avec tant de succès ; on retrouve de plus en plus dans ses productions cette expression et cette vérité qui, portées au plus haut point par son maître, lui donnent des droits à l'immortalité." *Nouvelles de la république des lettres et des arts* (January 29, 1783): 38. Quoted in Passez, *Adélaïde Labille-Guiard*, 16; Auricchio, *Adélaïde Labille-Guiard*, 27.

<sup>116</sup> "A Madame Guiard/que vois-je, o ciel, l'ami Vincent/..son amour fait votre talent/L'amour meurt et le talen baisse, bis/...madame, quand on est aussi interessante que vous, on ne manque pas d'amour/moi...j'en ai deux mille, je vous crois, car vingt cents ou 2000, c'est la même chose/noté que Vincent retouche cette dame la, c'est drole n'est-ce pas." Anonymous, *Suite de Marlborough au Salon de 1783*. The allusion to two thousand lovers is a play on Vincent's name. For a thorough discussion of this scandal see Auricchio, *Adélaïde Labille-Guiard*, 35–37. Élisabeth Vigée-Lebrun was also accused of having a man paint her works for her, in her case it was François-Guillaume Ménageot. See Sheriff, *The Exceptional Woman*, 180.

In light of this scandal, it is important to note that we have no extant reciprocal portrait of Labille-Guiard that might correspond to the public display of friendship performed by La Tour and Lemoyne in 1747 and 1748 or by Greuze and Wille in 1765.<sup>117</sup> Its absence raises the question: could reciprocal displays of friendship cross gender lines? The few portraits of women artists by their male colleagues — almost always the wives or daughters of Academicians — that appeared at the Salon suggests that the answer is no.<sup>118</sup>

More broadly, Labille-Guiard's need to negotiate her choice of sitters in the public venue of the Salon draws attention to the slippery nature of the tactic: it is highly individualized and suited only for particular circumstances. Cochin and La Tour increased their professional and social prestige by demonstrating their sociability inside and outside the Academy, but Greuze's portrait of Wille at the Salon of 1765 went unremarked. For Labille-Guiard, her gender made the same tactical use of portraiture both tool and pitfall. Critics did not discuss the amicable relationships between *her* and her sitters, as they did with La Tour, only the potential for sexual relationships. The majority of women artists depicted by men were connected to them through marriage and family. It appears women artists could best be incorporated into a network of artistic creation when legally wed to one of its members.

One possible explanation lies in the homosocial nature of the Academy itself. We can talk about the Academy's "surprise invader," to borrow a term used by Thomas Crow

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<sup>117</sup> Pajou did, however, offer a reciprocal gift to Labille-Guiard in thanks for his portrait: a portrait of Labille-Guiard's father, which appears in the background of her large scale *Self-Portrait with Two Pupils, Mademoiselle Marie-Gabrielle Capet and Mademoiselle Carreaux de Rosemond*, exhibited at the Salon of 1785 (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York).

<sup>118</sup> Alexandre Roslin painted his wife, Suzanne-Marie Giroust, and Marie-Thérèse Reboul, the wife of Joseph-Marie Vien, as a pendant to the artist's portrait of her husband. Roslin appears to have depicted more women artists than his colleagues, as he also painted Anne Vallayer-Coster. Élizabeth Vigée-Lebrun was sculpted by Augustin Pajou. See Plausson and Salmon, *Alexandre Roslin*, 88–117.



to describe the careers of artists such as Antoine Watteau, Greuze or Chardin but even these “invaders” had access to at least one of the main venues of (male) academic sociability such as an academician’s studio, the French Academy in Rome, or lodging at the Louvre.<sup>119</sup> Labille-Guiard and other women like her would never be privy to the primary spaces where artistic friendships and networks were founded.<sup>120</sup>

However, the differences in the results of the tactics of Cochin, La Tour and Labille-Guiard should not be described in terms of success or failure. Instead, they show us both the possibilities and limits of public intimacy. In the next two chapters, I turn to portraits that were not destined to be viewed by the large audience of Salon; more intimate viewership provided a refuge that accorded artists the opportunity to experiment even more with the genre of portraiture.

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<sup>119</sup> Crow, *Painters and Public Life*, 134.

<sup>120</sup> The Academy had serious concerns about the mixing of genders in the studio environment, particularly at the Louvre. Labille-Guiard’s numerous female students, for example, prevented her from receiving lodging and studio space in the Louvre before the Revolution—a right she had as member of the Academy—despite her repeated requests. Jacques-Louis David and Joseph-Benoît Suvée were also reprimanded for allowing women students into their studios at the Louvre. See Mary Vidal, “The ‘Other Atelier’: Jacques-Louis David’s Female Students,” in *Women, Art and the Politics of Identity in Eighteenth-Century Europe* ed. Melissa Hyde and Jennifer Milam (Burlington: Ashgate, 2003), 237–262; Auricchio, *Adélaïde Labille-Guiard*, 49–50.

### Chapter 3

#### Friendship and Fantasy: François-André Vincent's *Portrait de Trois Hommes*

##### Introduction

At the Salon exhibition of 1777, the newly *agr  * history painter, Fran  ois-Andr   Vincent displayed a large group of fifteen works.<sup>1</sup> Many of the artist's offerings to his first Salon were inspired by his recently-completed stay in Rome as a *pensionnaire du roi*, including several portraits of men with whom he had extensive contact during his stay there: his fellow pensioners, the painter Jean-Simon Berth  lemy and the architect Pierre Rousseau (Figure 3.1), as well as the collector Pierre-Jacques-On  syme Bergeret de Grancourt (Figure 3.2). Vincent's choice for the exhibition of these portraits was an attempt to display the artistic and patronage networks he had formed in Rome, though it was not nearly as successful as it had been for Charles-Nicolas Cochin, Maurice Quentin de la Tour, and Ad  la  de Labille-Guiard (Chapter 2). The critics appear to have been disappointed by the fact that his portraits outnumbered his history paintings, as exemplified by one critic's statement: "Destined to do great things, I fear that he is wasting his time making portraits."<sup>2</sup>

Vincent's interest in the genre did not go unnoticed during his time as a pensioner at the Palais Mancini. Charles-Joseph Natoire, the director of the French Academy in

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<sup>1</sup> Number 189–201 in the livret. Number 201 included two works: "Portrait d'Homme et de Femme, sous le m  me numero." *Collection de Livrets des Anciennes Expositions depuis 1673 jusqu'en 1800*, ed. Jules Guiffrey, 8 vols. (Nogent le Roi: Jacques Laget, 1990), vol. 5.

<sup>2</sup> "Destin      faire de grandes choses, je crains qu'il ne perde son tems    faire des Portraits." Anonymous, *La Pr  tresse ou nouvelle mani  re de pr  dire ce qui est arriv  *, in *Collection Deloynes*, vol. 10, no. 189, Biblioth  que nationale de France, D  partement des estampes et de la photographie, Paris.

Rome, commented on his portrait work in a letter to the *Directeur-Général des Bâtiments du Roi*, the Marquis de Marigny: “S. Vincent had recently made some very tasteful portraits; it seems this is the area in which he would like to work.”<sup>3</sup> Natoire’s compliment was undoubtedly backhanded, given Vincent’s own aspirations to be a history painter.<sup>4</sup> Like the Salon critics, Natoire looked down on Vincent’s substantial portrait production. Some of his Rome portraits, like his portraits of Rousseau, Berthélemy and Bergeret, fit right in at the Salon. But these traditional portraits are only one side of the story. Vincent’s portrait production varied widely between 1771 and 1775, and many of his Rome portraits were anything but conventional. These works, which pushed the boundaries of the genre, seemed destined for more limited viewership.

One such work is Vincent’s *Portrait de Trois Hommes*, an ambitious triple portrait of the artist with the architect Pierre Rousseau and the Belgian portraitist Philippe-Henri Coclers van Wyck (Figure 3.3).<sup>5</sup> The eighty-one by ninety-eight

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<sup>3</sup> “S. Vincent a fait quelques portraits dernièrement d’un très bon goût; il me paroît que ce sera la partie où il voudra le plus s’occuper” Anatole de Montaiglon and Jules Guiffrey, *Correspondance des directeurs de l’Académie de France à Rome avec les Surintendants des Bâtiments*, 17 vols., vol. 13 (Paris: Jean Schemit, 1904), 63. As has been noted, Natoire’s dislike for Vincent may also have been caused by Vincent’s Protestantism, which had not been revealed to the director until Vincent’s arrival in Rome. Vincent most likely kept his faith a secret, as it would have made him ineligible to win the Prix de Rome. Pierre-Jean-Baptiste Chaussard, *Le Pausanias français; État des Arts du Dessin en France à l’Ouverture du XIXe Siècle* (Paris: Imprimerie de Demonville, 1806), 99.

<sup>4</sup> Elizabeth Mansfield, *The Perfect Foil: François-André Vincent and the Revolution in French Art* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 2012), 55–56. I would like to thank Dr. Mansfield for generously sharing the manuscript for Chapter 3: The Prix de Rome with me before her book was published.

<sup>5</sup> Pierre Rousseau (Nantes 1751–Rennes 1829) was a pensioner in Rome from 1773 to 1775, leaving Rome early because of ill health. He is best known for his work on the Hôtel Salm, today the Palais de la Légion de Honneur. See Michel Gallet, *Les architectes parisiens du XVIIIe siècle dictionnaire biographique et critique* (Paris: Éditions Mengès, 1995), 433–436. Jean-Pierre Cuzin convincingly argued for the identification of Rousseau after the Louvre acquired the work in 1985. Cuzin’s identification of Coclers van Wyck is not in the catalogue entry, but can be found in the painting’s file in the Centre de documentation du département des peintures at the Louvre, dossier No. 1985-15. See Jean-Pierre Cuzin, “François-André Vincent,” in *Musée du Louvre. Nouvelles Acquisitions du Département des Peintures* (Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1987), 140–142; Mansfield, *The Perfect Foil*, 68–73. We know very little about the Flemish painter Philippe-Henri Coclers van Wyck (Liège 1738 – Marseille (?) 1803 or 1804). He came from a long line of Liègois painters, and we have some information about his grandfather, father, and brothers, Coclers van Wyck’s career remains somewhat of a mystery, most likely because he

centimeter canvas shows the three men in costume, standing in a nondescript space. A large blank canvas fills the majority of the background. Vincent and Coclens van Wyck clasp their hands around a set of brushes while Rousseau holds a compass. The signature (Vincent Marseille 1775) suggests that Vincent completed the work in Marseille, where the artist and his traveling companion, Rousseau, had stopped while en route to Paris from Rome.<sup>6</sup> In Marseille, the two artists were reunited with Coclens van Wyck, whom they likely had known in Rome.<sup>7</sup> The work appears to have stayed in Marseille with Coclens van Wyck. An inscription on the back “confie à cit[oyen] Beaussier par Van Wyck” suggests that he retained possession of the work after Vincent and Rousseau departed for Paris, but then left it to Beaussier after the beginning of the Revolution.<sup>8</sup>

This history suggests that the *Trois Hommes* took a passing moment—the brief reunion of these men in Marseille—and transformed it into something permanent. Its subject is made clear through its composition: the proximity of the men, the central place of Vincent’s and Coclens van Wyck’s clasped hands, Rousseau’s compass, and the blank

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was the most itinerant of his family. The most thorough biography of Coclens van Wyck can be found in Min Ae Étienne, “Un peintre liégeois meconnu : Philippe-Henri Coclens,” *Le Vieux-Liège* 15, no. 315 (2006): 94–108.

<sup>6</sup> Vincent left Rome on October 3, 1775. As was common practice at the time, Vincent made the trip home with another pensioner, in this case Rousseau. As the two men voyaged home by sea, Marseille offered a logical resting point during the trip home. Montaiglon and Guiffrey, *Correspondance des directeurs*, 13:64. One preparatory sketch for the *Trois Hommes* exists; it matches the final work exactly. A transparency of this sketch, which is in a private collection, can be found in the *Trois Homme*’s file in the Centre de documentation du département des peintures at the Louvre, dossier No. 1985-15.

<sup>7</sup> Coclens van Wyck resided in Rome between 1758 and 1772 before moving to Marseille, where he established himself as a portraitist. He was *agrée* into the Royal Academy in Marseille in 1776, *reçu* in 1778 eventually becoming the director by 1789. Étienne, “Un peintre liégeois meconnu,” 98–100.

<sup>8</sup> Coclens van Wyck was director of the Royal Academy in Marseille at the outbreak of the Revolution. The Beaussier referenced may have been the director of the Grand Théâtre de Marseille. That he is identified as a “citoyen” in the inscription implies the exchange took place after 1792, when it became common for people to address each other as “citoyen.” It is highly plausible Coclens van Wyck left the painting with “Beauffier” while fleeing the city around 1793, when the Academy was shut down. Some accounts of Coclens van Wyck’s life claim he fled Marseille during the Revolution, suggesting he perhaps gave the work to Beauffier at this time. After that point, the provenance of the painting is unclear until its acquisition by the Louvre in 1985. For more on the Academy of Marseille see Étienne Parrocel, *Histoire documentaire de l’Académie de peinture et de sculpture de Marseille*, 2 vols. (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1889), vol. 2.

canvas in the background suggest that it is about friendship and artistic practice. As we saw in the previous chapter, friendship was a frequent motivation for a portrait, but the particular format that Vincent and his friends chose was highly unusual. Firstly, group portraits of artists in France were incredibly rare prior to the Revolution. While a number of fascinating group scenes emerged during the nineteenth century, from Louis-Léopold Boilly's *A Gathering of Artists in the Studio of Isabey* (1798), Henri Fantin-Latour's *Studio in Batignolles* (1870) to Gustave Courbet's ambitiously allegorical *The Painter's Studio* (1855), the format was infrequently used in the eighteenth century. Secondly, Vincent has intriguingly chosen to represent the men in costume. Vincent, on the left, wears a seventeenth-century *costume espagnole*, Coclers van Wyck appears to be wearing some a simple brown robe, and Rousseau is enveloped in red and yellow fabric with a strangely disheveled wig upon his head.<sup>9</sup>

Without a French prototype, the *Trois Hommes* raises questions about its unusual format and its enigmatic iconography. This chapter seeks to address both these themes. First, I argue that the *Trois Hommes* is more than a peculiar painting in Vincent's œuvre; it is an example of an artist appropriating and experimenting with an older typology of portraiture long associated with friendship and travel: the triple portrait. It is significant that Vincent painted the *Trois Hommes* en route from Italy; group portraits appear to have

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<sup>9</sup> The name *costume espagnole* in eighteenth-century France was applied to this seventeenth-century inspired dress. The name was a misnomer; the dress was French in origin. In the eighteenth century, Spain was regarded as an exotic land, lagging economically and politically behind the rest of Europe. At the same time, the supposed retardataire dress of its people allowed for an unbroken link with a romanticized past. The vogue for being represented in painting *à l'espagnole* was created, in part, by Madame Geoffrin's suggestion that her painters look to "modern" European dress as subjects for her paintings, exemplified by Carle Vanloo's *Conversation espagnole* and *Lecture espagnole*. Not long after Vanloo's Spanish-themed paintings were displayed at the Salons of 1755 and 1761, Fragonard also depicted the individuals in the *portraits de fantaisie* in costume dress that alluded to the *costume espagnole*. The *costume espagnole* was closely linked to sociable practice by giving the individual wearing it an air of *galanterie*. For more on the origins of the *costume espagnol* and its connections to *galanterie*, see Emma Barker, "Mme Geoffrin, Painting and *Galanterie*: Carle Van Loo's *Conversation Espagnole* and *Lecture Espagnole*," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 40, no. 4 (2007): 587–614.

been part of a local tradition of commemorative portraits made to mark the extraordinary circumstance of artists meeting in the cosmopolitan environment of Italy. Vincent's appropriation of this portrait typology demonstrates how friendship, forged through the common bond of artistic practice, provided inspiration for an ambitious re-invention of the typology.

Secondly, through a close examination of the specific iconography that Vincent appropriated for his sitters' costumes and poses, I offer an interpretation of the *Trois Hommes* that focuses on the intersection of friendship, artistic practice and professional transformation made visible in this painting. As a representation of three men who had completed their artistic training in Rome, the work celebrates both the friendship that the men had formed in the city, as well as their coming into being as fully-formed professional artists. But Vincent goes further and moves the triple portrait into the realm of fantasy by representing the figures in fancy dress. The artist's choice of costumes is very specific: they reference illustrious predecessors of their *métiers*. Through the use of costume, Vincent shows that he and his companions have completed their training, and displays that they are destined for greatness.

### **The Triple Portrait**

There are several examples of the commemorative travel portrait typology created in Italy in the last half of the eighteenth century. In 1751, the Italian painter Giuseppe Baldighi painted a triple portrait of himself with two other men (Figure 3.4) in pastel.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> There are two version of this painting attributed to Baldighi, one in the National Gallery of Parma, the other in the National Gallery of Canada. A third copy, currently attributed to Pietro Melchiorre Ferrari, is also at the Galleria Nazionale di Parma. Amalia Pacia, "Alexandre Roslin et Guiseppe Baldighi entre

The man in the center has been identified as the Swedish painter Alexandre Roslin; the man on the right may be the French sculptor Jean-Baptiste Boulard.<sup>11</sup> Baldrighi, a court painter in Parma, became acquainted with the Swedish painter and the French sculptor during their stay in Parma, where they were working for the court. Baldrighi and Roslin both moved to Paris—Roslin permanently, Baldrighi for a shorter stay—the year after the completion of this painting. And while there is no record of Roslin’s and Baldrighi’s interaction in Paris, Roslin referred to Baldrighi as “one of his oldest friends” when writing to his cousin, Adolph Ulrich Wertmüller, in 1779.<sup>12</sup>

Like Vincent’s portrait, Baldrighi’s work shows a meeting between the three men in a nondescript space; the foreigners are depicted in full dress with proper wigs, while the Italian on the left is represented with an air of informality in a fine blue silk house robe embroidered with a gold flower pattern, as well as a blue silk cap. Roslin’s forward gaze implies we are interrupting an intense conversation. The active gestures of the men make it apparent that a lively, friendly debate is taking place. Boulard’s arm is around Roslin’s shoulder; all three men’s hands are in demonstrative positions, and Baldrighi’s slightly parted lips imply speech.

A second group portrait of international friendship is found in the self-portrait of the British painter James Barry alongside the English architect James Paine and the French painter Dominique Lefevre produced in 1767 (Figure 3.5). Barry looks over his shoulder at the viewer, while the ghostly figures of Paine and Lefevre are behind him

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Parme et Paris,” in *De soie et de poudre : portraits de cour dans l’Europe des Lumières*, ed. Xavier Salmon (Versailles: Actes Sud, 2003), 45–46.

<sup>11</sup> Amalia Pacia has convincingly argued for the identity of the central figure as Roslin. Although the identity of the figure in the right has been identified as Joseph-Marie Vien, Pacia disagrees, preferring to identify the man as Jean-Baptiste Boulard. Based on the biographic evidence Pacia presents, the identification of the third man as Boulard is more likely than Vien. See *ibid.*, 48–57.

<sup>12</sup> Roslin encouraged his cousin to visit Parma, instructing him to pass his greetings onto “M. Baldrighi, I<sup>er</sup> Peintre de l’Infant, qui est un de mes anciens amis.” *Ibid.*, 59.

copying the Belvedere torso, itself a phantomlike apparition in the upper right corner of the canvas. If Baldryghi's work is a conversation piece, Barry's painting is more focused on artistic life in Rome. The work emphasizes artistic practice in a manner similar to Vincent's portrait. Barry has prominently depicted the palette and brushes of one of his companions. The strong horizontal line in the lower third of the painting, which creates a division between the grey tonalities of Barry's companions and the deeper brown tones of his own coat, makes the painting read as an ambiguous *mise en abyme*: are we looking at Barry painting *with* his friends in front of the Belvedere Torso, or is he *painting* his friends?

Formally, Vincent's portrait has far more in common with these triple portraits than the few group portraits created in France during the late seventeenth and eighteenth century. It combines the themes of friendly interactions and artistic practice demonstrated in Baldryghi's and Barry's works. The handful of group portraits that include French artists created before 1789 represented artists' families: Jean-François de Troy's family portrait (1704) (Figure 3.6), Jean-Marc Nattier's portrait of his family painted between 1730 and 1762 (Figure 3.7), or Louis-Michel Vanloo's portrait of Carle Vanloo's family, shown at the Salon of 1757 (Figure 3.8). These family portraits take as their central theme artistic genealogy.

In Vanloo's portrait of his uncle Carle Vanloo and his family, for example, Carle Vanloo sketches his daughter while his son looks on, holding a drawing portfolio. The blank canvas leaning against the wall in the background, and a small still-life of brushes, paints and rags in the lower right remind us of the elder Vanloo's work as painter. Behind the group, Carle Vanloo's wife Christine (née Soumis), a renowned singer, holds sheets



of music; a guitar lies on the floor. While Louis-Michel Vanloo pays tribute to the visual and musical artistry of his family, the portrait also fits within a growing trend of representing family life in more intimate interior scenes, which was associated with changing views about love and parenting that were part of the rise of the bourgeois family over the course of the century.<sup>13</sup> The portrait presents a happy family depicted in a domestic space, grouped together in a believable manner that gives the scene a relaxed and intimate quality. At the same time, this work is concerned with the continuation of an artistic dynasty. The family's talents lie both in the visual and musical arts, and the work celebrates the gifts that are passed down from both the paternal and maternal lines of the family.<sup>14</sup> Similar themes are found in Nattier's family portrait: Nattier holds a palette and brushes, while his wife, Marie-Madeleine Delaroche, sits at her harpsichord. The eldest daughter, Marie-Catherine Pauline, studies a musical score while the son, Jean-Frédéric-Marc, presents the viewer a porte-crayon.<sup>15</sup>

When synchronic networks of artists were represented in France, they were more likely to focus on professional rather than personal connections. In one such painting, Nicolas de Largillière's *The Artist in his Studio* from around 1686 (Figure 3.9), Largillière shows himself holding his paint-laden palette and brushes. The Flemish engraver Gerard Edelinck is seated next to him, propping up the engraving that Edelinck made after Largillière's 1685 portrait of the royal magistrate Thomas-Alexandre Morant. The

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<sup>13</sup> On representations of the family, see Orest Ranum, "Intimacy in French Eighteenth-Century Family Portraits," *Word & Image* 6, no. 4 (1990): 351–367; Kate Retford, *The Art of Domestic Life: Family Portraiture in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006).

<sup>14</sup> While not pertinent to the discussion here, it is important to note that in both case, there is a distinct separation of the arts along gender lines; in all three family portraits the visual arts are the realm of the men, while musical talents belong to the women.

<sup>15</sup> Xavier Salmon, *Jean-Marc Nattier: 1685–1766*, exh. cat. (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 1999), 293–295.

identity of the third man in the background, gesturing towards the painted portrait of Morant is thought to be Pierre Bernard, who commissioned the engraving.<sup>16</sup>

This portrait celebrates a successful and profitable collaboration between patron, engraver, and painter during a period when the vogue for collecting printed portraits of famous men meant that there was money and prestige to be earned by both painter and engraver.<sup>17</sup> The depiction of professional connections overwhelms any suggestion of intimacy among the men in this portrait, which conforms to the pomp and formality of seventeenth-century court painting: all three men are shown in luxurious clothes, which Largillière has carefully rendered to display the various silks and velvets. The space of Largillière's studio is aggrandized; a large column dominates the background, with elaborate green drapery adding movement and drama. The patron stands above both seated artists with his open arm directing the viewer's gaze towards Largillière's portrait. Largillière highlights his own role as painter by acknowledging the viewer's gaze and providing a clear view of the palette and brushes he used to create the portrait of Morant in the background as well as this work.

Vincent's, Barry's and Baldrighi's paintings take the representation of shared artistic practice in a new direction. The format of all three portraits differs greatly from their familial and professional predecessors. In contrast to the representations of the familial passage of talent or of lucrative partnership, all three have avoided a full-length representation of their figures, adding a certain level of intimacy to the work. The full-

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<sup>16</sup> Jefferson C. Harrison, *French Painting from the Chrysler Museum*, exh. cat. (Norfolk: Chrysler Museum 1986), 15–16.; Marilyn M Savill, "The Triple Portrait of Pierre Bernard: Gérard Edelinck and Nicolas de Lagillière and the Debate in the French Academy in 1686 Over the Status of Engravers," *Melbourne Art Journal*, no. 5 (2001): 41–52.

<sup>17</sup> Jefferson C. Harrison, *French Painting from the Chrysler Museum*, 15–16. The best study of the collection of engraved portraits is found in Marcia R. Pointon, *Hanging the Head: Portraiture and Social Formation in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 53–78.

length figures in the family portraits put substantial distance between the viewer and the figures. Thus, although the viewer is looking at intimate domestic moments, (s)he is still kept from having the sense of fully participating in these scenes. Vincent's, Baldrihi's and Barry's tightly cropped works, on the other hand, push the figures towards the viewers. The direct gazes of one figure in each painting makes the viewer feel as if he or she is engaged in the scene at hand.

Vincent's, Baldrihi's, and Barry's use of the closely cropped triple portrait while in Italy suggests that the format seems to have been appropriated specifically to represent the common bond of friendship formed during travel. The triple portrait was rooted in a portrait type that has its origins in the Italian Renaissance: the friendship portrait. Often discussed in regards to the rise of the humanist portrait during the period, the friendship portrait drew much of its iconography from the philosophical writings of Cicero, Pliny the Elder and Aristotle.<sup>18</sup> These discussions centered on the notion of the true friend being a person's "double:" true friends shared one soul between two bodies. In order to be true friends, two individuals had to have the same qualities, come from the same social class, and have a love of goodness. Most Renaissance examples of the friendship portrait focus on two individuals, frequently representing them in the same pictorial space, overlapping each other or touching as seen in Pontormo's *Portrait of Two Friends* (Figure 3.10), which explicitly references friendship through the inclusion of a sheet of paper held by one of the figures that contains texts from Cicero's *De Amicitia*.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> Cécile Beuzelin, "Le double portrait de Jacopo Pontormo: vers une histoire du double portrait d'amitié à la Renaissance," *Studiolo* 7 (2009): 80, 85.

<sup>19</sup> For more on the Renaissance origins of the friendship portrait see Otto G. von Simson, review of: *Das Freundchaftsbild der Romantik*, by Klaus Lankheit, *The Art Bulletin* 36, no. 2 (1954): 161–163; Clovis Whitfield, "Portraiture: From the 'Simple Portrait' to the 'Ressemblance Parlante,'" in *The Genius of Rome 1592–1623*, ed. Beverly Louise Brown, exh. cat. (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2001), 140–171. On

The interaction of the figures with the viewer in Renaissance friendship paintings implies that the works may have been oriented towards a third or even fourth party.<sup>20</sup> In the seventeenth century, the “implied” third party was a friend who was thus incorporated into the painting itself. The triple portrait of artists may have its origins in Caravaggesque art of the first few decades of the seventeenth century, drawing from the half-length figures found in Caravaggio’s and his followers’ genre scenes, such as *The Fortune Teller* and *The Cardsharps* (Figure 3.11).<sup>21</sup> Artists on the move appear to have adopted this format for memorializing meetings and reunions in foreign locales. Simon de Vos’s *The Smokers*, now considered to be a triple portrait (Figure 3.12), commemorated his meeting in Aix-en-Provence with Jan Cossiers and Johan Geerloff.<sup>22</sup> Peter Paul Rubens painted his half-length *Self-Portrait with Circle of Friends in Mantua* (Figure 3.13) during a stay in Italy. The triple portrait type was apparently sufficiently associated with friendship among artists that Anthony Van Dyck’s depiction of three men grouped around a sculpture while in Italy (Figure 3.14) was once believed to show Rubens with two other artists.<sup>23</sup> The emergence of this format for representing friendly encounters

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Pontormo see Lorne Campbell et al., *Renaissance Faces: Van Eyck to Titan*, exh. cat. (London: National Gallery of Art, 2008), 50–51, 145, cat. No. 44; Beuzelin, “Le double portrait.”

<sup>20</sup> Beuzelin, “Le double portrait,” 94.

<sup>21</sup> Both Cuzin and Mansfield have noted the formal similarities of Vincent’s portrait to the genre scenes of Caravaggio and his followers because of the three-quarter length figures set against an ambiguous background. The figures all wear a variety of costumes and the scene centers around one central gesture, the clasped hand and brushes between Vincent and Coclors. Vincent looks out to the viewer deliberately, inviting us into the scene reproducing a visual trope found in many Caravaggesque genre scenes. Mansfield points to Caravaggio’s *Fortune Teller*, a painting that had been in the Royal Collection since 1665, and a subject oft-repeated by Caravaggio’s followers. Vincent was undoubtedly exposed to a number of works by Caravaggio and his followers, as he spent much of the last two years of his Italian stay in Naples, a city where artistic production had been particularly influenced by Caravaggio. Cuzin, “François-André Vincent,” 140–142; Mansfield, *The Perfect Foil*, 69.

<sup>22</sup> Hans Vlieghe, “A propos d’un portrait de trois hommes par Simon de Vos (1603–1676) au Louvre,” *Revue du Louvre* 38, no. 1 (1988): 38.

<sup>23</sup> The correct identities of these figures were not discovered until the 1960s. See Oliver Millar, “Notes of Three Pictures by Van Dyck,” *Burlington Magazine* 111, no. 796 (July 1969): 414–417; Susan J Barnes et al., *Van Dyck: A Complete Catalogue of the Paintings* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), catalogue no. II.42.

among artists in foreign countries established the triple portrait as a fitting format for this type of encounter and constitutes a prototype for Vincent's *Portrait de Trois Hommes*.

### **Friendship and Fantasy**

We can further situate the development of the group portrait of friends in the broader context of the eighteenth century's experimental attitude toward portraiture. Focusing on the family portrait, Philippe Bordes has argued that the innovation and novelties in this genre over the course of the eighteenth century were due mainly to the choice of lesser-known artists by patrons.<sup>24</sup> With limited access to the academy, these less celebrated artists were more likely to experiment with group portraiture. The most prestigious artists were either unwilling or unable, due to academic restrictions, to take the risks that these "outsiders" achieved.<sup>25</sup> Bordes's argument is an important one and bears on the portraits presently under discussion.

Bordes examines paintings that explored the "expressive and narrative possibilities of an association between portraiture and genre," which could not be done in the official realm of the Academy and the Salon.<sup>26</sup> But the marginal spaces Bordes discusses are not expected ones; he focuses on the genre-portraits commissioned for the French nobility: the Conti, the Orleans, even the royal family who turned to minor artists for ambitious group portraits. Away from the Academy and the Salon, court intrigue and aristocratic rivalry provided artists with commissions that allowed them to experiment

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<sup>24</sup> Philippe Bordes, "Portraiture in the Mode of Genre: A Social Interpretation," in *French Genre Painting in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Philip Conisbee (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 257–274.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 265.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 268.

with the group portrait as genre painting, an idea to which official artistic discourse was hostile.<sup>27</sup>

For Vincent, Barry, and Baldrighi, it was the artists' friendship, not patrons' rivalries, that encouraged them to push the boundaries of the portrait. And while the Academy in Rome, like Bordes's French courts, may not at first glance seem like a "marginal" space of artistic production, the separation of Rome from official academies became increasingly marked during the eighteenth century, giving rise in the early nineteenth century to groups such as the Nazarenes who settled in Rome after the closure of the Akademie der Bildenden Künste in Vienna.<sup>28</sup> The triple portraits addressed here prefigure the *freundschaftsbild* created by the Nazarenes, a genre taken up by young artists without academic sponsorship. These men banded together in a romantic revival of medieval fraternity, frequently incorporating Christian iconography in their representations of friendship.<sup>29</sup>

Vincent's subjects had a more complicated relationship to the royal academies in France, however, than the Nazarenes or the outsiders described by Bordes: all three men in Vincent's painting would be accepted willingly by the royal academies. Vincent was admitted into the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture in Paris, Rousseau into the Royal Academy of Architecture in Paris, and Coclers van Wyck into the Royal Academy in Marseille. The men depicted in Baldrighi's and Barry's works had similarly successful

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<sup>27</sup> Ibid., 266.

<sup>28</sup> On the Nazarenes see Keith Andrews, *The Nazarenes: A Brotherhood of German Painters in Rome* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964). During Vincent's time at the Academy in Rome, French pensioners at the institution appeared to have lacked supervision. The director, Charles Natoire, had become increasingly distant from them, too old, sick, and possibly even unwilling to manage the day-to-day business of the Academy. Away from Paris, and under the weak directorship of Natoire, Rome provided the pensioners an opportunity to explore artistic sociability, and escape the traditional academic hierarchy in which they had been raised. Mansfield, *The Perfect Foil*, 57–58.

<sup>29</sup> Von Simson, review of *Das Freundschaftsbild*, 161–163.

careers. These portraits are not about rebellion against the Academy, but an artistic life outside of the official realms of artistic production that intersected with it. Vincent chose his friends for the subject of a work that was apparently intended for a limited viewing audience in a provincial setting, well away from the oversight of the Royal Academy in Paris. This distance allowed the artist to experiment with portraiture. What makes the association between the group portraits I address here and those by academic “outsiders” or rebels noteworthy is the circumstances of their production: the separation of both groups of portraits from academic circumstances and doctrine allowed them to be forums for the exploration of representation of friendship.

Changes in the social bond of friendship in the eighteenth century made it a particularly well-suited subject for experiments with the visual rhetoric of portraiture during the period. Historians such as Daniel Roche have explored how individuals pursued leisurely activities outside the realm of the family in an entirely unprecedented manner during the eighteenth century.<sup>30</sup> The Age of Enlightenment, as an age of *sociabilité*, represented the beginnings of voluntary associations in France — associations not due to social constraint or a search for profit but for abstract, general interest. In Roche’s discussion, academies were part and parcel of these sociable and voluntary associations, despite the fact that their link to the monarchy was what assured their social status. These academies developed their own internal hierarchy separate from that of society at large, a hierarchy based on equality of talent and merit. Somewhat paradoxically, this new form of hierarchy provided a space for men to be accustomed to

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<sup>30</sup> Daniel Roche, *France in the Enlightenment*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000), 435.

the idea of equality.<sup>31</sup> In these “institutions of sociability,” as Roche has called them—a category that also included salons, literary societies and organizations like Masonic lodges—“behavior was playful and politics rhetorical and theatrical.”<sup>32</sup>

One of the most important of these voluntary associations was the friendship that formed outside the realm of kinship, in institutions that could even replace the family on a temporary or permanent basis such as the school, youth cohorts, or the army.<sup>33</sup>

According to William Reddy, friendship in the eighteenth century became a form of “emotional refuge” along with the salon, the Masonic lodge, and affectionate marriage. These freely chosen connections between people were based on merit or personal inclination, and not on family, office, or rank.<sup>34</sup>

The Academy in Rome, as an extension of the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture, fits in with Roche’s descriptions of “institutions of sociability.” But, because of its physical distance from its mother institution, it provided the pensioners an opportunity to explore egalitarianism in a greater way than academicians in Paris. The sense of equality that developed between young artists in Rome may have assisted in the formation of particularly intimate friendships between members of the group. In Rome and away from Paris, the pensioners had an opportunity to explore artistic sociability and escape traditional academic hierarchy, interacting with each other regardless of medium, genre or nationality. Even though many of the artists were there under the auspices of institutions of public sociability, the bonds of friendship formed in Rome played an

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<sup>31</sup> Ibid., 440.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., 447.

<sup>33</sup> Maruice Aymard, “Friends and Neighbors,” in *A History of Private Life: Passions of the Renaissance*, ed. Philip Ariès and Georges Duby (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1989), 458.

<sup>34</sup> William M. Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling: a Francework for the History of Emotions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 149.



important part in the private lives of artists.<sup>35</sup> Vincent's, Baldrighi's and Barry's triple portraits show us that the friendships formed in the Eternal City were deemed important enough to depict in a painting, to display social equality and affective bonds.

Of the three friendship portraits I have been discussing, Vincent's painting stands apart. Instead of representing his friends conversing or copying antique sculpture, he places them in the realm of fantasy by representing himself and his companions in costume or a kind of fancy-dress. Vincent's exercise in imaginative portraiture had precedence in Jean-Honoré Fragonard's fourteen *portraits de fantaisie*, created around 1769. The sitters of Fragonard's "portraits" are frequently identified as his friends and patrons, though in many cases there is little evidence as to who they depict (Figure 3.15). Art historian Mary Sheriff has convincingly argued that these paintings were portraits of portraits. Fragonard's portrait of Diderot (Figure 3.16), for example, was not a portrait done from life but rather was a reworking of Louis-Michel Vanloo's portrait that Diderot did not like (Figure 3.17). Of all the *portraits de fantaisie*, Diderot's portrait is closest to a traditional portrait, yet the work moved the particularized physiognomy of Vanloo's portrait toward a more fantastic representation of an idealized philosopher type.<sup>36</sup> Fragonard's *portraits de fantaisie* deliberately blurred the line between real sitters in fantasy dress and imagined characters that resemble actual portraits. By moving the emphasis of portraiture away from likeness or identification, Fragonard argued pictorially

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<sup>35</sup> For discussion of the sociable encounters of artists in Rome see Hauteccœur, *Rome et la renaissance de l'antiquité*, 46–55. The expression of day-to-day friendship in Rome during Vincent's stay will be addressed in more detail in Chapter 4.

<sup>36</sup> Mary Sheriff, "Invention, Resemblance, and Fragonard's *Portraits de fantaisie*," *The Art Bulletin* 69, no. 1 (1987): 82

for the creative potential of portraiture through these “portraits” that demonstrate the artist’s ability to rework and re-imagine older portraits.<sup>37</sup>

Vincent had close contact with Fragonard in Italy. The older artist accompanied his patron, Pierre-Jacques-Onésyme Bergeret de Grancourt, on an Italian journey from 1773 to 1774.<sup>38</sup> Vincent joined Fragonard and Bergeret on part of their voyage, visiting Naples, Pompeii and Mt. Vesuvius. The influence of Fragonard on the young Vincent is well documented, and much of the recent work on Vincent has been re-attributing Fragonard’s drawings from these years to Vincent.<sup>39</sup>

Vincent’s interests in the transformative properties of portraiture appear to have come to fruition during this period of travel with Fragonard and Bergeret. A 1774 portrait of a man signed “Vincent f Ro.” (Figure 3.18) takes the chiaroscuro effect of the *Trois Hommes* to greater heights, focusing on Caravaggesque realism that accentuates the man’s fleshy lips and nose. His brow is furrowed intensely, and his cheeks flushed. This expression, along with the sitter’s undone shirt and coat, give the sitter a look of furious genius. Like Fragonard’s fantasy portraits, the enthusiastic character of Vincent’s figure has inspired scholars to seek an identity for the sitter: the architect Pierre-Adrien Pâris, who traveled with Vincent, Bergeret and Fragonard in 1773 and 1774, has been

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<sup>37</sup> Ibid. Sheriff also addresses the *portraits de fantaisie* in her *Fragonard: Art and Eroticism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 153–184.

<sup>38</sup> Bergeret kept an account of this voyage in a journal. Pierre-Jacques-Onésyme Bergeret de Grancourt, *Voyage d’Italie 1773–1774 avec les dessins de Fragonard* (Paris: Éditions Michel de Romilly, 1948). See also Musée d’art et d’histoire Louis-Senlecq, *Fragonard et le voyage en Italie, 1773–1774: les Bergeret, une famille de mécènes* (Paris: Somogy, 2001); Pierre Rosenberg, *Les Fragonards de Besançon*, exh. cat. (Milan: 5 Continents Editions, 2006); Georges Wildenstein, “Un amateur de Boucher et de Fragonard : Jacques-Onésyme Bergeret (1715–1785),” *Gazette des Beaux Arts* 58 (July 1961): 39–84.

<sup>39</sup> Jean-Pierre Cuzin, “De Fragonard à Vincent,” *Bulletin de la société de l’histoire de l’art français* (1981): 103–124. There is at least one Fragonard drawing that is tentatively identified as a portrait of Vincent in the Horvitz Collection, Boston. See CaixaForum, *Jean-Honoré Fragonard (1732–1806) Orígenes e influencias. De Rembrandt al siglo XXI*, exh. cat. (Barcelona: Obra Social Fundación “La Caixa”, 2006), cat. no. 71.

suggested.<sup>40</sup> This unidentified portrait of a man demonstrates Vincent's inventive approach to portraiture and, like the *Portrait de Trois Hommes*, it can be regarded as belonging to a new category of portraiture that emerged in the eighteenth century: the experimental fantasy portrait. Like Fragonard, Vincent appears to have found his inspiration for many of his portraits in friendship.

### **Friends and Professionals**

At first glance, Vincent's *Portrait de Trois Hommes* calls to mind Caravaggesque scenes of gambling and other illicit activities. These works inspired Northern artists during the seventeenth century to create group portraits of artists in undignified settings. Such works cross the boundary between portraiture and genre painting. For example, Adrien Brouwer's *The Smokers* shows the artist with Jan Cossiers and Jan Davidsz. de Heem smoking and drinking in a tavern (Figure 3.19).<sup>41</sup> In contrast to the low-life ribald humor of *The Smokers*, the *Trois Hommes* declares its interest in serious artistic practice and training, a theme signaled by the brushes at the center of the composition and the looming canvas in the background, noticeably blank and ready to be painted. Furthermore, the costumes and poses of Vincent's sitters, which refer to different historical periods and cultures, suggest that the *Trois Hommes* is more complex than a simple play on the Caravaggesque genre type. It is a composite of influences to which Vincent, Rousseau, and Coclers van Wyck were exposed in Rome.

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<sup>40</sup> This work was auctioned at Sotheby's New York, "Art of the Enlightenment," January 27, 2005, Sale number N08062, lot number 62. The tentative identification was given in the sale catalogue.

<sup>41</sup> Walter A. Liedtke, *Flemish Paintings in The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, vol. 1 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), 5–10.

Vincent's costume is the most easily categorized of the three. He is dressed in a *costume espagnole* of elegant silver satin including a cape with pink lining and gold trim. He sports a dashing black hat with a white plume as well as a white ruff around his neck. There is an explicit connection between the seventeenth-century models discussed earlier that provided the inspiration for the painting's unusual format: the *costume espagnole* referred to a seventeenth-century dress that had been popular in the Netherlands under Spanish rule.<sup>42</sup> It was known at the time to allude to the paintings of Rubens and Van Dyck, especially in England, where the dress was referred to by Van Dyck's name. In France, the dress was a reference to the golden age of Henri IV, which became a popular subject for history paintings as well as the theme for royal masked balls.<sup>43</sup>

Vincent was no stranger to this type of dress. He represented himself wearing the *costume espagnole* in a self-portrait painted around 1769, today located in Grasse (Figure 3.20).<sup>44</sup> This early self-portrait, painted prior to his departure for Rome, lacks the bravura of his portrait in the *Trois Hommes*. While visibly in "Spanish" dress wearing a doublet with full, slashed sleeves, a white ruff, and a beplumed hat, his costume is less flamboyant. He appears younger, almost naïve. In the *Trois Hommes*, following his stay in Rome, Vincent depicted himself as a jaunty fellow, his hat tilted at a raking angle.

Most notably, he shifted his pose from a frontal view to the much more dramatic reverse

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<sup>42</sup> See Barker, "Mme Geoffrin, Painting and *Galanterie*": 587–614.

<sup>43</sup> Aileen Ribeiro, *Dress in Eighteenth-Century Europe, 1715–1789* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 275–283. Jean Locquin addresses the vogue for seventeenth-century subjects in history painting in Jean Locquin, *La peinture d'histoire en France de 1747 à 1785* (Paris: Arthena, 1978), 276–286.

<sup>44</sup> Later in Vincent's career, several of his most important history paintings depicted famous moments in seventeenth-century French history such as *Président Molé seized by the Faction* (1779, Assemblée Nationale). In the artist's sale after his death, one finds under the heading "Different clothing, drapery and diverse curiosities, etc." item 101, an "exact model of Henri IV clothing" ("Juste-au-corps, Trousse, ceinture et manteau noir en laine, modèle exact du vêtement de Henri IV, et une veste du même temps ; le Juste-au-corps et le manteau avec ornemens de broderie en or"). *Notice des tableaux, dessins, estampes sous verre et en feuilles composant la cabinet et les études de feu François-André Vincent Vente à Paris, les 17, 18 et 19 Octobre 1816*, in *Catalogues de vente*, VP 1816/30, Bibliothèque de l'Institut national d'histoire de l'art, Paris.

three-quarter turn, looking back at the viewer over his shoulder. By posing himself in this way, the portrayal is reminiscent of Rubens' self-portrait (Figure 3.21), which had been the basis for many engraved portraits of Rubens (Figure 3.22). Vincent embellished Rubens's somber costume and added a large white plume in his hat, which was a typical eighteenth-century addition to the *costume espagnole*.<sup>45</sup>

Vincent's interest in the seventeenth century can be situated in the context of the primacy of seventeenth-century artists in French discussions of portraiture at the time. Seventeenth-century Northern painters, particularly Rubens and Van Dyck, were frequently used as examples for French artists to follow when they were required to paint group portraits. The ambitious type of portraiture posed an exciting opportunity to push the genre into new territory. Speaking on the challenges of creating a well-composed portrait, the portraitist Louis Tocqué argued in his discourse on portraiture that group portraits were an excellent exercise in composition because the artist had to arrange people, not furniture or other décor, to create a harmonious whole. He noted:

In the genre of history one needs more verve and spirit but the subject excites us. It is a different matter altogether for the talent of portraiture. What difficulties we don't have to overcome, when we have to paint a family in the same picture, and place the heads so that they don't lose their resemblance.<sup>46</sup>

In the same section, Tocqué pointed specifically to Van Dyck as a potential model for painters working on a group portrait:

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<sup>45</sup> For example, many of Watteau's figures in his *fêtes galantes* who wear anachronistic clothing sport beplumed hats, as do the male figures in Vanloo's *Espagnole* paintings.

<sup>46</sup> "Dans le genre de l'histoire il faut plus de verve et plus de feu mais le sujet nous échauffe. Il n'en est pas de même dans le talent du portrait. Quelles difficultés n'a-t-on pas à surmonter, lorsqu'il faut peindre toute une famille dans le même tableau, et disposer les têtes de manière qu'elles ne perdent rien du côté de la ressemblance." Louis Tocqué, *Le discours de Tocqué sur le genre du portrait* (Paris: J. Schemit, 1930), 34.

Van Dyck, who already possessed composition and the understanding of beautiful groups, carefully studied the truths of nature, which elevated this talent to a sublime degree. Try then to imitate these renowned masters, you who embrace a genre of portraiture so studied and so recommendable.<sup>47</sup>

The Flemish artist was frequently noted for his skill in portraiture and was often said to have surpassed his teacher Rubens in this genre.<sup>48</sup> Furthermore, in discussions of the portraits of both Flemish artists, references to history painting were never far behind, as eighteenth-century art theory consistently viewed Rubens's and Van Dyck's portraits as having been on a par with history painting. Dézallier D'Argenville, for example, noted that Rubens's portraits

...are not inferior to his history paintings; possessing as they do the famous poets and great authors, we should not be astounded by the abundance of his thoughts, of the richness of his inventions and the knowledgeable and allegorical manner with which he treated history; he only entered that which was appropriate in observing conventions, the costume, and that which could contribute to the effect of the whole.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> "Wandeik [sic] qui possédoit déjà la partie de la composition et la connoissance des beaux ensembles, étudiant soigneusement les vérités de la nature éleva ce talent à un degré sublime. Tachez donc d'imiter ces maîtres renommés, vous qui embrassez un genre de peinture si recherché et si recommandable." Ibid.

<sup>48</sup> "Au reste ses [Van Dyck's] compositions, quoique bien raisonnées, ne furent jamais si sçavantes ni si ingénieuses que celles de Rubens : ses portraits sont mieux dessinés, plus frais et plus finis que ceux de son maître ; son coloris plus frais, son pinceau plus coulant, sa touche plus fine, avec beaucoup de reflets de lumières ; les têtes et les mains sont admirables, ses attitudes régulières et conformes au sujet qu'il traitoit, avec des draperies très-légères." Dézallier d'Argenville, *Abrégé*, 3:345. Around the same time, Descamps claimed: "Il semble qu'on ne devoit regarder van Dyck que comme Peintre de Portraits ; cependant il a souvent égalé son maître dans ses Tableaux d'histoire, peut-être moins de feu ; mais tous ses Ouvrages n'en manquent pas. Si van Dyck eût fait moins de Portraits et plus de Tableaux d'histoire, peut-être auroit-il égalé Rubens." Jean-Baptiste Descamps, *La vie des peintres Flamands, Allemands et Hollandais*, 4 vols. (Geneva: Minkoff Reprints, 1972), 2:8.

<sup>49</sup> "...ne sont pas inférieurs à ses morceaux d'histoire ; possédant comme il faisoit, les fameux poètes et les bons auteurs, on ne doit pas s'étonner de l'abondance de ses pensées, de la richesse de ses inventions et de la manière sçavante et allégorique dont il traitoit l'histoire ; il n'y faisoit entrer que ce qui y étoit propre en observant les convenances, le costume et ce qui pouvoit contribuer à l'effet du tout ensemble." Dézallier d'Argenville, *Abrégé*, 3:291.

The academic training that Vincent received both in Paris and Rome encouraged him to look at Rubens and van Dyck as models for ambitious portraiture. The *Trois Hommes* give us reason to believe that he did just that, and that he took to heart the idea that the portrait could represent more than a mere likeness.

The figure of Pierre Rousseau suggests a second line of influence. The architect stands in profile and wears a poorly arranged wig placed on what appears to be a gold fabric tied behind his head. A dramatic sweep of red drapery covers the majority of the architect's body, and from this expanse of fabric a gold-sleeved arm emerges. Rousseau seems slightly separated from the two painters, as he is the only one shown in profile and does not physically engage with either of the other men. Upon closer inspection, it becomes apparent that Vincent has incorporated the architect into the group with several compositional devices. The sweep of Rousseau's red drapery meets the undulating line created by the pink lining of Vincent's cloak. The pink and silver satin of Vincent's garb reflects the redness of Rousseau's garment, and the line defining the two fabrics is slightly blurred as if the two are melding together, right below the conjoined hands of Vincent and Coclers van Wyck.

Like Coclers van Wyck and Vincent, Rousseau makes his *métier* obvious through the compass he holds in his hand. The peculiar way Rousseau grips the compass with his thumb and forefinger mirrors the position of Coclers van Wyck's fingers resting on Vincent's hand, adding compositional unity to the other artists. The awkward position, angled toward his own body in a way that makes the object difficult to read, may signify his own coming into being as an architect, as Mansfield has argued.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> Mansfield, *The Perfect Foil*, 72

The architect's profile and classicizing dress bears some resemblance to Roman medallion or coin portraits. It is worth noting that this format is one which was used to represent humanist architects of the Italian Renaissance; Rousseau evokes, for example, the profile self-portrait of Alberti dressed *all'antica* (Figure 3.23). This portrait inspired numerous fantasy portraits of the architect, and the image of Alberti was repeated in and disseminated through illustrated lives of artists and architects (Figure 3.24) and in portraits of him found in *galleries de grands hommes*, such as the representation of Alberti in the collection of Cardinal Richelieu (Figure 3.25).<sup>51</sup>

The use of a classicizing portrait format and dress may also refer to both Vincent and Rousseau's interest in the antique. Vincent is best known today as a member of the French neoclassical school of painting, but Rousseau's practice as an architect was equally inspired by ancient Roman buildings. While architectural training in France was based largely on Vitruvius's *Ten Books on Architecture*, young architects in Rome in the middle of the century were not particularly drawn to the antique monuments for serious architectural study, preferring instead to work from modern buildings.<sup>52</sup> They did not receive much pressure from the royal arts administration or the Royal Academy of Architecture to study after the antique. The Marquis de Marigny, Louis XV's *Surintendant des bâtiments*, wrote to the Charles Natoire, the director of the Academy: "I would like for our architects to occupy themselves with more things related to our spirit

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<sup>51</sup> On Alberti's self-portrait see John Pope-Hennessy, *The Portrait in the Renaissance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966), 66–68.

<sup>52</sup> Louis Hauteœur, *Histoire de l'architecture classique en France : tome IV seconde moitié du XVIIIe siècle le style Louis XVI 1750–1792* (Paris: A. et J. Picard Et cie, 1952), 40–41



and habits than with Greek temples.”<sup>53</sup> Jacques-François Blondel, a professor of the Royal Academy of Architecture, went so far as to claim in his *Cours d’architecture*:

The works of the ancients will without a doubt always be masterpieces, but they cannot serve as models; the ancients can teach us how to think, but we cannot think like them. Each people have a character, a way of thinking which is their own.<sup>54</sup>

Blondel emphasized the models of Mansard and Perrault, which were thought to be more appropriate for the houses that practicing architects would design for clients in the eighteenth century.<sup>55</sup> The study of ancient buildings and monuments was relegated to picturesque sketches or fantasy drawings in the style of Piranesi.<sup>56</sup> But the tide was turning. In 1778, shortly after Rousseau’s and Pâris’s stays in Rome, the Academy would decree that all students in Rome had to submit elevations of ancient buildings for their *envois*.<sup>57</sup>

Rousseau and his fellow architect-pensioner, Pierre-Adrien Pâris, were part of a generation that took great interest in ancient monuments. While pensioners prior to the 1778 rule rarely chose ancient monuments for the elevation studies that made up their *envois*, Pâris was known for his knowledge of Roman monuments. Indeed, this was one of the reasons that Bergeret chose him as a guide, along with Vincent. After returning to

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<sup>53</sup>“Je voudrais que nos architectes s’occupassent plus des choses relatives à nos mœurs et à nos usages que des temples de la Grèce.” Marigny to Natoire, September 21, 1762. Cited in Pierre Pinon and François Xavier Amprimoz, *Les envois de Rome : architecture et archeologie* (Rome: École française de Rome), 10

<sup>54</sup> “Sans doute les ouvrages des Anciens seront toujours de chef-d’œuvre, mais ils ne peuvent nous servir de modèles ; les anciens peuvent bien nous apprendre à penser, mais nous ne pouvons penser comme eux. Tous les peuples ont un caractère, une manière de sentir qui leur sont propres.” Jacques-François Blondel, *Cours d’architecture ou traité de la décoration, distribution et construction des bâtiments : contenant les leçons données en 1750 et les années suivantes dans son école des arts*, vol. 3 (Paris: Desaint, 1772), 54–55.

<sup>55</sup> Hauteœur, *Histoire de l’architecture classique*, 61.

<sup>56</sup> Pinon Amprimoz, *Les envois de Rome*, 10.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, 3–14.

France, Pâris continued work on a series of volumes about ancient Roman and Greek architecture, *Études d'architecture*.<sup>58</sup> While we do not have such extensive documentation of Rousseau's interest in ancient monuments, he was a part of a generation of architects inspired by the geometric regularity of classical architecture.<sup>59</sup> His best-known work, the Hôtel de Salm, is today considered to be a masterpiece of neoclassical architecture and, in the eighteenth century, the building was a particular favorite of Thomas Jefferson's during his stay in Paris.<sup>60</sup> Given Rousseau's growing appreciation for ancient Roman architecture that would influence his future commissions, it is fitting that Vincent represented his friend *à la antique*.

The *Trois Hommes* thus can be read as a mixture of sources inspired by the encounters that Vincent and Rousseau had, not only with people like Fragonard but also with art and architecture in Italy. The trip home from Rome also represented a significant moment for Vincent and Rousseau. Their return to Paris marked their transformations from students to full-fledged artists. Thus, the work is just as much about the future as it is the past. The key to reading this portrait as a transformation lies in its central figure who up to now has been left unaddressed: Coclens van Wyck.

## **Transformations**

Dressed in what appears to be a brown working garment, Coclens van Wyck clasps his hand around Vincent's hand and the brushes, his thumb and forefinger resting

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<sup>58</sup> Pinon and Amprimoz, *Les envois de Rome*, 11–14; Pierre Pinon, "L'archéologie d'un architecte," in Emmanuel Guigon and Henry Ferreira-Lopes, ed. *Le Cabinet de Pierre-Adrien Pâris : architect, dessinateur des menus-plaisirs*, exh. cat. (Paris: Hazan, 2008), 130.

<sup>59</sup> Robert Rosenblum, *Transformations in Late Eighteenth-Century Art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967), 120.

<sup>60</sup> The Hôtel de Salm, today the home of the Musée de la Légion d'honneur, was commissioned by Frederick III, Prince of Salm-Kirgurg, in 1783. It was destroyed during the Commune and subsequently rebuilt. See *ibid.*, 123–124.

on top of the Frenchman's hand, his gaze angled downward. He takes part in the central gesture of the portrait, yet he is the most demure of the three men in the painting. He is at the center of the canvas, but he is upstaged by Rousseau, who blocks more than half of Coclers van Wyck's body. Sandwiched between painter and architect, his clothing is difficult to read with certainty. His simple brown robe is overshadowed by the bright reds, golds and silvers that surround it. He seems to have more in common with the muddy brown tones of the background than with his fellow artists.

For all his pictorial modesty, Coclers van Wyck plays an important role in this work. Coclers van Wyck is a transition figure between Vincent and Rousseau. He is part of the painting's central motif, the gripping of the brushes. Coclers van Wyck was a painter, and thus the shared gesture between him and Vincent displays the two men's shared practice. Mansfield has similarly noted the theme of transformation in the *Trois Hommes* to the naturalism with which Vincent has represented Coclers van Wyck. In this reading, age is a sign of the elder artist's greater professional experience, and the shared brushes as a sort of passing of the torch between the two men.<sup>61</sup> However, the brushes also appear to reference directly the painting of the *Trois Hommes*. The tips of the brushes share the same palette as the actual portrait: the large brush's tip is covered in red paint that matches the hue of Rousseau's cloak; next to it, a brush coated in silver; the rest correspond to the browns and blacks of Vincent's hat, Coclers van Wyck's garb, and the background of the painting. The brushes held jointly by Vincent and Coclers van Wyck are representations of those that were used to create this portrait.

Vincent's presence reads as self-portrait as much as it does an individual portrait within a group portrait; he stands directly in front of the blank canvas, the only figure so-

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<sup>61</sup> Mansfield, *The Perfect Foil*, 72.

directly placed. His pose is one typically chosen by artists in self-portraits, turning to look over his shoulder, as if interrupted in his work. He makes further reference to his role as the producer of this portrait — and therefore, of his own image — by displaying the brushes. But he shares these brushes with Coclers van Wyck who was, in fact, a portraitist himself. It is worth noting that in this image Vincent passes the brushes with his *right* hand. In most self-portraits—including Vincent’s own self-portrait in Grasse—the artist is shown painting with the left hand. Artists commonly used a mirror to view themselves to create a self-portrait, and the use of the reflection as model makes the right-handed artist a left-handed one in his or her self-portrait. The subtle break with this traditional motif of self-portraiture destabilizes our reading of Vincent as a self-portrait. His image shifts between portrait and self-portrait, a mysterious *mise en abyme* that pivots around the figure of Coclers van Wyck.

The detail with which Vincent has painting his own costume contrasts with Rousseau’s seemingly makeshift outfit on the other side of the canvas. Vincent’s finesse makes all the more obvious the deliberate informality and roughness of Rousseau’s costume. Vincent ruptures the fantasy of painting by displaying the reality of Rousseau’s costume (in the most literal sense of the English word “get-up”). I read this break in the register of fantasy as a statement about the role of transformation in both costume and painting that is key to understanding this picture. When read from right to left, the painting takes on a narrative of transformation. Rousseau awaits his turn to be transformed through the act of painting. Vincent, fully finished, and placed within the boundaries of the canvas in the background has been painted. Coclers van Wyck, in between the two, is the bridge between the fantasy of representation and the actual

practice of creating that fantasy. Importantly, of the three artists, he was the most established. Having returned from Rome in 1772, he had already finished his student years in Rome and was well on his way to establishing himself as an artist in Marseille. Four years after the painting of this portrait, Coclens van Wyck was accepted into the Royal Academy of Marseille and became director of the institution sometime around 1789. He appears not as a painter coming into being, but as the painter that he became.

In my reading of this portrait, the shared gesture between Vincent and Coclens van Wyck is a sign of collaboration. He has helped Vincent transform himself through portraiture into a seventeenth-century painter, and he is about to help transform Rousseau if, as I have suggested, we imagine his projection in terms of a classical architect prototype halfway in progress.<sup>62</sup> The use of costume to represent this transformation was fitting considering the artists' experience with fancy dress. *Déguisement* was an important part of sociable life during the eighteenth century, from royal masked balls to the country parties at private homes that were popular throughout Europe.<sup>63</sup>

Artists in Rome were no strangers to fancy dress. Carnival was celebrated in Italy during an extended period of parades and balls that offered opportunities for artists to wear masks and costumes. The pensioners of the Academy frequently took part in carnival festivals and organized themed parades. The most notable and famous of these were the *Masquerade Chinois* in 1735 and the *Caravane du Sultan à la Mecque* in 1748. These parades provided a forum for the artists to show off their artistic talent, from designing costumes to fabricating garments and the building of elaborate vehicles that the

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<sup>62</sup> This reading of collaboration—that Coclens van Wyck is helping Vincent with the portrait—is based solely on the pictorial narrative of the painting. There is no physical evidence that this painting is the work of two different hands; it has a secure place in Vincent's œuvre.

<sup>63</sup> Ribeiro, *Dress in Eighteenth-Century Europe*, 245–284.

pensioners rode upon. There is no evidence that the costumes worn by Vincent, Coclers and Rousseau were used in a specific carnival parade, or that this painting referred to such a specific event, but it entered into the inventive spirit of the festivals with which the artists would have been familiar.

The skills that the pensioners displayed in designing their carnival costumes mirrored those that they had as artists. Much as the painters used paint on canvas to mimic satin and gold and sculptors made marble imitate flesh, the pensioners used cheap materials that masqueraded as luxurious fabrics such as silk and expensive materials such as gold and precious stones. These transformations of cheap items into expensive ones demonstrated their artistic skills. The artworks created to commemorate these carnivals indicate the ease with which fancy dress slid into fantasy. Jean Barbault painted the *Masquerade Chinois* (Figure 3.26), while Joseph-Marie Vien created elaborate costume studies for the Sultan's Caravan.<sup>64</sup> Vien's drawings were engraved and published in a book dedicated to Jean-François de Troy, director of the Academy in Rome at the time.<sup>65</sup> Some of the engravings were hand colored. In a particularly elaborate copy of Vien's costume designs, his plate representing the *Aga de Janissaires* (3.27), an elite member of the Ottoman army infantry, depicts the soldier in blue and purple fur-lined silk robes, with a beplumed turban decorated with pearls and gold, which are represented in the engraving through the use of glitter. The hand-coloring and glitter embellishment add to

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<sup>64</sup> François Boucher, "An Episode in the Life of the Académie de France à Rome," *Connoisseur* 148 (1961): 88–91.

<sup>65</sup> The title page explains: "La mascarade que nous avons donnée au Peuple Romain le carnaval dernier a eu un tel applaudissement que j'ai pris la résolution d'en dessiner et graver toutes les différentes figures qui la composent. Le devoir et la reconnaissance m'obligent, Monsieur, à vous les dédier. Les Secours que vous nous avez contribués, soit par vos conseils dans l'exécution de notre projet, soit par vos libéralités dans les dépenses que nous avons faites, et dans les quelles vous avez bien voulu entrer exigent de moi ce tribut de gratitude et de respect avec le quel j'ai l'honneur d'être Monsieur votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur Joseph Vien Peintre pensionnaire d'Academie." Joseph-Marie Vien, *Caravane du Sultane à la Mecque* (Paris: chez Basan et Poignant Marchands d'estampes rue et hôtel Serpente, 1748).

the illusion of richness that the costumes were meant to display. The painting and engravings take the transformation of material one step further: the cheap materials parading as luxury were transformed further into objects of value through the painter's brush or pen.

Like the pensioners in the Chinese and Sultan themed parades, it is highly likely that Vincent wore cheap materials that paraded as a *costume espagnole* when he created this portrait. A highly-skilled painter, Vincent used his skill to transform his outfit into something fantastic. By leaving Rousseau's costume easily recognizable as a costume, he similarly shows off his talent as a painter. At the same time, and unlike the pensioners dressed as exotic and foreign peoples, the men's disguises in Vincent's portrait are incomplete inventions. The three men assume roles in the painting that alluded to those that they occupied in real life as painters and architects. Rousseau evokes the Roman and Renaissance architects he admired, but also himself as a contemporary architect. Similarly, Vincent is imaginatively dressed as a seventeenth-century painter while also referring to himself as a painter in real life and, more importantly, as the painter of this portrait. Coclers van Wyck likewise appears as the portraitist he was. When stripped of their fancy dress, all three men were the professionals they played in this portrait.

## **Conclusion**

In the *Trois Hommes*, Vincent used his friends to make a statement about the transformative power of painting, his own ambitions, and the imaginative potential of portraiture. Despite the ambitious size and format of the painting, its subject is intensely personal: the friendship of three men founded far away from home, but it was also closely

tied to their professional aspirations. It is unsurprising, then, that the *Trois Hommes* was destined a limited audience. The work is not easily classified into any of the standard academic genres, making it ill-suited for the scrutiny of the Salon viewers and critics.

Friendship was frequently a motivation for Vincent's portraits, as seen in a large number of works he created during his stay in Rome. These works took a variety of formats: from standard bust-length portraits, like that of Rousseau (Figure 3.1) and Pierre-Adrien Pâris (Figure 3.28), to his caricatures, which will be addressed in the next chapter, a range that demonstrates Vincent's versatility in the genre of portraiture.

In many ways, the *Trois Hommes* surpasses these other works. It thematized the ideas of friendship and artistic practice that helped give rise to the triple portrait typology and it commented self-consciously on the history of that category. The work oscillates between friendship and professional portrait, between reality and fantasy. The *Portrait de Trois Hommes* suggests that the emotional refuge of friendship was liberating for Vincent, for it allowed him to explore and push the boundaries of portraiture.



## Chapter 4 Laughing With and Laughing At: Artists' Caricatures in Rome

### Introduction

Among the many portraits that François-André Vincent created during his stay in Rome between 1771 and 1775, his caricatures stand out for their sheer number. We know of at least sixty caricatures produced during his four years in Rome.<sup>1</sup> These drawings focused primarily on his fellow French pensioners, whom he represented numerous times. While some of the portraits appear to be quick one-offs, Vincent also seems to have more or less systematically represented all his fellow pensioners; the identifying inscriptions on some of the drawings correspond almost exactly with the *État des pensionnaires* in the *Correspondance des directeurs* of the period.<sup>2</sup>

Within Vincent's large body of caricatures, two distinct types emerge. The first type depicts the pensioners in profile in an oval format. These profile images are fairly large in size, measuring around fifty by thirty centimeters, and are the earlier of the two

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<sup>1</sup> Vincent's caricatures are in the collections of the Musée du Louvre, the Musée Carnavalet, Paris, the Musée Atger, Montpellier, the Musée des beaux arts, Rouen, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, among others, and private collections. A precise catalogue raisonné has not been completed, and there are undoubtedly more. Jean-Pierre Cuzin brought this group of drawings to light in 1971 with a short but thorough article, "Les caricatures de Vincent," *L'information d'histoire de l'art* 16e année, no. 2 (1971): 91–94. Cuzin discussed both Vincent's Roman caricatures as well as those of members of the Institut that he created after the Revolution. The later group was compiled in two volumes, both held in private collections at the time of the article's publication. Cuzin noted that one volume had been formerly attributed to Jacques-Louis David. He addressed this second series in more detail in Jean-Pierre Cuzin, "Vincent, de l'Académie de France à l'Institut de France," in *La Donation Suzanne et Henri Baderou au musée de Rouen* (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 1980), 93–100.

<sup>2</sup> Some of the drawings appear to represent artists who were not pensioners such as one labeled "Canavas peintre." This name does not appear in the *Correspondance des directeurs*, nor is it found on the list of French residents in Rome compiled in Gilles Montègre, *La Rome des français au temps des Lumières* (Rome: École française de Rome, 2011), 78–97.

groups, most likely produced in late 1772 or early 1773 (Figure 4.1).<sup>3</sup> The second type consists of full-length figures, showing a figure either from behind or in profile, and set in an indeterminate space (Figure 4.2a). These drawings, done in sanguine or black chalk, vary widely in size: some full-length figures are forty centimeters while one astoundingly large caricature of the history painter Pierre-Charles Jombert is one hundred twenty centimeters in height (Figure 4.3). Many of Vincent's drawings were copied through a counterproofing process in which a damp blank sheet of paper was pressed against the original drawing, also moistened, which left a reverse image on the blank sheet. Several versions of the same drawings appear in different museum collections (4.2b).<sup>4</sup> It appears that Vincent re-finished the counterproof drawings himself, filling in the spaces created by incomplete transfers from one sheet to the other.

Vincent's caricatures are frequently seen as curiosities in the midst of more serious forms of artistic practice, but caricatures had more significance than being mere vehicles for sporadic displays of humor. The drawings, like Vincent's portraits addressed in the previous chapter, operated as signs of friendship and a means to experiment with non-traditional, non-academically sanctioned portrait types.

Vincent was not alone in his production of caricatures. This chapter focuses on four series of caricatures created in Rome between roughly 1767 and 1775 by three different artists: the two series by Vincent described above as well as caricatures by the

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<sup>3</sup> The dates found on these drawings were most likely added later by Vincent, towards the end of his life when he was drawing up his will. Laura Auricchio believes that during this period, Vincent added dates and descriptions to his portraits of Gabrielle-Marie Capet, decades after they were completed. Laura Auricchio, email message to author, September 26, 2009. I believe it is highly likely Vincent dated the Rome drawings at the same time, based on some slight errors in the notations. For example, one portrait of Anicet-Charles-Gabriel Lemonnier is dated 1772, yet the painter did not arrive in Rome until December 12, 1774.

<sup>4</sup> Similarly, the same caricature of the history painter Jombert, for example, is found both in the Louvre and the Metropolitan Museum of Art, but in the Metropolitan Museum's version, Jombert's feet have been cut off.

French sculptor Jean-Baptiste Stouf and the Swedish sculptor Johann-Tobias Sergel. In the absence of a complete catalogue of these drawings and related prints, I have identified approximately one hundred works by Vincent, Stouf, and Sergel. Previous scholarly discussions of the drawings treat them as entertaining aberrations in each individual artist's oeuvre. Once the four groups are examined together, however, a coherency in style, subject matter, and patterns of exchange emerges, one that allows us to trace a network of artists who studied and socialized together in Rome. The substantial body of visual material suggests that caricature developed as a mode of portraiture particularly well-suited for the representation of friendship in Rome.

Jean-Baptiste Stouf was a French pensioner in Rome from 1770 to 1778. The original drawings by him have yet to be located but we know of them from the etchings of a contemporary artist-amateur, Morichaud Franconville.<sup>5</sup> Two copies of the etchings survive, one in the collections of the Bibliothèque nationale de France and the other in the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm. The etchings consist of at least eight small—approximately eight-by-twelve centimeter—sheets, each of which depicts four to six figures.<sup>6</sup> The Stockholm series was given to the museum by Sergel's descendents and includes handwritten notations in Sergel's hand (Figures 4.4, 4.5).<sup>7</sup>

The final series of caricatures this chapter addresses was created by Johann-Tobias Sergel during his eleven-year residence in Rome (1767-1778) (Figure 4.6). Sergel was a pensioner of the Swedish Academy and spent the first four years in Rome attending

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<sup>5</sup> We have no biographical information on Franconville, and these etchings are the only known examples of his work.

<sup>6</sup> The Bibliothèque nationale de France's version of the etchings has been cut up so that each figure is alone or paired with one other figure, and was subsequently pasted into a larger folio. Stockholm's version remains intact and includes several figures not found in the Bibliothèque nationale's version. The sole original caricature drawing by Stouf I have located is in the Musée d'art et d'archéologie, Besançon.

<sup>7</sup> The presence of Paul-Guillaume Lemoine, who did not arrive in Rome until 1776, suggests these works also refer to the period after Vincent's departure in 1775.

drawing classes at the French Academy before he set out to form his own academy in Rome (an *académie particulière*).<sup>8</sup> Sergel's group of friends was international in character. His caricatures depict numerous artists, including the Swiss artist Henry Fuseli (Figure 4.7), the Austrian Hubert Mauer, the Danish painter Nicolai Abraham Abildgaard (Figure 4.8), the German painter Johann Christophe Mannlich, who was residing at the French Academy in Rome, as well as the Frenchmen Vincent (Figure 4.9), Joseph-Benoît Suvée, Jean-Simeon Berthélemy and Jean-Barthélemy Le Bouteux.

At times the caricatures by these three artists depict single figures, as in the series by Vincent; others, like Sergel's ink wash drawings, are more ambitious, full-fledged scenarios that capture humorous escapades. Stouf's works show us small vignettes in which the artists interact with each other, miniaturized by Franconville's etching needle, while Vincent chose quiet, solitary moments in the pensioners' lives. But while they vary in size and mode, the drawings and etchings frequently include the same people. Sergel, Vincent, and Stouf appear in each other's works as do the pensioners Suvée, Berthélemy, and Le Bouteux. Other artists also made caricatures of their friends and colleagues, even if many do not appear to have survived or perhaps were not executed in such a systematic form. Jombert, Berthélemy, and Le Bouteux, for example, depicted Vincent in poses and formats similar to those used by Vincent himself. Jombert drew a profile portrait of Vincent with tightly pursed lips (Figure 4.10). Le Bouteux mimicked the full-length format of Vincent's own caricatures, showing the artist in a three-quarter turn away from

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<sup>8</sup> "J'allais à [sic] l'Académie étudier le modèle [sic] pendant 4 ans. Après j'avais un [sic] Académie particulière en société d'avec d'autres jeunes Artistes, tout le temps que j'étais à Rome." (I went to the [French] Academy to study the model for 4 years. After, I had my own private academy with other young artists the whole time I was in Rome.) Johan Tobias Sergel, *Autobiography*, Is18, Kungliga Biblioteket, Stockholm. Also reprinted in full in Per Bjurström, *Sergel: Dessins*, exh. cat. (Paris: Éditions Pierre Jean Oswald, 1975).

the viewer (Figure 4.11). Berthélemy caricatured Vincent while the two were at the *École des élèves protégés* preparing for their trip to Rome, capturing him in a moment of surprise in his nightcap (Figure 4.12).<sup>9</sup>

This chapter will situate the visual rhetoric of caricature within the larger context of foreigners' lives in Rome. I explore how portraiture acted as a sign of distinction that developed to represent the prestige of visiting Italy. Here, I use distinction in the sense described by Pierre Bourdieu, in which cultural consumption defines social groups (for example, social classes). For Bourdieu, consumption is a form of communication, "an act of deciphering, decoding, which presupposes practical or explicit mastery of a cipher or code."<sup>10</sup> Distinction acts not only to separate one person from others but to inscribe that person within a group of people who share the same tastes or privileges. Thus, distinction is just as much about exclusion as it is inclusion. For men traveling to Italy, commissioning and being represented in portraits that documented their travels differentiated them from individuals who had not made the trip while simultaneously inscribing them into an elite group of men that had.

The typology of portraiture that developed to represent Grand Tourists and the prestige of visiting Italy was known as the Grand Tour portrait. It was encoded with an iconography that expressed the financial and social status of the Grand Tourist and the knowledge gained on the Tour. I demonstrate that caricatures of artists functioned similarly to the Grand Tour portrait as a sign of distinction, but the visual rhetoric of caricature acted as a sign of distinction not through an iconography of wealth or

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<sup>9</sup> This image most likely belongs with another series created by Vincent at the *École des élèves protégés*, mentioned by Cuzin, "Les caricatures de Vincent," 92. At the time of the article's publication, they were for sale in the United States. I have been unable to locate their whereabouts.

<sup>10</sup> Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984), 2.

education but through humor. By examining the role of laughter in eighteenth-century sociable practice, I contend that the creation and exchange of these drawings and etchings defined the artists who made and were represented in them as a group of friends. The exchange of laughter was part and parcel of larger social practices in Rome, a particular environment that encouraged the formation of close friendships among artists living there. Finally, I examine how the act of distinction through portraiture served to define this group *against* those who were not members of it. While caricature defined a group of men through a shared joke, sexualized representations of women served to define foreign men against Roman women and men. In Rome, caricature became a distinctly masculine form of representation.

### **Portraits as Distinction**

Traveling through Italy was a great source of pride for artists and educated men during the eighteenth century.<sup>11</sup> For wealthy individuals, Rome was a finishing school of sorts, providing an education in classical arts and culture. Participating in the Tour had the potential to open doors in society upon one's return, as exemplified by English clubs such as the Society of the Dilettanti that restricted membership to men who had taken the

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<sup>11</sup> The literature on artists in Italy and the Grand Tour is extensive. See Nancy L Pressly, *The Fuseli Circle in Rome: Early Romantic Art of the 1770s* (New Haven: Yale Center for British Studies, 1979); Andrew Wilton and Ilaria Bignamini, *Grand Tour: The Lure of Italy in the Eighteenth Century*, exh. cat. (London: Tate Gallery Publishing, 1996); Edgar Peters Bowron and Joseph J. Pishel, *Art in Rome in the Eighteenth Century*, exh. cat. (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 2000); Jeremy Black, *Italy and the Grand Tour* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003); Janine Barrier, *Les architectes européens à Rome, 1740–1760: la naissance du goût à la grèque* (Paris: Centre des monuments nationaux, 2005); Barbara Ann Naddeo, "Cultural Capitals and Cosmopolitanism in Eighteenth-Century Italy: the Historiography of Italy on the Grand Tour," *Journal of Modern Italian Studies* 10, no. 2 (2005): 183–199; Montègre, *La Rome des français*; Louis Hauteceœur, *Rome et la renaissance de l'antiquité à la fin du XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Fontemoing et Cie, 1912).

Grand Tour.<sup>12</sup> A stay in Rome was a similar capstone in a young artist's education, and a sojourn there was considered one of the highest levels of artistic training. In the city, artists could submerge themselves in the study of classical antiquities and Old Master paintings. Rome was also a crucial site of sociability and professional networking for young artists.

Portraiture was an important means of displaying one's inclusion within an elite group of travelers that had participated the social ritual of the Grand Tour, and a particular typology of portrait developed to represent tourists.<sup>13</sup> The work of Pompeo Batoni, one of the most sought-after Italian portraitists in Rome, is a prime example of the typology that became associated with the Grand Tour. His portrait of Sir Gregory Turner (later Page-Turner) from 1768-1769 depicts the wealthy landowner and member of Parliament at three-quarters length (Figure 4.13). Sir Gregory is a dashing, energetic figure who looks at something outside the frame of the canvas, gesturing as if in conversation. Known for his extravagant and fashionable dress, he is depicted in an appropriately luxurious red suit, trimmed in gold. He is surrounded by objects that speak to the knowledge he has gained on the Tour: books, an inkwell and pen, a map of Rome, and a bust of Minerva watching over him. The background of the painting opens on to a view of the Coliseum. Even Sir Gregory's pose makes reference to classical antiquity; it was adapted from the *Apollo Belvedere*, and one which the artist reused in a number of

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<sup>12</sup> On the Society of Dilettanti see Bruce Redford, *Dilettanti: the Antic and the Antique in Eighteenth-Century England* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2008); Jason M. Kelly, *The Society of Dilettanti: Archaeology and Identity in the British Enlightenment* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009).

<sup>13</sup> For more on the tradition of the Grand Tour portrait, see Francis Russell, "Notes on Grand Tour Portraiture," *Burlington Magazine* 136, no. 1096 (1994): 438–434; Wilton and Bignamini, *Grand Tour: The Lure of Italy in the Eighteenth Century*; Peters Edgar, Peter Bowron, and Björn Kerber, *Pompeo Batoni: Prince of Painters in Eighteenth-Century Rome*, exh. cat. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008). Most recently, the social role of the Grand Tour portrait in expressing social class and nationality has been examined in Sabrina Norlander Eliasson, *Portraiture and Social Identity in the Eighteenth Century* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009).

three-quarter length Grand Tour portraits.<sup>14</sup> Batoni's portrait of Turner is carefully constructed to represent his participation in the Grand Tour and highlight his personal wealth and education.

The typology of the Grand Tour portrait was saturated with codes that expressed the experience of traveling. It acted as a sign of distinction that displayed the sitter's participation in an elite group who had traveled to Rome. In other words, the social ritual of the Tour and the act of displaying one's participation in that ritual were often more important for social gain than the actual knowledge gained during it.<sup>15</sup> Grand Tourists turned not only to Italian painters like Batoni for these portraits but also to foreign artists residing in Italy, such as the German Anton Raphael Mengs and British artists Joshua Reynolds and Nathaniel Dance. François-André Vincent, for example, completed important portrait commissions for his patron Pierre-Jacques-Onésyme Bergeret de Grancourt, whom he met during the patron's frequent visits to the French Academy in Rome (Figure 3.2).<sup>16</sup> Artists connected not only with new patrons, but also with artists from other countries who could offer access to foreign academies.<sup>17</sup>

Alongside the Grand Tour portrait, caricature became an important form used to represent travel in Italy. Caricature was a particularly apt genre for the tourist experience in Italy since it had deep roots in Italian tradition. The word itself came from the Italian

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<sup>14</sup> Edgar, Bowron, and Kerber, *Pompeo Batoni*, 69–70.

<sup>15</sup> Black, *Italy and the Grand Tour*, 138.

<sup>16</sup> For more on Bergeret de Grancourt's trip to Italy see Pierre-Jacques-Onésyme Bergeret de Grancourt, *Voyage d'Italie 1773–1774 avec les dessins de Fragonard* (Paris: Éditions Michel de Romilly, 1948); Musée d'art et d'histoire Louis-Senlecq, *Fragonard et le voyage en Italie, 1773–1774: les Bergeret, une famille de mécènes* (Paris: Somogy, 2001); Pierre Rosenberg, *Les Fragonards de Besançon*, exh. cat. (Milan: 5 Continents Editions, 2006); Georges Wildenstein, "Un amateur de Boucher et de Fragonard : Jacques-Onésyme Bergeret (1715–1785)," *Gazette des Beaux Arts* 58 (July 1961): 39–84.

<sup>17</sup> For general descriptions of life as an artist in Rome, see Hauteceœur, *Rome et la renaissance de l'antiquité*, 46–55; Olivier Michel, *Vivre et peindre à Rome au XVIIIème siècle* (Rome: Ecole française de Rome, 1996), 41–64; Montègre, *La Rome des français*, 28–58.



*caricatura*, meaning “to overload.”<sup>18</sup> The genre was widely established in the practice of artists beginning with Leonardo da Vinci and Italian artists were among the best-known caricaturists. Annibale Carracci is generally credited with giving the genre a personal quality distinct from the more generalized grotesques of the Renaissance period.<sup>19</sup> Yet, for the most part, Italian artists did not practice the genre professionally. Pier Leoni Ghezzi is often described as the first example of an Italian artist who turned the art of caricature into a business, and his work was produced largely for foreign visitors in the eighteenth century. Examples of his caricatures representing the Papal Court, Roman aristocracy, Grand Tourists, Jacobite émigrés, artists and connoisseurs (both Italian and foreign), musicians and opera singers exist in volumes in numerous collections throughout Europe, but particularly England.<sup>20</sup>

Ghezzi managed to earn a living from caricatures because they became an increasingly popular alternative to painted Grand Tour portraits over the course of the eighteenth century, albeit one that was considered frivolous and possibly even counter to the goals of what was usually considered an educational trip. When Abel-François Poisson de Vandières, the future Marquis de Marigny and *Directeur-Général des Bâtiments du Roi* to Louis XV, wrote to his sister, Madame de Pompadour, from Italy in 1750, he included a caricature of himself that he had commissioned (Figure 4.14). Pompadour was not impressed: “I will tell you that I found your caricature dreadful. The King thought the same, and no one recognized you, not one of your people. I have little

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<sup>18</sup> Edward Croft-Murray, “The Place of Caricature in Eighteenth-Century Italian Drawing,” in *Venetian Drawings of the XVII and XVIII Centuries in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen at Windsor Castle* (London: Phaidon Press, 1957), 138.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 140. Giambattista and Domenico Tiepolo also created works that might be described as “caricatures.” These works, however, seem to have been stock types rather than portraits of specific individuals. Keith Christiansen, *Giambattista Tiepolo, 1696–1770*, exh. cat. (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1996), 260.

interest in having this talent.”<sup>21</sup> Foreign artists staying in Rome also participated in the production of tourist caricatures. While in Italy, the English painters Joshua Reynolds (Figure 4.15) and Thomas Patch (Figure 4.16) created caricatures and humorous conversation pieces of themselves with fellow artists and Grand Tourists. Ghezzi’s influence is apparent in the work of these artists, as well as in the caricatures that are the focus of this chapter. For example, Vincent’s choice to depict his figures at full-length in profile, or from the back, resonates with Ghezzi’s images, as do Vincent’s profile heads.<sup>22</sup>

In his extended history of caricature, *Caricature from Leonardo to Picasso*, art historian Werner Hoffman noted that the genre is

the counterpart to ideal beauty, it is its complete negation and in its own way, just as much as a transformation of reality (through the artist’s subjective imagination) as the sublimation and idealization in the work of Raphael.<sup>23</sup>

Caricature is dependent on the model and needs the ideal of beauty for the viewer to understand the visual joke, and the Rome caricatures are no exception.<sup>24</sup> The format inversed the idealization of formal portraiture by removing any aspect of it and instead exaggerated the sitter’s faults. It took the model of the Grand Tour portrait and turned it on its head. Ghezzi’s image of *James Carnegie, 5th Earl of Southesk* from 1729, for

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<sup>21</sup> “Je vous dirai que j’ai trouvé votre caricature effroyable. Le Roi l’a trouvée de même et personne ne vous y a reconnu, ne pas un de vos gens. Je me soucierai peu de posséder ce talent.” Quoted in André Blum, “L’Estampe satirique et la caricature en France au XVIIIe siècle,” *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, no. 5 (1910): 382.

<sup>22</sup> Cuzin acknowledged that Vincent was most likely indebted to the Italian artist, and, given Ghezzi’s notoriety, the influence is probable. Cuzin, “Les caricatures de Vincent,” 92. Croft-Murray likewise examines the influence of the Italian caricaturist on British artists in Rome. See Croft-Murray, “The Place of Caricature in Eighteenth-Century Italian Drawing,” 138–142.

<sup>23</sup> Werner Hofmann, *Caricature from Leonardo to Picasso* (London: John Calder, 1957), 382.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 11, 15.

example, removed the figure from all context (Figure 4.17). Carnegie is shown at full-length in profile in blank surroundings. Although he is shown in fine clothing, Ghezzi accentuates the sitter's giant nose and frowning mouth. He is far from dashing; he stands planted in empty space without a hint of movement in his body. Vincent's portraits of his fellow pensioners likewise reverse idealization, focusing on and exaggerating his friends' worst features. His caricature of the architect Pierre Rousseau, for example, places the sitter in evacuated space (Figure 4.18). He wears a large, form-engulfing coat. Rousseau's three-quarter turn to the back—itsself an inversion of the three-quarter frontal pose traditionally used in portraits—allows the viewer to see his accentuated hooked nose.

The majority of caricatures produced in Rome by Italian, British, and French artists fall under the category of the *portrait charge*.<sup>25</sup> The word *caricature* only made an appearance in the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française* in 1762, around the same time it appeared in English parlance. While the French entry is quite specific about the Italian origins of the word, the actual meaning is essentially the same as the *charge*, a French word which entered the dictionary in 1694: "In regards to painting, a *portrait charge* is a portrait which resembles an individual, but the physical characteristics are overly defined and much bigger or much smaller than they are, which is done to make the person laughable."<sup>26</sup> These caricatures differed from social or political caricatures (*estampes satiriques*) that were widely reproduced for public consumption. While *estampes*

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<sup>25</sup> The accent on the final e in the seventeenth-century word *chargé* is dropped in modern spellings.

<sup>26</sup> "En termes de peinture, un portrait chargé, c'est un portrait qui ressemble en quelque façon, mais dont les traits sont trop marquez & plus grands ou plus petits qu'ils ne sont, ce qu'on fait pour rendre la personne ridicule." "Chargé," *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française, 1st Edition (1694)* in *Dictionnaires d'autrefois*, University of Chicago: The Project for American and French Research on the Treasury of the French Language (ARTFL), University of Chicago, <http://artfl-project.uchicago.edu/>. Accessed August 23, 2009.

*satiriques* were geared for public consumption and addressed public figures or political events, the *portraits charges* had a far more specific and smaller audience. The humor in them comes from directly mocking the person who is represented by exaggerating the faults of his physiognomy. Because *portraits charges* were commissioned, they were created with the willing participation of the sitter. Humor was therefore intentional and, furthermore, expected.

While Grand Tour portraits like Batoni's highlighted wealth and education, caricatures pointed to the other side of the Grand Tour experience: the pursuit of pleasure. As historian Jeremy Black has noted, much of the correspondence written by Tourists and their bear leaders (the men hired to guide tourists through Italy) was concerned with debts, gambling, and shopping more than with historical and cultural sites. Unlike the Grand Tour portraits, caricatures were not about wealth and prestige—types of distinction that come with social and financial gain. The caricatures create distinction through a shared humor.

In 1928, sociologist Ernest Dupréel wrote that laughter falls into two main types. The first of these is laughter of inclusion (*le rire d'accueil*). Laughter of inclusion is a sign of unity and serves to define a group.<sup>27</sup> When laughter is turned outward against others, however, it can take on a malicious intent, and defines those who do not belong to the group. It becomes laughter of exclusion (*le rire d'exclusion*).<sup>28</sup>

During the eighteenth century, laughter brought about by ridicule was a cause for

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<sup>27</sup> “Le joie du rire est un sentiment conforme à nous instincts sociaux les plus fondamentaux; elle est la satisfaction d’être réunis, la communion dans le groupe.” Ernest Dupréel, “Le problème sociologique du rire,” *Revue philosophique de la France et de l’Étranger* 106, no. July/December (1928): 234. See also Marcel Gutwirth, *Laughing Matter: an Essay on the Comic* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), 29–58.

<sup>28</sup> Dupréel, “Le problème sociologique du rire,” 234.

concern for moralists and philosophers precisely due to the conception of two types of laughter later systematized by Dupréel. Alongside questions about the physiological causes and effects of laughter, its proper uses and place in social situations were central to these discussions.<sup>29</sup> To summarize briefly the most common view: laughing was generally seen as acceptable and was understood as a defining feature of the sociable nature of man. It therefore had a place in the growing public sphere of the eighteenth century that included coffee houses and the salons held in the *hôtels particuliers* of the French *salonnières*.<sup>30</sup>

In these situations and spaces, laughter was an expression of gaiety and broke up monotonous conversation but it had to follow the rules of *politesse*, or proper social exchange. Gentle mocking (*raillerie*) could be a source of laughter that brought people together. In the eighteenth century, being able to participate in the social exchange of jokes that brought about laughter was one of many signs that one belonged to sociable culture. If an individual could make a joke that caused others to laugh, it signified that that individual understood the rules of *politesse* and had the knowledge and wit to participate in it.<sup>31</sup> Laughter both brought a group together—those who knew how and when to laugh—and separated it from those who did not know how to make jokes. In other words, laughter was a form of distinction. Knowing how and when to laugh operated as a demonstration of “cultural competence,” similar to Bourdieu’s discussion of manners and the acquisition of manners which serve to distinguish social classes.<sup>32</sup> Over

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<sup>29</sup> On eighteenth-century laughter see Lise Andries, ed., *Le Rire*, special issue, *Dix-Huitième Siècle*, 32, (2000); Anne Richardot, *Le rire des Lumières* (Paris: Editions Champion, 2002); Vic Gatrell, *City of Laughter: Sex and Satire in Eighteenth-Century London* (London: Atlantic Books, 2006); Anne Chamayou, *Jean-Jacques Rousseau ou le sujet de rire* (Arras: Artois Presses Université, 2009).

<sup>30</sup> On sociable laughter, see Richardot, *Le rire des Lumières*, 83–126.

<sup>31</sup> Richardot, *Le rire des Lumières*, 83–96.

<sup>32</sup> Bourdieu, *Distinction*, 65–68.

the course of the eighteenth century, discussions of laughter became more concerned with the divisive potential of laughter that demonstrated the power of the joke-maker over the person he mocked. In France, the term *persiflage* was coined to refer to the nasty humor that had the goal of humiliation and conquest. This type of humor became increasingly linked with despotism due to the power exerted by the joke-maker in the form of humiliation, public or private.<sup>33</sup>

Because *portraits charge* were directed at an individual and not a larger social or political event, a certain even-handedness was necessary in order to keep the joke within the realm of *raillerie*. The artist and sitter of a *portrait charge* were both in on the joke; the subject was aware of the caricature's existence and most likely had a part in its creation. Thus, both the artists' caricatures and Grand Tourists' caricatures served the same purpose as mementos of an educated man's rite of passage by exhibiting the sitter's participation in the caricature joke. However, the two groups of caricatures operated differently vis-à-vis the types of relationships they revealed. The caricatures of artists drawn by other artists in Rome were removed from a system of monetary exchange. It was not one artist representing the others based on a series of commissions. Instead, the artists depicted in and producing these caricatures alternated between artist and sitter. Sergel and Vincent appear in Stouf's series; Berthélemy, Jombert, and Le Bouteux drew Vincent and were drawn by him; Sergel made profile portraits of Vincent, Berthélemy, and Le Bouteux. The artists' ability to change roles represented an exchange of laughter that was consistent with its proper social uses, as the artists could both laugh and be laughed at.

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<sup>33</sup> Richardot, *Le rire des Lumières*, 97–126.

## Art and Friendly Commerce

The social exchange present in caricatures of artists contrasts starkly with the English and Italian caricatures that were created in exchange for money. The English and Italian caricatures are symptomatic of a more traditional power structure in which the artist must be sensitive to the needs, desires, and ego of the patron. The artist was “in” on the joke, but he was also the vehicle through which the joke was told. The joke was at the expense of the patron but that cost could only come from his wallet and not his dignity. Inclusion, not exclusion, was of vital importance. In these examples, the artists took out some of the “bite” in order to avoid offending their powerful patrons. Thomas Mann noted that Thomas Patch “was always so prudent as never to caricature anybody without his consent and a full liberty to exert his talents” and always included himself in group caricatures to lessen the blow of the negative exaggeration inherent to caricature.<sup>34</sup> In order to stay within the realm of *raillerie*, each artist was required to be the mocker and the object of mocking. Because the joke between artists relied on such an equal exchange of representation rather than the asymmetry of monetary transactions, it suggests that these objects are evidence of relationships that were distinct from traditional patron and artist power structures.

The equal exchange extended to the physical objects. The provenance histories of these caricatures, insofar as I have been able to trace them, provides strong and clear evidence that the caricatures were exchanged among the artists represented in them. Vincent’s drawings were copied through a counter-proof process. The *catalogue de vente* of Guillaume Moitte’s collection in 1807 lists under the heading “drawings under glass”

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<sup>34</sup> Quoted in J.B. Watson, “Thomas Patch (1725–1782): Notes on his Life, Together with a Catalogue of His Known Works,” *Journal of the Walpole Society* 28 (1940): 24.

two drawings by Vincent, one of them “a caricature, figure of a man seated.”<sup>35</sup> Suvée’s collection, which also went up for sale in 1807, included “nine counterproofs of caricatures” by Vincent.<sup>36</sup> Vincent also kept copies of the full-length portraits which ended up in the Musée Atger at the École de médecine in Montpellier. Another large body of caricatures by Vincent, the medallion portraits, also remain in a group at the Musée Carnavalet. These two groups are distinct from the other copies in other collections because of the hand-written, dated inscriptions identifying the subjects portrayed.<sup>37</sup> Several copies of the full-length versions are found today in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum, two of which—Jombert’s caricature of Vincent and the back view of a servant boy—can be traced back to Anicet-Gabriel-Charles Lemonnier.<sup>38</sup> The Louvre, several regional museums in France, and private collectors also have copies of several drawings. Stouf’s drawings were engraved, undoubtedly so that the persons represented could have copies of their own. The copies of the Stouf etchings located at the Nationalmuseum in Sweden came from Sergel’s collection, as part of an 1875 gift from the artist’s descendents.

The exchange of roles present in the caricatures and the exchange of the physical objects themselves as demonstrated by their provenance links caricature production to the eighteenth-century conception of friendship. In the *Encyclopédie*, the abbé Claude Yvon

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<sup>35</sup> *Catalogue de tableaux, dessins, et sculptures après le décès de Feu M. Moitte*, Mfilm 35 1807 08 20, Bibliothèque de l’Institut national d’histoire de l’art, Paris.

<sup>36</sup> *Catalogue de tableaux, miniatures et dessins, etc., après le décès de Mr. Suvée, peintre*, Mfilm 35 1807 11 04, Bibliothèque de l’Institut national d’histoire de l’art, Paris.

<sup>37</sup> These are possibly the drawings listed in the sale of Vincent’s collection listed under the section “Suite de dessins en feuilles, croquis, études, académies, d’après la nature et l’antique ; têtes d’expression, etc. par feu M Vincent” as item 78: “trente trois pièces différents sujets et caricatures.” *Notice des tableaux, dessins, estampes sous verre et en feuilles composant le cabinet et les études de feu François-André Vincent Vente à Paris, les 17, 18 et 19 Octobre 1816*, Mfilm 35 1816 10 17, Bibliothèque de l’Institut national d’histoire de l’art, Paris.

<sup>38</sup> “François-André Vincent,” in *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Collection Database*, [http://www.metmuseum.org/Works\\_of\\_Art/collection\\_database/](http://www.metmuseum.org/Works_of_Art/collection_database/). Accessed August 23, 2009.



linked *amitié* (friendship) to “commerce” and claimed it was a source of “reciprocal pleasure.”<sup>39</sup> This notion of reciprocity is similar to Marcel Mauss’s seminal discussion of gift exchange: the social commerce of friendship locked individuals into a cycle of giving, receiving and reciprocating.<sup>40</sup> And, like Mauss’s discussion of the potlatch, Yvon placed a lot of emphasis on the reciprocal act of return:

In general, to handle carefully that which should contribute to the mutual satisfaction of friends and the pleasantness of their commerce, it is necessary for one, in his needs, always to expect or demand less rather than more of his friend and for the other, according to his capacity, always to give his friend more rather than less.<sup>41</sup>

The giving and receiving of drawing was a common social practice among this group of artists in Rome. We find first-hand accounts of these activities in the journal of Pierre-Adrien Pâris, a French architect and pensioner of the Academy who kept an almost daily record of his activities in Rome from 1771 until early 1773.<sup>42</sup> The architect mentions several occasions where he gave or received artworks from his fellow pensioners. In the entry for March 1, 1772, Pâris described a drawing excursion to the Villa Medici after

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<sup>39</sup> “Friendship is nothing other than *the practice of maintaining a decent and pleasant commerce with someone...* But those who make this observation do not consider that two people do not, without being friends, maintain a connection that has nothing incorrect about it and that gives them reciprocal pleasure.” Denis Diderot and Claude Yvon, “Friendship,” in *The Encyclopedia of Diderot & d’Alembert Collaborative Translation Project*, trans. Jeffrey Merrick (Ann Arbor: MPublishing, University of Michigan Library, 2003), <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/spo.did2222.0000.182> (accessed March 13, 2009). Originally published as “Amitié,” *Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers* (Paris, 1751), 1:361–362.

<sup>40</sup> Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies*, trans. W. D. Halls (New York: W.W. Norton, 2000), 39–43.

<sup>41</sup> Diderot and Yvon, “Friendship.”

<sup>42</sup> Pierre-Adrien Pâris, *Journal de mon séjour à Rome*, Ms. Pâris 6, Bibliothèque municipale de Besançon Etude et conservation, Besançon. Pâris has been the subject of a biography and a monographic exhibition in recent years, but the focus of discussion has been his life after Rome, particular his work as the *dessinateur des menus-plaisirs*, which is perhaps why this journal is frequently uncited. When it is referenced by scholars today, it is for Pâris’s descriptions of Roman monuments. See Pierre Pinon, *Pierre-Adrien Pâris (1745–1819), architecte, et les monuments antiques de Rome et de la campanie* (Rome: École française de Rome, 2007); Emmanuel Guigon and Henry Ferreira-Lopes, *Le cabinet de Pierre-Adrien Pâris architecte, dessinateur des menus-plaisirs*, exh. cat. (Paris: Hazan, 2008).

which Ménageot asked for a counterproof of the drawings Pâris produced during that trip.<sup>43</sup> On May 7, 1772, Pâris recorded receiving a gift of two drawings from Vincent. The extraordinary collection of drawings Pâris acquired in Rome is still together; the architect later donated it to his hometown of Besançon.

In many cases, we only have one side of the exchange, for example, Pâris's accounts of giving or receiving works, and lack records of the other side of the exchange. The caricatures, however, demonstrate reciprocity, for the obligation to give, to receive, and to reciprocate was found not only in the exchange the physical drawings and etchings but in the act of posing. Subjecting oneself to a form of friendly humiliation was means of repayment. The sense of group exchange, with artists continually posing for one another and exchanging pairs or sometimes entire sets of drawings, as in the case of the etchings, inscribed the drawings and etchings into a gift economy—a form of “reciprocal pleasure”—and further removed the objects from the monetary exchange typically created by artist-patron relationships.

Friendly social exchange was an important part of daily social life in Rome. Throughout his journal, Pâris mentioned late-night games of *tric trac* (backgammon) with Vincent as well as concerts, plays, and excursions with a number of the men depicted in the caricatures. In an incredibly detailed entry for November 20, 1772, he described a visit to the catacombs with fifteen other men.<sup>44</sup> An inkwash drawing by Vincent from the

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<sup>43</sup> Pâris, *Journal*.

<sup>44</sup> “la partie [illegible] étant faite d’aller aux catacombes après souper. J’ai soupé a l’académie et nous sommes parti à 9 heures et demie nous étions quinze Ms de Fronsted, Vincent, Senechal, Mouette, Foucault, Soyette, Tubeuf, le frère de la Sig. Marthe, Mauge, Bouquet, moi...” Ibid.

period depicts such a scene, further suggesting that the daily adventures of pensioners in Rome were a common inspiration for artistic practice.<sup>45</sup>

Outside of Pâris's firsthand accounts, scholars have shown that life in Rome was a mixture of artistic practice and socializing for all artists.<sup>46</sup> The life drawing studio at the French Academy had long been open to foreign artists visiting Rome; in 1775, Joseph-Marie Vien noted: "I am always preaching and giving advice, the Palais Mancini being full of students, both French and foreign."<sup>47</sup> Beginning in 1754, Pope Benedict XIV offered a free drawing school at the Capitoline, and many foreign artists joined the Accademia del San Luca in Rome. By the last half of the century, the numerous academies within the city's walls gave artists of different nationalities plenty of opportunities to meet and work side-by-side. Foreign artists such as Serger and Swiss sculptor Alexander Trippel formed their own private drawing schools in Rome, adding even more opportunities for young artists to work and interact with each other.<sup>48</sup>

Outside of academic contexts, French, British, Swedish, Danish, and German artists lived together. The majority of artists not attached to academies took up residence in the area around the Spanish steps, not far from the French Academy's original location on the Via del Corso. They socialized outside of the studio at the neighborhood cafés and trattorias, such as the Caffè Greco, Caffè Inglese, and the Trattoria Röster.<sup>49</sup> Artists also traveled together in groups to villas outside Rome, such as the Villa Madama, to copy

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<sup>45</sup> Inventory number D.2927 in the collection of the Musée des beaux-arts et d'archéologie de Besançon.

<sup>46</sup> See Hauteccœur, *Rome et la renaissance de l'antiquité*, 50–55; Michel, *Vivre et peindre à Rome*, 41–64; Montègre, *La Rome des français*, 28–58.

<sup>47</sup> "Je vais toujours prêchant et donnant des avis, le palais [the Palais Mancini] étant plein d'étudiants soit français soit étrangers." Anatole de Montaiglon and Jules Guiffrey, *Correspondance des directeurs de l'Académie de France à Rome avec les Surintendants des Bâtiments*, 17 vols. (Paris: Jean Schemit, 1904), 13:164.

<sup>48</sup> These academies are detailed in Hauteccœur, *Rome et la renaissance de l'antiquité*, 21–57. See also Michel, *Vivre et peindre à Rome*, 41–52

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, 53.

frescoes and antiquities, and took trips further afield to Naples, Tivoli, and Herculaneum.<sup>50</sup>

Artists appear to have used caricatures as a way to record these sociable encounters. In the series of drawings created by Stouf and later engraved by Franconville the figures are arranged in pairs and threesomes in a variety of activities, suggesting that the artists engaged in many forms of pleasant commerce. In the first sheet, an unidentified figure lunges towards Houet who stands with his arms raised and a walking stick above his head. He lifts one leg off the ground, as if engaged in a bizarre dance (Figure 4.19). On the right half of the same sheet, Vincent and Pâris are shown in conversation, separated from the first two figures by an inexplicably placed cat. Vincent gesticulates wildly, eyes open wide and mouth gaping. Pâris leans towards Vincent, awkwardly thrusting his bottom out behind him. The architect extends his right arm towards his Vincent, fingers spread open. Sergel takes a pinch of snuff from a figure labeled “Rigaud” in sheet seven (Figure 4.20). In the eighth sheet, Louis-Simon Boizot, holding a drawing portfolio, examines a Roman bust of a bearded man. He is joined by Simon-Louis Bocquet, who leans into the artwork to examine it with a looking glass (Figure 4.21). Next to them, an unidentified figure regards with condemnation a man who sings and plays a violin. On the right side of the sheet, Suvée turns away from the viewer, his foot raised as if he were disappearing into the undefined space behind him. Le Bouteux lunges towards Suvée, grabbing his hand in an urgent manner as if to stop him from leaving.

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<sup>50</sup> Ibid., 54. See also Elvy Setterqvist O’Brien’s discussion of Sergel’s trip to Naples with Mannlich, the French painter Dominique Lefevre, the German architect Christian Traugott Weinlig, and others. Elvy Setterqvist O’Brien, “Johan Tobias Sergell (1740–1814) and Neoclassicism: Sculpture of Sergell’s Years Abroad” (PhD dissertation, University of Iowa, 1982), 38–47. O’Brien chooses to spell Sergel’s name with two Ls.

These drawings are silly but they demonstrate many of the pastimes common to artists in Rome. Similar themes appear in some of Vincent's works (Jombert playing the violin (Figure 4.22), Huvé taking snuff (Figure 4.23)). In recording the activities and the individuals who participated in them, the caricatures become a form of sociability itself. Such a social use of portraiture mimicked artistic practices that developed in spaces of sociability back in France. Carmontelle, for example, represented a wide range of people in a series of gouache and watercolor portraits; many of his subjects came from the circle of Louis-Philippe-Joseph, Duc d'Orleans. Seven hundred fifty were found in his possession at his death in 1807.<sup>51</sup> These works frequently show individuals in genre-like scenes of conversation, musical performance, or game playing, as seen in such examples as *M. le baron d'Huart et M. Franguier, jouant au trictrac* (Figure 4.24) or *Mlle Pitoïn à son piano, M. son père l'accompagnant sur la basse* (Figure 4.25). Charles-Nicolas Cochin likewise represented the circle of illustrious men and women who participated in Marie-Thérèse Geoffrin's salon through a series of medallion portraits which remained in the *salonnière's* collection (Figure 4.26).<sup>52</sup>

Vincent's medallion portraits in particular mimic the systematic form of Cochin's works, but they explode the engraver's format.<sup>53</sup> Five times the size of the delicate

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<sup>51</sup> Grimm described these works in the *Correspondance littéraire* as representing "des hommes et des femmes de tout état, de tout âge s'y trouvent pêle-mêle, depuis M. le Dauphin jusqu'au frotteur de Saint-Cloud." Quoted in Musée Cognac-Jay, *Marguerite Gérard, artiste en 1789, dans l'atelier de Fragonard*, exh. cat. (Paris: Paris musées, 2009), 29, cat. entries 36–40.

<sup>52</sup> Cochin's medallion portraits were well known; he had shown a large group of forty-six of the original drawings at the salon of 1753. These drawings were then subsequently engraved by members of Cochin's circle: the Saint-Aubins, Laurent Cars, and Charles-Henri Watelet, among others, as well as Cochin himself. These were listed under number 179 in the *livret. Collection de Livrets des Anciennes Expositions depuis 1673 jusqu'en 1800*, ed. Jules Guiffrey, 8 vols., vol. 3 (Nogent le Roi: Jacques Laget, 1990).

<sup>53</sup> Cuzin also noted the similarities between the two groups of drawings. Cuzin, "Les caricatures de Vincent," 91. It is possible Vincent had direct contact with Geoffrin's salon. His teacher, Joseph-Marie Vien, was himself a member of Geoffrin's circle, and may have introduced Vincent to her salon. Such a practice is not unheard of; Christine Le Bozac mentions that Anicet-Charles-Gabriel Lemonnier, another student of Vien's, was introduced to her circle. See Christine Le Bozac, *Lemonnier : un peintre en*

medallions, they eschew neutral expressions for scowls and slacks jaws (Figure 4.27). In the portrait of Suvée (Figure 4.28), the artist seems to peer out at the viewer with a sideways glance, with a mischievous grin fixed on his face. Such an expression adds an element of interaction completely absent from Cochin's serious yet informal works. Although Cochin's drawings were described as a form of "amusement" during Geoffrin's salon, the portraits have a thoughtful tenor to them, appropriate for the careful balance of play and *politesse* that governed Geoffrin's salon.<sup>54</sup> Sites of Parisian sociability were still governed by the rules of polite conversation and proper behavior that were enforced, for example, by the presence of a *salonnière* like Madame Geoffrin.<sup>55</sup> The aristocratic circle of Carmontelle would have similarly expected a certain level of decorum. In contrast, the unserious nature of the caricatures implies that life in Rome was defined by the escape from such constraints. The sociability of artists in Rome was founded in a different type of relationship than the sociability experienced by artists well integrated into the sociable spaces back in Paris.

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*Révolution* (Rouen: Université de Rouen, 2000). Cochin also had ties to Vincent's Roman cohort; his *Lettres à un jeune artiste peintre, pensionnaire à l'Académie royale de France à Rome*, was addressed to the pensioner Charles-Antoine Jombert, the son of a prominent bookseller and publisher with whom Cochin was close. Charles-Nicolas Cochin, *Lettres à un jeune artiste peintre, pensionnaire à l'Académie royale de France à Rome* (Paris: Bureau du journal des Beaux-Arts, 1836).

<sup>54</sup> Hugues-Adrien Joly, the garde du cabinet des estampes wrote "Le Sr. Cochin pendant que les amateurs et les artistes s'assemblent chez Mad. Geoffrin un jour de la semaine les a dessinés de profil dans une forme de médaillon. Il s'est promis de les graver tous et de nous les donner pour mettre à la tête de M. le Comte de Caylus. Le S. Cochin a dessiné plusieurs amateurs et plusieurs artistes qui sont reçus et très bien accueillis tous les Lundi. Madame Geoffrin donne chez elle un dîné appelé le dîné des Arts, et tandis que les uns sont à la conversation, le S. Cochin se recrée à dessiner ou ses confrères ou des amateurs, en sorte que son intention serait de les faire graver tous pour en faire une suite de portraits." Quoted in Charlotte Guichard, *Les amateurs d'art à Paris au XVIIIe siècle* (Seysssel: Champ-Vallon, 2008), 220.

<sup>55</sup> Dena Goodman, *The Republic of Letters: A Cultural History of the French Enlightenment* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994), 5.

### “Freedom in Feeling and Language”

As noted in Chapter 3, the distance between the Academy in Rome and its governing institution in Paris provided the French pensioners with an opportunity to explore artistic sociability and offered an educational experience that differed greatly from education back home. Artistic education, as conceived by the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture in Paris, was built around competitive emulation. And this competition extended into the *ateliers* to which the student artists were attached. Young artists learned the art of painting from their Academic sponsors, working in their ateliers. Thomas Crow has shown that the studio environment was far from utopian, particularly in those studios run by the most famous artists.<sup>56</sup> From the very beginning, aspiring artists in Paris were introduced to a world that was driven by competition with their fellow students and their masters.

The French Academy in Rome, on the other hand, seems to have lacked such a competitive atmosphere. Upon their arrival, artists were permitted to explore Rome on their own, to work from its monuments and from the rich private collections in the city, and to travel to other notable Italian cities such as Naples, Florence, Venice, and Parma.<sup>57</sup> While the directors of the French Academy at Rome sent back progress reports on the students and examples of their work called the *envois de Rome*, studying in Rome was organized as an “independent study” for young artists. The influence of the director of the French Academy in Rome decreased further with the foundation of the *École*

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<sup>56</sup> Thomas E. Crow, *Emulation: Making Artists for Revolutionary France* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995). For a discussion of the gendering of artistic education in Paris, see Laura Auricchio, “The Laws of *Bienséance* and the Gendering of Emulation in Eighteenth-Century French Art Education,” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 36, no. 2 (2003): 231–240.

<sup>57</sup> Marianne Roland Michel, *Rome 1760–1770: Fragonard, Hubert Robert et leurs amis* (Paris: Galerie Cailleux, 1983), 2.

*royale des élèves protégées* in 1749. At the *École*, the Prix de Rome winners took classes in language, literature, and history.<sup>58</sup> This education left them better prepared for the trip and therefore in less need of guidance from the Academy's director. It has been noted that running the Academy in Rome was never an easy job. The pensioners, mostly in their twenties, resented being treated like students, and the correspondence between the director of the Academy and the *Directeur-Général des Bâtiments du Roi* is rife with complaints about the pensioners' bad behavior both inside the Palais Mancini and around Rome.<sup>59</sup>

During the late 1760s and into the 1770s, pensioners at the institution appear to have lacked supervision. The director, Charles Natoire, had become increasingly distant from them, too old, sick, and possibly even unwilling to manage the day-to-day business of the Academy.<sup>60</sup> By 1774, mounting complaints created the perception in Paris that the Academy in Rome was in a state of disrepair, both in terms of the physical building and the students' behavior. The problems—perceived or real—that arose in the Academy during the last decade of Natoire's directorship are perhaps best illuminated by the instructions with which the Comte d'Angiviller, *Directeur-Général des Bâtiments du Roi*, sent Noël Hallé to Rome to act as interim director after Natoire's retirement. Hallé was sent to re-establish order in an unruly group of students who were thought to be good at heart but who had been corrupted by modern morals owing to a lack of guidance under

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<sup>58</sup> For more on the L'École royale des élèves protégés see Louis Courajod, *Histoire de l'école des beaux-arts au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Librairie de l'art, 1874).

<sup>59</sup> Elizabeth Mansfield, *The Perfect Foil: François-André Vincent and the Revolution in French Art* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 2012), 56–59; Susanna Caviglia-Brunel, “La sociabilité à l'Académie de France à Rome sous le directorat de Charles-Joseph Natoire (1752–1775),” in *Art et sociabilité au XVIIIe siècle*, ed. Amandine Gorse Jessica Fripp, Nathalie Manceau, Nina Struckmeyer (forthcoming).

<sup>60</sup> Natoire was director of the Academy from 1751 until 1775, when he was forced into retirement by the Comte d'Angiviller. On Natoire, see Ferdinand Boyer, *Catalogue raisonné de l'œuvre de Charles Natoire* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1949).



poor directorship.<sup>61</sup> D'Angiviller's instructions to Hallé included reinforcing the two-hour life drawing class and study of perspective, and sending more regularly *envois de Rome* back to the Academy in Paris. And while the pensioners were encouraged to explore Rome for the purposes of drawing, they were discouraged from participating in the social scene: "completely stop contacts with society, as these waste evenings and the following mornings."<sup>62</sup> It seems a packed social calendar of the kind demonstrated by Pâris's journal was thought to distract too much from the pensioners' primary work in Rome. A strict curfew was given which varied with the season. Similarly, students were forbidden from sleeping away from the Palais Mancini, although exceptions were given for students traveling to other cities for study.<sup>63</sup> In short, D'Angiviller's instructions suggest that life in Rome under Natoire may have become too sociable.

Mansfield notes that while the pensioners at the Academy frequently formed close bonds, the lack of guidance in the last years of Natoire's directorship most likely caused Vincent's cohort of pensioners to become extraordinarily close.<sup>64</sup> This suggestion is supported by the extensive use of caricatures to commemorate the relationships formed between the men. As a product of this period of lax guidance, Vincent's caricatures enact the escape Rome offered from the traditional academic hierarchy in which the young

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<sup>61</sup> "Le commissaire du Roy sçait que la malheureuse jeunesse est devenue la victime des mœurs modernes, que les élèves, quoique nés avec des sentimens honnestes, se sont laissées entraîner par l'exemple de la petite École de Paris, par la mollesse des derniers directeurs, par le goût de la dissipation et du luxe, que la perte du tems et les plus grands obstacles aux études naissant de la nouvelle coutume d'aller dans la société dans un âge qui doit être employé à la retraite, qu'il éprouvera des oppositions d'autant plus fortes aux réformes nécessaires que les élèves sont aujourd'huy pour la plupart des hommes faits, et qu'enfin il n'y a d'autres moyens de remettre les choses dans l'ordre pour sauver la jeunesse que de remettre en vigueur les réglemens négligés ou oubliés, d'en faire de nouveaux suivant le besoin, et d'attendre d'une fermeté prudente et raisonnée dans l'exécution le bien dont on regrette les avantages et dont le rétablissement n'est pas absolument désespéré." Montaignon and Guiffrey, *Correspondance des directeurs*, 13:80.

<sup>62</sup> "Rompre absolument les liaisons dans la société, commes des moyens de perdre les soirées et les lendemain matin." *Ibid.*, 81–82.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>64</sup> Mansfield, *The Perfect Foil*, 57–58.

artists had been raised. The caricatures resist every one of the Academy's prescribed rules for the representation of artists, as seen in the *morceaux de réception* portraits that were required of artists seeking to enter the Academy as portraitists. For example, Vincent's pencil and red chalk drawings that represent his fellow pensioners in full-length take the tradition of the *morceaux de réception* and overturn it. These strikingly large caricatures—some of which measure over a meter in height—are strongly influenced by the work of Ghezzi in their placement of a singular, highly detailed figure in an indeterminate space. The history painter Pierre-Charles Jombert is shown with spindly legs disproportionate to his hulking torso, donning a *bonnet de coton* on his head (Figure 4.29). His clothing appears too small for his large figure. He faces away from the viewer, holding an excessively large palette and long mahl stick. Pencil shading allows the viewer to see the outline of the artist's shoulder blades and the musculature of his back, making it appear as if his coat—which stops well short of mid-thigh, as was fashionable at the time—was unusually tight.

By choosing to represent the artist with his back to the viewer, and by leaving the space on which Jombert paints ambiguous, Vincent inverts the *morceau de réception*, exemplified by works such as Jacques-André-Joseph Aved's portrait of Jean-François de Troy from 1734 (Figure 4.30). De Troy stands in front of a canvas, palette and brushes in hand. He turns toward the viewer, as if interrupted in his work, while loading his brush with paint. The artist's velvet robe falls back to reveal a white jacket that is trimmed with gold embroidery. His luxurious clothing seems at odds with the messy practice of painting. Vincent's caricature of Jombert, on the other hand, shows the artist as disheveled, wearing clothes that seem more suited to the studio: a bonnet and slippers.

Vincent's drawings also engage directly with the *morceaux de réception* by caricaturing the image of the ideal artist that the reception portraits worked to promote. The official portraits were rooted in a tradition of representation that emphasized artists' intellects as much as their *métier*. The academicians are often shown pausing or gazing off in a manner that alluded to inspiration and to the work of the mind that was part of artistic practice. By contrast, Vincent rarely made the viewer privy to the facial expressions of his caricatured sitters. He emphasized their hands and feet rather than their heads. The drastic inflation of the hands is most obvious in the portrait of Lemonnier (Figure 4.31). As the artist reaches up to apply paint to his invisible canvas, the hand appears to be twice the size of his head. These caricatures mocked the men specifically but on a more general level they also mocked the *métier* of painting, emphasizing its manual, not its intellectual, labor.

The majority of the artists in Rome were in their twenties, at the very beginning of their careers, in the city to hone their skills and to begin building an international reputation by cultivating patrons. Their friendship, and the ability to mock each other that came with it, was made possible because there were no substantial professional differences between these men. According to Claude Yvon's discussion in the *Encyclopédie*, such a sense of equality was a cornerstone of friendship:

It is that, in regard to the matters that friendship shapes, there must be between the two friends a freedom in feeling and language great enough that neither one of the two is superior nor the other inferior. Equality must be found on one side and the other in the pleasantness of commerce in friendship. This pleasantness consists in offering to each other their thoughts, tastes, doubts, problems, but always within the sphere of the character of friendship that is established.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> Diderot and Yvon, "Friendship."

The equality described here is an ideal, one that appears out of step with hierarchical structure of eighteenth-century society. According to Yvon, the equality of friendship was not due to an inherent equality between men; rather, that “friendship should find or establish equality between friends.” Thus, Yvon’s statement that equality is limited to the “within the sphere of the character that it is established,” was a very important qualification.<sup>66</sup> Young artists in Rome, especially the pensioners of the Royal Academy, came from diverse social and economic backgrounds. The “sphere” for these artists was rooted in their dislocation from their home countries, their age, and their level of professional experience.

The awkward poses and variety of states of dress or undress that define these caricature portraits speak to the “freedom in feeling and language” described by Yvon that could only be possible when the sitters and the artists felt a sense of equality between them that was created by their shared experiences in Rome. The artists’ willingness to both create and pose for these works similarly breaks with the hierarchical tradition of patron-artist relations or even the institutional hierarchy created by the Royal Academy’s tradition of assigning elder academicians as subjects for the *morceaux de réception* pieces.

The freedom of visual expression born out of equal friendship between the young artists finds a counterpart in expressions of friendship in written correspondence. The artists in Rome unfortunately did not leave an extensive body of letters but one extant

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<sup>66</sup> Ibid. In regards to the problematic ideal of equality Yvon posed the question: “So a monarch cannot have friends?” He responded that monarchs are limited to friendship with other monarchs or that they must “give to his other friends a character that is on an equal footing with a sovereign power.” As Kenneth Loiselle has noted, Yvon’s discussion of friendship is largely indebted to Claude Buffier, *Traité de la société civile, et du moyen de se rendre heureux, en contribuant au bonheur des personnes avec qui l’on vit* (Paris: Jean-Luc Nyon, 1726). Kenneth Loiselle, “‘New but True Friends’: Freemasonry and the Culture of Male Friendship in Eighteenth-Century France” (PhD dissertation, Yale 2007), 66.

letter from Suvée to Lemonnier offers a sense of the closeness and equality of these men.<sup>67</sup> Suvée wrote to his friend in Rome after his departure in 1778, describing his voyage back to Paris. He lamented his departure from the Eternal City: “As of Thursday night I am back in my own dear country, but my head has not left Rome, nothing that I have seen can make up for what I have lost.”<sup>68</sup> He finished with a comment directed at all the pensioners he left behind:

I would be too happy if everyone could be convinced of the sincerity of the feelings they have inspired in me... Goodbye, my dear friend, I embrace you (*je t’embrasse*) with all my heart, and I am your friend (*ton ami*) for life.<sup>69</sup>

In this letter, Suvée expressed the close bond he felt with Lemonnier and the other artists he met in Rome in two ways. First, Suvée’s use of the familiar *tu* in this letter is worth noting. The shift away from the formal *vous* in the later eighteenth century is frequently taken as a sign of a rise in the expression of intimacy that became permissible over the course of the Enlightenment period, and which facilitated friendship.<sup>70</sup> Literary historian Marie-Claire Grassi, for example, has shown that the use of *tutoiement* after 1770 increased in the correspondence of the nobility. But the use of *tutoiement* was not clear-cut; it could imply a range of feelings, from condescension, when directed to servants or children, to great intimacy. The vast majority of conduct manuals during the

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<sup>67</sup> This letter was published by Henry Lemonnier, a descendent of Anicet-Charles-Gabriel Lemonnier. Henry Lemonnier, “Suvée et ses amis à l’école de Rome,” *Gazette des beaux-arts* 45, no. t. III (1903): 97–110.

<sup>68</sup> “Je suis depuis jeudi au soir dans ce pays mon cher, mais ma tête n’a pas encore quitté Rome, rien de ce que j’ai vu n’a pu me dédommager de ce que j’ai perdu.” Ibid, 103.

<sup>69</sup> “Je serais trop heureux si tous pouvaient être persuadés de la sincérité des sentiments qu’ils m’ont inspiré... Adieu, mon cher ami je t’embrasse de tout mon cœur et suis pour la vie ton ami.” Ibid.

<sup>70</sup> Marie-Claire Grassi, *L’art du lettre au temps de La Nouvelle Héloïse et du romantisme* (Genève: Slatkine, 1994), 20.

period encouraged the use of the *vous* form in almost all correspondence.<sup>71</sup> However, the valediction that Suvée chose — “I embrace you with all my heart” — signals that his use of the *tutoiement* was based in deep emotion.

Such a deep emotional attachment would have necessitated a feeling of equality between the men. Historian Kenneth Loiselle, in his study of masons’ correspondence, has shown that the type of valediction which Suvée used was an expression of tenderness that began to replace more formulaic sign-offs. Avoiding more traditional formulaic language and compliments was a means of displaying two key traits of friendship, naturalness and intimacy.<sup>72</sup> Masons’ letters included expressions of intimacy that broke with traditional formulaic and complimentary expressions, but they still addressed each other using the “vous” form.<sup>73</sup> Thus, Suvée’s letter, which combined both an expression of tenderness with the *tutoiement*, displays a particularly deep bond between the men.

We do not know if all the artists who participated in the caricatures used the *tu* form in their correspondence as Suvée did with Lemonnier, but Suvée’s disregard for formal language resonates with Vincent’s choice to abandon traditional portrait representations. The caricatures contrast with the *morceaux de réception* portraits, the pictorial version of formulae used to establish and maintain Academic hierarchy and the ultimate compliment in visual form. In other words, the drawings act as the pictorial counterpart to the written “tu.”

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<sup>71</sup> Grassi examined an extensive body of eighteenth-century letters written between aristocrats, and found that, prior to 1770, letters using *tu* made up only five percent of the letters, in spite of the fact that the majority of them were sent between immediate family members. After 1770, the use of *tutoiement* rose substantially (from five to eighteen percent of all letters) and began to be used between correspondents not connected by blood or marriage. *Ibid.*, 199. On the discussion of the use of *vous* for proper letter writing etiquette see Loiselle, ““New but True Friends”” 162.

<sup>72</sup> Loiselle, ““New but True Friends,”” 163–170.

<sup>73</sup> Loiselle notes that the “tu” was used to degrade new initiates in Masonic lodges. *Ibid.*, 162–163.

### “One Should Overload the Lady Only at Night”

The visual rhetoric of caricature, adopted in the unusually lenient environment of Rome, provided a means for these men to define themselves as a group of friends and equals. But as is often the case, defining a group resulted in defining those who are *not* part of it. In other words, at the same time caricatures were a form of distinction for these men, they also excluded those not privy to the codes or those who were not allowed to participate in the creation and exchange of the drawings, even though they were represented *in* them. The idea of exclusion is most apparent in the work of Johann-Tobias Sergel, the only artist discussed here who frequently included women in his caricatures.<sup>74</sup>

Like Vincent, Sergel caricatured his friends in individual ink wash drawings (Figures 4.7, 4.8 and 4.9). He also produced several elaborate caricature scenes about life in Rome. While these works can be treated separately from the rest of Vincent's and Stouf's caricatures because they fall outside the realm of the *portrait charge* (and indeed frequently are), it is not unreasonable to read Sergel's works as part of artists' caricature portraits.

In Sergel's drawing *Brünniche's Mishap* (Figure 4.32), the Danish painter Peter Brünniche tumbles out of bed with a half naked woman amidst a tangle of drapery. The notation on the drawing, (*The Danish painter Brynnik falling off his bed with a female model Sergel was [supposed to make a] drawing [of] a group in Rome*), suggests Brünniche was posing for Sergel. The Swedish sculptor often had his close friends posing for his sculptural compositions, offering more evidence that the friendships between artists in Rome extended to many aspects of their lives. Elvy Setterqvist O'Brien has

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<sup>74</sup> Vincent's caricatures all represent men; Stouf's series included a single female figure.

tentatively identified the work as a study for Sergel's *Mars and Venus* (Figure 4.33).<sup>75</sup>

This slapstick situation is perfect subject matter for the humorous goals of the caricature and might be read as another means of one artist teasing another for his clumsy fall from the bed. However, Sergel's representation of this event contradicts the innocent nature of the inscription.

Sergel's inscription gives the viewer the first clue that this accident has a more salacious quality to it. He clearly states that the artist and model are falling from Brünniche's bed by using the possessive "his." Upon closer examination of the image, the verb tense—falling—improperly describes the action. Brünniche has already fallen; he is solidly on the ground. Sergel has filled the artist's body with tension by exaggerating the musculature of his torso, legs, and arms, which give Brünniche an attitude of readiness as he prepares for the woman to land on top of him. But Brünniche does not passively wait for gravity to do its job. He actively pulls the woman down onto him. His arm reaches upwards to grab hers as she leans precariously off the bed, hinged at the waist like a teeter-totter. Her feet and legs lift up in the air, while her right arm descends, bracing, or perhaps resisting, the fall. The woman's passivity and the man's action are emphasized even more by the figures' facial expressions. Brünniche looks intently and expectantly at the woman as she descends, while her closed eyes and open mouth are more appropriate to the expression of surprise that accompanies a sudden downward trajectory. The momentum of her fall dislodges her drapery, revealing one bare breast and an exposed nipple which Sergel has placed almost at dead center of the drawing. Unlike the gentle teasing of the *portrait charges* previously discussed, this type

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<sup>75</sup> O'Brien, "Johan Tobias Sergell (1740–1814)," 178.



of caricature mocks the woman by turning her into a sexualized object of entertainment for male artists.

Sexual innuendo and objectification were inherent to the genre of caricature, at least according to the collector Paul Fréart de Chantelou in the *Journal du voyage du cavalier Bernin en France*, which discussed the introduction of caricature to the French court. This was the story of Bernini carving the bust of Louis XIV in 1665:

M. de Créqui advanced towards the King to speak in his ear. Bernini said, laughing, “These men have access to the King at their wish all day long and do not want to give me a single half-hour with him; I am tempted to make a caricature of someone.” No one understood this; I said to the King that they were portraits that resemble the sitter through ugliness and ridicule. The Abbé Butti spoke up and said that Bernini was talented at these sorts of portraits, he should show one to the King, and when someone suggested caricaturing a woman, Bernini replied [in Italian] that ‘one should overload [*caricar*] the lady only at night.’<sup>76</sup>

In this anecdote, caricature is mentioned jokingly as a threat or a form of punishment against the king’s advisers. The threat indicates a certain assumption of prestige on Bernini’s part, but that the sculptor could “threaten” his powerful patrons with caricature suggests the joke was acceptable for a commissioned artist to make at his patron’s expense. We have seen this employment of caricature in the examples of Ghezzi, Patch, and Reynolds. Importantly, Bernini’s final comment in this anecdote brings to light the gender implications of caricature. Bernini’s snarky response is both an assertion of wit and the prerogatives of masculinity.

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<sup>76</sup> “M. de Créqui s’étant avancé pour parler au roi à l’oreille, le Cavalier [Bernini] a dit en riant: ‘Ces messieurs-ci ont le Roi à leur gré toute la journée et ne veulent pas me le laisser seulement une demi-heure; je suis tenté d’en faire de quelqu’un le portrait chargé.’ Personne n’entendait cela; j’ai dit au Roi que c’étaient des portraits que l’on faisait ressembler dans le laid et le ridicule. L’abbé Butti a pris la parole et a dit que le Cavalier était admirable dans ces sortes de portraits qu’il faudrait en faire voir quelqu’un à Sa majesté, et comme l’on parlé de quelqu’un de femme, le Cavalier a dit que ‘*Non bisognava caricar le donne che da notte.*’ Paul Fréart de Chantelou, *Journal du voyage du cavalier Bernin en France* (Paris: Gazette des Beaux-Arts, 1885), 106.

Bernini's use of the Italian in this anecdote takes on explicitly sexual connotations; the "overloading" of *caricare* came from the word's military/naval origins—to load artillery or pulling the cable which moved a ship's sail—both of which could be allusions to intercourse.<sup>77</sup> The sculptor gave the act of caricaturing a decidedly sexual meaning when it is performed in mixed company. Bernini could threaten his male patrons with caricature, but he made it clear that it was also a means of sexual dominance, a display of masculinity. It allied him with his patrons, but at a woman's expense.

Sergel's caricatures clearly show that caricature can be read as a particularly male language well suited to express masculinity and sexual prowess in Rome. As Jeremy Black noted, "[w]omen indeed provided part of the education of travel."<sup>78</sup> Grand Tourists would occasionally bring wives or mistresses with them but the letters and journals of travelers were frequently concerned with the sexual escapades of travel.<sup>79</sup> Similarly, very few women artists were allowed the opportunity to study in Rome.<sup>80</sup> Yet encounters with women appeared to have been an important part of the education of male artists. Sites frequented by artists such as the Spanish Steps were populated with women available not

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<sup>77</sup> Valter Boggione and Giovanni Casalegno, *Dizionario storico del lessico erotico italiano* (Milan: Longanesi, 1996), 138. For example, in Boccaccio's *Decameron*: "Adriano, che ancora radormentato non era, sentendo questo la ricevette e bene e lietamente, e senza fare altramenti motto da una volta in su caricò l'orza con gran piacer della donna" (On perceiving this, Adriano, who was still awake, gave her a most cordial reception; and without a murmur he tackled her hard to windward over and over again, much to her delight and satisfaction.) Giovanni Boccaccio, *The Decameron*, trans. G.H. McWilliam (London: Penguin, 1995), 680. See also the entry for "*caricare*" in John Florio, *Queen Anna's New World of Words* (London: Melch, Bradwood, 1611), <http://www.pbm.com/~lindahl/florio/>. Accessed April 4, 2012. For more on the sexual connotations of firearm vocabulary, see Patricia Simons, *The Sex of Men in Premodern Europe: A Cultural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 121–122.

<sup>78</sup> Black, *Italy and the Grand Tour*, 123.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*; Montègre, *La Rome des français*. 34–36.

<sup>80</sup> Angelica Kauffman is the most notable exception to the absence of practicing women artists in Rome. Another woman who practiced in Rome was the Scottish painter, Katherine Read. See Margery Morgan, "Jacobinism and Art after 1745: Katherine Read in Rome," *British Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 27, no. 2 (2004): 233–244. For British women's experiences on the Grand Tour, see Brian Dolan, *Ladies of the Grand Tour* (London: Harper Collins, 2001).

only for sex but also to serve as models for life drawing.<sup>81</sup> Thus is it not surprising that the women in Sergel's caricatures serve as sources of potential sexual pleasure.

In letters written to his student Johan Nicolas Byström many years later, Sergel alluded to the role of women played during his time Rome in the 1770s by offering advice on bedding Roman women: "Avoid regularly frequenting the young girls, but kiss the [married] women as they don't demand much and the Roman husbands are not strict but the young girls want marriage and sentiment."<sup>82</sup> Sergel was not alone in his pursuit of pleasure in the form of Italian women; Johann Christophe Mannlich was temporarily run out of Rome by the father of a young woman with whom he had become involved. The father threatened to kill Mannlich if he did not marry his daughter.<sup>83</sup>

Sergel's depictions of women act as the visual counterpart to these stories and they serve as more than illustrations of the artists' sexual adventures. They differentiated these foreign men from Roman men, who were believed to be cuckolds and effeminate.<sup>84</sup> Sergel referenced this belief in his letter to his student: "kiss the [married] women as they don't demand much and the Roman husbands are not strict." Numerous tourists mentioned how Roman men were more than willing to bring their wives to foreigners "for a small price," essentially acting as pimps for them.<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> Montègre, *La Rome des français*, 34–35. Montègre also quotes the *Journal d'émigration du comte d'Espinchal* "On court même péril dans toutes les classes de la société, depuis les princesses jusqu'à celles qui pour un écu servent de modèle à l'académie."

<sup>82</sup> "Gardez de prendre quelque habitude avec des filles. Mais baisés les femmes car elles ne demandent pas mieux et les maris de Rome sont commodes mais les filles veulent le mariage et le courage." Johan Tobias Sergel, *Letter to Byström February 22, 1811*, EP S13, Kungliga Biblioteket, Stockholm. I have translated "baiser" as kiss in this instance, but given the context, and prevailing attitudes about Italian women, it could have baser connotations.

<sup>83</sup> Per Bjurström, *Johan Tobias Sergel 1740–1814*, trans. Anne Thorton, exh. cat. (København: Udstilling i Thorvaldsens Museums, 1976), 91.

<sup>84</sup> Naddeo, "Cultural Capitals and Cosmopolitanism in Eighteenth-Century Italy," 188.

<sup>85</sup> Montègre quotes several French tourists' journals that described how Roman husbands brought foreign clients to their wives. Latapie wrote of his neighbor (whom he admitted to have visited twice) that: Son mari...alloit lui-même raccrocher les gens pour les lui emmener." The Comte d'Esphinchal claimed: "Il y a

The perceived sexual superiority of visitors to Rome is seen in another ink wash drawing by Sergel, *Fuseli on Horseback, Rome* (Figure 4.34). Two figures, one male and one female, are represented on horseback with a classical building, perhaps the Pantheon, looming in the background. A figure labeled Fuseli calmly rides by in the background, apparently oblivious to the drama unfolding nearby. The couple struggle to keep their mounts under control. The man's horse bucks wildly; he leans back gripping the reins with a look of concentration on his face. His female companion fares even worse. Evidently dislodged by her horse's behavior, she is draped (most likely momentarily) over its withers. Her dress flies upwards, giving the viewer an unhindered look at her exposed buttocks.

Sergel has done his best to make sure the woman's exposed flesh is the central focus of this scene. Her torso recedes in the background, covered in the shadow of ink wash. The man and his steed are similarly darkened, making her buttocks a bright spot in a sea of grey. While the rest of the drawing is characterized by frenetic pen marks and ink to define drapery, horsehair, and facial expressions, Sergel has used only a few strokes of the pen to delineate the curve of her buttocks. The grain of the exposed paper gives her rump a fleshiness that is lacking in the rest of the image. The few, selective pen marks make it appear as if her cheeks are spread, inviting not just a penetrating gaze, but an idea of sexual penetration. Even the horse's head turns backwards as if it, too, is trying to get a look. The woman is, quite literally, the butt of the joke. The prominent display of the woman's buttocks carries with it a suggestion of sodomy; she is available not just for sex

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à Rome moins de filles publiques que de femmes qui font commerce de leurs charmes. Ce sont les maris, vêtus en abbé qui se chargent de les conduire chez vous, et à peu de frais." Montègre, *La Rome des français*, 37. Black notes: "Sir Bouchier Wrey, later an MP, allegedly had sex with his landlady in Rome in 1740 with the encouragement of her husband." Black, *Italy and the Grand Tour*, 123.

but for deviant sexual acts.<sup>86</sup> Her vulnerable position as the victim of the joke maker could not be any clearer. At the same time, the male rider in *Fuseli on horseback* seems incapable of preventing the sexual availability of his female companion. Because he is too pre-occupied with and unable to control his rebellious horse, his female companion is left unprotected against the sexual gaze of foreigners.

These blatant displays of sexual escapades and bravado also hint at the problems of homosociability. Male friendships and homosocial societies in the eighteenth century frequently had to combat suspicions of sodomy.<sup>87</sup> Despite Rome's infamous reputation as a place for sodomy and other sexual practices amongst the privileged and wealthy tourists, an extended stay put one at risk of exile from the city for unseemly behavior.<sup>88</sup> The British artist Thomas Patch had been dismissed from the Papal States in 1756, some say for inappropriate sexual behavior.<sup>89</sup> His retreat to Florence, another Italian city infamous for sodomitical practices, could be taken as a sign that confirmed these suspicions. Sergel's images mock women, but within a framework of sexual desire or pleasure that corresponds with the sexual interactions the artists had with Italian women.

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<sup>86</sup> For much of the early modern period sodomy could refer to any sort of nonproductive sex act, and was largely considered a sin because it was a waste of sperm; no differentiation was made as to whether the act was performed on men or women. See Simons, *The Sex of Men*, 36. In the eighteenth century, sodomy was still considered a crime which could result in harsh punishment. Jeffery Merrick, "Sodomitical Inclinations in Early Eighteenth-Century Paris," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 30, n. 3 (1997): 290.

<sup>87</sup> See Marie Mulvey Roberts, "Pleasures Engendered by Gender: Homosociality and the Club," in *Pleasure in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Roy Porter and Marie Mulvey Roberts (Hampshire: Macmillan Press, LTD, 1996), 48–76; Loiselle, "'New but True Friends,'" 289–302.

<sup>88</sup> Alex Potts, *Flesh and the Ideal: Winckelmann and the Origins of Art History* (New Haven London: Yale University Press, 1994), 201–216. For more on homosexual sex on the Grand Tour see Black, *Italy and the Grand Tour*, 118–141.

<sup>89</sup> JB Watson, Patch's most thorough biographer claims there is no clearly stated reason for Patch's expulsion, but later authors have claimed it was due to his "equivocal sexual tastes." See Watson, "Thomas Patch (1725–1782)," Ronald Paulson, "Zoffany: Private and Public Meaning," in *Emblem and Expression: Meaning in English Art of the Eighteenth Century* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1975), 144. More recently, George Haggerty has reviewed the circumstances, discussions and implications of Patch's exile in George E. Haggerty, "Queering Horace Walpole," *Studies in English Literature 1500–1900* 46, no. 3 (2006): 553–554.

The appearance of women in these images served to characterize men's relationships as emotionally rather than sexually intimate friendships by demonstrating that the men's sexual desire was directed at the opposite sex. Furthermore, unlike Roman men, they were willing to act on these desires.

## **Conclusion**

In Sergel's works the women are passive and the Roman men are mocked for their inability to control their own women. Unlike the artists represented in the caricatures of Vincent, Stouf, or even Sergel's single figure caricatures, the men and women in Sergel's scenes were not awarded the opportunity to respond to the artists representing them. They are left voiceless. Without a response, the caricatures pass from the realm of *raillerie*, gentle and reciprocated joking, into *persiflage*, with the intent to humiliate and conquer.

This act of exclusion served to define those who were included. Both *Brünniche's Accident* and *Fuseli on Horseback*, for example, include artists. But Brünniche controls the movement of the model and Fuseli is in charge of his horse, quite unlike the man and the women in the front of the drawing. Although Sergel is mocking the artists, the humor still remains within the realm of pleasant and equal exchange among the men.

The particular visual language of caricature chosen to express participation in this group demonstrates the level of comfort these men felt with each other. This language, like that developed between friends engaging in epistolary correspondence, avoided compliments and formulas, in order to promote a feeling of equality that was necessary to achieve the emotional closeness that was a defining feature of friendship in the eighteenth

century. Away from home and outside the hierarchical institution of their sponsoring academies and patrons, these artists eschewed traditional representations of artists that relied on promoting their intellect and social status, and chose instead to highlight their physical faults. They mocked each other and their profession, suggesting that, while they were aware of their shared purpose in Rome as artists, that aspect of their lives was not the only thing they had in common. It also demonstrates that these men's time in Rome was defined by a certain and unusual amount of freedom, freedom to socialize, to play, and, importantly, to become friends.

We do not know how widely the artists' caricatures circulated outside their circle. The lack of any mention of them in the *Correspondance des directeurs* suggests that these images were never shown at an exhibition open to a large viewing public. However, the large size of some of the drawings, particularly those by Vincent, seems at odds with the idea that these drawings were exclusively for private circulation. Jean-Pierre Cuzin has suggested that the sheets were hung, poster-style, in someone's studio in Rome, possibly Vincent's.<sup>90</sup> The more intimate exhibition of the drawings and prints in the context of the artists' studios at the Academy in Rome suggests that this circle of artists shared a connection that ran deeper than their similar métiers. In some cases the friendships represented in these images lasted a lifetime, particularly between those artists who headed back to Paris to join the Royal Academy; in other cases they may not have lasted much beyond their departure from the Eternal City. But the appearance of these works in the *inventaires après décès* and estate sales of the artists suggest that even

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<sup>90</sup> Cuzin, "Les caricatures de Vincent," 91. Pierre-Adrien Pâris mentions in his journal entry for November 28, 1772 that he helped Vincent to hang a number of drawings on the walls of his friend's studio, although he did not mention the subject of the drawings. Pâris, *Journal*.

if these men did not remain in contact, they held onto the caricatures as reminders of their time in Rome.



## Chapter 5 Portraits of a Salon: The Art Patronage of Madame Geoffrin

### Introduction

Both the display and circulation of portraits of artists discussed in the previous chapters foreground the importance of portraiture to the community of artists that made up the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture. The Academy was the structure that facilitated the foundations of these relationships, whether they were personal or professional, or both. As such, friendships between artists and the portraits that emerged from them were in dialogue with the official artistic practices and life of the Royal Academy. However, the Academy was but one—albeit important—site of sociability for artists. In the spaces of the growing public sphere in the eighteenth century, artists had an increasing variety of environments in which to socialize with each other and with patrons. Furthermore, the social practice of portraiture demonstrated by Maurice Quentin de la Tour, Adélaïde Labille-Guiard, or young men visiting Rome was not for artists alone. This chapter explores the social use of portraiture by an individual deeply involved in networks of artistic production that, while still heavily populated by members of the Academy, were tangential to its official networks. To do this, I turn to the portraits that emerged from the salon of Marie-Thérèse Geoffrin (née Rodet), better known as Madame Geoffrin.

Arguably one of the most famous *salonnières* in eighteenth-century Paris, Madame Geoffrin was born in 1699, the daughter of Pierre Rodet, a *valet de garde-robe*

of the Dauphine de Bavière. Orphaned at the age of seven, she was raised by her maternal grandmother and, at fourteen, married François Geoffrin, a man forty-one years her senior and a shareholder of the mirror manufactory at Saint-Gobain. After moving to the rue Saint-Honoré with her husband in 1719, she began to frequent the salon of Claudine-Alexandrine Guérin de Tencin, eventually forming her own salon in the 1730s. But, as Benedetta Craveri and Maurice Hamon have recently argued, Geoffrin differed from the woman after whom she modeled her salon: while Madame de Tencin's salon became famous because of the notoriety and social status of its host, Geoffrin became famous *because of her salons*.<sup>1</sup>

Geoffrin's importance to the intellectual, literary, and artistic history of the eighteenth century is undeniable.<sup>2</sup> She held not one but two weekly salons: the first was a Wednesday afternoon literary salon and soon after she established a Monday salon for visual artists and amateurs, the first of its kind. Evidence suggests that it was at the Comte de Caylus's prompting that Geoffrin began holding a separate salon for artists in the early 1740s.<sup>3</sup> The talent Geoffrin demonstrated as a hostess in her Wednesday salons

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<sup>1</sup> Benedetta Craveri, *The Age of Conversation*, trans. Teresa Waugh (New York: New York Review of Books, 2005), 302; Maurice Hamon, *Madame Geoffrin femme d'influence, femme d'affaires au temps des Lumières* (Paris: Fayard, 2010), 14. Hamon's biography is the most thorough treatment of Geoffrin's life to date and I have relied on it for general information about her life.

<sup>2</sup> The literature on Geoffrin, her salon and its importance to the cultural history of the eighteenth century is extensive. A selection of the most cited histories of Geoffrin's life include Pierre de Ségur, *Le royaume de la Rue Saint-Honoré: Madame de Geoffrin et sa fille*, (Paris: Calmann Lévy, 1898); Fernand Nozière, "The Salon of Madame Geoffrin," in *The Great Literary Salons*, ed. Louis Gillet (London: Thorton Butterworth, Limited, 1930), 136–177; Duchesse d'Abrantès, *Une soirée chez Madame Geoffrin* (Paris: Gallimard, 2000). Her contribution to the Enlightenment and the Republic of Letters has been well covered by Dena Goodman. See Dena Goodman, *The Republic of Letters: A Cultural History of the French Enlightenment* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994). For a different interpretation of Geoffrin's salon, see Antoine Lilti, *Le monde des salons : sociabilité et mondanité à Paris au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Fayard, 2005); Charlotte Guichard, *Les amateurs d'art à Paris au XVIIIe siècle* (Seysse: Champ-Vallon, 2008), 219–227. Geoffrin was also the subject of an exhibition in 2011, see Maison de Chateaubriand, *Madame Geoffrin une femme d'affaires et d'esprit*, exh. cat. (Milan: Silvana, 2011).

<sup>3</sup> Ségur suggested that Caylus preferred a separate day for artists and amateurs because of his personal dislike for the *gens de lettres* who frequently frequented Geoffrin's salons. In any case, the strict separation between artists and others seems to have slowly eroded, as exemplified by Marmontel's participation beginning in

and the subsequent popularity she gained made her an obvious choice to found a salon focused on the visual arts. In his 1777 published *éloge* of Geoffrin, the Abbé Morellet recalled the significance of these weekly gatherings for the arts:

The *gens du monde* admitted into the society knew the artists there personally and easily resolved to put their talents to work. One could say that Madame Geoffrin contributed, by the establishment of her Mondays, to the creation of a great part of the paintings of the modern French school that today decorate the cabinets of Europe.<sup>4</sup>

Geoffrin's salon played a large role in bringing French artists in contact with patrons who would pioneer the collecting of artworks by living French artists, what Colin Bailey has called the "patriotic taste" of eighteenth-century France.<sup>5</sup> Along with providing a space in which artists and patrons could meet and socialize, Geoffrin was an active patron herself. Geoffrin began collecting in earnest in 1750 according to her *carnets*, around the time the Monday artist salons became regular events.<sup>6</sup> In her own words, the works that made up her collection "were all done in front of [her] eyes," and the majority of the works were produced by living artists who attended her salon.<sup>7</sup> It included more than seventy

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1760. Caylus remained an important part of the weekly gatherings until his death in 1765. While the year in which the Wednesday night salon was established has been debated, the recent work of Maurice Hamon suggests it most likely began in the mid-1740s, and became a regular event in 1750. Hamon, *Madame Geoffrin*, 663–666.

<sup>4</sup> "Les gens du monde admis dans cette société y connaissaient les artistes personnellement et se déterminaient plus aisément à mettre leurs talents en œuvre. On peut dire que madame Geoffrin a contribué, par l'établissement de ses lundis, à faire une grande partie des tableaux de l'école française moderne, qui ornent aujourd'hui les cabinets de l'Europe." André Morellet, *Portrait de Madame Geoffrin* (Amsterdam: Pissot, 1777), 33.

<sup>5</sup> Colin B. Bailey, *Patriotic Taste: Collecting Modern Art in Pre-Revolutionary Paris* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002).

<sup>6</sup> The *carnets* are a series of seven notebooks in which Geoffrin recorded her accounts, addresses, and inventories. They remain in the family collection. Pierre de Ségur first published excerpts from the *carnet* in which Geoffrin described her collection. See Ségur, *Le royaume de la Rue Saint-Honoré*, 404–406. For a more recent and more detailed account, see Alexandre Pradère, "Présentation des *carnets* de madame Geoffrin," in *Madame Geoffrin une femme d'affaires et d'esprit*, ed. Maison de Chateaubriand, exh. cat. (Milan: Silvana, 2011), 53–61.

<sup>7</sup> "J'ai commencé la collection de mes tableaux en 1750. Ils ont tous été faits sous mes yeux." Ségur, *Le royaume de la Rue Saint-Honoré*, 406.

paintings, including nine works by François Boucher, six by François-Hubert Drouais, one by Jean-Baptiste Greuze, five by Louis-Jean-François Lagrenée, sixteen by Hubert Robert, eight by Joseph-Marie Vien, eight by Joseph Vernet and ten by Carle Vanloo.<sup>8</sup>

Geoffrin has consequently been included in most scholarly works that address the intersections between salons, sociable culture, and artistic production in the eighteenth century.<sup>9</sup> Art historians have acknowledged her role as a patron and collector, frequently focusing on her commissions from particular artists, especially Carle Vanloo and Hubert Robert.<sup>10</sup> This chapter approaches Geoffrin's role as a patron within a larger view of her collection. I examine how Geoffrin's salon for artists gave her access to a new, important form of self-promotion that separated her from the other famed *salonnières* of her time: a network of artists she could charge with the task of representing her and her salon.

As historian Dena Goodman has argued, Geoffrin's success and that of Enlightenment *salonnières* more generally was based on selflessness and on what were thought to be in the eighteenth-century "negative" female virtues, such as modesty.<sup>11</sup> The ability to stand outside the disputes of the citizens of the Republic of Letters allowed a *salonnière* to bring together and harmonize the different (male) voices that made up her

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<sup>8</sup> See the list of works provided in *ibid.*, 403–408; Paula Rea Radisich, "Making Conversation: The Salon of Madame Geoffrin," in *Hubert Robert: Painted Spaces of the Enlightenment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 23; Guichard, *Les amateurs d'art*, 226.

<sup>9</sup> Goodman, *The Republic of Letters*; Radisich, "Making Conversation," 15–53; Bailey, *Patriotic Taste*; Susan Dalton, *Engendering the Republic of Letters: Reconnecting Public and Private Spheres in Eighteenth-Century Europe* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's Press, 2003); Steven Kale, *French Salons: High Society And Political Sociability from the Old Regime to the Revolution of 1848* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2005); Lilti, *Le monde des salons*; Guichard, *Les amateurs d'art*.

<sup>10</sup> Radisich, "Making Conversation."; Emma Barker, "Mme Geoffrin, Painting and *Galanterie*: Carle Van Loo's *Conversation Espagnole* and *Lecture Espagnole*," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 40, no. 4 (2007): 587–614; Mary Sheriff, *Moved by Love: Inspired Artists and Deviant Women in Eighteenth-Century France* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 104–109. Colin Bailey discusses the importance of Geoffrin as a collector in Bailey, *Patriotic Taste*, 62.

<sup>11</sup> Goodman, *The Republic of Letters*, 102.

salon.<sup>12</sup> But when compared to the social behavior or written communication through which *salonnières* performed modesty, visual representation posed a distinct challenge because of an art object's incontrovertibly material, physical nature. A portrait as an imaged person has a physical presence that leads to it often being taken as a surrogate for the person, particularly when naturalistic forms of visual depiction prevail. The picture becomes subject to codes of decorum, concerning manner of depiction and circumstances of display, in some but not all of the same ways that a person was.

The self-display inherent to portraiture posed a serious problem for a modest woman, and the challenge of visually representing modesty had been a central issue in women's portraits for centuries. In the eighteenth century, portraits of women were frequently seen as displays of vanity. Female vanity, in turn, was blamed for the explosion of portraits at the Salon exhibitions; lucrative portrait commissions from vain women distracted artists from the nobler endeavor of history painting.<sup>13</sup> Madame Geoffrin's role as both *salonnière* and significant patron of visual arts brings an important complication to this long-standing problem. Neither noble nor particularly wealthy, her fame as a *salonnière* was built on her ability to run a vibrant and intellectually stimulating salon. She earned her place in eighteenth-century intellectual

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<sup>12</sup> Ibid. See especially Chapter 3, "Governing the Republic of Letters: *Salonnières* and the Rule(s) of Polite Conversation," 90–135.

<sup>13</sup> Pierre Richelet wrote in the definition of portrait for example that artists had no problems making money through portrait commissions because "il n'y point de bourgeoisie un peu coquette et un peu à son aise qui ne veuille avoir son portrait." Pierre Richelet, "Portrait," in *Dictionnaire de la langue française ancienne et moderne; augmenté de plusieurs additions d'histoire, de grammaire, de critique et de jurisprudence et d'une liste alphabétique des auteurs et des livres cités* (Amsterdam: aux dépens de la Compagnie, 1732), 453. On women, modesty, and portraiture see Mary Sheriff, "The Im/modesty of her Sex: Élisabeth Vigée-Lebrun and the Salon of 1783," in *The Consumption of Culture 1600–1800: Image, Object, Text*, ed. Ann Bermingham and John Brewer (London: Routledge, 1995), 455–488; Kathleen Nicholson, "The Ideology of Feminine 'Virute': the Vestal Virgin in French Eighteenth-Century Allegorical Portraiture," in *Portraiture: Facing the Subject*, ed. Joanna Woodall (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997) 52–72; Kathleen Nicholson, "Practicing Portraiture: Mademoiselle de Clermont and J.-M. Nattier," in *Women, Art and the Politics of Identity in Eighteenth-Century Europe*, ed. Melissa Hyde and Jennifer Milam (Burlington: Ashgate, 2003), 64–90.

circles by promoting her modesty, a task that was somewhat contradictory. How did one pictorially represent female social authority as self-effacement?

A closer look at the works that were produced for Geoffrin reveals that visual portraits of Geoffrin were created at the very beginning and end of her career as a *salonnière*, but rarely during the decades in between. Maurice Hamon, in his discussion of the iconography of Geoffrin, claimed that “if we remove dubious or reattributed works, we possess few portraits capable of reconstructing the physiognomy and, hence, the character of Marie-Thérèse Geoffrin.”<sup>14</sup> On the one hand, Hamon is correct: we have very few firmly attributed portraits of Geoffrin, which is curious considering the number of artists she knew. On the other hand, it becomes possible to argue that in the context of Geoffrin’s goals and success as a *salonnière* this lack of portraiture tells us something about her. Geoffrin laid claim to a presence for herself in the art world and in society as a representative of the arts via her collecting practices and social network rather than by means of portraiture.

In the first part of this chapter, I examine the few known portraits of Geoffrin to address the image that Geoffrin constructed for herself while establishing her salon, one which promoted the virtue of modesty that was key to her role as a *salonnière*. In the second part, I turn to the disappearing act she performed as her own celebrity grew. I maintain that Geoffrin’s collection and the men who created it became surrogates for her image; she emphasized her circle of artists and their products over her own person. Through the displaced representation of her social presence, she shifted the perception of

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<sup>14</sup> “Si l’on écarte les œuvres douteuses ou réattribuées, on possède peu de portraits capables de nous restituer la physionomie, et, partant, le caractère de Marie-Thérèse Geoffrin.” Hamon, *Madame Geoffrin*, 136.

herself from paying patron to friend of the artists, thereby masking the social differences between artists and patrons and elevating the social standing of the artists in the process.

### Looking for Geoffrin

Hamon was right to emphasize the numerous dubious and misattributed portraits of Madame Geoffrin. When looking for portraits of her, one is quickly confronted by many portraits that have been said at one point or another to show the *salonnière*. The legacy of Geoffrin's salon for artists appears to have given scholars the expectation that she was frequently depicted; "portraits" of Geoffrin greatly outnumber those of any other *salonnière* of the *ancien régime*.<sup>15</sup> Posthumous portraits of Geoffrin were created in the late eighteenth century and throughout the nineteenth century that were subsequently used to illustrate books on Geoffrin, such as Simon Miger's engraving after Louis Marteau (Figure 5.1).<sup>16</sup> Many eighteenth-century portraits that were and still are identified as representations of Geoffrin are frequently misattributed to artists with whom she was known to interact; for example, a portrait in the Gemäldegalerie in Berlin said to be a portrait of the *salonnière* by Jean-Baptiste Greuze (Figure 5.2).<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> When looking for imagery of *salonnières* in the Département des estampes et de la photographie at the Bibliothèque nationale, for example, the number of prints under the subject heading "Geoffrin" far outnumbers that of images of Madame de Lambert or Madame de Tencin as well as the women who succeeded Geoffrin, such as Madame du Deffand and Julie de Lespinasse.

<sup>16</sup> Miger's 1779 engraving was based on a pastel portrait of Geoffrin, commissioned in Poland by King Stanislas-Auguste Poniatowski during her visit to Warsaw in 1766. The Abbé Delille's poem "La Conversation" in his *Œuvres* of 1812 was illustrated with an image meant to represent Geoffrin's salon. Amélie Cordelier de La Noue painted a posthumous portrait of Geoffrin in 1840, today in the collection of the Chateau de Versailles. A statue of Geoffrin stands on the southern façade of the *Hôtel de ville* in Paris, added during the building's reconstruction after the Commune.

<sup>17</sup> The attribution of this painting to Greuze and Geoffrin was first suggested in Michael Knuth, "Ein Porträt der Madame Geoffrin von Jean-Baptiste Greuze?," *Museums Journal* 15, no. 11 (2001): 86–87. Colin Bailey also published the work as a portrait of Geoffrin in Bailey, *Patriotic Taste*, 63. The idea that Greuze represented Geoffrin is particularly strange, considering the two were known to have had an antagonistic relationship. See T. Kamenskaya, "Greuze et Madame Geoffrin," *Gazette des Beaux Arts* 12 (1934): 221–223. The number of portraits that have been said at one point or another to represent Geoffrin is too long to

The problem this poses for historians and art historians working on Geoffrin is best exemplified by one of the most frequently published and maligned representations of Geoffrin's salon, Anicet-Charles-Gabriel Lemonnier's *Première lecture, chez Madame Geoffrin, de l'Orphelin de la Chine, tragédie de Voltaire, en 1755* (Figure 5.3). The painting shows fifty-four figures packed into the salon of an *hôtel particulier*. These figures can be identified thanks to the identification key that was published in 1821 to accompany an engraving after Lemonnier's painting. To the left of center, dressed in red, the French actor Lekain reads from a manuscript at a table covered in a green cloth edged in gold.<sup>18</sup> The audience is at various states of attention; some listen closely to the reading while a group at the left—which includes the Abbé Raynal, Jean-Jacques Rousseau and Jean-Philippe Rameau—is more interested in their own conversation, perhaps reacting to a line that has just been read. A man in red, Fontenelle, on the far right side of the canvas seems to have been put to sleep by the proceedings. Directly in front of a large mirror sits Madame Geoffrin, the owner of this lavishly decorated room, dressed in a silvery-blue satin dress with a black bonnet upon her head. Although she is not the central figure of the painting—that would be the bust of Voltaire in the background—she is the only figure who looks out at us directly, her frontward gaze appropriate to her role as hostess.

Lemonnier's painting was one of three works commissioned around 1809 by Josephine Bonaparte to honor artistic patronage in France over the previous three centuries. The eighteenth-century subject was joined by one from the sixteenth century,

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list here but some of the more notable works include Jacques-Joseph Aved's portrait of Madame Crozat in the Musée Fabre, Montpellier, which was long thought to be a portrait of Madame Geoffrin by Jean-Siméon Chardin (Musée de l'Orangerie, *Les chef-d'œuvre du Musée de Montpellier*, exh. cat. (Paris: Musée de l'Orangerie, 1939), cat. no. 1) and a work by Marianne Loir that purportedly represents Geoffrin is in the National Museum of Women in the Arts in Washington, D.C.

<sup>18</sup> Lekain was the stage name of Henri-Louis Cain.



*François I recevant, dans la salle des Suisses, à Fontainebleau, le tableau de la Sainte famille* (Figure 5.4), and another from the seventeenth century, *Louis XIV assistant, dans le parc de Versailles, à l'inauguration de la statue du Puget (le Milon Crotoniate)* (Figure 5.5).<sup>19</sup> Given the series' theme of art patronage, it is unsurprising that Lemonnier put as much effort into depicting the paintings that decorated Geoffrin's salon as he did the faces of the men and women who occupy it. On the walls surrounding the illustrious group of men and women hang twelve paintings (fifteen, if one counts the frames reflected in the mirror behind Geoffrin's head). The landscapes on the far wall include Jean-Baptiste Leprince's *Les nappes d'eau* and Joseph Vernet's *La tempête* alongside two portraits, one of which shows Stanislas-Auguste Poniatowski, king of Poland and a close friend of Geoffrin. To the right hang Jean-Baptiste Greuze's *La Malédiction paternelle: Le fils ingrat* and *Le fils puni* as well as two works by Joseph-Marie Vien, *Une prêtresse brûle de l'encens* and *Une jeune greque qui orne un vase de bronze avec une guirlande de fleurs*, Jean-Siméon Chardin's *La pourvoyeuse* and, just to the right behind Geoffrin, Carle Vanloo's *Conversation espagnole*. The selection of paintings includes examples from the best painters of the century, several of whom are depicted in the group gathered around Geoffrin: Vanloo, Vernet, and Vien. The architect Jacques-Germain Soufflot and the sculptor Édme Bouchardon are also present.

The figures surrounding Geoffrin are the crème de la crème of eighteenth-century society: aristocrats, writers, thinkers, composers, and artists. Owing to the celebrity of the people depicted in Lemonnier's painting and the fame of Geoffrin's salon, the *Première*

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<sup>19</sup> All three works were shown at the Salon of 1814. The *Première Lecture* remains in the collection of Malmaison, but the original paintings of *François I* and *Louis XIV*, are in a private collection in Germany. Copies of all three, which have smaller dimensions than the originals, are located in the Musée des Beaux-Arts de Rouen. Christine Le Bozac, *Lemonnier : un peintre en Révolution* (Rouen: Université de Rouen, 2000), 123; Maison de Chateaubriand, *Madame Geoffrin*, 228, cat. no. 402.

*lecture* has received more scholarly attention in recent years than its two companion pieces, having frequently appeared as an illustration in works examining eighteenth-century sociability. But this retrospective use of the painting has led to problems of interpretation, for it has too often been taken up as a transparent, even contemporaneous picture of eighteenth-century salon life.

In the early 1990s, the historian John Lough published a short article in two different journals, debunking Lemonnier's work as a complete fiction.<sup>20</sup> It is indeed a fiction, a sort of *School of Athens* of eighteenth-century salon culture. Many of the illustrious people shown in it spent at least some time in Geoffrin's salon but they were never all there at the same time. The depiction of Geoffrin's art collection poses similar problems: some of the works displayed on the wall were owned by Geoffrin but others were not.<sup>21</sup> In other words, the accuracy of the depiction of the collection is as questionable as that of the members of the gathering.

Stimulated by Lough's conclusion that "[t]he picture is thus of no documentary value concerning the place of the writer in the society of the *Ancien Régime*," the painting has become a whipping boy to exemplify nineteenth- and twentieth-century historians' tendencies to romanticize eighteenth-century salon culture.<sup>22</sup> It is easy to understand why

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<sup>20</sup> John Lough, "Lemonnier's Painting: *Une soirée chez Madame Geoffrin en 1755*," *French Historical Studies* 45, no. 3 (1991): 268–278; John Lough, "A propos du tableau de Lemonnier : *Une soirée chez Madame Geoffrin*," *Recherches sur Diderot et sur l'Encyclopédie* 12 (1992): 4–18.

<sup>21</sup> *La prêtresse* was commissioned by Geoffrin, *La jeune greque* was not. Geoffrin owned no Chardins, and only one Greuze – a young girl, certainly not the two *dramas bourgeois* depicted here which were commissioned by the Marquis de Véri in 1777. Lemonnier appears to have worked from engravings of these works. Several of the paintings are shown in reverse, including the Greuze paintings as well as Vanloo's *Conversation espagnole*. The use of engravings might explain the mismatched Vien paintings, as both works were engraved by Filipart and subsequently re-titled *La vertueuse athenienne* (for *La prêtresse*) and *La jeune corinthienne* (for *La jeune greque*).

<sup>22</sup> This conclusion is found in the abstract for Lough's French article, Lough, "A propos du tableau de Lemonnier." Antoine Lilti, for example, used the painting as a starting point for examining what he calls "a nostalgia for the salons of the eighteenth century," that led to the "invention" of the salon that occurred in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Lilti, *Le monde des salons*, 15. The painting continues to draw

Lemonnier's meticulous account of a gathering *chez Geoffrin* is disappointing to scholars looking for visual documentation of her salon: although we have many written descriptions of Geoffrin's salon, we have no visual depiction of it.

For all the inaccuracies of Lemonnier's retrospectively constructed group portrait, the work usefully points to three defining features of Geoffrin's salon and career: the image of her as a *salonnière*; the group of people around her; and finally, the collection of art on the walls. These three aspects are intricately intertwined, and the last two — Geoffrin's social circle and her art collection — depend largely on the first, the image that she fashioned for herself.

### **Creating a *Salonnière***

The old bonneted lady that Lemonnier depicted in the *Première lecture* certainly resonates with many of the portraits and supposed portraits of Geoffrin that we have today. It also corresponds to written descriptions of Geoffrin. Élisabeth Vigée-Lebrun, for example, described her impression of Geoffrin after their first meeting in the early 1770s:

Madame Geoffrin brought together in her home all the distinguished men of literature and the arts, important foreigners, and the greatest lords of the court. Without birth, without talent, even without a considerable fortune, she created for herself an existence in Paris unique for her type, and that no women could do today. Having heard of me, she came to visit one morning, and said the most flattering things about me and my talent. Although she was not very old then, I should have thought her at least a hundred, for not only did she stoop a great deal, but her costume aged her immensely. She wore an iron-grey dress, with a large flapped cap, covered with a black hood, tied under her chin. At her age, women nowadays

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strong reactions from scholars. In 2011, a mention of Lemonnier's work on the Eighteenth-Century Interdisciplinary email list serve prompted one participant to claim: "This particular canvas should be hung face to the wall in a corner, and all reproductions destroyed." (May 27, 2011)

contrive to make themselves look younger by the care they take about their dress.<sup>23</sup>

Vigée-Lebrun met Geoffrin when she in fact was rather aged, at least seventy-one years old. The painter expressed great respect for what Geoffrin had achieved in her life yet was surprised at how she presented herself—not so much the fact that Geoffrin *looked* septuagenarian but rather that she *embraced* her old age. Geoffrin herself apparently confessed to doing so. According to the Duchesse d’Abrantès, the *salonnière* explained: “I wanted to pre-empt an always-difficult age...I wanted to make myself an old lady early. When old age truly came, it would find me totally ready.”<sup>24</sup> The question they raise for me is when she started to dress older than her years. The visual evidence suggests that her aged appearance corresponded with the years her salon became a fixture for artists and intellectuals.

The first known portrait of Madame Geoffrin was painted by Jean-Marc Nattier in 1738 (Figure 5.6).<sup>25</sup> The large-scale portrait depicts the thirty-nine-year-old Geoffrin in a

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<sup>23</sup> “Madame Geoffrin réunissait chez elle tout ce qu’on connaissait d’hommes distingués dans la littérature et dans les arts, les étrangers de marquée, et les plus grands seigneurs de la cour. Sans naissance, sans talents, sans même avoir une fortune considérable, elle s’était créé ainsi à Paris une existence unique dans son genre, et qu’aucune femme ne pourrait plus s’y faire aujourd’hui. Ayant entendu parler de moi, elle vint de me voir un matin, et me dit les choses les plus flatteuses sur ma personé et sur mon talent. Quoiqu’elle ne fût pas alors très âgée, je lui avais donné cent ans; car, non seulement elle se tenait un peu courbée, mais son costume la vieillissait beaucoup. Elle était vêtue d’une robe grise de fer et portait sur sa tête un bonnet à grand papillon, recouvert d’une coiffe noire nouée sous le menton. À pareil âge, maintenant, les femmes au contraire réussissent à se rajeunir par le soin qu’elles apportent à leur toilette.” Louise-Élisabeth Vigée-Lebrun, *Souvenirs*, 2 vols. (Saint-Didier: L’Escalier, 2010), 1:21. Vigée-Lebrun does not date this meeting precisely, but it falls within her discussion of other events of the early 1770s.

<sup>24</sup> “J’ai voulu aller au-devant d’une époque toujours difficile, ... j’ai voulu me faire vieille de bonne heure. Quand la vieillesse viendra véritablement, elle me trouvera toute prête.” Abrantès, *Une soirée chez Madame Geoffrin*, 3. Saint-Beuve similarly described Geoffrin’s approach to aging thusly: “Tandis que la plupart des femmes sont occupées à faire retraite en bon ordre et à prolonger leur âge de la veille, elle prit d’elle-même les devants, et elle s’installa sans marchander dans son âge du lendemain.” Quoted in Maison de Chateaubriand, *Madame Geoffrin*, 95.

<sup>25</sup> The whereabouts of the original version of the painting are a mystery. The painting held today in the collection of the Fuji Art Museum is an unsigned, undated copy. This was not unusual practice for Nattier, who only signed and dated the first version of his portraits. Salmon has also identified at least one other copy of the painting, which appeared on the Parisian market in 1998, as well as several bust-length copies.

landscape, leaning on an open book, and gesturing dramatically toward the right. While her costume and attributes are classicizing in style, they do not correspond to any of the goddesses or muses assumed as allegorical personae by many of Nattier's sitters. Yet Geoffrin's gesture and the dramatic swath of pink-hued fabric add a fantastic aspect to the work. The fantasy element is particularly apparent when one compares this painting to a portrait of her daughter, which Nattier painted two years later in 1740 (figure 5.7).<sup>26</sup> It presents the Marquise de la Ferté-Imbault in an interior space, dressed *en domino* and holding a mask. The Marquise's interior setting and costume suggest a narrative of her going to or coming from a masked ball. Geoffrin's portrait lacks such narrative indicators.

In 1742, a mere four years after Nattier's portrait was painted, Charles-Nicolas Cochin depicted Geoffrin in a strikingly different way (Figure 5.8). She was by this time forty-three years old but her appearance corresponds to the written descriptions of her as dressed older than her years. Cochin's modest drawing shows Geoffrin playing cards in clothing similar to that which Vigée-Lebrun described, such as the white bonnet with a cap. This same costume appears in Pierre Allais's 1747 portrait of the *salonnière* (Figure 5.9).<sup>27</sup> If Nattier's portrait represents "a woman whom time has not yet affected," as Xavier Salmon remarked, in Allais's and Cochin's portraits she appears prematurely affected by time when she was in her forties.<sup>28</sup>

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For whom or with what intent these copies were made, we do not know. See catalogue entry number 22 in Xavier Salmon, *Jean-Marc Nattier: 1685–1766*, exh. cat. (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 1999).

<sup>26</sup> Geoffrin's daughter, born in 1715, was also named Marie-Thérèse. For clarity, I will refer to her by the title she acquired after her marriage, the Marquise de la Ferté-Imbault.

<sup>27</sup> This portrait, in the family's collection, has been overlooked in discussions of Geoffrin's iconography as it appears to have been unknown until it was published by Hamon in 2010 and displayed at the 2011 exhibition on Geoffrin at the Maison de Chateaubriand. We know nothing about Allais other than that he was a member of the Académie de Saint Luc.

<sup>28</sup> "[U]ne femme que le temps n'avait pas encore affecté," Salmon, *Jean-Marc Nattier*, 111.

Larger shifts in portrait taste in mid-eighteenth century France may help explain Geoffrin's change of appearance and her change of portraitist. Nattier's portraits, with their allegorical and mythical costumes and heavily made-up ladies, began to fall out of fashion as tastes shifted towards an emphasis on physiognomy and personality, as demonstrated by the popularity of the work of Maurice Quentin de la Tour and Jean-Baptiste Perronneau.<sup>29</sup> But the growing rejection of the Rococo style is not a sufficient explanation for Geoffrin's accelerated aging. It is equally important to situate these changes within the specific context of Geoffrin's career.

Four years prior to the creation of Nattier's portrait of Geoffrin, she began her Wednesday night dinners, taking her first steps to become a full-fledged *salonnière*. As often noted, Geoffrin's education in the art of being a *salonnière* took place through her neighbor, Madame de Tencin. After Geoffrin and her husband moved to the rue Saint-Honoré in 1719, she began attending Tencin's salon.

The established Madame de Tencin and the up-and-coming Geoffrin had a complex relationship. Many historians have credited Tencin with training Geoffrin in the social arts, but around the time Geoffrin's Wednesday night *dîners* became a regular event in 1734, the elder *salonnière* remarked, according to Marmontel: "Do you know what Geoffrin has come here to do? She's come to see what she can collect from my inventory."<sup>30</sup> Whatever the truth of this comment, Tencin's salon introduced Geoffrin to many of the individuals who subsequently formed the foundation of her own social circle.

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<sup>29</sup> Donald Posner, "The 'Duchess de Velours' and her Daughter: A Masterpiece by Nattier and its Historical Context," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 31(1996): 131–141; Philippe Renard, *Jean-Marc Nattier (1685–176) Un artiste parisien à a cour de Louis XV* (Saint-Rémy-en-l'Eau: Monelle Hayot, 1999), 122–161.

<sup>30</sup> "Savez-vous ce que la Geoffrin vient faire ici? Elle vient voir ce qu'elle poussa recueillir de mon inventaire." Quoted in Hamon, *Madame Geoffrin*, 180. Hamon also points out that Geoffrin's salon may have filled the hole in the Saint-Honoré society created by Madame de Tencin's imprisonment following the suicide of Charles-Joseph de la Fresnaye in her home in 1726 and during Tencin's exile in 1730. *Ibid.*

Leaving Marmontel's insinuation of female competition aside, the inner circles of salons were frequently formed in this sort of filial manner. Tencin, for example, had pulled many of the attendees of her salon from that of her predecessor, Madame de Lambert.<sup>31</sup>

Nattier's portrait of Geoffrin acts as a declaration of her aspirations to become a *salonnière* by demonstrating her connection to her illustrious predecessors. The book on which Geoffrin leans alludes to this: Madame de Lambert's *Traité de l'amour et l'amitié*.<sup>32</sup> The inclusion of the book is a clear statement of Geoffrin's appreciation of Lambert's legacy as both writer and hostess. It highlights the filial relationship of the salons: after Lambert's death in 1733, the attendees of her salon moved to Tencin's. Geoffrin was undoubtedly hoping that the same would happen after Tencin died. The book also defines Geoffrin's vision for her own salon, which was founded only one year after Lambert's death. By associating her lineage with Lambert and Tencin, Geoffrin indicated a hope that her salon would operate separately from the court.<sup>33</sup>

Madame de Tencin died in 1749, making Geoffrin's salon the premier salon in Paris. Cochin's and Allais's portraits of Geoffrin indicate that she was well prepared to take up this role by presenting her as the proper heiress of Tencin's salon. Geoffrin is depicted as a mature woman, an appearance described by Maurice Hamon as a "*vieillesse*

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<sup>31</sup> Dena Goodman first argued for the filial relationship of the *salonnières* in Goodman, *The Republic of Letters*, 76. Benedetta Craveri has also treated the continuity of the salon from the seventeenth to the eighteenth century with an eye to the filial relationship between the *salonnières* in Craveri, *The Age of Conversation*.

<sup>32</sup> Hamon, *Madame Geoffrin*, 137; Maison de Chateaubriand, *Madame Geoffrin*, 22.

<sup>33</sup> As Degout has recently remarked concerning appearance of Lambert's book in the Nattier portrait, it has "marqué pour nous son attachement à une différence, celle qui séparait désormais les salons littéraires de la cour." Bernard Degout, "De la Cour et de la Ville ou mesdames du Maine, de Lambert, de Tencin et Geoffrin mère et fille," in *Madame Geoffrin une femme d'affaires et d'esprit*, ed. Maison de Chateaubriand, exh. cat. (Milan: Silvana, 2011), 33.

*iconique*,” or “iconic old age.”<sup>34</sup> In Allais’s portrait she wears a vivid blue silk dress with gold passementerie over a high-cut stomacher decorated with lace. A silver, fur-lined silk mantle covers her upper body. The black and white nature of Cochin’s drawing makes it difficult to determine if she wears the same dress, but it appears to be a similar style. The artist’s careful rendering reveals that Geoffrin sports a fur-lined mantle that seems to match the one depicted in Allais’s portrait. In both the drawing and the painting her head is covered with a bonnet. In the drawing it is tied with a *coiffe*, a type of kerchief.<sup>35</sup>

This portrayal of the well-established, older women was a recognizable type. It appeared in numerous portraits; for example, Jacques-André-Joseph Aved’s portrait of Madame Crozat, which was attributed to Chardin in the nineteenth century and identified as Geoffrin (Figure 5.10). The elderly Crozat, sitting at her embroidery table, wears a lace bonnet and a similarly high-cut stomacher under her dress, which, like Geoffrin’s, is a solid color and trimmed with gold embellishments. In at least two cases, the mien of the mature woman was appropriated and utilized strategically in portraits of two famous women of the court: Nattier’s portrait of Marie Leszcynska from 1748 (Figure 5.11) and François Drouais’s 1763-64 portrait of Madame de Pompadour (Figure 5.12).<sup>36</sup> Like Geoffrin, both women were in their forties when they were represented in similar subdued clothing. Behind these images of maturity was an issue of social display: Marie Leszcynska adopted the *coiffe* and a more modest *robe à la française* in her portrait by

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<sup>34</sup> Hamon, *Madame Geoffrin*, 354. On the “mature woman” see Pierre Fauchery, *La destinée féminine dans le roman européen du dix-huitième siècle* (Lille: Service de reproduction des thèses, 1972), 496–506.

<sup>35</sup> Aileen Ribeiro described a *coiffe* as a “round eared cap, like a bonnet, curving round the face to the level of the ears or below, with lappets either pinned on top or tied under the chin. Aileen Ribeiro, *Dress in Eighteenth-Century Europe 1715–1789* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 49. This accessory has also been described as a *marmotte*, “un mouchoir que les femmes de la campagne nouent sur la tête comme coiffure.” “Marmotte,” in Maurice Leloir, *Dictionnaire du costume et de ses accessoires des armes et des étoffes des origines à nos jours* (Paris: Librairie Gründ, 1951).

<sup>36</sup> Elise Goodman, *The Portraits of Madame de Pompadour: Celebrating the Femme Savante* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 28.



Nattier, abandoning the pomp of official court dress, with its elaborated patterned fabric and expansive panniers, as seen in her portraits by Carle Vanloo (1747) (Figure 5.13) and Louis Tocqué (1740). According to Nattier's daughter and biographer, Marie-Catherine-Pauline Tocqué, the queen specifically requested to be represented "*en habit de ville*," or "in city dress," in her 1748 portrait.<sup>37</sup> Colin Jones, in his discussion of Madame de Pompadour's portrait by Drouais, similarly notes that the former mistress of Louis XV appeared to be making "a concession to bourgeois dress" by sporting the bonnet, although the exquisite pattern of her dress and significantly lower-cut bodice lessen the matronly appearance found in the portraits of Geoffrin, Crozat, and Marie Leszcynska.<sup>38</sup>

These portraits show that the mien of the mature woman could be employed when women tried to downplay wealth and nobility. Madame de Tencin appears to have done much the same thing: a portrait attributed to Aved shows Tencin as a mature woman (Figure 5.14). While the portrait of Tencin is undated, her notoriety, particularly following the suicide of her lover La Fresnaye in her home, her subsequent imprisonment, and brief exile following her involvement in her brother's political intrigues would be likely reasons for creating of a more modest image of herself. This matronly image of Tencin is striking when compared to her earlier portrait attributed to Jean Guynier, which shows the *salonnière* as a young beauty in a low-cut pink dress, a finely embroidered gold bodice accentuating her slim waist (Figure 5.15).

When Tencin's later portrait is compared to Allais's portrait of Geoffrin, the similarity of the two women's costumes and poses is striking. Geoffrin's mentor is shown

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<sup>37</sup> Salmon, *Jean-Marc Nattier*, 197, cat. no 152.

<sup>38</sup> Colin Jones, *Madame de Pompadour: Images of a Mistress* (London: National Gallery Company, 2002), 150. Jones notes that Pompadour's appropriation of the white cap may be a reference to Marie Leszcynska's portrait.

seated upon a high-backed chair in an interior space. Her body is similarly enveloped in a red dress, trimmed with lace. A large fur muff has been pushed up her right forearm, and in her ungloved hand she holds a fan. Tencin's head is covered with a lace bonnet and black coiffe, similar to Geoffrin's. Both women greet the viewer with direct and welcoming gazes as if they were listening. It is an attitude well suited to two hostesses accustomed to listening and guiding the conversation of their guests. Geoffrin's adoption of an unassuming persona was undoubtedly a gesture to Tencin. Much as she modeled her salon after Tencin's, she also fashioned her image after her mentor. However, it is Tencin's later image, when she was trying to remove herself from her earlier notoriety, which Geoffrin adopted.

Avoiding notoriety was a second likely reason for Geoffrin's adoption of the mien of the mature woman at the start of her career as a *salonnière*. By mid-century, Nattier's works began to be seen as conspicuous displays of wealth and social climbing. Donald Posner has addressed this turn in Nattier's career through the artist's portrait of Madame Marsollier and her daughter from 1749 (Figure 5.16).<sup>39</sup> Marsollier, the daughter of a minor servant to the king who married a silk merchant, was notorious for her social aspirations. Her contemporaries mockingly referred to her by the title "the Duchess of Velvet."<sup>40</sup> Nattier's portrait of Marsollier conveyed the place she thought she deserved in society, as indicated by its rich interior setting, her elegant *déshabille* and that of her daughter, and the luxury objects that surround them. As a visual display of social

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<sup>39</sup> Posner, "The 'Duchess de Velours' and her Daughter," 131–141.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 133.

aspirations, it was easily seen through at the time, and Nattier's work came to be known for this type of social display and flattery.<sup>41</sup>

The increasingly negative reception of Nattier's portraits suggests one reason for Geoffrin's transformation of the image she wished to project: Geoffrin was described as "bourgeois and very bourgeois by birth" but her family was working its way up the social ladder.<sup>42</sup> Her father had married into a family of wealthy Parisian bankers and earned enough money as a *valet de garde robe* of the Dauphine to purchase an office as a *commissaire contrôleur juré mouleur de bois à la ville de Paris*. Madame Geoffrin's grandmother made sure the young Marie-Thérèse married up; her husband, François Geoffrin, was a lieutenant colonel in the National Guard and, as mentioned above, a major shareholder in the glassworks at Saint-Gobain. Madame Geoffrin would continue to participate actively in Saint-Gobain's business after her husband's death in 1749, which was a significant source of income throughout her life. Finally Madame Geoffrin's own daughter, also named Marie-Thérèse, married the Marquis de la Ferté-Imabult, a member of the Etampes family, one of the largest noble houses of the *ancien régime*.<sup>43</sup>

Furthermore, as Madame Geoffrin herself lacked a title or serious wealth, the people who attended her salons generated her fame. Her salons were defined by an important mixing of artists, writers, and aristocrats. Her daughter made in-roads into court society, and Geoffrin was associated with several European courts. Her close relationship with the king of Poland, Stanislas-Auguste Poniatowski, whom she referred to as her "son," and her correspondence with the Empress Catherine II of Russia were

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<sup>41</sup> Ibid., 134.

<sup>42</sup> Charles-Augustin Saint-Beuve, *Galérie de femmes célèbres tirée des causeries du lundi* (Paris: Garnier Frères, 1862), 254.

<sup>43</sup> The best overview of these social moves is found in Maison de Chateaubriand, *Madame Geoffrin*, 17–21.

well known. Her salon became an important site for visitors from the courts of Eastern Europe seeking to enter Parisian society.<sup>44</sup>

Once Geoffrin's salons became a fixture in the cultural milieu of Paris, the woman who ran it required a new image for herself, one that downplayed Geoffrin's social ambitions and promoted her role as a *salonnière*. Allais's and Cochin's portraits achieve this. Unlike the Nattier portrait, which presented an image of Geoffrin that could be interpreted as someone who desired attention and social ascent, both the Allais and the Cochin works portrayed her as a quiet, modest woman. Most importantly, the unassuming, gentle attitude Geoffrin displayed in the later two portraits resonated with what was expected of her as a *salonnière*. As Goodman has argued, the *salonnière's* art was based on selflessness; she was in charge of managing the (male) egos of the attendees without imposing her own.<sup>45</sup> Allais and Cochin represented Geoffrin as a woman who was decidedly unthreatening and unimposing, who guided but did not insert herself into the conversations of the men around her.

## **Disappearances**

In 1750, the year after Tencin's death, Geoffrin's Monday gatherings for artists—the first of its kind—became a fixed social event. This makes it less surprising that when Geoffrin later described her art collection in her *carnet*, she noted it as having been started in 1750. The artworks she listed notably did not include Nattier's, Allais's or Cochin's portraits of Geoffrin. Paula Rea Radisich has suggested that the Nattier portrait

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<sup>44</sup> The third part of Hamon's biography is largely concerned with both Geoffrin's and the Marquise de la Ferté-Imabault's court connections, both in France and abroad. See Hamon, *Madame Geoffrin*, Troisième partie: La Cour, la ville, l'étranger.

<sup>45</sup> Goodman, *The Republic of Letters*, 102–104.

was not included in the list because the artist was not a regular participant in her salon.<sup>46</sup> When Geoffrin mentioned Nattier's portrait in her summary autobiography, she stated "I was painted by Nattier in 1738 and my daughter in 1740."<sup>47</sup> Geoffrin referenced the portrait in terms of the social interaction entailed by portraiture. She referred to the act of being painted *by* Nattier, rather than to the canvas itself. This idea resonates with the notion of her collection of paintings as a material trace of social interactions. However, as Geoffrin's collection grew, the portraits of her in it diminished. This section addresses this dynamic.

A portrait's ability to document a social encounter played an important role in Geoffrin's Monday salon from its beginning. Documenting the participants in visual form quickly became a central aspect of the gathering, which is not surprising considering the illustrious group of artists who attended it. Sometime in the early 1740s, Charles-Nicolas Cochin began a series of medallion portraits in pencil of Geoffrin's guests, which were later engraved by a variety of amateurs who attended the artists' salon (Figures 2.3, 2.4, 4.24). As mentioned in Chapter 2 of this study, Hugues-Adrien Joly, the curator of prints for the king's library, wrote of their creation:

Cochin, during the time that the amateurs and artists assembled at Mad. Geoffrin's one day a week, drew them in profile in the form of a medallion. He promised to engrave them all and to give them to us to be placed in front of this Collection of M. le Comte de Caylus. Cochin drew many of the amateurs and artists who were received and very well hosted every Monday. Madame Geoffrin held at her place a dinner called the dinner of the Arts and while they conversed, Cochin amused himself by

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<sup>46</sup> Radisich, "Making Conversation," 22. She most likely did not mention Allais because he was not famous enough to be included; a member of the Académie de Saint Luc, he never joined the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture, whereas the attendees of Geoffrin's salon were some of the most famous painters of the second half of the eighteenth century.

<sup>47</sup> "J'ai été peinte par Nattier en 1738 et ma fille en 1740." Maison de Chateaubriand, *Madame Geoffrin*, 59.

drawing either his colleagues or the amateurs, with the intention of having them all engraved to make a suite of portraits.<sup>48</sup>

Joly's description of these drawings as a form of personal amusement (*se recrée*) belies their importance. What Joly described is the act of recording a social network in visual form. That these drawings were intended to function this way is made apparent in their use: Geoffrin kept at least forty-three of the medallion portraits, including the portraits of Boucher, Chardin, Pierre, Vien, Vernet, and Guay, who attended her Monday salon.<sup>49</sup> While the portraits of artists were promised to Cochin, they stayed in the collection of Geoffrin's descendants until 1921, when a group of them was sold.<sup>50</sup> Furthermore, the drawings were to be reproduced and given to the participants. Even today, they continue to stand in for the members of Geoffrin's salon, frequently being used in works and exhibitions on Geoffrin's salon to illustrate her circle.<sup>51</sup>

The installation of Cochin's portraits in the 2011 exhibition "Madame Geoffrin, une femme d'affaires et d'esprit" gave an idea of how these works might have been seen in Geoffrin's own home. Eight medallion portraits in the exhibition were displayed as a group in separate but identical frames (Figure 5.17), presenting them as an ensemble

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<sup>48</sup> "Le Sr. Cochin pendant que les amateurs et les artistes s'assemblent chez Mad. Geoffrin un jour de la semaine les a dessinés de profil dans une forme de médaillon. Il s'est promis de les graver tous et de nous les donner pour mettre à la tête de ce Recueil de M. le Comte de Caylus. Le S. Cochin a dessiné plusieurs amateurs et plusieurs artistes qui sont reçus et très bien accueillis tous les Lundi. Madame Geoffrin donne chez elle un dîné appelé le dîné des Arts, et tandis que les un sont à la conversation, le S. Cochin se recrée à dessiner ou ses confrères ou des amateurs, en sorte que son intention serait de les faire graver tous pour en faire une suite de portraits." Quoted in Guichard, *Les amateurs d'art*, 220.

<sup>49</sup> See my discussion of these portraits in Chapter 2.

<sup>50</sup> Forty-three portraits were sold in 1921; see Jules Féral, *Catalogue de huit tableaux par Hubert Robert, quarante-trois dessins par Cochin, portraits du XVIIIe siècle, provenant du salon de madame Geoffrin, et appartenant au comte de La Bédoyère dont la vente aura lieu à Paris, Galerie Georges Petit, le mercredi 8 juin 1921* (Paris: Galerie Georges Petit, 1921).

<sup>51</sup> The literature on these works tends to discuss them in regards to their role as a representation of the participants in Geoffrin's salon. Indeed, this seems to have been the starting point for Cochin's project, which quickly expanded beyond representing only Geoffrin's network. As I argue in Chapter 2, these works held significance for the sitters that extended beyond the salon, and were part of a larger system of exchange of portraits between artists.

rather than as individual portraits.<sup>52</sup> Hubert Robert's paintings of the inside of Geoffrin's home in the 1770s (Figures 5.31, 5.32) support this idea: in the background several clusters of medallion frames decorating the walls are visible. Viewed as a group the medallion portraits operate as a *galerie de grands hommes* on a miniature scale.

Creating a *galerie de grands hommes* may very well have been the intended effect. This type of project was popular at the time: about a dozen collections of engravings of the great men of France were produced in the eighteenth century, many inspired by Charles Perrault's work *Les Hommes Illustres qui ont paru en France pendant ce siècle* (1697).<sup>53</sup> Furthermore, recording "greatness" was a preoccupation of at least one other member of Geoffrin's salon: Ange-Laurent La Live de Jully was creating his own compendium of *grand hommes* with the intent of updating Perrault's work.<sup>54</sup> Cochin's project appears to have had similar motivations, and the collection of individuals was deemed important enough to be shown in public; a large number of the portraits were shown together at the Salon of 1753.<sup>55</sup> Cochin continued the project over the course of his life, expanding it to include not only the men and women he encountered at Geoffrin's but also famous individuals throughout Europe.<sup>56</sup>

The act of recording the participants in Geoffrin's salon in such a visual form and displaying images of them indicates a self-consciousness about the social importance and

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<sup>52</sup> The exhibition included portraits of Madame de La Ferté-Imbault, baron d'Holbach, M. de Pilli, valet de chambre de Louis XV, M. de Fontenelle, Joseph Vernet, Dortous de Mairan, Julien-David Leroy, G.M. Guérin, and an anonymous portrait.

<sup>53</sup> For a list of these works see David Bell, *The Cult of the Nation in France: Inventing Nationalism, 1680–1800* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003), 113.

<sup>54</sup> La Live's portraits for this project can be found in Rés Ef 34 no. 51–101, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des estampes et de la photographie, Paris.

<sup>55</sup> These were listed under number 179. *Collection de Livrets des Anciennes Expositions depuis 1673 jusqu'en 1800*, ed. Jules Guiffrey, 8 vols., vol. 3 (Nogent le Roi: Jacques Laget, 1990).

<sup>56</sup> Christian Michel, *Charles-Nicolas Cochin et l'art des lumières* (Rome: École française de Rome, 1993), 121–122.

the historical interest of the gathering. Geoffrin's portraits of famous men were distinct from other collections of great men that were created in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, however. Previous collections focused on famous men of the previous century whereas Geoffrin *knew* all the people who were portrayed in Cochin's drawings. In other words, Geoffrin's collection of medallion portraits created a visual and lasting record of her salon gatherings by representing its participants. The etchings further extended and assured its posterity.

Like Cochin's portraits, Geoffrin's art collection also stood in for the people who attended her Monday salon. Geoffrin treated her paintings as a "material trace" of her social connections with their creators, as Paula Rea Radisich and Charlotte Guichard have noted.<sup>57</sup> Evidence that Geoffrin viewed her collection in this way can be found in the memoirs of Joseph-Marie Vien. He described Geoffrin's first visit to his studio as follows:

She came over one day. There were one hundred forty-seven steps to climb to get to my lodgings. One should also know that she was very enthusiastic about M. Vanloo's talents, and, unable to get all that she wanted from him, she came to ask me to do a head in the manner of that artist. At these words, I informed her that she had uselessly made the effort to climb so high, as M. Vanloo lived downstairs, right off the Place du Louvre. I know, sir, she replied. Well, Madame, it's him you should talk to for a Vanloo. I only know how to make Viens. And she responded that I was high up... A hundred and forty steps, Madame. Ah! well, sir, since you only make Viens, make me one.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> Radisich, "Making Conversation," 22; Guichard, *Les amateurs d'art*, 226.

<sup>58</sup> "Un jour, elle arriva chez moi. Il y avait cent quarante sept marches à monter pour se rendre à mon logement. Il faut qu'on sache aussi qu'elle était si fortement enthousiaste des talens de M. Vanloo, que, ne pouvant obtenir de lui, tout ce qu'elle aurait désiré, elle vint me demander de lui faire une tête dans le goût de cet artiste. À ces mot, je lui observai qu'elle avait pris inutilement la peine de monter si haut, puisque M. Vanloo était au bas de la place du Louvre. –Je le sais, Monsieur, reprit-elle. –Eh bien, Madame, c'était à lui qu'il fallait vous adresser pour avoir un Vanloo. Je ne sais faire que des Vien. Elle me répondit que j'étais haut... –À cent quarante marches, Madame. Eh ! bien, Monsieur puisque vous ne faite que des Vien, faite m'en un." Thomas W. Gaehtgens and Jacques Lugand, *Joseph-Marie Vien, peintre du roi (1716–1809)* (Paris: Arthena, 1988), 311.



Although Vien specified the subject that Geoffrin was requesting—a head—by the end of the conversation the subject was no longer the issue, the style was. Vien could not make a Vanloo, he could only make Viens; he described his works as extension of his person. This was not an unusual view; the notion of the artist’s touch in the eighteenth-century art theory linked an object to its maker not only as a physical sign of the artist’s hand but also his emotional and mental state while he was completing it.<sup>59</sup> Geoffrin was amenable to Vien’s claim that he could only make “Viens,” suggesting that this aspect of his work was just as important as the subject. As an extension of his person—both physical and mental—the “Vien” he would produce would also be a physical trace of their social interaction.

Geoffrin did not appear in any of the works listed in her account of her art collection, nor was she included in Cochin’s medallion portraits despite her indispensable role in bringing the subjects of them together.<sup>60</sup> Her absence from Cochin’s portraits, which were publicized and well-known works, during this formative time in the history of her salon is the first indication of her intention to cultivate a social posture of modesty

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<sup>59</sup> Claude-Henri Watelet, in his entry on *touche* in the *Dictionnaire des arts de peinture, sculpture et gravure* wrote: “C’est le signe inimitable qu’ils impriment à leurs ouvrages, signe qui les fait reconnoître et qui les distingue des copies qu’on en fait.” Claude-Henri Watelet, “Touche,” in *Dictionnaire des arts de peinture, sculpture et gravure*, ed. Claude-Henri Watelet and Philippe-Charles Levesque (Paris: L.F. Prault, 1792), 784. For more on the connection between touch and an artist’s mental state see Sheriff, *Moved by Love*, 137.

<sup>60</sup> While Christian Michel included a portrait of Geoffrin, engraved by Charles-Simon Miger, in his list of Cochin’s engraved medallion portraits, there is no mention of Geoffrin in the list of portraits in Charles-Antoine Jombert’s 1770 catalogue raisonné of Cochin’s works. Charles-Antoine Jombert, *Catalogue de l’œuvre de Charles-Nicolas Cochin Fils* (Paris: Imprimerie de Prault, 1770). Jombert’s list is far from complete; Cochin’s portraits were engraved up to the artist’s death. Geoffrin’s absence from Jombert’s catalogue might suggest that the work was engraved after 1770, much like Demarteau’s engraving after Cochin’s drawing of the *salonnière* playing cards. Many of the portraits of the salon attendees, on the other hand, appear to have been engraved in the 1750s, when Geoffrin’s salon was becoming increasingly well known. However, there is also no mention of a portrait of Geoffrin by Cochin in Miger’s catalogue raisonné. Emile Bellier de la Chavignerie, *Biographie et catalogue de l’œuvre du graveur Miger* (Paris: J.B. Dumoulin, 1856).

within the realm of the creation and in the circulation of visual imagery by allowing her the artworks to stand in for her. In other words, she promoted her social connections to artists, signified by the works themselves over her own image. As signaled by Geoffrin's omission of portraits of her from her list of paintings, after 1750 her disappearing act became more obvious.

### **Salon Iconography**

One of the most popular works to have come out of Geoffrin's salon in the eighteenth century is one of the least discussed today: a mantel clock described by her as "representing Time's Employment (*L'emploi du temps*)...the original of all those made on the same model" (Figure 5.18).<sup>61</sup> Created for Geoffrin by Laurent Guiard and Pierre Musson in 1754, the gold clock features a bronze female figure in antique-style dress with an large volume resting on her outstretched legs. Completely absorbed in her reading, the figure leans on the clock face, head propped up on her hand. The quiet, delicate figure is commanding due to its size; the clock is over half a meter long, and the bronze and gold give it a hefty material presence.

The style of this clock, known at the time as "*la pendule à la Geoffrin*," became enormously popular over the course of the eighteenth century. It was reproduced by numerous clockmakers until the 1780s when the format was overtaken by Louis-Simon Boizot's *l'Étude et la Philosophie* (Figure 5.19). Early versions of it were owned by

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<sup>61</sup> While there is no specific mention of the date of this commission, Christian Baulez, in his short but thorough study of the work, argues convincingly that the clock was created in 1754. Christian Baulez, "La pendule à la Geoffrin : un modèle a succes," *L'estampille*, no. 224 (1989): 34–41. I am using the Metropolitan Museum of Art's translation of *L'emploi du temps* as "Time's employment." "Movement by the Workshop of Julien Le Roy and case by Joseph Baumhauer: Mantel Clock (Pendule de chiminee) (1991.8)," in the *Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2006) <http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/works-of-art/1991.8>. Accessed March 22, 2012.

several of Geoffrin's associates, and at least one of them was acquired with Geoffrin's help; the Marquis de Marigny purchased one through Geoffrin in 1757.<sup>62</sup> Horace Walpole, the banker Jean-Joseph de Laborde, and the duc de La Vrillière also owned copies.<sup>63</sup> The circulation of the clock among members of Geoffrin's circle suggests that it might have operated as a sign of participation in Geoffrin's salon. Like being represented in or owning one of Cochin's prints, the clock was a material trace of Geoffrin's salon.

Denis Diderot mentioned the clock in his well-known work, *Regrets sur ma vieille robe de chambre* (1769):

The space between the top of this desk and Vernet's *Tempête*, which is above it, created an emptiness disagreeable to the eye; this emptiness was filled by a clock, and what a clock it is! A *pendule à la Geoffrin*! A clock where gold contrasts with bronze.<sup>64</sup>

Diderot did not own this clock by chance; Geoffrin noted in her carnet that she ordered it specifically for him in 1768. It is striking that Diderot did not refer to the clock as a gift from Geoffrin but rather as a clock "à la" Geoffrin — like or as or in the manner of the *salonnière*. More than a gift or a gesture of friendship, the clock stood for Geoffrin herself. Diderot's name for the clock, the *pendule à la Geoffrin*, has stuck; even today, clocks of this type are described under this name at least as frequently as *L'Emploi du temps*, the name which Geoffrin gave it in her last will and testament. This association of the clock with Geoffrin spread beyond Geoffrin's circle. In 1778, the clockmaker Pierre

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<sup>62</sup> Baulez, "La pendule à la Geoffrin," 34.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, 37.

<sup>64</sup> "L'intervalle, qui resoit entre la tablette de ce bureau et la tempête de Vernet, qui est au dessus, faisoit un vide désagréable à l'œil ; ce vide fut rempli par une pendule et quelle pendule encore ! Une pendule à la Geoffrin ! Une pendule, où l'or contraste avec le bronze." Denis Diderot, *Regrets sur ma vieille robe de chambre* (s.n., 1772), 18–19.

Gille l'aîné described the female figure on the clock as “a grand woman reading to which we give the name of the dame Geoffrin.”<sup>65</sup>

The iconography of the *Pendule* brings to mind Nattier's earlier portrait of the young *salonnière*: the open book, the pulled back hair, the classicizing robe. The theme of reading reoccurred in Geoffrin's commissions, linking the Nattier portrait to the clock and to a pair of paintings produced shortly afterwards: Carle Vanloo's *Conversation espagnole* and *Lecture espagnole* (Figures 5.20, 5.21). In both of Vanloo's works, a group of women is shown in the company of a single male figure. In the *Conversation*, the man has just entered the scene, interrupting the women's music making in order to engage them in conversation. In the *Lecture*, the women surround a man seated on the ground, who reads from a book, Marie de La Fayette's *Zayde*. These paintings take listening as their subject: to music and conversation in the *Conversation*, and oral recitation of a text in the *Lecture*. At 1.6 meters high, they are impressive works on a scale that pushes them above and beyond a large *fête galante*.

Vanloo's *Espagnole* paintings have become synonymous with Geoffrin and her salon. Dena Goodman has convincingly argued that both refer to Geoffrin's salon through their depiction of listening and reading, practices that were central to salon culture in the eighteenth century, and in this respect they are representative of the guiding principles of the Enlightenment salon.<sup>66</sup> That the Vanloo pendants held a certain level of symbolic importance to Geoffrin is also demonstrated through her use of the profits from their sale to Catherine the Great in the 1770s to support Geoffrin's protégé, Julie de Lespinasse. Lespinasse, in turn, displayed engravings of both paintings in her salon, a

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<sup>65</sup> “[U]ne grande liseuse à laquelle on donne le nom de la dame Geoffrin...” Quoted in Baulez, “La pendule à la Geoffrin,” 40.

<sup>66</sup> Goodman, *The Republic of Letters*, 86–89.

reminder of her mentor's support and generosity.<sup>67</sup> Thus, like Diderot's *pendule à la Geoffrin*, Vanloo's paintings acted not only as a physical sign of Geoffrin's generosity, but as a material link in the chain that connected *salonnières*, artists and *philosophes* without actually depicting her.

Like the *pendule à la Geoffrin*, both of Vanloo's *Espagnole* works alluded to Geoffrin in their iconography, and they also became publicly linked to her name. Discussion of them in the press at the time was intricately tied to Geoffrin's name. Salon critics also saw in these paintings evidence of the close relationship Geoffrin was purported to have with Carle Vanloo. In the Salon commentary on the *Conversation*, one critic remarked on Geoffrin's participation its creation:

A love of the arts has suggested to a lady, who loves them for their own sake, an idea that could help to perpetuate the achievements of painting. Tired of only ever seeing Greek and Roman heroes, like Alexander, Caesar and Scipio, she proposed to the artists whom she receives in her house as her friends, not as protégés, that they should try to find a subject in European dress that could make a fine effect; in vain they protested to her that most of our short costumes could not be draped and did not lend themselves to the pictorial harmony required in a painting; she herself removed the difficulty, in commissioning M. Van Loo to paint for her the Spanish subject that we see so agreeably represented...<sup>68</sup>

The critic implied that the Spanish subject came from Geoffrin herself and that the painting was a collaboration between the artist and the patron. Denis Diderot, in his

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<sup>67</sup> Ibid.

<sup>68</sup> "L'amour des Arts a inspiré à une Dame qui les aime pour eux-mêmes, une idée qui peut-être utile à perpétuer les succès [sic] de la Peinture. Ennuyée de ne voir que des Alexandres, des Cesars, de Scipions, des Héros Grecs et Romains, elle a proposé aux Artistes qu'elle accueille en amis, et non en protégés, de chercher dans les habillemens Européens quelque sujet qui pût faire effet; en vain lui a-t-on objecté que la plûpart de nos habits courts ne drapant point, ne pouvoient pas prêter au pittoresque et à la liaison (sic) nécessaire dans un Tableau: elle a levé elle-même la difficulté, en engageant M. Van Loo à traiter pour elle le sujet Espagnol, qu'on voit si agréablement rendu..." Anonymous, *Lettre sur le Salon de 1755 adressée à ceux qui la liront*, in Collection Deloynes, vol. 6, no. 71, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des estampes et de la photographie, Paris. Translated in Barker, "Mme Geoffrin, Painting and Galanterie," 587.

*Notice sur Carle Van Loo*, written after the artist's death, elaborated on the patron's collaboration as a somewhat intrusive but finally productive process:

Mme Geoffrin presided over these works and everyday there were scenes that would make you die laughing. Rarely in agreement on the ideas and the manner of executing the works, there was trouble, then reconciliation, one laughed, one cried, one made injurious comments and flattering ones; it is in the midst of all these changes that the painting was advanced and finished.<sup>69</sup>

With its mocking tone, Diderot's comment contrasts with the previous discussion of the collaborative process. Yet both critics confirm Geoffrin's intense involvement in the creation of the works she owned that she suggested in her own claim that they were "all made in front of [her] eyes" ("*Ils ont tous été fait sous mes yeux*").<sup>70</sup> Of all the paintings in Geoffrin's art collection, Vanloo's pair of *Espagnole* paintings have received the most scholarly attention largely because of this public discussion of collaboration between patron and artist. This collaboration, together with the salon-related imagery of the works, meant that these paintings would forever be linked to Geoffrin's salon. Like the *pendule à la Geoffrin*, this connection was in name only, for Geoffrin was not directly represented in either of Vanloo's paintings.

### **Portraits by Proxy**

Vanloo's Spanish paintings, however, do contain portraits, just not of Geoffrin.

Pierre de Ségur remarked that in Vanloo's works "the characters were all portraits, and

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<sup>69</sup> "Mme Geoffrin présidait alors à ces ouvrages, et c'étaient tous les jours des scènes à mourir de rire. Rarement d'accord sur les idées et sur la manière de les exécuter, on se brouillait, on se raccommodait, on riait, on pleurait, on se disait des injures, des douceurs; et c'est au milieu de toutes ces vicissitudes que le tableau s'avancait et s'achevait." Denis Diderot, "Notice sur Carle Van Loo," in *Œuvres complètes : Arts et lettres (1739–1766)*, ed. Jean Varloot, 25 vol. (Paris: 1980), 13:476.

<sup>70</sup> Ségur, *Le royaume de la Rue Saint-Honoré*, 406.

notably the daughter of Madame Geoffrin.”<sup>71</sup> Ségur’s claim, made more than a century after the painting, is difficult to prove. But the evolution of the *Conversation*’s composition suggests that the work was developed to include portraits. A preparatory sketch for the painting has substantially more figures, suggesting that Vanloo reduced the number of people to emphasize the figures that were meant to be identified (Figure 5.22). Between the drawing and the final work, Vanloo shifted the gaze of the young girl from gazing at the male visitor to looking directly at the viewer. The shifting of the child’s gaze to engage the viewer added a compositional element common to group portraiture to what otherwise might be read as a *fête galante*.<sup>72</sup>

Ségur’s suggestion that the works contain a portrait of Geoffrin’s daughter, the Marquise de la Ferté-Imbault, is most likely in reference to the *Conversation espagnole*. The central female figure in the *Conversation* bears some resemblance to the Marquise de la Ferté-Imbault as portrayed in Nattier’s portrait from 1740, although such comparisons of likeness based on artworks can be tenuous. More suggestive is the identification in the *Correspondance littéraire* of the central woman in the painting as a widow: “This painting, commissioned by Mme Geoffrin and executed under her eyes, represents a Flemish countess, a widow, who is holding a sheet of music and singing.”<sup>73</sup> The

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<sup>71</sup> “Les personnages étaient tous des portraits, et où figure notamment la fille de madame Geoffrin, la marquise de la Ferté-Imbault.” Ibid., 55. Louis Réau similarly claims that the Marquise appears in the *Conversation*: “C’est, en somme, une réunion de portraits: la jeune femme assise au centre du groupe passé pour être la fille de Mme Geoffrin, la Marquise de La Ferté-Imbault.” Louis Réau, Jean Messelet, and Jean Adhemar, *Carle Vanloo, Jean Restout Les lithographies des paysages en France à l’époque romantique*, vol. 19, Archives de l’art français nouvelle période (Paris: A. Colin, 1939; repr., 1976), 42.

<sup>72</sup> The child is also strikingly similar to two preparatory drawings at the Art Institute of Chicago for the allegories of music and painting commissioned for Madame de Pompadour’s château at Belleville (today at San Francisco’s Palace of the Legion of Honor). The little girl in the Pompadour panels is thought to be Vanloo’s daughter.

<sup>73</sup> “Ce tableau, ordonné par Mme Geoffrin et exécuté sous ses yeux, représente une comtesse flamande, veuve, qui tient un papier de musique et qui chante.” Melchior Grimm and Denis Diderot, *Correspondance littéraire*, ed. Jacques-Henri Meister, 15 vols. (Paris: Furne, 1829), 1:218. The identification of this figure as a widow probably rested on her white dress, which was an appropriate color for mourning during the

description of the figure as a widow resonates with the family biography. It was publicly known that that Marquise's husband had died in 1737 and that she went to live with her mother on the rue Saint-Honoré. The critic's identification of a widow in the painting would thus correspond to Ségur's identification of the figure as Geoffrin's daughter, the Marquise de la Ferté-Imbault.

The case for the presence of at least one portrait in the *Lecture espagnole* is more solid. Later in the eighteenth century, the inclusion of a portrait in the *Lecture espagnole* was addressed by critics. When Beauvarlet's engraving of the *Lecture* was displayed at the Salon of in 1772, the *Correspondance littéraire* noted: "The governess resembles Madame Vanloo, as famous for her musical talents as her deceased husband was for his brush."<sup>74</sup>

Art historians have used the works' unusual subject matter and intriguing combination of portraiture and genre painting to interrogate the category of genre painting in the eighteenth century.<sup>75</sup> These studies have drawn attention to the

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period. Widows could mourn from six months to one year, wearing black at first, then white for the last six weeks. Ribeiro, *Dress in Eighteenth-Century Europe*, 204.

<sup>74</sup> "La gouvernante est le portrait en beau de madame Vanloo, aussi célèbre par ses talens en musique que feu son mari l'était par son pinceau." Melchior Grimm and Denis Diderot, *Correspondance littéraire*, ed. Jacques-Henri Meister, 15 vols. (Paris: Furne, 1829), 8:102. Vanloo included his family in his works quite frequently. At the Salon of 1755, Vanloo displayed two paintings representing episodes in the life of Saint Augustin, one of which, *Saint Augustin baptisé à l'âge de 30 ans, avec son fils et Alipe son ami par Saint Ambroise*, was said to contain portraits of Vanloo's family. "M. Vanloo y a mis sa femme et ses trois enfans, scavoit une demoiselle fort aimable et deux petits garçons. Dans le pendant de ce tableau; c'est-à-dire dans le Baptême de Saint Augustin, M. Vanloo s'est peint lui-même en face, tenant un livre ouvert. La distribution de ces Portrait est assez heureuse; M. Vanloo se rend le témoin d'un baptême, pendant que sa Famille est attentive à la prédication d'un Saint Père." Pierre Estève, *Seconde lettre à un partisan du bon gout sur l'exposition des peinture, gravures et sculptures, faite pas messieurs de l'Académie royale dans le grand salon du Louvre le 28 aout 1775* in Collection Delyones, vol. 6, no. 75, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des estampes et de la photographie, Paris. In 1737, Vanloo included his wife in *The Grand Turk Giving a Concert to his Mistress*. She appears as the singer, a fitting role as she was a well-known singer in real life. Stanislas-Auguste, the king of Poland owned a copy of this painting, a fact worth noting as his French art purchases were guided by Mme Geoffrin.

<sup>75</sup> See especially Richard Rand, "Love, Domesticity, and the Evolution of Genre Painting in Eighteenth-Century France," in *Intimate Encounters: Love and Domesticity in Eighteenth Century France* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 3–20; Colin Bailey, "Surveying Genre in Eighteenth-Century French



slipperiness of the category, which had the benefit of destabilizing the supposed rigidity of academic genres of paintings in general. The crossover between the portrait and genre painting, in particular, has drawn scholarly attention.<sup>76</sup> Considering the *Espagnole* paintings' position at the intersection of history, portrait, and genre, the category of the "hybrid" genre-portrait, as described by art historian Susan Siegfried, is of some use in understanding the relationship of the works to portraiture in general and more specifically within Geoffrin's project of representing her salon while literally removing herself from the picture.<sup>77</sup>

It was not uncommon for patrons to appear in hybrid portrait-genre scenes that depicted them in a manner that ran the risk of being interpreted as below their social status. As Siegfried has argued:

Genre painting that incorporated portraits risked representing the patrons in a socially ambivalent way...they were playacting in a narrative. The aristocrat performing a role is an actor in a representation of social ritual. The theatrical performativity of the artists and their patrons and their appreciation of artifice are foregrounded in pictures like these. Such role-playing in art was comparable to playing charades or acting in private theatricals, since the paintings were confined to relatively intimate domains of sociability.<sup>78</sup>

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Painting," in *The Age of Watteau, Chardin and Fragonard: Masterpieces of French Genre Painting*, ed. Colin Bailey, exh. cat. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 2–39; Philippe Bordes, "Portraiture in the Mode of Genre: A Social Interpretation," in *French Genre Painting in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Philip Conisbee (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 257–274; Martin Schieder, "'Sorti de son genre': Genre Painting and Boundary Crossing at the End of the Ancien Régime," in *The Age of Watteau, Chardin and Fragonard: Masterpieces of French Genre Painting*, ed. Colin B. Bailey, exh. cat. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 60–77; Susan Siegfried, "Femininity and the Hybridity of Genre Painting," in *French Genre Painting in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Philip Conisbee, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 14–37.

<sup>76</sup> Schieder, "'Sorti de son genre'," 60–77; Siegfried, "Femininity and the Hybridity of Genre Painting," 14–37.

<sup>77</sup> Siegfried, "Femininity and the Hybridity of Genre Painting," 15–35.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, 21.

The fantasy Spanish dress worn by the figures in Vanloo's paintings resonates with Siegfried's likening of genre-portraits to role-playing games of the period. As Emma Barker has argued, Spanish dress may have been a nostalgic view of the seventeenth century as an era of *galanterie*. In Barker's analysis, the anachronism of the Vanloo paintings represented a "self-consciously feminocentric vision of history."<sup>79</sup> The presence of identifiable figures, the Marquise de la Ferté-Imbault in the *Conversation* and Christine Vanloo in the *Lecture*, strengthens the reading of these works as forms of female performance.

The role-play, however, goes beyond costume. Mary Sheriff has proposed that the figure of the governess, who watches over the interaction between the young man and the young woman, is the figure of a *salonnière* standing in for Geoffrin herself.<sup>80</sup> Geoffrin's use of Christine Vanloo as a proxy *salonnière* for herself is noteworthy, and I would like to push Sheriff's suggestion further by considering its implications.

Sheriff's reading of Christine Vanloo-as-*salonnière* is based on the figure's action: she sits apart from the conversation, listening to the young man and woman, yet within a reasonable distance so that she may diffuse any potentially indelicate behavior. These activities relate to Goodman's description of the way a *salonnière* governed her salon. Listening was an important part of the *salonnière's* job. Far from being a passive act, attentive listening was a way of asserting control over the conversation when necessary. Through listening, the *salonnière* could be present through absence.<sup>81</sup> By using Christine Vanloo as her proxy, to stand in for her as *salonnière*, Geoffrin achieves a presence through absence that relates exactly to her place in her own salon. Although she

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<sup>79</sup> Barker, "Mme Geoffrin, Painting and Galanterie," 605.

<sup>80</sup> Sheriff, *Moved by Love*, 110.

<sup>81</sup> Goodman, *The Republic of Letters*, 104.

is not present visually in the work, according to Diderot and other critics her controlling and guiding voice appeared in the painting through the subject matter and the choice of costume.

Geoffrin herself never appeared in a portrait displayed in the Salon exhibition, which is striking considering the frequency with which other notable collectors had their portraits displayed. Portraits of the collectors and amateurs Ange-Laurent La Live de Jully (Figure 5.23), Claude-Henri Watelet (Figure 2.2) and, later, Pierre-Jacques-Onésyme Bergeret de Grancourt (Figure 3.2) attest to encounters between patrons and artists while also emphasizing the collectors' interests in the arts. La Live de Jully, especially, appeared in several portraits shown at the Salon which contributed to his reputation as a collector. The most impressive of these, Greuze's *La Live de Jully Playing a Harp*, was displayed at the Salon of 1759. While La Live de Jully is shown practicing a musical instrument, Greuze left no doubt about the sitter's interest in painting, drawing, and sculpture since the background is littered with a drawing portfolio, rolled drawings, and a classical sculpture. The collector-amateur's personal investment in painting is shown through his choice of artist; the *introduceur des ambassadeurs*'s early support of Greuze was well known. Greuze's portrait is a work that directly celebrated the sitter's contribution to the rising practice of patriotic collecting.<sup>82</sup> The notable absence of Geoffrin in works exhibited at the Salon can be read as a sign of her need to maintain a reputation of modesty appropriate to her gender. Male patrons were free to be celebrated in the public space of the Salon, and for collector-amateurs like La Live de Jully and Watelet, patronage could also lead to honorary positions in the Royal Academy of

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<sup>82</sup> On La Live as collector see Bailey, *Patriotic Taste*, Chapter 2.

Painting and Sculpture.<sup>83</sup> Geoffrin's role as patron, however, was intricately tied to her role as a *salonnière*, which would not allow for such overt displays of self-promotion or participation in public and official art institutes such as the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture.

### **Friend and Patron**

Removing Geoffrin's image from the public space of the Salon also played an important role in defining her relationship with artists as one that was deeper than mere financial transactions. Geoffrin's own art collection suggests a personal investment in Vanloo and his family. Works by Vanloo made up a sizable portion of Geoffrin's collection and at least two others besides the *Lecture espagnole* were portraits of members of his family.<sup>84</sup> She owned a portrait of Carle Vanloo holding a drawing portfolio, dated to 1762, just three years before the artist's death (Figure 5.24). In her carnet, next to the now-lost *Vestale tenant une corbeille des fleurs* by Vanloo, she noted that the vestal was a portrait of Vanloo's daughter, Marie-Christine Vanloo.<sup>85</sup> These were the only two portraits of an artist or members of an artist's family in her collection. The relationship between Geoffrin and the Vanloos went beyond the commission and purchase of artworks. Geoffrin was a witness at Vanloo's daughter's wedding. Geoffrin was known for giving *galanteries*, or small gifts of money unattached to specific commissions, to artists and their families while they worked for her and no one was given

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<sup>83</sup> On the amateur as honorary member of the Academy, see Guichard, *Les amateurs d'art*, 23–52.

<sup>84</sup> At least until the artist's death. Works by Hubert Robert outnumbered those by Vanloo in the 1770s, but it should be noticed that many of Robert's works were commissioned to replace the *Conversation* and *Lecture* after they were sold to Catherine the Great. That Vanloo died in 1765 also accounts for the out-numbering of his works in the 1770s, as Geoffrin purchased or commissioned works directly from the artists, rather than buying from merchants or at auction.

<sup>85</sup> Georges de Lastic Saint-Jal, "La reine de la Rue Saint-Honoré," *L'œil*, no. 33 (September 1957): 52.

more than the Vanloos, who received 2,400 livres over the course of about fifteen years.<sup>86</sup> After Vanloo's death, Geoffrin purchased two more works by Vanloo for 4,000 livres, and, after the sale of the *Espagnole* paintings to Catherine the Great, gave 4,000 livres to Vanloo's widow.<sup>87</sup> It is thus fitting that Carle Vanloo was entrusted with the project of creating the *Conversation* and *Lecture espagnole*, two works that became synonymous with Geoffrin's practice as a *salonnière*.

Geoffrin appears to have been similarly invested in the family lives of other artists in her circle. Vanloo's wife and family were not the only group to receive signs of Geoffrin's generosity in the form of *galantries*; she mentioned similar gifts the families of Vien and Vernet as well.<sup>88</sup> While Vanloo left no record of his personal feelings about his patron, Vien did:

Madame Geoffrin, who soon proved to be a good friend to me, as well as to my wife and children, put me in charge of executing two large paintings for the King of Poland, with whom she was close. It was she who set the prices of those works (for I never had an interest in that area): I worked for the pleasure of painting and above all with the desire to do well. But, if I forgot to care for my future, Madame Geoffrin took care of it for me.<sup>89</sup>

Vien's description of Geoffrin as a "good friend" is an oft-mentioned aspect about her relations with artists. Writing to Stanislas-Auguste Poniatowski in 1766, Geoffrin explained: "I became [the artists'] friend because I see them often, I give them lots of

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<sup>86</sup> See the pages from Geoffrin's *carnets*, published in Ségur, *Le royaume de la Rue Saint-Honoré*, 403–407.

<sup>87</sup> Hamon, *Madame Geoffrin*, 235–236.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.* Geoffrin noted that she gave *galantries* to Vien's wife (240 livres), Vernet and his wife (600 livres), and Boucher (300 livres).

<sup>89</sup> Madame Geoffrin qui me témoigna bientôt une véritable amitié, ainsi qu'à ma femme et à mes enfants, me chargea de l'exécution de deux grands tableaux pour le Roi de Pologne avec qui elle était étroitement liée. C'était elle qui fixait le prix de tous ces ouvrages, car l'intérêt n'entra jamais pour rien dans tout ce que j'entrepris : je travaillais pour le plaisir de peindre et avec le désir surtout de bien faire. Mais, si j'oubliais les soins de ma fortune, madame Geoffrin y pensait pour moi. Gaehtgens and Lugand, *Joseph-Marie Vien*, 311.

work, I take care of them, and I pay them well.”<sup>90</sup> After Geoffrin’s death, Charles-Nicolas Cochin wrote to Geoffrin’s daughter the Marquise de la Ferté-Imbault, also describing her relationship with artists in terms of friendship:

The honest artists that she welcomed with such kindness and whom she hosted on many occasions with such elegance and with such eagerness shouldn’t be less sensitive than I to this loss. They shall find no other friendship like the kind with which she honored them, the invaluable advantage to know her, connected to people of the highest distinction and in a manner that made the inequalities of ranks somehow disappear; she was adept at welcoming the greatest in Europe, the majority of whom were linked by sweet friendship, and at the same time, the most distinguished talents in all genres. The very desire was, and will always be, a duty to respect and admire the glory of her life.<sup>91</sup>

The appearance of the word “friend” in these accounts appears in the context of patronage. Cochin implied that Geoffrin’s friendship was valuable to artists because of the access it provided to other patrons. Vien similarly made clear the benefits of attending Geoffrin’s salon in his memoirs; in the quote above, the artist described how commissions from the king of Poland came through Geoffrin. He also linked his appointment as the director of the Academy in Rome to attending her salon.<sup>92</sup> Geoffrin’s

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<sup>90</sup> “Je suis devenue leurs amie parce que je le vois souvent, les fais beaucoup travailler, les caresse, les loue, et les paie très bien.” Geoffrin to Poniatowski, March 13, 1767. Published in Stanislas-Auguste Poniatowski and Madame Geoffrin, *Correspondance inédite du roi Stanislas-Auguste Poniatowski et de Madame Geoffrin (1764–1777)* (Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1970), 219.

<sup>91</sup> “Les artiste honnêtes qu’elle a accueilli avec tant de bonté qu’elle a obligés en tant d’occasions et avec tant d’empressement, ne doivent être moins sensibles que moi de cette perte. Ils ne trouveront point outre l’amitié dont elle les honoroit l’avantage inappréciable de savoir chez elle, liés avec les personnes de la plus haute distinction et d’une maniere qui faisoit en quelque sorte disparoître l’égalité des rangs; elle avoit scû réunir dans sa maison, et la plûpart par les liens d’une douce amitié, ce qu’il y avoit de plus grand en Europe, et en même temps les talens les plus distingués dans tous les genres. L’envie même á été et sera toujours forcée de respecter et d’admirer la gloire de sa vie.” October 28, 1777 Charles-Nicolas Cochin to the Marquise Ferté-Imbault, Fonds Etampes AP508 34, dossier 6 document 26, Archives nationales, Paris.

<sup>92</sup> “A la même époque et dans un dîner chez Madame Geoffrin, ce monsieur m’entretenant de différens projets pour d’amélioration pour l’Académie de France à Rome, me témoigna tout l’intérêt qu’il prenoit à cet établissement si utile pour les Arts, et me dit : Je ne puis plus douter de l’avancement des élèves protégés par le Roi sous un Directeur tel que vous...Effectivement, deux jours âpres, je reçus une lettre.” Gaehtgens and Lugand, *Joseph-Marie Vien*, 311.

description of herself as a “friend” was also in the context of patronage. She was advising the king of Poland how to treat artists when working with them on an important commission.<sup>93</sup> Geoffrin’s use the rhetoric of friendship to describe her relationship to the artists who frequented her salon was a redefinition of patronage, but it should not be confused with the contemporary ideal of friendship as a relationship of disinterest.

The use the rhetoric of friendship to mask the unequal relationship between patron and artist was not new; from the Renaissance onward, the equality of virtue that friendship implied helped cover the inequality of wealth and social status between the two parties.<sup>94</sup> The emphasis on reciprocity and equal exchange in salon sociability made the rhetoric of friendship easy and useful to deploy in the environment of the salon.<sup>95</sup> Charlotte Guichard has approached the relationship between patrons and artists through the idea of the language of friendship in her recent study on the *amateur* in the eighteenth century.<sup>96</sup> She points to the Comte de Caylus as “mobilizing” a language of friendship to redefine the relationship between artists and amateurs. The perceived equality offered by friendship authorized a dialogic and critical exchange between artists and amateurs.<sup>97</sup>

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<sup>93</sup> She was working with Vien, François Boucher, Louis-Jean-François Lagrenée l’aîné and Noël Hallé on several large-scale commissions for the king of Poland. On these commissions see Maison de Chateaubriand, *Madame Geoffrin*, cat. no 192–196. For more on Geoffrin role in Stanislas-Auguste Poniatowski’s commissions see Malgorzata Maria Grabczewska, “Marie-Thérèse Geoffrin et Stanislas-Auguste Poniatowski,” in Maison de Chateaubriand, *Madame Geoffrin, une femme d’affaires et d’esprit*, exh. cat. (Milan: Silvana, 2011), 39–46.

<sup>94</sup> On this point see Guy Fitch Lytle, “Friendship and Patronage in Renaissance Europe,” in *Patronage, Art and Society in Renaissance Italy*, ed. F.W.Kent, and Patricia Simons (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987); 47–62.

<sup>95</sup> According to historian Antoine Lilti: “L’amitié dont se pare la protection n’est donc pas un leurre recouvrant une relation intéressée qui est contradictoire, mais au contraire le discours qui rend possible cette protection en lui donnant un sens nouveau, différent de celui du mécénat classique. Cette association d’une relation de protection asymétrique et du langage de l’amitié est un point important pour comprendre ce qui se joue dans les pratique de sociabilité...La protection mondaine tire sa force et son utilité pour chacun des participants du fait qu’elle emprunte le langage de l’amitié et de la sociabilité, de la bienfaisance et de la reconnaissance.” Lilti, *Le monde des salons*, 184–185.

<sup>96</sup> Guichard, *Les amateurs d’art*, 72–75.

<sup>97</sup> Lilti, *Le monde des salons*; Guichard, *Les amateurs d’art*, 73.

Geoffrin's Wednesday salon for the *philosophes* was an already-proven mediating space for such social interactions that mixed social hierarchies. This is undoubtedly the reason Caylus enlisted her to host a new gathering where artists, amateurs, and patrons could have "friendly" exchanges.

I am less concerned with whether or not Geoffrin and her artists were friends than in how promoting an idea of friendship may have spurred her disappearing act. Geoffrin's choice of Vanloo's wife as a proxy for herself might be read as a statement of her "friendship" with the artist and his family, as a display of a relationship that went beyond patronage. Disguising particular friendships in the form of genre figures had occurred before, for example in Jean-Siméon Chardin's *Philosopher* (Figure 5.25). Shown first in 1737 under the title of *A Chemist in his Laboratory*, the painting was re-displayed in 1753 as *A Philosopher Reading*.<sup>98</sup> At this time that the sitter was identified as the painter Jacques-André-Joseph Aved, who is said to have convinced Chardin to try his hand at portraiture.<sup>99</sup> As often noted, the depicted man bears little resemblance to the supposed sitter, and the changes in the title of the work make it difficult to pin down the exact subject of the work. What these ambiguities do expose is the blurry line between portraiture and genre. They furthermore indicate that friendship in all its guises provided suitable circumstances for testing the boundaries between these genres. In the context of the *Espagnole* paintings, which mixed patron's and artist's families, such an experimentation continued to complicate the relationship of patron and to artist, particularly considering the public exhibition of these scenes. By removing herself from

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<sup>98</sup> Page 18, Salon of 1737, *Collection des livrets*, vol 1. No. 60, Salon of 1753, *Collection des livrets*, vol. 3.

<sup>99</sup> Schieder, "'Sorti de son genre,'" 69–72.



Vanloo's *Espagnole* pendants, Geoffrin provided space for the continued discussion of her relationship with her artists not simply a patron, but also as a "friend."

### **The Problem of Publicity**

The *Conversation* and *Lecture Espagnole* received a great deal of publicity while Geoffrin was still active as a *salonnière*. The paintings were discussed by the *Correspondance littéraire* at every stage of their history: their creation; their display in Geoffrin's home and also at the Royal Academy's Salon; their sale to Catherine the Great of Russia in 1772; and the display of reproductive engravings after them once the paintings had left France.<sup>100</sup> In addition, one Salon critic noted that prior to the *Conversation*'s public display at the Salon, Geoffrin made the picture available for viewing in her own home.<sup>101</sup> For a woman promoting her modesty and whose reputation was built upon that particular virtue, publicity could be problematic.

Geoffrin appears to have exercised a certain amount of control over her image, at least those that took a visual form. In June of 1767, Madame Geoffrin wrote to Stanislas-Auguste Poniatowski about her portrait by Nattier created three decades earlier. The letter explains that during her much publicized-trip to Poland in 1766, she had promised the

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<sup>100</sup> The *Correspondance littéraire* mentioned their display in Geoffrin's home in 1754, the *Conversation*'s display at Salon in 1755, their sale of both paintings to Catherine the Great in 1772, and, also in 1772, the engravings by Beauvarlet.

<sup>101</sup> "Quoi qu'il en soit, Madame Geoffrin, à qui ce Tableau appartient, femme respectable par son amour pour les arts, titre toujours précieux pour son sexe, a mieux senti que vous les beautés de ce Tableau. Plus jalouse que vous de la gloire de M. Van Loo, elle ne s'est pas contentée d'en faire une description pompeuse, elle a voulu que le Public partageât avec elle le plaisir d'admirer un grand homme dans son plus beau. Elle l'a exposé plusieurs semaines de suite chez elle, et tout le monde a couru pour le voir; on l'admire encore au salon avec autant de plaisir; et vous êtes le seul...qui n'en parlez qu'en passant, et qui pensiez que l'exposition élégante du sujet d'un pareil tableau suffit pour en bien faire l'éloge." Estève, *Seconde lettre*.

king she would send him the portrait. Upon returning to Paris, however, she changed her mind. Switching to the third person in the middle of the letter, she explained:

Here is how Madame Geoffrin, living on rue Saint-Honoré, responds to the subject of her portrait. She admits that when in Warsaw, in a moment when she was transported by love for her King, she promised to send him the original of her portrait painted by Nattier; but in returning home, having a little more self-control, she found that it was an absurdity to her to send her portrait to Poland. It is very big, she is painted as a beautiful young woman, it appeared ridiculous to her to send it.<sup>102</sup>

Scholars have highlighted this particular letter to Poniatowski as an elaborate cover up for the fact that she no longer owned the portrait, and therefore could not fulfill her promise to the king.<sup>103</sup> Whatever reason she had for refusing the request, the words she used to explain herself are revealing. Geoffrin couched her excuse in terms a sense of embarrassment. The portrait is “very big” and showed her as a “beautiful woman,” certainly not the way she had appeared at the Polish court. Furthermore, the portrait would have contradicted the “iconic old age” she had cultivated since at least 1742.<sup>104</sup>

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<sup>102</sup> “Voici ce que madame Geoffrin, demeurant rue Saint-Honoré, répond au sujet de son portrait. Elle convient qu’ étant à Varsovie, dans un de ces moment où elle était transportée d’amour pour son Roi, elle lui promit de lui envoyer l’original de son portrait peint par Nattier; mais à son retour chez elle, étant un peu plus de sang-froid, elle a trouvé que c’était une impertinence à elle d’envoyer son portrait en Pologne. Il est très-grand, elle est peinte en belle dame, cela lui a paru ridicule à envoyer.” Geoffrin to Poniatowski, June 7, 1767. Published in Poniatowski and Geoffrin, *Correspondance inédite du roi Stanislas-Auguste Poniatowski et de Madame Geoffrin (1764–1777)*, 293–294.

<sup>103</sup> Xavier Salmon has suggested the Nattier portrait could have been sent by Geoffrin to Catherine II of Russia 1763, when the *salonnière* declined the empress’s invitation to visit the Russian court. Salmon’s suggestion appears as an explanation for the fact that original version of the portrait is lost. The Tokyo portrait, which originated in Geoffrin’s collection, is considered to be an autograph copy. Nattier typically only signed and dated the original version of his works, although he frequently made copies of his portraits for clients. Salmon offers no evidence for the claim that the portrait was sent to Russia, beyond the fact that Geoffrin declined the empress’s invitation, a move that may have necessitated a gift. Salmon, *Jean-Marc Nattier*, 111. Hamon has recently examined the correspondence between Catherine and Geoffrin in great detail, noting all gifts exchanged between the two women. This includes the exchange of porcelain, but no mention of the Nattier portrait is found in the extant correspondence. Hamon, *Madame Geoffrin*, 489–498.

<sup>104</sup> It also went against what the people of the court of Poland had seen. A reminder of this image remained at court: Poniatowski’s court portraitist, the French artist Louis Marteau, created a modest pastel portrait of Geoffrin during her stay, possibly intended to hang in Poniatowski’s gallery of portraits. The Geoffrin

Geoffrin did not stop her apology there. In order to more fully explain herself, she recounted a fable for the king: the story of the libertine Desbarreaux who, according to Geoffrin and others, chose to live a more pious life. Before giving up his libertinage, he contrived to break the rule of abstention on Good Friday by eating a bacon omelet (*un omelet au lard*). Before he could eat it, there was a large clap of thunder, which Desbarreaux interpreted as a sign of God's anger. Throwing the omelet out the window, he exclaimed: "What a fuss over a bacon omelet!" (*Voilà bien du bruit pour une omelet au lard!*)<sup>105</sup> Bringing the parable back to the subject at hand, she told Poniatowski:

When people would see my great and beautiful portrait at your court, taking up lots of space, they would say: What a fuss over a bacon omelet. *And I would be the bacon omelet.* We have another proverb that says: It's better to back out than to destroy oneself. So I'm backing out, I can't resolve to subject myself to such great ridicule.<sup>106</sup>

The witty parable points to two important points. First, it reiterates Geoffrin's discomfort with the image of herself presented in the Nattier painting. Along with its depiction of her as a "beautiful woman," she imagined the people of the court thinking the painting took up "lots of space," more, perhaps, than she deserved. The size of the work exaggerated

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exhibition included a number of preparatory drawings for this room, designed by Victor-Nicolas Louis. They did not discuss what portraits were intended to decorate it, except for a portrait of Catherine II, which was to be the centerpiece of the room. Maison de Chateaubriand, *Madame Geoffrin*, cat. entries 204–208.

<sup>105</sup> "Il faut que je fasse un petit conte à Votre Majesté. Nous avons un libertin, nommé Desbarreaux, qui, par parenthèse, /a fait un beau sonnet quand il fut converti." Poniatowski and Geoffrin, *Correspondance inédite du roi Stanislas-Auguste Poniatowski et de Madame Geoffrin (1764–1777)*, 294. I have translated *lard* here as bacon, although it could be an omelet made with animal fat; either would go against the Catholic Church's interdiction of eating meat on Fridays during Lent, which were to be days of abstinence, if not complete fasting. Voltaire recounted the same anecdote about Desbarreaux in Voltaire, "Lettres à S. A. mgr le prince de \*\*\*\*", sur Rabelais et sur d'autres auteurs accusés d'avoir mal parlé de la religion chrétienne (1767)" in *Œuvres complètes de Voltaire: Mélanges V (1766–1768)*, ed. L'association Voltaire intégral (1767), [http://www.voltaire-integral.com/Html/26/24\\_Rabelais.html](http://www.voltaire-integral.com/Html/26/24_Rabelais.html). Accessed March 22, 2012.

<sup>106</sup> "Quand on verrait mon grand et beau portrait à votre cour, y tenant beaucoup de place, on dirait: Voilà bien du bruit pour une omelette au lard! /Et je serais l'omelette au lard./ Nous avons encore un proverbe qui dit: Qu'il vaut mieux se dédire que de se détruire. Je me dédis donc, je ne peux pas me résoudre à me donner un aussi grand ridicule." Poniatowski and Geoffrin, *Correspondance inédite du roi Stanislas-Auguste Poniatowski et de Madame Geoffrin (1764–1777)*, 294.

her importance, much like Desbarreaux exaggerated the importance of the coincidental clap of thunder. Such a grandiose display was certainly not appropriate for someone known for her modesty. Regardless as to what she personally thought about the work of art her explanation makes clear that the physical size of and the representation of herself in the portrait no longer represented the mien she wanted to promote.

Second, the story draws attention to the fact that Geoffrin did not equate modesty with weakness, something that Geoffrin mentioned to others. In response to a letter praising her for her modesty, she responded:

Do not believe that my nothingness which I recognize in regard to others negates me in regard to myself. I sense in myself an elevated soul, reason and virtues. The knowledge of these advantages, in making me satisfied with myself, makes me see and feel clearly that they are useful only for my personal happiness.

I remain then, humble but I am so with dignity. That is to say, even in lowering myself, I would not suffer to be lowered by anyone.<sup>107</sup>

Geoffrin's description here of what Goodman has referred to as "an inner satisfaction and an outer negation" is precisely how she explained that she could not send the Nattier portrait to Warsaw.<sup>108</sup> She was content to be modest but unwilling to submit herself to what she imagined might be the ridicule of others. Sending the Nattier portrait to the Polish court both undermined her reputation of modesty and opened her up to mockery that might misconstrue her modesty as weakness.

In the very public context of the Salon exhibition, the potential for mockery or accusations of self-promotion were even more possible. Patrons who were thought to

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<sup>107</sup> Letter in the hand of Geoffrin to [?], undated. Fonds d'Etampes, 508 AP 23–38, Archives nationales, Paris. Quoted and translated in Goodman, *The Republic of Letters*, 103.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid.

meddle in commission artists' works were discussed harshly by critics.<sup>109</sup> Geoffrin was not immune to these criticisms. Diderot resented her involvement in the choice of subject for Vernet's *Shepherdess of the Alps*, writing "[o]ne should never commission anything from an artist. If one wants a fine painting by him, all that needs to be done is to say, 'Make me a painting and choose whatever subject you wish.'"<sup>110</sup> By overtly inserting oneself into a commissioned work of art, figuratively or literally, patrons became susceptible to criticisms of selfishness and even despotism. The banker Jean-Joseph de Laborde best exemplified this sort of situation.

Little attention has been paid to the relationship between Geoffrin and Laborde. Laborde was Geoffrin's banker and, while he does not appear to have been an active participant in Geoffrin's salon, the two nevertheless shared a social circle. Laborde was the brother-in-law of La Live de Jully. Geoffrin and Laborde also patronized several of the same artists, particularly Vernet and Robert. At first, Laborde's collecting practices were driven largely by a need to decorate his numerous homes rather than by the type of "patriotic" collecting of living artists that has been described by Colin Bailey.<sup>111</sup> But later in the century, Laborde's motivations seem to have changed, perhaps inspired by the collections of members of his social circle.

In contrast to their treatment of La Live de Jully and Geoffrin, Salon critics accused Laborde of being selfish and greedy, unwilling to share his collection of art with the public. In Diderot's discussion of the Salon of 1769, he fumed about the absence of the paintings that Vernet had created for Laborde: "the rich man orders [paintings],

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<sup>109</sup> Bailey, *Patriotic Taste*, 3–15.

<sup>110</sup> Quoted in *ibid.*, 9. As Bailey notes, Diderot's outburst may have come from his disappointment in Geoffrin's choice of an episode from Marmontel's *Contes moraux*.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, Chapter 1. On Laborde as collector see Ferdinand Boyer, "Les collections et le ventes de Jean-Joseph de Laborde," *Bulletin de la société de l'histoire de l'art français* (1961): 137–152.

requiring that, once placed in the gallery, these paintings never leave again” and accused him of being a “modern Midas.”<sup>112</sup> Also missing from the 1769 Salon was Greuze’s *La mère bien-aimée* (Figure 5.26). Although the painting was listed in the catalogue, it was removed from the exhibition before it opened. Whether this removal was prompted by the artist or the patron is not known.

The compositional sketch and several preparatory works for the painting had been previously displayed at the Salon of 1765, however, and were very well received. According to Grimm’s footnote to Diderot’s review of the Salon of 1769, the removal of the painting was prompted by Laborde’s request that Greuze turn the genre scene into a hybrid genre-portrait, and the inclusion of portraits contributed to the painting’s downfall:

This painting is the only one which Greuze has made in the interval between the two Salons; but it was made for the Sultan de la Borde who did not want it to be sullied by the profane gazes of the public...M. de la Borde wanted Greuze to put [Laborde’s] portrait and that of [Laborde’s] wife on the two principal figures of the painting; the artist pretends to have taken part in this fantasy, but it did not prevent him from spoiling his two figures by taking away their poetry. Greuze lacked the peace of his soul and care to make this painting one of his masterpieces. If I dared have an opinion, I’d say he couldn’t commit.<sup>113</sup>

The insertion of portraits of Laborde and his wife into the composition may have irked Diderot because in 1765 he had already seen a portrait in the *La mère bien-aimée*: that of Greuze’s wife (Figure 5.27). The identification of the sketch as a portrait of Madame

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<sup>112</sup> “... l’homme riche en les lui commandant, a exigé que ces tableaux une fois placés dans sa galerie n’en sortiraient plus.” Denis Diderot, “Salon of 1769,” in *Salons IV : Héros et martyrs. Salons de 1769, 1771, 1775, 1781*, ed. Else Marie Bukdahl et. al. (Paris: Hermann), 15. The rant against La Borde follows a lament about the poor offerings to the Salon of 1769. See also Bailey, *Patriotic Taste*, 64.

<sup>113</sup> “Ce tableau est le seul que Greuze ait fait dans l’intervalle des deux Salons ; mais il a été pour Sultan de la Borde qui n’a pas voulu qu’il fût souillée par les regards profanes du public... M. de la Borde voulait que Greuze fit son portrait et celui de sa femme à la place des deux principales figures de ce tableau ; l’artiste fit semblant de se prêter à cette fantaisie, mais il n’eut garde de gâter ses deux figures en ôtant leur poésie. Il n’a manqué à Greuze que la paix de l’âme et du ménage pour faire de ce tableau un de ses chef-d’œuvre. Si j’osais avoir un avis, je dirais qu’il papillote un peu.” Diderot, “Salon of 1769,” 116 n. 246.

Greuze may have been an error on Diderot's part but the mistake is revealing.<sup>114</sup> He described the pastel in the following way: "You see this fine fishwife, with her ample flesh, her head thrown back, her pale color, the untidy headdress, the mixed expression of pain and of pleasure displaying a paroxysm that's sweeter to experience than it is decorous to paint."<sup>115</sup>

Diderot's eroticized description of what he believed to be Greuze's wife has intrigued scholars, leading to theories about why Greuze would put such a sexualized portrait of his wife into the work and why Laborde would want to insert himself and his wife into a work with such sexual overtones. Emma Barker has convincingly argued that the painting reflects social attitudes rather than physiognomy: "It is surely because Laborde 'recognized' himself in the sketch that he commissioned the artist to insert his own and his wife's portraits into the picture." She concludes that the painting is "not simply an image of domestic happiness but more fundamentally of the solace that self-identified virtuous citizens derived from their family life."<sup>116</sup>

Interpreting *La mère bien-aimée* as incorporating portraits of Laborde, his wife, and mother-in-law (who, in some accounts, is said to have commissioned the painting in

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<sup>114</sup> Ewa Lajer-Burcharth, "Genre and Sex," in *French Genre Painting in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Philip Conisbee, *Studies in the History of Art* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 217 n. 212.

<sup>115</sup> "Vous voyez bien cette belle poissarde avec son gros embonpoint, qui a la tête renversée en arrière, dont la couleur blême, le linge de tête étalé en désordre, l'expression mêlée de peine et de plaisir montrent un paroxysme plus doux à éprouver qu'honnête à peindre ; eh bien, c'est l'esquisse, l'étude de *La Mère bien-aimée*." Denis Diderot, *Salon de 1765*, ed. Else Marie Bukdahl and Annette Lorenceau (Paris: Hermann, 1984), 188. Mathon de la Cour also read this work as a portrait of Mme Greuze: "Le portrait de Madame Greuze a été exposé plus tard que les autres; on y a admiré la vérité des effets de lumière sur la chair, et une sorte de transparence lumineuse que les peintres atteignent rarement. Au reste tous les spectateurs se sont récriés, quand il a paru le peintre n'avoir pas flatté son modèle: on l'a regardé comme une preuve de l'injustice des maris" Charles-Joseph Mathon de la Cour, *Lettres à Monsieur \*\*\* sur les peintures, les sculptures, et les gravures, exposées au Salon du Louvre en 1765*, in *Collection Deloynes*, vol. 8, no. 101, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des estampes et de la photographie, Paris.

<sup>116</sup> Emma Barker, *Greuze and the Painting of Sentiment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 98.

the first place) is by no means uncontroversial.<sup>117</sup> I am less interested in whether or not *La mère bien-aimée* included a portrait than in the fact that it *was* read as including portraits, both before and after Laborde's alleged intervention in the evolution of the composition. Grimm's description of Laborde's involvement cast it as interference. It is the opposite of Geoffrin's participation in Vanloo's *Espagnole* paintings, which were celebrated by critics as collaboration. In the case of *La mère bien-aimée*, a patron was seen as importunately intervening in an already fully-conceived composition; the picture was not perceived as a collaborative project as Geoffrin's were. While we may never know the reason for Laborde's refusal to share the work with the Salon public — if indeed, Laborde and not Greuze made that decision — the fact that critics blamed the patron highlights an expectation that patrons and collectors ought to share the works they owned with the public.<sup>118</sup> In the end, Diderot believed this painting was hijacked by a

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<sup>117</sup> Barker has highlighted the conflicting facts that make it near impossible to read the work as an accurate family portrait-turned-genre scene. Barker has discounted the genre scene as a portrait based on the number and genders of the children that surround the ecstatic Rosaline; while the Labordes would eventually have seven children (one of which died in infancy), the youngest was not born until 1774, and the oldest child was a boy not, as shown in the painting, a girl. *Ibid.*, 97–98.

<sup>118</sup> While perhaps not directly related to the above discussion, it is important to note that the stories that circulated about the *La mère bien-aimée* reveal tensions not only between the patron, artist, and the viewing public but also within the sociable circle of patronage in which Laborde participated. According to Grimm: "L'aversion que Madame Geoffrin a pour les mariages et pour les familles nombreuses, lui a fait prendre ce tableau en grippe ; elle dit à M. de la Borde qui lui montrait son tableaux, qu'elle ne pouvait souffrir cette fricassée d'enfants. Greuze ayant su ce mot vint chez moi furieux. De quoi s'avise-t-elle, me dit-il, de parler d'un ouvrage de l'art ? Qu'elle tremble que je ne l'immortalise ! Je la peindrai en maitresse de l'école, le fouet à prouvant que l'aversion de Mme Geoffrin tombait sur le sujet et non sur l'exécution du tableau. Il ne la peindra pas encore cette année, mais il faudra qu'elle se tienne sur ses gardes." This tale is often retold in the literature on both Greuze and Geoffrin, as evidence of either Greuze's temper or Geoffrin's purported meddling in the work of the artists in her social circle. While Greuze was strongly supported by members of Geoffrin's circle, most notably La Live de Jully, there appears to have been antagonism between the salonnière and the genre painter. Alongside the banter surrounding the sketch for *La mere bien-aimée*, Geoffrin owned only one work by Greuze. This absence stands out in the context of a collection that is largely made of several examples of works by the artists who were Geoffrin's "friends." And Grimm noted: "Ils ont trop de vivacité tous les deux pour être longtemps bien ensemble, et les voilà encore brouillés jusqu'à nouvel ordre." See Diderot, "Salon of 1769," 116 n. 246. For more on the relationship between Geoffrin and Greuze, see Kamenskaya, "Greuze et Madame Geoffrin."



patron, a misfortune made worse by patron's selfish refusal to share the work with the public. This was the type of criticism Geoffrin avoided. Accusations of overstepping her role in the production of a works of art would have made her appear commanding, even bossy, and decidedly unfriendly.

## Conclusion

If modesty prevented Geoffrin from appearing in the works she commissioned in the 1750s and 1760s and from sending the painting of herself as a youthful beauty to Poland, her attitude seems to have changed at the end of her life. Geoffrin's last great commission dates to the early 1770s when she asked Hubert Robert to paint three pictures of the gardens of the Abbey Saint-Antoine, her preferred retreat located next to the St. Gobain factory (Figures 5.28, 5.29, 5.30). Following the completion of these canvases, Geoffrin asked Robert to paint two more works that depict the *salonnière* in her own home (Figures 5.31, 5.32). Geoffrin gave the latter two paintings to Jean-Philippe de Trudaine, the minister of finances and director of bridges and roads.<sup>119</sup>

These works show us that even at the end of her life, Geoffrin's interactions with artists still made up an important aspect in her life. Two works from this final series of commissions, *Madame Geoffrin déjeuner avec les dames de l'Abbaye Saint-Antoine* (5.30) and *Un artiste présente un portrait à Mme Geoffrin* (5.32) depict Geoffrin's interactions with an artist, most likely Robert himself. In the painting from the Abbey series, the artist is shown seated on the ground and sketching the scene at hand from which he is slightly separated. The figure of the artist is more prominent in the second

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<sup>119</sup> On the history of these paintings, see Radisich, "Making Conversation," 28–33; Hamon, *Madame Geoffrin*, 356–357.

painting, where he appears as a main player in the action mentioned in the title of the work.

As Paula Rea Radisich has argued, these works are deeply biographical. They show the patroness in the semi-private spaces of her favorite convent, where she sought solitude, surrounded by allusions to her approaching death and her religious beliefs, and in her home.<sup>120</sup> Like the secluded spaces they depict, the paintings were destined to be viewed in private spaces, limited to those invited into Geoffrin's or Trudaine's homes. They were not shown at the Salon or engraved like Vanloo's *Espagnole* paintings or Cochin's drawings of the participants in Geoffrin's salon. Nor did they inspire a popular decorative object, as the *pendule à la Geoffrin* did. The private aspect of both late series might explain the appearance of the famed *salonnière* in them, after a quarter-century of absence from portraiture. Painted only for herself and her closest acquaintances, and shielded from the public eye, Geoffrin may have seen them as suitable artworks in which to reappear as herself.

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<sup>120</sup> Ibid.

## Chapter 6 Epilogue

This dissertation began with Mathon de la Cour's account of friendship in the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture which described how friendship helped to push French art to its highest level. Mathon de la Cour's description may have been idealized but, as I have shown, friendship was an important bond for artists, both in their personal lives and for their own professional gain. These friendships were founded and cultivated in a variety of spaces, including the Royal Academy, the homes of artists, the cafés of Rome, and the restricted sociable spaces around Paris such as the salon of Madame Geoffrin. The friendships formed in these spaces between artists and between artists and their patrons were the impetus for a wide variety of portraits and innovative portrait formats. François-André Vincent and his Roman cohort experimented with caricature and group portraiture to express the experience of their male bonding in Rome. Carle Vanloo pushed the boundaries of genre painting to represent Madame Geoffrin as a friend and patron to artists. Importantly, friendship portraits, like friendship itself, broke down what we are inclined to think of as too dichotomously as a public/private divide. Portraits were not shared exclusively between artists and sitters but were displayed for a range of audiences, from individuals invited into the home to the larger viewing public at the Salon exhibition. Maurice Quentin de la Tour, Charles-Nicolas Cochin and Adélaïde Labille-Guiard displayed portraits at the Salon that earned them acclaim and provided their sitters with public recognition. When these works appeared at the Salon, it was clear

to Salon viewers that an artist's relationship to a portrait's sitter was just as an important part of the painting as its aesthetic qualities.

Mathon de la Cour claimed that friendship could overcome financial concerns and professional jealousy but the Revolution would prove that friendship was not strong enough to overcome political differences.<sup>1</sup> As the various royal academies sought to reform and redefine themselves during the Revolution, the discussion of what the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture was to become was neither friendly nor unified. The debate over academic reform led to a fracturing of the Academy into different camps.

Unsurprisingly, these factions were loosely based on social networks that had formed in the decades leading up to the Revolution. Several of them I have addressed in this dissertation. Vincent, joined by several members of his cohort in Rome, was part of a progressive party working to align the Academy with Revolutionary ideals. This group also included Labille-Guiard, who fought for a greater inclusion of women in a reformed Academy.<sup>2</sup> Joseph-Marie Vien, by this time director of the Academy, led a group of *officiers* who hoped to preserve the rights and privileges of the Academy's members. Finally, Jacques-Louis David and his circle, whom I have not addressed here but who have been well-covered in art historical scholarship, constituted a group of dissidents seeking to dissolve the Academy entirely.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> "Si des raisons d'intérêt causent entr'eux quelque contestation, c'est un nuage qui se dissipe dans un moment, et l'amitié triomphe toujours." Charles-Joseph Mathon de la Cour, *Lettres à Monsieur \*\*\* sur les peintures, les sculptures, et les gravures, exposées au Sallon du Louvre en 1765. Seconde Lettre*, in Collection Deloynes, vol. 8, no. 109, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des estampes et de la photographie, Paris,

<sup>2</sup> Laura Auricchio, *Adélaïde Labille-Guiard: Artist in the Age of Revolution* (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2009), 69–72. See also Nicholas Mizroeff, "Revolution, Representation, Equality: Gender, Genre, and Emulation in the Académie Royale de Peinture et Sculpture, 1785–93," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 31, no. 2 (1997/1998): 153–17.

<sup>3</sup> Elizabeth Mansfield, *The Perfect Foil: François-André Vincent and the Revolution in French Art* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 2012), 146–157. On David's circle and his role in the restructuring

Portraiture played a role in the battle over what the Academy would become. With Vien becoming increasingly at odds with the proposed Central Academy recommended by Vincent and his circle, Charles-Simon Miger, a member of Vincent's group, secretly engraved Labille-Guiard's portrait of Vien that had been displayed at the Salon of 1783. The engraved portrait was intended as a gesture of reconciliation between the reformers and the president.<sup>4</sup> A framed copy was presented to Vien at the meeting of the Royal Academy on December 31, 1790. Copies were distributed to each member of the Academy, and several artists requested that the copperplate be purchased so that it could be added to Academy's collection of portraits of artists. As Elisabeth Mansfield has argued, the choice of Labille-Guiard's portrait was intentional and pointed. Initially shown at the Salon of 1783 to display her place in a network of friends and colleagues, its reappearance in the midst of the reform of the Academy was an attempt to remind Vien of his own personal and professional bonds with the reformers. While warmly received, it did not have the required effect of softening Vien to their recommendations.<sup>5</sup> Ultimately, David's dissidents won out and the Academy of Painting and Sculpture was eliminated in 1793 along with the other royal academies.<sup>6</sup>

The French Revolution also had a dramatic effect on the public display of portraits.<sup>7</sup> Tony Halliday has shown that artists continued to use portraits as a means of

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of the Academy see Thomas E. Crow, *Emulation: Making Artists for Revolutionary France* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 153–174; Nicholas Mizioeff, "Revolution, Representation, Equality," 153–17.

<sup>4</sup> Mansfield, *The Perfect Foil*, 151. See also Mizioeff, "Revolution, Representation, Equality."

<sup>5</sup> Auricchio, *Adélaïde Labille-Guiard*, 70–71; Mansfield, *The Perfect Foil*, 151–152.

<sup>6</sup> It is also worth noting here that David was fairly antagonistic to Vincent and his circle during the Revolution. David denounced Vincent for not properly supporting the Revolution. David also accused Suvée of being an aristocrat, and had him imprisoned for corresponding with his family in Belgium See Auricchio, *Adélaïde Labille-Guiard*, 91; Mansfield, *The Perfect Foil*, 160.

<sup>7</sup> The French Revolution drastically changed artistic practice and life in France, and the challenges artists faced have been well addressed. David Dowd, "The French Revolution and the Painters," *French*

promoting their social networks.<sup>8</sup> Indeed, defining professional networks became an even more important activity after the Academy was dissolved. The need for a redefinition of artistic networks in the absence of a centralized institution is best exemplified by Louis-Léopold Boilly's *A Gathering of Artists in the Studio of Isabey*, exhibited in 1798 (Figure 6.1). As Susan Siegfried has argued, the painting represents "professional or personal allegiances that [the artists] themselves declared."<sup>9</sup> The painting included no former academicians; it suggested a definition for artistic community in the absence of a Royal Academy.<sup>10</sup>

It is striking that such a display of artistic association was not presented until 1798. Almost all the portraits of artists listed in the *livrets* for the Salons between 1791 and 1795 were self-portraits. Only one portrait of an artist painted by another artist was listed in the *livret* of the Salon of 1791; the Salon of 1793 *livret* mentioned only two.<sup>11</sup> The lack of well-publicized portraits of artists suggests that displaying social connections became a much more complicated and uncertain affair in post-Revolutionary France. The Salon offered an important form of publicity for artists whose aristocratic patrons had

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*Historical Studies* 1, no. 2 (1959); Albert Boime, *The Academy and French Painting in the Nineteenth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986); Philippe Bordes and Régis Michel, eds., *Aux armes et aux arts! Les arts de la Révolution 1789–1799* (Paris: Biro, 1988); Raphael Cardoso Denis and Colin Trodd, eds., *Arts and the Academy in the Nineteenth Century* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000).

<sup>8</sup> Tony Halliday, *Facing the Public: Portraiture in the Aftermath of the French Revolution* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), 48–82.

<sup>9</sup> Susan Siegfried, *The Art of Louis-Léopold Boilly: Modern Life in Napoleonic France* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 96.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.; Halliday, *Facing the Public*; Hannah Williams, "Portraits of Artists: A Historical Ethnography of the Académie Royale (1648–1793)" (PhD dissertation, Courtauld Institute of Art, 2010), 249–250.

<sup>11</sup> In the Salon of 1791, number 751 was listed as a Portrait of M. Girault, Peintre by Mad. Gault. In 1793, the supplement listed under number 252 and 253 portraits of Duparc (an engraver) and Lemoine (an architect) by Gudin. There were however, a number of self-portraits shown at the Revolutionary Salons, as well as portraits of unnamed woman artist-sitters. These were usually described as "une artiste" or "femme artiste." Many of these were probably self-portraits of women artists undoubtedly taking advantage of the fact that they were now able to exhibit at the Salon. By 1798, the number of portraits of artists named in the *livret* increased to eight but it did not return to pre-Revolutionary numbers.

fled the country or met with the guillotine, but the increased visibility of portraits at the Salon created increased criticism.<sup>12</sup> The representation of social ties via portraits, previously useful to artists, fell under scrutiny. At the Salon of 1791, critics appeared to place more emphasis on *who* was portrayed rather than the aesthetic qualities of the works. These judgments were often greatly influenced by the political leanings of the men who wrote them.<sup>13</sup> The social connections documented by a portrait, when interpreted as allegiances of friendship, were potential sources of criticism, or worse, for artists. For example, at the Salon of 1791 Labille-Guiard exhibited fourteen well-received portraits of deputies serving in the National Assembly but was highly criticized for her portrait of Charles-Roger, Prince de Bauffremont, a member of the Estates-General who did not join the National Assembly, which was displayed along with them.<sup>14</sup> Publicizing professional relationships presented new opportunities that many artists took advantage of, but it could also have extreme consequences: Élisabeth Vigée-Lebrun fled France because of her royal connections; the pastellist Anne-Rosalie Bocquet Filleul was guillotined for hers.<sup>15</sup>

The difficulties that public displays of association caused were undoubtedly linked to the complicated and volatile politics of the Revolution. They were also tied to the problems that friendship posed for Revolutionary politics. Marisa Linton has argued

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<sup>12</sup> Halliday, *Facing the Public*, 47.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 34.

<sup>14</sup> Bauffremont was arrested for counter-revolutionary activity in 1793. Laura Auricchio has argued that although this portrait represents the apogee of Labille-Guiard's pre-Revolutionary career, the work and its sitter did not suit the politics of the day. Auricchio, *Adélaïde Labille-Guiard*, 76–77.

<sup>15</sup> On Vigée-Lebrun, see especially Mary Sheriff, *The Exceptional Woman: Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun and the Cultural Politics of Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 223–242; Gita May, *Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun: The Odyssey of an Artist in an Age of Revolution* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 77–151. Filleul was officially charged with theft but, like Vigée-Lebrun, was a known court portraitist. Auricchio, *Adélaïde Labille-Guiard*, 91. David Dowd claimed no artists were executed, but he appears to have been looking exclusively at members of the Academy. Dowd, "The French Revolution and the Painters," 133.

that Jacobins considered friendship an ideal form of association, but it was also highly suspect if it appeared to be disconnected from the Enlightenment ideals of *sociabilité*. It could be seen as a remnant of royal patronage and self-serving social advancement.<sup>16</sup> Furthermore, the private nature of friendship contradicted revolutionary ideals: individuals were expected to put the *patrie* above all personal ties including friendship. Most damning of all, the privacy that friendship networks offered was seen as a potential space for political conspiracy and counterrevolutionary activity.<sup>17</sup> The personal and professional friendships that had been so useful to artists during the *ancien régime* became a major source of suspicion.<sup>18</sup> The rapidly changing politics and guilt by association that accompanied the Revolution turned one of portraiture's greatest strengths, its ability to make friendship visible, into a liability.

Friendship between artists, of course, did not go away, but it was forced into hiding. Vincent, Labille-Guiard, and Marie-Gabrielle Capet, one of Labille-Guiard's students, spent the years between 1792 and 1795 in a house in Pontault-en-Brie, a town about thirteen miles outside of Paris.<sup>19</sup> The three artists had been close before the Revolution. Vincent and Labille-Guiard had been friends since childhood, while Capet was a long-time student of Labille-Guiard and had figured prominently in her teacher's *Self-Portrait with Two Students* (Metropolitan Museum of Art) shown at the Salon of 1785. By the end of the Terror they had become a sort of family.<sup>20</sup> Vincent and Labille-

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<sup>16</sup> Marisa Linton, "Fatal Friendships: The Politics of Jacobin Friendship," *French Historical Studies* 31, no. 1 (2008): 51–76. See also Kenneth Loisel, "Living the Enlightenment in an Age of Revolution: Freemasonry in Bordeaux (1788–1794)," *French History* 24, no. 1 (2009): 60–81.

<sup>17</sup> Linton, "Fatal Friendships," 56–58.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 75.

<sup>19</sup> Auricchio, *Adélaïde Labille-Guiard*, 91–93. Vincent's brother, Marie-Alexandre-François Vincent and another student of Labille-Guiard's, Marie-Victoire d'Avril, also retreated to Labille-Guiard and Vincent's house.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 107–108. For more on Capet, see Arnauld Doria, *Gabrielle Capet* (Paris: Les Beaux-arts, 1934).



Guiard were married in 1800. After Labille-Guiard's death in 1803, Capet took care of Vincent during the remaining years of his life.

After the Revolution, Capet put this network of friends to work for her own professional gain, much like her teacher had in the 1780s. In 1798, she exhibited several miniature portraits of Vincent, one of Labille-Guiard and one of Vincent's students, Étienne Pallière. In 1799, she exhibited a pastel and a miniature portrait of Suvée, and a pastel and a miniature of another one of Vincent's students, Charles Meynier. In 1800, she presented a miniature of the sculptor Jean-Antoine Houdon.<sup>21</sup> These portraits of well-known artists did garner attention. An official report to Emperor Napoleon on the arts written in 1808 singled her out among women painters for her portraits of artists:

From the exhibition of 1796, we have seen good portraits in miniature, pastel and oil by Mlle Capet. She has since surpassed herself in the portraits of Messieurs Suvée, Meyner, de Vandœuvre, and Madame Vincent [Labille-Guiard], of whom she is the most distinguished student.<sup>22</sup>

The same year as this report, Capet presented the most ambitious painting of her career at the Salon: a large group portrait in oil that was described in the *livret* as *A Painting representing the late Madame Vincent (student of her husband). She is busy making a portrait of M. Senator Vien, comte de l'Empire and member of the Institute of France, regenerator of the French school, and Vincent's teacher. The artist, who is*

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<sup>21</sup> See Doria, *Gabrielle Capet*, cat. Nos. 62, 64, 66, 67, 71, 72, 75, 76, 80.

<sup>22</sup> "Dès exposition de 1796, on vit de bons portraits en miniature, au pastel et à l'huile, par Mlle Capet. Elle s'est surpassée depuis dans les portraits de MM Suvée, Houdon, Meyner, de Vandœuvre et de Mme Vincent, dont elle est l'élève la plus distinguée." Joachim Le Breton, *Rapports à l'Empereur sur le progrès des sciences, des lettres et des arts depuis 1789* (Paris: Belin, 1989), 127. This report was penned by François-André Vincent. Capet's inclusion was by no means coincidental; Vincent and Lebreton were undoubtedly promoting her. As Darcy Grimaldo Grigsby has argued, the report explicitly promoted Vincent and his circle over David, who was first painter to the Emperor. Darcy Grimaldo Grigsby, "Classicism, Nationalism and History: The Prix Decennaux of 1810 and the Politics of Art under Post-Revolutionary Empire" (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 1995), 79–99.

represented charging her palette, has put the principle students of M. Vincent into this painting (Figure 6.2).<sup>23</sup>

The painting shows Labille-Guiard at her easel in a well-appointed, crowded studio, porte-crayon in hand. Vincent stands behind her, gesturing to something on her canvas, which is turned away from the viewer. Vien, the subject of the work in progress, sits in his senatorial costume, surrounded by friends and students. His son and daughter-in-law stand behind him. Capet herself is seated at a miniature desk in the foreground, a reference to the medium for which she was best known. She looks at the viewer, momentarily distracted from her task at hand: preparing Labille-Guiard's palette with color in anticipation of her teacher finishing the underdrawing for the portrait and switching to work in oil paint. Capet's large studio scene was likely inspired by the success of Boilly's *A Gathering of Artists in the Studio of Isabey*, exhibited ten years earlier in 1798. Much as Boilly's painting sought to define artistic community in the wake of the Revolution, Capet's group portrait sought to define her own artistic community by representing the circle of artists she met through Labille-Guiard and Vincent.

Capet's painting included a telescoping of history, however. Labille-Guiard had created a portrait of Vien in 1782, long before he was made a Senator of the Empire. That work was a modest pastel, not the large-scale oil portrait on which Capet shows Labille-Guiard working. This anachronism, read in conjunction with the *livret* description,

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<sup>23</sup> *Un Tableau représentant feu Mme Vincent (élève de son mari). Elle est occupée à faire le portrait de M. Le Sénateur Vien, comte de l'Empire et membre de l'Institut de France, régénérateur de l'École française actuelle, et maître de M. Vincent. L'auteur, qui s'est représenté chargeant sa palette, a placé dans ce tableau les principaux élèves de M. Vincent.* Number 89 in the catalogue. Société des artistes français, *Explication des ouvrages de peinture et dessins, sculpture, architecture et gravure, des artistes vivans, exposés au Musée Napoléon le 14 octobre 1808* (Paris: Imprimerie des sciences et des arts, 1808), 13.

suggests that the work was more than a public homage to Labille-Guiard. The painting engaged with contemporary cultural politics and the ongoing redefinition of French art in the wake of the Revolution.

The report to Napoleon in 1808 that spoke so highly of Capet's work also celebrated Vien as a symbol of Academic tradition and the founder of the modern French school. The former director of the Academy and *premier peintre du roi* had indeed been fêted throughout Napoleon's regime. He received more honors than any other artist during the period. In 1795, Vien was one of only six painters to be named to the *beaux-arts* section of the newly created Institut de France. He was made a Senator in 1799, was the first artist to win the Legion of Honor in 1803, and was appointed a comte de l'Empire in 1808.<sup>24</sup> The *livret* description for Capet's painting plainly reminded viewers of these achievements. The *livret* catalogue also included another pointed reference to Vien: it described him as the *régénérateur* of the French school, the exact words that Joachim Lebreton used to describe him in his introduction to the report on painting.<sup>25</sup> By moving Vien's portrait sitting with Labille-Guiard forward almost twenty years, Capet effectively made the historical event of the painting of Vien's portrait contemporary, linking her now-deceased teacher not to the *ancien régime* but to the current one.

Furthermore, Vien was not only the grand patriarch of the French school, he was also Capet's artistic "great-grandfather," so to speak. Vien had trained Vincent, who

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<sup>24</sup> Bruno Foucart, "L'artiste dans la société de l'Empire: sa participation aux honneurs et dignités," *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine* 17, no. 3 (1970): 714.

<sup>25</sup> "Ce fut au degré de décadence où nous nous sommes arrêtés, décadence amenée pas les effest accumulés des cause qui ont été indiquées, que M. Vien sortit des rangs pour régénérer les arts. Il avait osé prendre pour guide l'étude de la Nature et de l'antique, regardée comme un préjugé dangereux par tout les chefs d'école." Breton, *Rapports à l'Empereur*, 19. On the celebration of Vien, see David O'Brien, *After the Revolution: Antoine-Jean Gros, Painting and Propaganda Under Napoleon* (University Park: Penn State Univeristy Press, 2006), 72. On the politics of the *Rapport*'s introduction see Grigsby, "Classicism, Nationalism and History," 86–90.

trained Labille-Guiard, who, in turn, taught Capet. The work displayed Capet's own social connections to the Empire's most illustrious artist and asserted her place as one of his descendants while simultaneously honoring Labille-Guiard, her recently deceased teacher and friend. The work is a celebration of both paternal and maternal lineage, a tribute to both her friendship network and the greatness of the French school. By successfully weaving together friendship, cultural politics, and self-promotion, Capet's work aptly demonstrates the continued importance of friendship to artists after the Revolution. Portraits represented the ideals of friendship as they had in the *ancien régime*, while at the same time they negotiated the changing constructions of friendship as it was practiced in the personal and professional lives of artists.



Figure 2.1 Jean-Baptiste Greuze, *Johann-Georg Wille*, oil on canvas, 59 x 49 cm, Musée Jacquemart-André, Paris



Figure 2.2 Jean-Baptiste Greuze, *Claude Henri-Watelet*, 1765, oil on canvas, 115 x 88 cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris



Figure 2.3 Charles-Nicholas Cochin, fils, *Jean-Siméon Chardin*, graphite on paper, 10 x 10 cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris

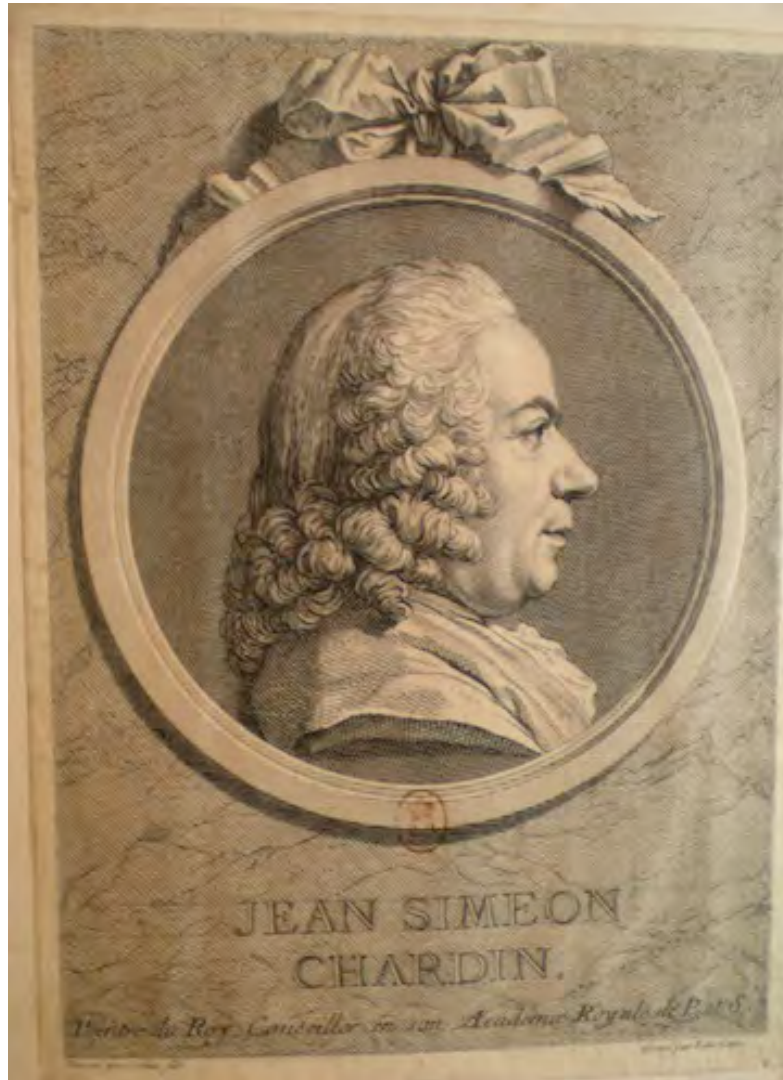


Figure 2.4 Laurent Cars, after Cochin, *Jean-Siméon Chardin*, engraving, 19.2 x 14.2 cm, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des estampes et de la photographie, Paris



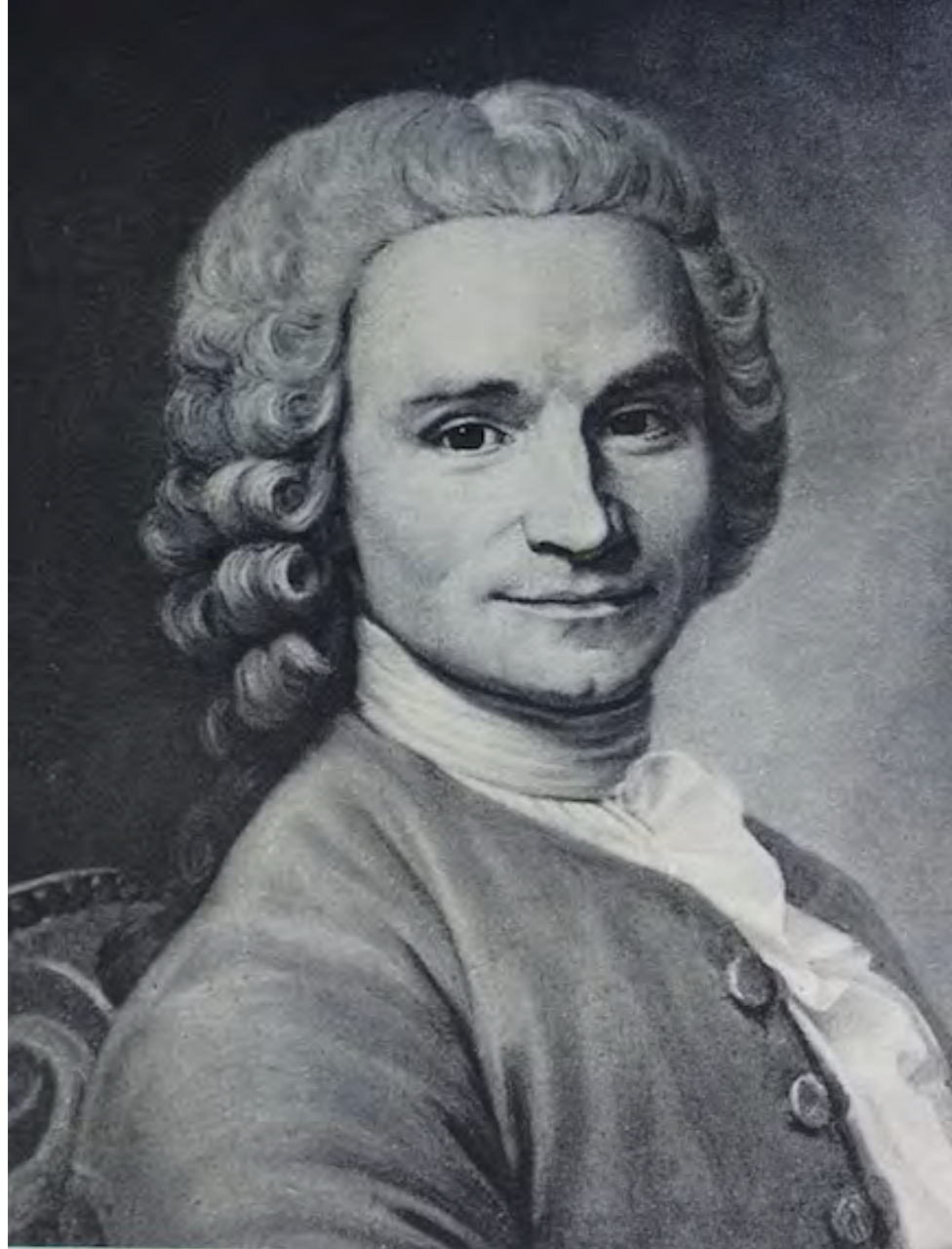


Figure 2.5 Maurice Quentin de la Tour, *Jean-Baptiste II Lemoyne*, 1747, pastel on paper, 44 x 35 cm, location unknown



Figure 2.6 Maurice Quentin de la Tour, *Jean Restout*, 1746, 108 x 89 cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris



Figure 2.7 Maurice Quentin de la Tour, *Claude Dupouch*, 1739, pastel on paper, 63 x 52 cm, Musée Antoine Lécuyer, St. Quentin



Figure 2.8 Maurice Quentin de la Tour, *René Frémin*, 1743, pastel on paper, 91 x 73 cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris



Figure 2.9 Jean-Baptiste II Lemoyne, *Maurice Quentin de la Tour*, Salon of 1748, terracotta, 65 cm, Musée Antoine Lécuyer, St. Quentin



Figure 2.10 Maurice Quentin de la Tour, *Charles Parrocel*, 1743, pastel on paper, 56 x 44 cm, Musée Antoine Lécuyer, St. Quentin



Figure 2.11 Maurice Quentin de la Tour, *Jean-Baptiste II Lemoyne*, Salon of 1763, pastel on paper, 46.4 x 38.8, Musée du Louvre, Paris



Figure 2.12 Jean-Baptiste Perronneau, *Maurice Quentin de la Tour*, 1750, pastel on paper, 56.6 x 48 cm, Musée Antoine Lécuyer, St. Quentin





Figure 2.13 Étienne Ficquet after Maurice Quentin de la Tour, *Voltaire à 41 ans*, 1762, engraving on ivory laid paper, 12.8 x 8.1 cm, The Art Institute of Chicago



Figure 2.14 Maurice Quentin de la Tour, *Jean le Rond d'Alembert*, pastel on paper, 56.3 x 46 cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris



Figure 2.15 Maurice Quentin de la Tour, *Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, autograph copy after the 1753 version, pastel on paper, 45 x 35.5 cm, Musée Antoine Lécuyer, St. Quentin



Figure 2.16 Louis Michel Vanloo, *Portrait of the Marquise de Marigny and his wife, Marie-Françoise Constance Julie Filleul*, 1769, oil on canvas, 129.6 x 97.5 cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris



Figure 2.17 Jean Valade, *Louis de Silvestre*, 1754, oil on canvas, 130 x 98 cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris



Figure 2.18 Maurice Quentin de la Tour, *Louis de Silvestre*, 1753, pastel on paper, 63 x 51 cm, Musée Antoine Lécuyer, St. Quentin

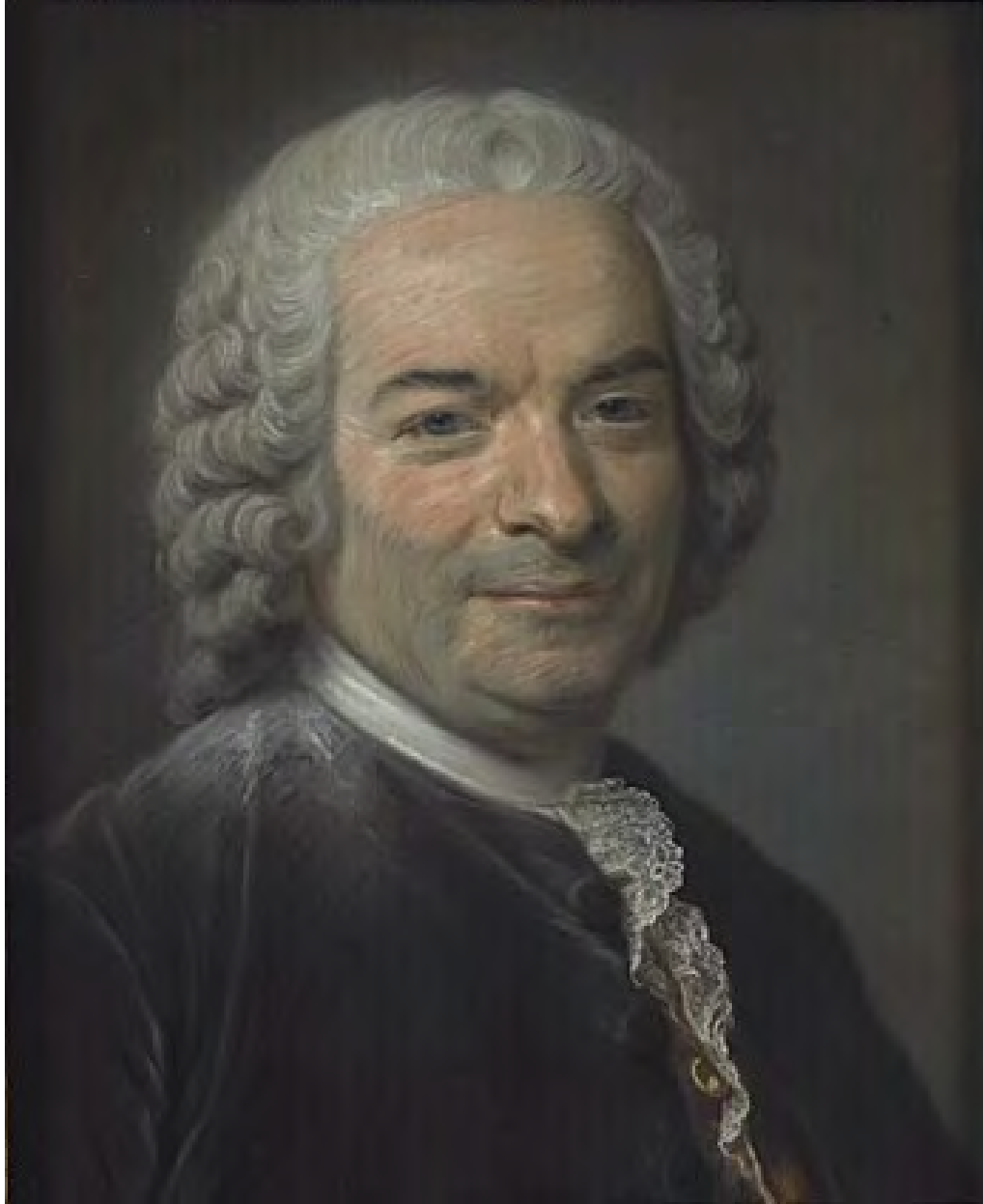


Figure 2.19 Maurice Quentin de la Tour, *Jean-Siméon Chardin*, 1761, pastel on paper, 44 x 36 cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris



Figure 2.20 Adélaïde Labille-Guiard, *François-André Vincent*, 1782, pastel on paper, 60.8 x 50 cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris





Figure 2.21 Adélaïde Labille-Guiard, *Joseph-Benoît Suvée*, 1783 pastel on paper, 60.5 x 50.5 cm, École nationale supérieure des beaux-arts, Paris



Figure 2.22 Adélaïde Labille-Guiard, *Joseph-Marie Vien*, 1783, pastel on paper, 58.5 x 48.2 cm, Musée Fabre, Montpellier



Figure 2.23 Adélaïde Labille-Guiard, *Jean-Jacques Bachelier*, 1782, pastel on paper, 57 x 45 cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris



Figure 2.24 Adélaïde Labille-Guiard, *Augustin Pajou Modeling the Portrait of his Teacher Lemoyne*, 1782, pastel on paper, 71 x 58 cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris

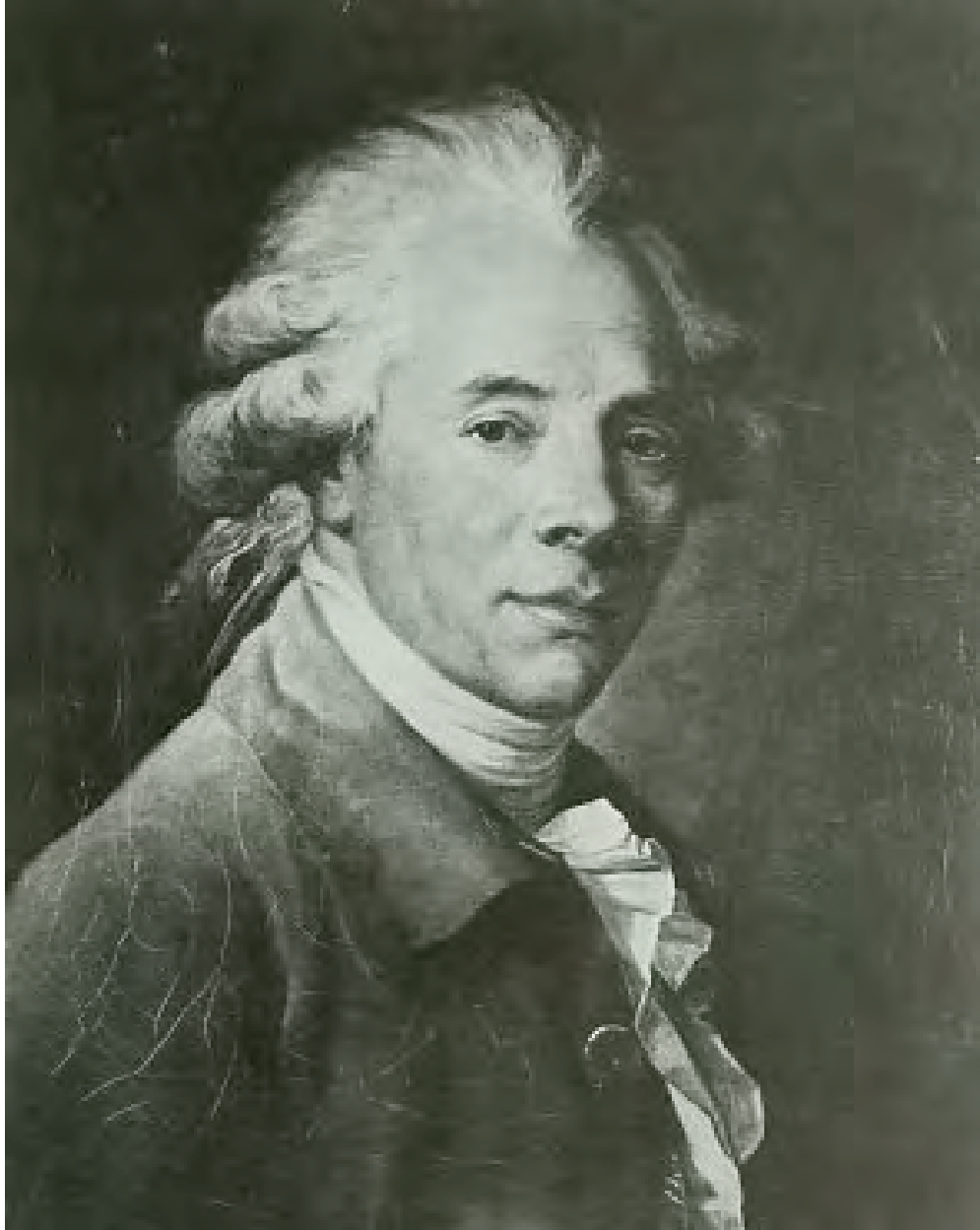


Figure 2.25 Adélaïde Labille-Guiard, *Joseph Vernet*, 1785, oil on canvas, 55 x 46.5 cm, Musée Calvet, Avignon



Figure 3.1 François-André Vincent, *Pierre Rousseau*, 1774, oil on canvas, 82 × 68 cm, Musée de l'Hôtel Sandelin, Saint-Omer



Figure 3.2 François-André Vincent, *Pierre-Jacques-Onésyme Bergeret de Grancourt*, 1774, oil on canvas, 61.5 x 47.5 cm, Musée des beaux-arts et d'archéologie de Besançon



Figure 3.3 François-André Vincent, *Portrait de Trois Hommes*, 1774, oil on canvas, 81 x 98 cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris





Figure 3.4 Guiseppe Baldrighi, *Triple Portrait of Artists*, 1751, oil on canvas, 52.7 x 65.4 cm, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa



Figure 3.5 James Barry, *Self-Portrait with James Paine and Dominique Lefèvre*, 1767, oil on canvas, 60.5 x 50 cm, National Portrait Gallery, London



Figure 3.6 Jean-François de Troy, *Portrait of the Artist and his Family*, c. 1708–1710, oil on canvas, 143 x 114 cm, Musée de Tessé, Le Mans



Figure 3.7 Jean-Marc Nattier, *Portrait of the Artist and his Family*, 1732–1762, oil on canvas, 149 x 165 cm, Musée national des châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon, Versailles



Figure 3.8 Louis-Michel Vanloo, *Carle Vanloo and his Family*, 1757, oil on canvas, 200 x 156 cm, Musée national des châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon, Versailles



Figure 3.9 Nicolas de Largillière, *The Artist in his Studio*, 1686, oil on canvas, 148.9 x 115.9 cm, The Chrysler Museum, Norfolk, Virginia



Figure 3.10 Pontormo, *Portrait of Two Friends*, c. 1521–1524, oil on panel, 88.2 x 68 cm, Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Venice



Figure 3.11 Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio, *The Cardsharps*, 1594, oil on canvas, 94 x 131 cm, Kimbell Museum of Art, Fort Worth, Texas





Figure 3.12 Simon de Vos, *The Smokers*, oil on canvas, 62.5 x 92.5 cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris



Figure 3.13 Peter Paul Rubens, *Self-Portrait in a Circle of Friends from Mantua*, 1600–1604, oil on canvas, 78 x 101 cm, Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne



Figure 3.14 Anthony van Dyck, *Portrait of George Gage with Two Servants*, 1622–1623, oil on canvas, 115 x 113.5 cm, National Gallery of Art, London



Figure 3.15 Jean-Honoré Fragonard, *Portrait de fantaisie: l'Abbé de Saint-Non*, 1769, oil on canvas, 80 x 65 cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris



Figure 3.16 Jean-Honoré Fragonard, *Portrait of Denis Diderot*, 1769, oil on canvas, 80 x 65 cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris



Figure 3.17 Louis-Michel Vanloo, *Portrait of Denis Diderot*, 1767, oil on canvas, 81 x 65 cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris



Figure 3.18 François-André Vincent, *Portrait of a Man*, 1774, 61 cm x 51 cm, oil on canvas, Musée des beaux-arts, Quebec



Figure 3.19 Adrien Brouwer, *The Smokers*, c. 1636, oil on wood, 46.4 x 36.8 cm, Metropolitan Museum, New York





Figure 3.20 François-André Vincent, *Self-Portrait*, 1769, oil on canvas, 71 x 54 cm, Villa-Musée Jean-Honoré Fragonard, Grasse



Figure 3.21 Peter Paul Rubens, *Self-Portrait*, 1623, oil on canvas, 85.7 x 62.2 cm, The Royal Collection, Windsor Castle



Figure 3.22 Paulus Pontius, after Rubens, *Portrait of Rubens*, 1630, engraving, 36.8 x 27.7 cm, British Museum, London



Figure 3.23 Leone Battista Alberti, *Self-Portrait*, 1435, bronze, 20.1 x 13.6 cm, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C



Figure 3.24 *Leon Battista Alberti* in Paolo Giovio, *Elogia vivorum bellica virtute illustrium*, 1575, wood cut, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris



Figure 3.25 Anonymous, *Leon Battista Alberti after Giovio's Elogia*, 17<sup>th</sup> c., oil on canvas, 68 x 48 cm, Musée national des châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon, Versailles



Figure 3.26 Jean Barbaut, *Mascarade des quatre parties du monde*, 1751, oil on canvas, 38 x 393 cm, Musée des beaux-arts et de l'archéologie, Besançon



Figure 3.27 Joseph-Marie Vien, *L'Aga des Janissaires* from *La Caravane du Sultan à la Mecque: mascarade turque faite à Rome par Messieurs les pensionnaires de l'Académie de France et leurs amis au carnaval de l'année 1748*, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des estampes et de la photographie, Paris





Figure 3.28 François-André Vincent, *Pierre-Adrien Pâris*, 1774, oil on canvas, 61.5 x 47.5 cm, Musée des beaux-arts et de l'archéologie, Besançon



Figure 4.1 François-André Vincent, *Ménageot*, 1772, black chalk on paper, 39 x 27.3 cm, Musée Carnavalet, Paris



Figure 4.2a François-André Vincent, *Suvéé, peintre d'histoire*, 1774, black chalk on paper, 42.6 x 23.7 cm, Metropolitan Museum, New York



Figure 4.2b François-André Vincent, *Suvéé, peintre d'histoire*, 1774, black chalk on paper, 40 x 22.2 cm, Musée Atger, Montpellier



Figure 4.3 François-André Vincent, *Jombert, peintre d'histoire*, 1774, black chalk on paper, 124 x 39.5 cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris



Figure 4.4 Morichaud Franconville after Jean-Baptiste Stouf, *Caricatures*, etching, Nationalmuseum, Stockholm



Figure 4.5 Morichaud Franconville after Jean-Baptiste Stouf, *Caricatures* (detail), etching, Nationalmuseum, Stockholm



Figure 4.6 Johann Tobias Sergel, *Self-Portrait with Wine Flask*, pen and ink wash on paper, 22.2 x 15.6 cm, Nationalmuseum, Stockholm



Figure 4.7 Johann Tobias Sergel, *Fuseli*, pen and ink wash on paper, 26.6 x 19.2 cm, Nationalmuseum, Stockholm





Figure 4.8 Johann Tobias Sergel, *Nicolai Abraham Abildgaard*, pen and ink wash on paper, 21.5 x 15.5 cm, Nationalmuseum, Stockholm



Figure 4.9 Johann Tobias Sergel, *François-André Vincent*, ink on paper, 17.6 x 16.4 cm, Nationalmuseum, Stockholm



Figure 4.10 Pierre-Charles Jombert, *François-André Vincent*, 1774, pen and brown ink, 15.4 x 13.3 cm, Metropolitan Museum, New York



Figure 4.11 Joseph-Barthélémy Le Bouteux, *François-André Vincent*, sanguine on paper, 46.5 x 36.3 cm, Musée Atger, Montpellier

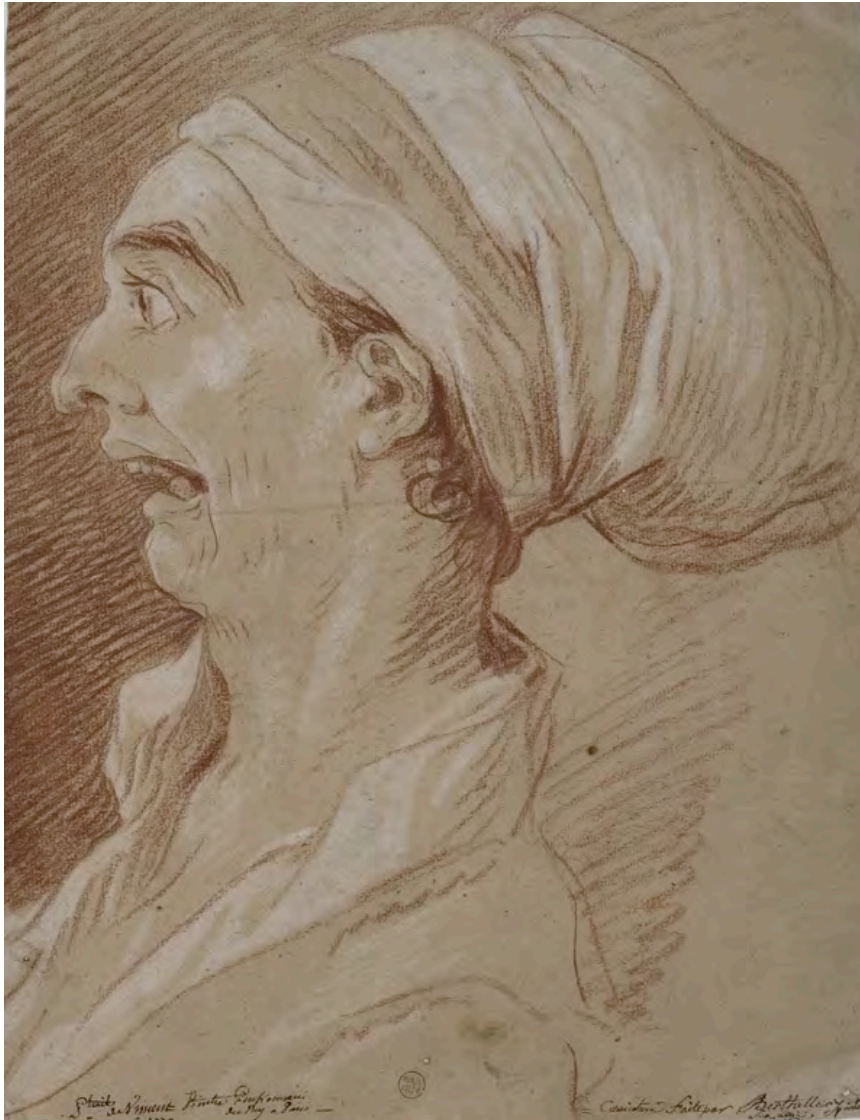


Figure 4.12 Jean-Simon Berthélemy, *François-André Vincent*, sanguine on paper, 46.5 x 36.3 cm, Musée Atger, Montpellier



Figure 4.13 Pompeo Batoni, *Sir Gregory Turner (later Page-Turner)*, 1768–1769, oil on canvas, 135 cm x 99 cm, private collection



Figure 4.14 Pier Leone Ghezzi, *Caricatures de MM. de Vandières, Cochin, Soufflot et l'abbé le Blanc*, 30.5 x 21.5 cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris



Figure 4.15 Joshua Reynolds, *A Caricature Group*, 1751, 62.8 x 48.3 cm, Rhode Island School of Design Museum of Art, Providence





Figure 4.16 Thomas Patch, *David Garrick in Italy*, 1763, oil on canvas, 118 x 84 cm, Exeter Museum and Art Gallery, Exeter



Figure 4.17 Pier Leone Ghezzi, *James Carnegie, 5<sup>th</sup> Earl of Southesk*, 1729, pen on paper, 31.7 cm x 22.2 cm, National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh



Figure 4.18 François-André Vincent, *Pierre Rousseau*, 1774, black chalk on paper, 41 x 22.2 cm, Musée Atger, Montpellier

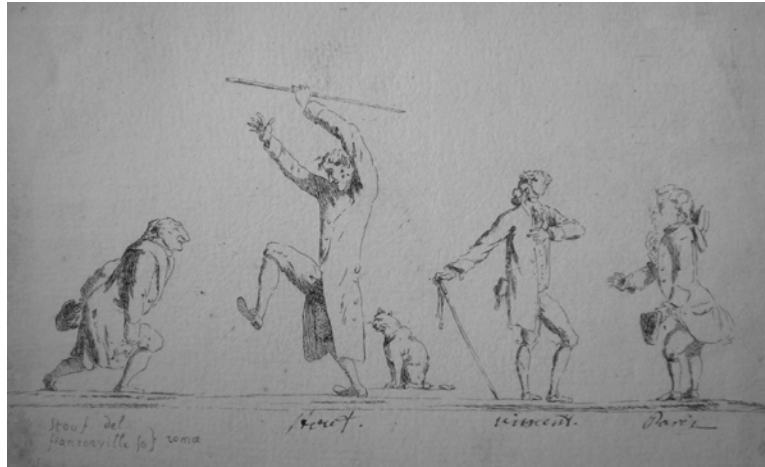


Figure 4.19 Morichaud Franconville after Jean-Baptiste Stouf, *Caricatures* (detail), etching, Nationalmuseum, Stockholm



Figure 4.20 Morichaud Franconville after Jean-Baptiste Stouf, *Caricatures* (detail), etching, Nationalmuseum, Stockholm



Figure 4.21 Morichaud Franconville after Jean-Baptiste Stouf, *Caricatures* (detail), etching, Nationalmuseum, Stockholm



Figure 4.22 François-André Vincent, *Jombert Playing the Violin*, 1772, black chalk on paper, Musée Atger, Montpellier



Figure 4.23 François-André Vincent, *Huvé, architect*, 1774, sanguine on paper, Musée Atger, Montpellier



Figure 4.24 Carmontelle, *M. le baron d'Huart et M. Franguier, jouant au trictrac*, watercolor, gouache, and pencil on paper, 29 x 20.5 cm, Musée Condé, Chantilly



Figure 4.25 Carmontelle, *Mlle Pitoin à son piano, M. son père l'accompagnant sur la basse*, watercolor, gouache, and pencil on paper, 30.5 x 19.5 cm, Musée Condé, Chantilly.





Figure 4.26 Charles-Nicholas Cochin, fils, *La Live de Jully*, graphite on paper, 10 x 10 cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris

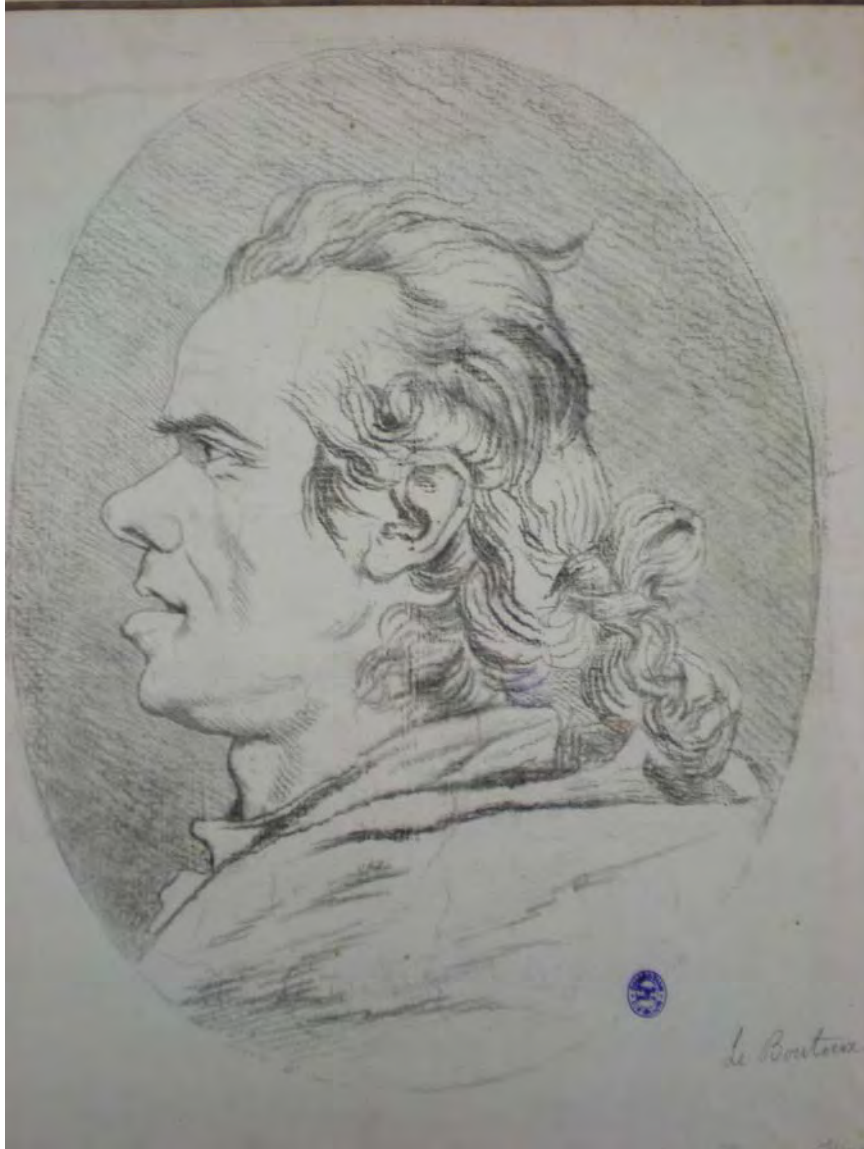


Figure 4.27 François-André Vincent, *Le Bouteux*, black chalk on paper, 41 x 22.2 cm, Musée Carnavalet, Paris



Figure 4.28 François-André Vincent, *Joseph-Benoît Suvé*, 1773, black chalk on paper, 40.5 x 28.3 cm, Musée Carnvalet, Paris



Figure 4.29 François-André Vincent, *Jombert, peintre d'histoire*, 1774, black chalk on paper, 42.5 x 22.2 cm, Musée Atger, Montpellier



Figure 4.30 Jacques-André-Joseph Aved, *Jean-François de Troy*, 1734, oil on canvas, 130 x 97 cm, Musée national des châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon, Versailles



Figure 4.31 François-André Vincent, *Lemonnier, peintre d'histoire*, 1774, black chalk on paper, 41 x 22 cm, Musée Atger, Montpellier



Figure 4.32 Johann Tobias Sergel, *Brünnliche's Mishap* (The Danish painter Brynnik falling off his bed with a female model Sergel was [supposed to make a] drawing [of] a group in Rome), black chalk on paper, 19.1 x 26.2 cm, Nationalmuseum, Stockholm



Figure 4.33 Johann Tobias Sergel, *Venus and Mars*, 1770, marble, 93 cm, Natonalmuseum, Stockholm





Figure 4.34 Johann Tobias Sergel, *Fuseli on Horseback*, ink on paper, 15.5 x 21.5 cm, Nationalmuseum, Stockholm



Figure 5.1 Simon Miger after Louis Marteau, *Madame Geoffrin*, 1779, engraving, 19.1 x 13.7 cm, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des estampes et de la photographie, Paris



Figure 5.2 Jean-Baptiste Greuze (attributed to), *Presumed Portrait of Madame Geoffrin*, oil on canvas, 74 x 62 cm, Gemäldegalerie, Berlin



Figure 5.3 Anicet-Charles-Gabriel Lemonnier, *Première lecture, chez Madame Geoffrin, de l'Orphelin de la Chine, tragédie de Voltaire, en 1755*, 1809, oil on canvas, 129.5 x 196 cm, Musée national du château du Malmaison/Musée des beaux-arts, Rouen



Figure 5.4 Anicet-Charles-Gabriel Lemonnier, *François I recevant, dans la salle des Suisses, à Fontainebleau, le tableau de la Sainte famille*, 1809, oil on canvas, 64 x 96 cm, Musée des beaux-arts, Rouen



Figure 5.5 Anicet-Charles-Gabriel Lemonnier, *Louis XIV assistant, dans le parc de Versailles, à l'inauguration de la statue du Puget (le Milon Crotoniate)*, 1809, oil on canvas, 64 x 97 cm, Musée des beaux-arts, Rouen



Figure 5.6 Jean-Marc Nattier, *Madame Geoffrin*, 1738, oil on canvas, 145 x 115 cm, Fuji Art Museum, Tokyo



Figure 5.7 Jean-Marc Nattier, *Marquise de la Ferté-Imbault*, 1740, oil on canvas, 145 x 115 cm, Fuji Art Museum, Tokyo





Figure 5.8 Charles-Nicholas Cochin, fils, *Madame Geoffrin playing cards*, 1742, 19 x 15 cm, black chalk on paper, private collection



Figure 5.9 Pierre Allais, *Madame Geoffrin*, 1747, oil on canvas, 98 x 80 cm, private collection



Figure 5.10 Jacques-André-Joseph Aved, *Madame Crozat*, 1751, oil on canvas, 138.5 x 105 cm, Musée Fabre, Montpellier



Figure 5.11 Jean-Marc Nattier, *Marie Leszcynska*, 1748, oil on canvas, 104 x 112 cm, Musée national des châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon, Versailles



Figure 5.12 Francois-Hubert Drouais, *Madame de Pompadour at her Tambour Frame*, 1763–64, oil on canvas, 217 x 156.8 cm, National Gallery, London



Figure 5.13 Carle Vanloo, *Marie Leszcynska*, 1747, oil on canvas, 274 × 193 cm, Musée national des châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon, Versailles



Figure 5.14 Jacques-André-Joseph Aved (after), *Claudine-Alexandrine Guérin de Tencin*, oil on canvas, 91 x 74.5 cm, Musée des beaux-arts, Valenciennes



Figure 5.15 Jean Guynier (attributed to), *Claudine-Alexandrine Guérin de Tencin*, oil on canvas, 77 x 62 cm, Musée Dauphinois, Grenoble





Figure 5.16 Jean-Marc Nattier, *Madame Marsollier and Her Daughter*, 1749, oil on canvas, 146.1 x 114.3 cm, Metropolitan Museum, New York



Figure 5.17 Installation shot of Charles-Nicolas Cochin's portraits in the exhibition "Madame Geoffrin femme d'affaires et d'esprit," Maison de Chateaubriand, April 27–July 24, 2011



Figure 5.18 Laurent Guiard and Pierre Musson, *L'emploi de temps*, bronze and wood, 35.5 x 62.5 x 20.5 cm, Musée d'art et d'histoire, Langres



Figure 5.19 Louis-Simon Boizot, *La philosophie et l'étude*, 1784, bronze and marble, 50 x 70 x 18 cm, Musée des beaux-arts, Montréal



Figure 5.20 Carle Vanloo, *La conversation espagnole*, 1754, oil on canvas, 164 x 129 cm, Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg



Figure 5.21 Carle Vanloo, *La lecture espagnole*, Salon of 1761, oil on canvas, 164 x 129 cm, Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg



Figure 5.22 Carle Vanloo, Sketch for *La conversation espagnole*, 1754, pen and brown ink, brown wash over black chalk on paper, 25.5 x 22.3 cm, Metropolitan Museum, New York



Figure 5.23 Jean-Baptiste Greuze, *Ange-Laurent La Live de Jully*, 1759, oil on canvas, 117 x 88.5 cm, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.



Figure 5.24 Carle Vanloo, *Self-Portrait*, 1762, oil on canvas, 87.5 x 71.5 cm, Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg





Figure 5.25 Jean-Siméon Chardin, *The Philosopher*, 1734, oil on canvas, 138 x 105 cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris



Figure 5.26 Jean-Baptiste Greuze, *La mère bien-aimée*, 1769, oil on canvas, 99 x 131 cm, private collection, Madrid



Figure 5.27 Jean-Baptiste Greuze, sketch for *La mère bien-aimée*, 1765, pastel with red, black, and white chalks and stumping on light golden-brown laid paper, 44 x 32.2 cm, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.



Figure 5.28 Hubert Robert, *Madame Geoffrin se promenant au jardin de l'abbaye Saint-Antoine*, 1773, oil on canvas, 120 x 85 cm, private collection, Paris



Figure 5.29 Hubert Robert, *Les cygnes de l'abbaye Saint-Antoine*, 1773, oil on canvas, 155 x 86 cm, private collection, Paris



Figure 5.30 Hubert Robert, *Madame Geoffrin déjeuner avec les religieuses de l'Abbaye Saint-Antoine*, 1773, oil on canvas, 155 x 86 cm, private collection, Paris



Figure 5.31 Hubert Robert, *Le déjeuner de Madame Geoffrin*, c. 1770–1772, oil on canvas, 66 x 58 cm, private collection, Paris



Figure 5.32 Hubert Robert, *Présentation d'un tableau à Madame Geoffrin*, c. 1770–1772, oil on canvas, 66 x 58 cm, private collection, Paris





Figure 6.1 Louis-Léopold Boilly, *A Gathering of Artists in the Studio of Isabey*, 1798, oil on canvas, 71.5 x 111 cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris



Figure 6.2 Marie-Gabrielle Capet, *Studio Scene: Adélaïde Labille-Guiard Painting the Portrait of Joseph-Marie Vien*, 1808, oil on canvas, 69 x 83.5 cm, Neue Pinakothek, Munich

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