

Licentious Prints: The Persistence of the *Rocaille*
and the Malleable Antique in French Ornament Prints and Interiors, 1736-1788

Ashley McKay Boulden
Havre de Grace, MD

B.A. Wellesley College, 2009
M.St. University of Oxford, 2011

A Dissertation presented to the Graduate Faculty
of the University of Virginia in Candidacy
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Art

University of Virginia
May 2023

Committee Members:

Sarah Betzer (Advisor)
Douglas Fordham
Sheila Crane
Jennifer Tsien

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements	ii
Abstract	iv
Abbreviations and Collections Consulted	v
List of Figures	vii
INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER ONE Fluid Impressions: The Currency of <i>Rocaille</i> Ornament Prints on the rue Saint-Jacques	17
CHAPTER TWO Irreverent Ornament: Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin's <i>Recueils de Chiffres</i>	71
CHAPTER THREE Playing Antique: Terpsichore and the <i>Hôtel</i> Guimard	118
CHAPTER FOUR Ornament as <i>Caractère</i> : The Expressive <i>Recueils</i> of Delafosse and Lalonde	157
CONCLUSION Ephemeral Prints at the Twilight of the <i>Ancien Régime</i>	204
Figures	210
Appendix: Prints and Drawings Consulted	322
Bibliography	328

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This dissertation would not have been possible without the many individuals who supported this project over the years. My first and most heartfelt thanks goes to my advisor, Sarah Betzer, for her constant support and advice over the course of my research and writing, and for her generous, insightful reading and comments on many chapter drafts and fellowship applications over the years. Her support of this project made it stronger, more expansive, and more textured and dimensional than I imagined was possible. Her guidance in my thinking across media has allowed this project to take shape in many layers and to unfold across exciting and spacious contours. I will forever be grateful to her as an advisor and mentor. I am grateful to Douglas Fordham for his incisive comments on my chapter drafts and his astute advice from the beginning of this project through its progression, which continues to guide my thinking about print in the eighteenth-century. I am grateful to Sheila Crane for her graciousness and warmth over the years, and for her careful reading and generous comments on my chapter drafts, which have sharpened my thinking about architectural space in the eighteenth century. I am also grateful to Jennifer Tsien for her thoughtful and stimulating comments during my dissertation defense and her comments on my dissertation draft. I would also like to thank Larry Goedde for our many conversations on prints and drawings during my very first summer in Charlottesville studying for exams. I am grateful to the Department of Art for early support through a Kapp Family Fellowship and for continued, sustained support in the later years of my research and writing. I am indebted to the Jefferson Scholars Foundation for five years of generous support as an Edgar Shannon Fellow, and to Mr. and Mrs. John H. Birdsall III for generously stewarding this fellowship that sustained me during my time at the University of Virginia. An AHSS Fellowship from the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences in 2017 provided critical early research support, a Rare Book School Fellowship that same year informed my early study of print as my project took shape, and a Decorative Arts Trust Fellowship enabled crucial research in 2019 in New York and Montréal. My research on Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin benefitted from publication in *The Magazine of the Decorative Arts Trust* (Winter 2019-2020).

I am grateful to the Oak Spring Garden Foundation in Upperville, VA for generously welcoming me in the summer of 2018 as their inaugural Stacy Lloyd III Fellow, and for allowing me to return the following summer. Conversations with librarians Tony Willis, Kimberly Foster, and Nancy Collins on Saint-Aubin's *Recueil de plantes* were formative to this project, and I fondly remember their kindness and warmth amidst the tranquility of the gardens of Oak Spring. In Paris, curator Bénédicte Gady at the Musée des arts décoratifs generously welcomed me into the Département des arts graphiques during the academic year 2019-2020, and provided critical advice and insight on my research on eighteenth-century ornament prints and drawings. During this academic year, an École normale supérieure Fellowship and a Chateaubriand Fellowship dually supported my research and writing at a crucial phase in this project before the world irreparably changed due to the pandemic. At the Château de Sceaux, I would like to thank librarian Antoine Bourroux for welcoming me to the Centre de documentation in 2017, and for graciously sharing images with me that were critical to my research on Madeleine Guimard. At the Musée Carnavalet, I am grateful to curator Anne Zazzo and collections assistant Christophe Soulier, who graciously allowed me to conduct research in offsite collection storage in 2017 and 2018 while the museum was under renovation. At the Musée des Beaux-Arts et d'archéologie de Besançon in 2018, Caroline Dreux in Documentation was incredibly kind and welcoming, even offering a spontaneous tour of the museum, and curator Hélène Gasnault generously oversaw my

research on Fragonard in the graphic arts collection. A final visit with curator Marie-Claire Waille kindly enabled access to additional resources in the Bibliothèque municipale de la ville de Besançon. My gratitude extends to Claire Martin at the Petit Palais, who allowed me to conduct research on Lajoue in 2017 and introduced me to the recently acquired archives of the Galerie Cailleux. I am also grateful to Catherine Adam-Sigas in the Louvre's Département des Objets d'Art for allowing me to conduct research in 2021 in the department's provisional and adventurous location in the moats surrounding the Louvre. Correspondence from afar with curator Yves Carlier at Versailles provided thoughtful insights in the later stages of this project. I am grateful to Sarah Cohen for her feedback on my research on Guimard in 2019 at the annual American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies Conference. I am also grateful to Pauline Chevalier at the Institut national d'histoire de l'art and Irène Feste for inviting me to present my research on Guimard as part of the 2021 BnF-INHA conference and study day *Quadrilles: Danse et divertissements entre République et Empire, autour de la figure de Jean-Étienne Despréaux (1748-1820)*, at the intersections of art history and dance history.

Along the broader contours of this dissertation, I would like to thank Meredith Martin, who advised my undergraduate thesis at Wellesley College, which formed the kernel of this project long ago, and curator Elizabeth Wyckoff, who kindly supported my research at the Davis Museum during those years. I am also grateful to Régis Michel, who oversaw one of my first fellowships and international research forays in Paris long ago. At the Philadelphia Museum of Art, I would like to thank Jenny Thompson and the late Joseph Rishel in the Department of European Painting, who both offered advice to me while I was an exhibition assistant and supported my applications to graduate school. Special thanks are reserved for the members of my cohort: Elyse Gerstenecker, Dylan Spivey, and Chloe Wells for their endless support, humor, and care, without which I would not have made it through graduate school. Living at Grimes Place during quarantine was a source of much-needed camaraderie and support, during which time Dylan was my daily VRC and lunchtime companion and Elyse a constant grounding presence, with advice and thoughtful care packages. Chloe has been an exceptionally supportive friend who has taken diligent notes for me, from our seminar presentations to my dissertation defense, and to whom I am indebted for her warmth and kindness over many years. I am also grateful to Nenette Arroyo for her wisdom and comforting presence, and for her kind words and humor during our time as teaching assistants together. In the early years of my time in Charlottesville, fellow *dix-huitièmiste* Alicia Caticha was a source of much support at Ridge Street and an important interlocutor as my project first took shape. In France, my dear friend Sara Terzi has been a supportive voice and source of much comfort and humor for more than ten years, during which time we have shared many adventures in Paris, Lyon, and further afield. I would also like to thank my best friend Megan Harris in my hometown of Havre de Grace for her kindness and humor over a great many years, and for always checking in on me. Finally, I would like to thank my Parisian fairy godmother Madame Nicole Dubreucque, who has been a constant presence and voice of wisdom during my French sojourns for many years. Madame first introduced me more than ten years ago to Paris's secret gardens and magic doorways ... They are there, if you know where to look. Last but certainly not least, I would like to thank my parents, William and Mary, and my brother Alex, for their support from the beginning.

ABSTRACT

Taking up a body of prints produced in a wide range of formats and compilations by such figures as Gabriel Huquier (1695-1772), Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin (1721-1786), and Jean-Charles Delafosse (1734-1789), “Licentious Prints: The Persistence of the *Rocaille* and the Malleable Antique in French Ornament Prints and Interiors, 1736-1788” examines the circulation of eighteenth-century ornament prints in relation to the decorated Parisian residential interior. Bridging two accounts that are usually considered separately from one another—rococo and its dissemination in print, and the resurgence of the antique—this dissertation centers on a key set of publications that unsettle familiar narratives of stylistic rupture that have largely defined this period in art historical scholarship. Though *rocaille* ornament is often thought to have receded during efforts to reform taste in the 1740s, the fragmentary perceptual process facilitated by the *rocaille* may be traced through the course of the eighteenth century and found in the work of both rococo *ornemanistes* and a new generation of *ornemanistes à l’antique*.

Anchored in the commercial circuits of Parisian print exchange, this dissertation approaches print as a connective thread that allows us to consider the interrelations between works on paper, painting, sculpture, and the residential interior more broadly. One of the central provocations of this dissertation is the assertion that print be considered *as potential*; that is, rather than representing the final disposition of a design to be executed, print offered variable, shifting possibilities in how objects could be conceived. Examining the deeply sensate, intimate, and fragmentary perception facilitated by *rocaille* ornament prints, this dissertation revitalizes the commercial circuits of the Parisian print trade as just as *generative* of ideas about making and engaging with decorative objects as they were *reproductive*. Orienting away from replication and toward the generative capacities of print allows ornament to emerge in my account as a deeply meaningful site of exchange between intaglio impressions and ideas about decoration in the eighteenth century. Tracing the circulation of ornament prints across Parisian topographies of commercial exchange and residential interiors, and the intermedial translations of their forms, my account uncovers a *rocaille* that subtly persisted in negotiating and conditioning taste from the 1730s through the final years of *ancien régime*. My dissertation thus situates engraved ornament as vital to a new understanding of eighteenth-century aesthetic debates.

In examining this ornament alongside the writings of architects and critics Jacques-François Blondel (1705-1774), Charles-Nicolas Cochin (1715-1790), and Nicolas Le Camus de Mézières (1721-1789), my dissertation uncovers the permeable spatial bounds of the decorated interior, and reveals ornament for the *hôtel particulier* as a vital means of navigating and shaping emerging theories of sensual architectural expression. Long overlooked in scholarship, it is by way of ornament prints that we may revitalize our understanding of style as experienced and beheld—and print as fertile terrain for experimentation, expression, and encounter among *ornemanistes*, publishers, *marchands-merciers*, architects, and clients in the eighteenth-century. Ornament prints make visible the emergence of architectural sensual expression, the activation of taste, and, together with allied works in architecture and decoration, reveal an increasingly intimate and expressive shaping of the decorated interior in the eighteenth century.

ABBREVIATIONS AND COLLECTIONS CONSULTED

AN Archives nationales

Bibliothèque municipale de la ville de Besançon

BnF Bibliothèque nationale de France

Bibliothèque-musée de l'Opéra

François Mitterrand - Réserve des livres rares

Richelieu

AS Département des Arts du spectacle

EST Département des Estampes et de la photographie

Département des Manuscrits

Département de Musique

CCA Centre Canadien d'Architecture, Montréal

Study Room, Référence à la collection

CH Cooper-Hewitt, Smithsonian Design Museum

Study Center, Drawings, Prints & Graphic Design

CND Centre national de la danse, Pantin

EBA École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts

Service des collections

INHA Bibliothèque de Institut national d'histoire de l'art

La Comédie française – Bibliothèque Musée

MAD Musée des Arts Décoratifs

Bibliothèque du Musée des Arts Décoratifs

Département des arts graphiques

MLM Morgan Library & Museum

MMA Metropolitan Museum of Art

Drawings and Prints Study Room

Musée des Beaux-Arts et d'archéologie de Besançon

Documentation beaux-arts

Réserves, Arts graphiques

Musée Carnavalet - Histoire de Paris

Cabinet des arts graphiques

Musée du Domaine départemental de Sceaux
Centre de documentation, Château de Sceaux

Musée du Louvre
AG Cabinet des Arts graphiques
OA Département des Objets d'art
Département des Peintures

NGA National Gallery of Art, Washington D.C.
Study Room, Old Master Prints and Drawings

OSG Oak Spring Garden Foundation, Upperville, VA
Oak Spring Garden Library

Petit Palais, musée des Beaux-arts de la Ville de Paris
Centre de documentation scientifique

UVA Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia

WM Waddesdon Manor
Online catalogue entries on Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin

LIST OF FIGURES

INTRODUCTION

- Figure 0.1 Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin, *Deuxième Recueil de Chiffres*, Etched by Clément-Pierre Marillier, c. 1766, Plate 12, Oak Spring Garden Foundation (OSG), Upperville, VA RB1328
- Figure 0.2 Gilles-Marie Oppenord, *Porte pour le Sallon côté*, Plate IV from the “Grand Oppenord,” Published by Huquier c.1748, Centre Canadien d’Architecture (CCA), Montréal 87-B6065
- Figure 0.3 Alexis Peyrotte, Engraved and published by Gabriel Huquier, *Seconde Partie de Divers Ornaments par Peyrotte*, 1734, École des Beaux-Arts (EBA) Paris Est 1221
- Figure 0.4 Jacques de Lajoue, *Second Livre de vases*, Plate 11, Engraved and published by Huquier, c.1740, EBA Paris Est Les 30
- Figure 0.5 Jean Mondon, “Jeune dessinateur dans un décor de rocailles dessinant l’Hercule Farnèse,” Plate 2, *Livre de formes Cartels et Rocailles*, Engraved and published by Antoine Aveline, 1736, Institut national d’histoire de l’art (INHA) Paris 4 RES 23
- Figure 0.6 Claude-Nicolas Ledoux, “Maison de Mlle Guimard située à la Chaussée d’Antin” Plate 176, *L’Architecture considérée sous le rapport de l’art, des mœurs et de la législation, Second Volume*, by Daniel Ramée, Published by Lenoir, Paris, 1847 Engraved by Claude-Mathieu Delagardette, Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF) Paris HA-71-A-FOL
- Figure 0.7 Jean-Charles Delafosse, Plate 2, “L’Air et l’Eau,” *Nouvelle Iconologie historique*, 1768-1771, BnF Paris FOL-TD-3
- Figure 0.8 Richard de Lalonde, *Design for a Mirror Frame, with Alternate Suggestions*, c.1780 Pen and black ink, brush and wash, light olive watercolor, graphite on white laid paper Cooper-Hewitt, Smithsonian Design Museum, New York (CH) 1911-28-193

CHAPTER ONE

- Figure 1.1 Juste-Aurèle Meissonnier, Engraved by Laureolli, *Livre d’ornemens Inventés et Dessinés par J.O. Meissonnier, Architecte, Dessinateur de la Chambre & Cabinet du Roi*, plate 10, Published by Chéreau, 1734, Metropolitan Museum of Art (MMA) 30.58.2(136-140)
- Figure 1.2 Juste-Aurèle Meissonnier, Engraved by Laureolli, *Livre d’ornemens Inventés et Dessinés par J.O. Meissonnier, Architecte, Dessinateur de la Chambre & Cabinet du Roi*, plate 21, Published by Chéreau, 1734, EBA Rec Les 86
- Figure 1.3 Juste-Aurèle Meissonnier, Engraved by Laureolli, *Livre d’ornemens Inventés et Dessinés par J.O. Meissonnier, Architecte, Dessinateur de la Chambre & Cabinet du Roi*, plate 32, Published by Chéreau, 1734, EBA Rec Les 86

- Figure 1.4 Gabriel Huquier, *Premier Livre de nouveaux Caprices d'Ornements, meslés de fleurs et de fruits*, 1740, Bibliothèque du Musée des Arts Décoratifs (MAD) Paris
- Figure 1.5 Antoine Watteau, *La perspective (View through the Trees of the Park of Pierre Crozat)*, c. 1715, Oil on canvas, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
- Figure 1.6 Nicolas Lancret, *Concert in the Oval Salon of Pierre Crozat's Château de Montmorency*, c. 1720–1724, Oil on canvas, Dallas Museum of Art; Nicolas Lancret, *Concert in the Hôtel Crozat*, c. 1720, Oil on canvas, Alte Pinakotek, Munich
- Figure 1.7 Gilles-Marie Oppenord, *Projet pour la décoration d'un grand Sallon*, Plate V from the “Grand Oppenord,” Published by Huquier, c.1748 CCA Montréal 87-B6065
- Figure 1.8 Gilles-Marie Oppenord, *Projet d'un grand Sallon sur un jardin* Plate III from the “Grand Oppenord” Published by Huquier c.1748 CCA Montréal 87-B6065
- Figure 1.9 *Ornament Designs Invented by Jean Bérain*, Engraved by François Le Moyne, c.1711, MMA 21.36.141
- Figure 1.10 Gabriel Huquier, Engraving after Antoine Watteau, *Le Berger Empressé (The Hurried Shepherd)*, BnF Paris EST 42607
- Figure 1.11 Gilles-Marie Oppenord, Folios 22 and 25 recto of an ornamented, Copy of Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia* by Jean Baudoin, illustrated by Jacques de Bié, after 1713 CCA Montréal Inv. CCA DR1991:007
- Figure 1.12 Gilles-Marie Oppenord, Folios 28 and 43 recto of an ornamented, Copy of Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia* by Jean Baudoin, illustrated by Jacques de Bié, after 1713 CCA Montréal Inv. CCA DR1991:007
- Figure 1.13 *Recueil de dances composés par M. Feuillet, Maître de Dance*, 1700, BnF Paris RES M-V-303 (2); Gabriel Huquier, Engraving after Antoine Watteau, *La danse bachique (Bacchanalian Dance)* BnF Paris EST 42607
- Figure 1.14 Anne-Claude de Tubières, comte de Caylus, *Suite de figures inventées par Watteau gravées par son ami C.*, c.1726-27, Etching BnF Paris EST 42507; Anne-Claude de Tubières, comte de Caylus, *Recueil de tout ce que j'ai gravé à l'eau forte ou en bois*, c.1726-27, Etching BnF Paris ED-98-FOL
- Figure 1.15 Anne-Claude de Tubières, comte de Caylus, *Le Dénicheur de Moineaux (The Sparrow Collector)*, Etching and engraving after Antoine Watteau BnF Paris EST 42607
- Figure 1.16 Anne-Claude de Tubières, comte de Caylus, *Dessus de clavecin gravé d'après le dessin original Inventé par Watteau*, Etching and engraving Antoine Watteau INHA Paris Pl Est 101

- Figure 1.17 Anne-Claude de Tubières, comte de Caylus, *Suite de figures inventées par Watteau gravées par son ami C.*, c. 1726-27, Etching, BnF Paris EST 42739-40
- Figure 1.18 Comte de Caylus, *Maison de M. Le Brun*, c. 1726-27, Etching, BnF Paris EST 42739-40; Antoine Watteau, *La perspective (View through the Trees of the Park of Pierre Crozat)* c.1715, Oil on canvas, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
- Figure 1.19 Anne-Claude de Tubières, comte de Caylus, Title page, *Recueil d'antiquités égyptiennes, étrusques, grecques et romaines*, Tome 1, 1752 INHA Paris 4 RES 1847 (1)
- Figure 1.20 Juste-Aurèle Meissonnier, *Livre de Légumes, inventés et dessinés par J. Me.r*, engraved by Pierre-Quentin Chedel, plate 14, Published by Chéreau, 1734, First state in National Museum of Sweden NMG Orn 1022
- Figure 1.21 Juste-Aurèle Meissonnier, *Œuvre de Juste-Aurèle Meissonnier*, Published by Huquier, 1748, CH New York 1921-6-212-9-c
- Figure 1.22 Jacques de Lajoue, Engraved by Cochin and Huquier, *Recueil Nouveau de différens Cartouches*, 1734, Published by Huquier EBA Paris 9466
- Figure 1.23 Jacques de Lajoue, *Paravant*, Painting on marouflé paper, c.1735, Petit Palais, musée des Beaux-arts de la Ville de Paris Inv. PDUT874
- Figure 1.24 Alexis Peyrotte, Engraved by Jean-Charles François, *Vase rocaille*, Published by Huquier, 1740 EBA Paris EST 1209
- Figure 1.25 Alexis Peyrotte, Engraved by Gabriel Huquier, *Second Livre d'Ornements*, 1734, EBA Paris Est 1221
- Figure 1.26 Jean Mondon, Engraved and published by Antoine Aveline, *Premier Livre de forme Rocquaille et Cartel*, 1736 INHA Paris 4 RES 23
- Figure 1.27 Jean Mondon, "Jeune dessinateur dans un décor de rocailles dessinant l'Hercule Farnese" Plate 2, *Livre de formes Cartels et Rocailles*, Published by Antoine Aveline, 1736 INHA Paris 4 RES 23; Antoine Watteau, *L'indifférent*, 1717, Oil on wood, Musée du Louvre © 2010 RMN-Grand Palais (musée du Louvre) / Stéphane Maréchalle
- Figure 1.28 François Boucher, "Rocaille" in *Nouveaux Morceaux pour des paravents* Engraved by Claude Duflos the Younger, CH New York 1931-94-11
- Figure 1.29 Edmé Bouchardon, etched and published by Gabriel Huquier, *Premier Livre de Vases Inventés par Edmé Bouchardon, Sculpteur du Roy*, 1737, INHA Paris 4 EST 312
- Figure 1.30 Edmé Bouchardon, etched and published by Gabriel Huquier, Plate 1, *Premier Livre de Vases Inventés par Edmé Bouchardon, Sculpteur du Roy*, 1737; Plate 8, *Second Livre de Vases*, 1737, INHA Paris 4 EST 312

- Figure 1.31 Edmé Bouchardon, etched and published by Gabriel Huquier, Plates 6 and 12, *Second Livre de Vases Inventés, par Edmé Bouchardon, Sculpteur du Roy*, 1737, INHA Paris 4 EST 312
- Figure 1.32 Edmé Bouchardon, etched and published by Gabriel Huquier, Plate 4, *Second Livre de Vases Inventés par Edmé Bouchardon, Sculpteur du Roy*, 1737, INHA Paris 4 EST 312; Alexis Peyrotte, engraved by Jean-Charles François, *Vase rocaille*, published by Gabriel Huquier, 1740, EBA Paris Est 1209
- Figure 1.33 Jacques de Lajoue, *Second Livre de vases*, “Vase avec bélier et satyresse” engraved and published by Huquier, c.1740, EBA Paris EST 9526
- Figure 1.34 Edmé Bouchardon, etched and published by Gabriel Huquier, Plates 8 and 9, *Premier Livre de Vases Inventés par Edmé Bouchardon, Sculpteur du Roy*, 1737 INHA Paris 4 EST 312
- Figure 1.35 François Boucher, engraved and published by Gabriel Huquier, *Livre de vases par François Boucher, peintre du Roy*, 1738, INHA Paris 4 EST 215
- Figure 1.36 François Boucher, engraved and published by Gabriel Huquier, Plates 11 and 4, *Livre de vases par François Boucher, peintre du Roy*, 1738, INHA Paris 4 EST 215
- Figure 1.37 François Boucher, engraved and published by Gabriel Huquier, Plates 5 and 8, *Livre de vases par François Boucher, peintre du Roy*, 1738, INHA Paris 4 EST 215
- Figure 1.38 Juste-Aurèle Meissonnier, *Silver Sculptural Project for a Large Centerpiece and Two Tureens Which Have Been Executed for His Lordship the Duke of Kingston* 1735-37, CH New York 1921-6-212 (detail); François Boucher, engraved and published by Gabriel Huquier, Plate 4, *Livre de vases par François Boucher, peintre du Roy*, 1738, INHA Paris 4 EST 215
- Figure 1.39 Edmé Bouchardon, *Rocaille Fountain with Venus, Amorini, and Swans*, c.1735, Red chalk on two joined sheets, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. (NGA) 1996.13.1
- Figure 1.40 Edmé Bouchardon, *Un projet de fontaine adossé à un décor architectural*, c.1738, Red chalk Musée du Louvre, Paris Inv. 24275; Edmé Bouchardon, Etched and published by Gabriel Huquier *Premier Livre de Vases Inventés*, Plate 1, *par Edmé Bouchardon, Sculpteur du Roy*, 1737, INHA Paris 4 EST 312
- Figure 1.41 Edmé Bouchardon, *Fontaine aux nymphes*, c.1735, Red chalk, Musée du Louvre, Paris, Inv. 24278; Edmé Bouchardon *Fontaine des Grâces*, 1736-37, Red chalk, Musée du Louvre, Paris Inv. 24677; Edmé Bouchardon, Etched and published by Gabriel Huquier, *La Fontaine des Trois Graces*, c.1737, INHA Paris 4 EST 312

- Figure 1.42 Edmé Bouchardon, *Fontaine au gnome*, 1736-37, Red chalk, Musée du Louvre, Paris Inv. 24280; Edmé Bouchardon, Etched and published by Gabriel Huquier, Plate 12, *Second Livre de Vases Inventés par Edmé Bouchardon, Sculpteur du Roy*, 1737, INHA Paris 4 EST 312
- Figure 1.43 Edmé Bouchardon, *Fontaine Grenelle*, 1739-1745, rue Grenelle, Paris, Photo by author, 2018
- Figure 1.44 Edmé Bouchardon, *Fontaines*, 1747, Illustration in Antoine-Joseph Dezallier d'Argenville, *La théorie et la pratique du jardinage*, published by Mariette BnF Paris S4658
- Figure 1.45 François Boucher, engraved and published by Gabriel Huquier, *Recueil de fontaines Inventées par F. Boucher, Peintre du Roy*, 1736 and 1738, Plates 1-3 of 14, INHA Paris FOL RES 9
- Figure 1.46 François Boucher, *Rocaille*, in *Nouveaux Morceaux pour des paravents*, Engraved by Claude Augustin Duflos le Jeune, 1736-38, CH New York 1931-94-11; Edmé Bouchardon *Rocaille Fountain with Venus, Amorini, and Swans*, c.1735, Red chalk on two joined sheets, NGA 1996.13.1
- Figure 1.47 Jacques de Lajoue, *Nouveaux Tableaux d'Ornements et Rocailles Par J. de la Joue, Peintre du Roy*, Engraved and published by Gabriel Huquier, c. 1740 EBA Paris Est 9534; Edmé Bouchardon, *Fontaine aux nymphes*, c.1735, Red chalk, Musée du Louvre, Paris, Inv. 24278
- Figure 1.48 François Boucher, engraved by Huquier, Plate 11, *Livre de vases par François Boucher, peintre du Roy*, 1738, INHA Paris 4 EST 215; Jacques-François Joseph Saly, Plate 30 *Design for a Vase*, INHA Paris 8 EST 69
- Figure 1.49 J.-F. Blondel, *De la Distribution des Maisons de Plaisance*, t.II, 1737-38 Plates 2 and 8, "Diverses vases and Parterres de broderie" BnF Paris 4-S-4144 (2)
- Figure 1.50 J.-F. Blondel, *De la Distribution des Maisons de Plaisance*, t.II, 1737-38 Plate 84, "Élévation géométrale d'un Grand Salon," BnF Paris 4-S-4144 (2)
- Figure 1.51 Nicolas Pineau, *Appliqué à trois branches ornée de rocailles*, Red chalk, Musée des arts décoratifs (MAD) Paris CD 1737
- Figure 1.52 J.-F. Blondel, *De la Distribution des Maisons de Plaisance*, t.II, 1737-38, Plates 34 and 24 "Décoration de la Porte a Placard," BnF Paris 4-S-4144 (2)
- Figure 1.53 Jacques de Lajoue, *Second Livre de Cartouches inventées par de Lajoue*, 1734 Plate 2, engraved by Charles-Nicolas Cochin, published by Gabriel Huquier EBA Paris Est 9477
- Figure 1.54 Gabriel Huquier, *Projet pour la carte d'adresse de la boutique de Gabriel Huquier*, 1749, Pen and ink, EBA Paris O.1750-02

- Figure 1.55 Gabriel Huquier, *Le Berceau*, after Antoine Watteau, *Nouveau Livre de Principes d'Ornements particulièrement pour trouver un nombre infini de formes qui en dépendent*, c.1749-61, INHA Paris Res 16
- Figure 1.56 Gabriel Huquier, "Avis au Lecteur," *Nouveau Livre de Principes d'Ornements particulièrement pour trouver un nombre infini de formes qui en dépendent*, c.1749-61, INHA Paris Res 16
- Figure 1.57 Anonymous (possibly the comte de Caylus), *L'Architecte à la Grecque*, c.1763, etching, illustrated in Sven Eriksen, *Early Neoclassicism in France*, plate 357

CHAPTER TWO

- Figure 2.1 Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin, *Premier Recueil de Chiffres*, Plate 1, Etched by Clément-Pierre Marillier, c.1766, Oak Spring Garden Foundation Library (OSG) RB1328
- Figure 2.2 Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin, *Premier and Deuxième Recueil de Chiffres* Etched by Clément-Pierre Marillier, c.1766, Plates 2-5, OSG RB1328
- Figure 2.3 Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin, *L'Art du brodeur*. c. 1770, Paris: Delatour, Plates 9 and 10, OSG RB391
- Figure 2.4 François Boucher, Frontispiece, from Jeanne Le Normant d'Étiolles Poisson, marquise de Pompadour, *Suite d'estampes gravées par madame la marquise de Pompadour*, 1753, Etching and engraving, Walters Art Museum, Baltimore 92.548.2
- Figure 2.5 François Gersault, *Art du tailleur*, Plate 16, Boutique de la marchande de modes, 1769, BnF V-3934 (2)
- Figure 2.6 Charles-Germain de Saint Aubin, *Recueil de plantes*, Trade cards and bookplates, Etchings pasted onto pages 231 (verso) and 232, 1760, OSG MS0148
- Figure 2.7 *Frontispice formé d'un rideau suspend avec titre*, in *Le Livre des Saint-Aubin*, Fonds des dessins et miniatures, Petit format, Musée du Louvre, Paris RF 52200, Recto; Trade card of Gabriel Huquier *Aux armes d'Angleterre*, c.1729-37, Etching, British Museum, 2004,1031.3
- Figure 2.8 Gabriel de Saint-Aubin, *Trade Card for Périer, Ironmonger*, 1767, Etching and drypoint (detail at right), Private Collection, on loan at MMA
- Figure 2.9 Louis Tessier, *Livre de fleurs*, c.1751-76, INHA Paris FOL EST 609
- Figure 2.10 Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin, *La Coste est mort*, 1762, *Livre de caricatures*, c.1740-1775, Waddesdon Manor, 675.361; Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin, *Passe-partout le Bastille*, after 1745, *Livre de caricatures*, c.1740-1775, Waddesdon Manor, 675.316

- Figure 2.11 Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin, *Essay de Papillons Humaines*, 1748, MMA, 1982.1101.3
- Figure 2.12 Antoine Watteau, *The Acrobat*, c. 1710, Davis Museum, Wellesley College; Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin, *Essay de Papillons Humaines*, 1748, MMA 1982.1101.3
- Figure 2.13 C-G de Saint-Aubin, *Offrande à l'amitié*, 1756, Etching, Collection Paul Proute, S.A., Paris, illustrated in Carlon, *Regency to Empire*, 126; Jeanne Le Normant d'Étiolles Poisson, marquise de Pompadour, "Friendship," from *Suite d'estampes gravées par madame la marquise de Pompadour*, 1753, Etching and engraving, Walters Art Museum 92.548.2
- Figure 2.14 Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin, *Premier Recueil de Chiffres*, Etched by Clément Pierre Marillier, c. 1766, Plates 6, 7, and 9, OSG RB1328
- Figure 2.15 Gilles-Marie Oppenord, *Decorated copy of the Ripa-Baudoin Iconologie (1636)*, After 1713, Pages 1 and 7, CCA Montréal DR1991:0007
- Figure 2.16 Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin, *Design for a decorative monogram composed of flowers*, c.1766, Lodewijk Houthakker Collection; C-G de Saint-Aubin, *Premier Recueil de Chiffres*, Etched by Clément-Pierre Marillier, c.1766, Plate 2, OSG RB1328; C-G de Saint-Aubin, *Branches de lierre, de chêne, et aubépine formant le chiffre A.S.*, 1766, *Livre des Saint-Aubin*, Folio 7, page 10, Musée du Louvre RF 52186, Recto; C-G de Saint-Aubin, *Deuxième Recueil de Chiffres*, Etched by Clément-Pierre Marillier, c.1766, Plate 8, OSG RB1328
- Figure 2.17 Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin, "Aube Épine blanche," 1757, Page 49 *Recueil de plantes*, OSG MS0148; C-G de Saint-Aubin, Etched by Clément-Pierre Marillier, *Deuxième Recueil de Chiffres*, c.1766, Plate 8, OSG RB1328; C-G de Saint-Aubin, "Aube Épine," *Mes petites fleurettes*, In *Recueil de plantes*, OSG MS0148
- Figure 2.18 François Boucher, *Madame de Pompadour at a clavichord*, 1750, Oil on paper mounted on canvas, Musée du Louvre, RF2142 © 2005 RMN-Grand Palais (musée du Louvre) / Thierry Le Mage
- Figure 2.19 *Heures Nouvelles à l'usage des laïcs, suivant le Nouveau Breviaire*, 1743, Published by G. Simon, Calfskin with colored leather onlays, gilding, gouache under mica, Walters Art Museum 92.90
- Figure 2.20 Charles-Nicolas Cochin, *Projet d'ex-libris aux armes de madame de Pompadour* Private collection; Gabriel de Saint-Aubin, *Projet d'ex-libris aux armes du marquis de Marigny*, Private collection; Gabriel de Saint-Aubin, *Projet d'ex-libris aux armes du comte de Vence*, Private collection; illustrated in Salmon, *Pompadour et les Arts*, 171

- Figure 2.21 Gabriel de Saint-Aubin, *Madame de Pompadour displayed in the Salon of 1757* Pen, brown ink, brown wash; William Ryland, after François Boucher, *Cartouche aux armes de Madame de Pompadour*, Before 1759, Etching and engraving, Musée du Louvre, Inv. 5996 L.R. ©RMN-Grand Palais (Musée du Louvre) - Michel Urtado; François Boucher, *Madame de Pompadour*, 1754, Pastel, Melbourne, National Gallery of Victoria
- Figure 2.22 Jean-Baptiste Pigalle, *L'Amitié sous les traits de madame de Pompadour* (1721-1764), 1753; Marble, Musée du Louvre Inv. RF3026 © RMN-Grand Palais (musée du Louvre) / Hervé Lewandowski; Jean-Baptiste Pigalle, *L'Amour embrassant l'Amitié*, 1753, Marble, Musée du Louvre Inv. RF 297 © RMN-Grand Palais (musée du Louvre) / Michel Urtado; Étienne-Maurice Falconet *Figure of Madame de Pompadour as "Friendship,"* 1755, Soft-paste porcelain The Bowes Museum Cer.1997.54
- Figure 2.23 François Boucher, *The Altar of Friendship [l'Autel de l'Amitié]*, Late 1750s, Black Chalk and grey wash on paper, laid down, V&A, DYCE.595 © Victoria and Albert Museum, London; Ange-Laurent de La Live de Jully, after François Boucher, *Jeune fille sacrifiant sur l'autel de l'amitié*, 18th century, Etching, Yale University Art Gallery 2008.96.3; Gilles Demarteau, after François Boucher *Jeune fille sacrifiant sur l'autel de l'amitié*, 18th century, Crayon-manner engraving Musée du Louvre Inv. RF 19185LR © RMN-Grand Palais (musée du Louvre) / Tony Querrec
- Figure 2.24 Jeanne Le Normant d'Étiolles Poisson, marquise de Pompadour, "Friendship" and "Love and Friendship," from *Suite d'estampes gravées par madame la marquise de Pompadour*, 1753 Etching and engraving, Walters Art Museum 92.548.2, 49; Boucher drawing etched by Pompadour (lower left), 1766, Fonds des dessins et miniatures, Réserve des grands albums, *Le Livre de Saint-Aubin*, Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques RF 52186 © RMN-Grand-Palais (musée du Louvre) / Thierry Le Mage
- Figure 2.25 Jeanne Le Normant d'Étiolles Poisson, marquise de Pompadour, Temple de l'Amitié (Temple of Friendship), from *Suite d'estampes gravées par madame la marquise de Pompadour d'après les pierres gravées de Guay, graveur du Roi* MMA 24.33(34)
- Figure 2.26 Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin, *Lichen et branches de fleurs formant le chiffre N. C., couronné de feuillage*, Folio 25, *Livre des Saint-Aubin*, Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques RF 52216, Recto, 1775 © RMN-Grand-Palais (musée du Louvre) / Thierry Le Mage; Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin, *Initiales entrelacées*, Pen, brown ink, brown wash, MAD Paris Inv. 6379
- Figure 2.27 Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin, *Premier Recueil de Chiffres*, Etched by Clément-Pierre Marillier, c.1766, Plate 1, OSG RB1328; Title page from *Suite d'estampes gravées par madame la marquise de Pompadour*, 1753, Etching and engraving, Walters Art Museum, 92.548.2; Gilles Demarteau, after François

Boucher, *L'éducation de l'amour*, 18th century, Musée du Louvre, Inv. RF 19147LR © RMN-Grand-Palais (musée du Louvre) / Tony Querrec

- Figure 2.28 François Boucher, Portrait of Madame de Pompadour, 1756 (detail), Alte Pinakothek, Munich , Inv. Nr. HUW 18; Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin, *Hyacinthe*, 1763, Page 57, *Recueil de plantes*, OSG MS0148
- Figure 2.29 Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin, *Premier Recueil de Chiffres*, c. 1766, Etched by Clément-Pierre Marillier, Plate 2 OSG RB1328; Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin “*Œillet de Poitou*” (Garden Pink), 1754, Page 40, *Recueil de plantes*, OSG MS0148
- Figure 2.30 Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin, *Premier Recueil de Chiffres*, c. 1766, Plate 2, Etched by Clément-Pierre Marillier OSG RB1328; Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin, *La plaisanterie n'est pas sans fondement*, (This Joke is not without fundament [or foundation], c.1745-1775, WM 675.281 © Waddesdon Manor
- Figure 2.31 Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin, *Les Talens du jour*, c. 1745-1775, In *Livre de caricatures*, c.1740-1775, WM 675.259 © Waddesdon Manor
- Figure 2.32 Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin, *Premier Recueil de Chiffres*, c.1766 Plate 4, Etched by Clément-Pierre Marillier, OSG RB1328; Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin, *La Charité ou l'antre de trophonius*, (Charity or the lair of Trophonius), in *Livre de caricature*, c.1740-1775, WM 675.274 © Waddesdon Manor
- Figure 2.33 Carl Van Loo, *The Arts Begging Destiny to Spare the Life Madame de Pompadour* 1764, Pittsburgh, The Frick Art Museum 1970.32; Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin *Premier Recueil de Chiffres*, c.1766, Plate 4, Etched by Clément-Pierre Marillier, OSG RB1328
- Figure 2.34 *Branches de fleurs formant le chiffre H. R. couronné de feuillage*, 1766 *Livre des Saint-Aubin*, Folio 8, page 11, Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques RF 52187, Recto © RMN-Grand-Palais (musée du Louvre) / Thierry Le Mage; Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin, *Premier Recueil de Chiffres*, c.1766, Plate 5, Etched by Clément-Pierre Marillier, OSG RB1328
- Figure 2.35 Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin, “*Bruyère du Cap*,” *Recueil de plantes*, page 108, 1770, OSG MS0148; Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin, *Des gens qui font les connaisseurs trouveront ce bouquet passable* (*People who pretend to be connoisseurs will find this bouquet tolerable*), c.1740-1775, WM 675.252 © Waddesdon Manor; Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin, *Mes Petits Bouquets dédiés à Madame La Duchesse de Chevreuse*, c.1740-1755 MMA 2013.984, 1-6
- Figure 2.36 François-Hubert Drouais, *Madame de Pompadour at her Tambour Frame*, 1763-64 (detail), National Gallery, London; Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin, *Premier Recueil de Chiffres*, c.1766, Plate 5, Etched by Clément-Pierre Marillier OSG RB1328

- Figure 2.37 Charles-Antoine Coypel, *Pleasures of childhood or child's play during the morning toilette*, 1772, Oil on canvas, Malibu, Dr. Martin L. Cohen M.D. and Sharleen Cooper Cohen
- Figure 2.38 Madame la Marquise de Pompadour, Plate 34, "Temple de l'Amitié" (Temple of Friendship) from *Suite d'estampes*, MMA 24.33(34); Jacques Guay, *Cachet de Madame de Pompadour*, 1753, BnF, Cabinet des médailles 2504;C-G de Saint-Aubin, *Chiffre L. L., formé d'un ruban à motif de grecque et d'une branche*, 1766, *Livre des Saint-Aubin*, Folio 9, page Musée du Louvre, 12 RF 52188, Recto © RMN-Grand-Palais (musée du Louvre) / Thierry Le Mage; C-G de Saint-Aubin, *Deuxième Recueil de Chiffres*, Plate 12, Etched by Clément-Pierre Marillier, c.1766 OSG RB1328
- Figure 2.39 Madame la Marquise de Pompadour, Temple de l'Amitié (Temple of Friendship) Plate 34 from *Suite d'estampes gravées par madame la marquise de Pompadour* (detail) MMA 24.33(34); Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin, *Deuxième Recueil de Chiffres*, Plate 12, Etched by Clément-Pierre Marillier, c.1766 OSG RB1328
- Figure 2.40 Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin, *Deuxième Recueil de Chiffres*, Plate 12, Etched by Clément-Pierre Marillier, c.1766 OSG RB1328; Carl Van Loo, *La Marquise de Pompadour en jardinière*, Oil on canvas, c. 1754-55, Musée national des Châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon, inv. MV 8616 (C) RMN-Grand Palais (Château de Versailles) / Gérard Blot; Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin, "Lilac, rose, jasmin," 1772, Page 62, *Recueil de plantes*, OSG MS0148
- Figure 2.41 Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin, "Avanture à la Grecque" (Greek adventure), 1764, *Livre de caricatures*, WM 675.364 © Waddesdon Manor; Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin, "Cy Gist dessous, qui but Dessus" (Here lies below he who drank above), *Livre de caricatures*, WM 675.329 © Waddesdon Manor; Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin, *Deuxième Recueil de Chiffres*, Plate 12, Etched by Clément-Pierre Marillier, c.1766 OSG RB1328
- Figure 2.42 Benigno Bossi, after Ennemond-Alexandre Petitot, "La Mariée à la grecque" *Mascarade à la grecque*, 1764, INHA Paris Fol Res 113; Jean-Charles Delafosse, *Figure emblématique: L'ornemaniste*, c.1768 MAD Paris 994.27.2
- Figure 2.43 Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin, *Deuxième Recueil de Chiffres* c.1766, Plate 13, Etched by Clément-Pierre Marillier OSG RB1328; Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin, *Barbeaux, ou aubifoire. Bluet Criticum, froment cultivé, blé*, 1743, Page 7, *Recueil de plantes* OSG MS0148; Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin, *Cy gist d'Etiolle Pompadour* (Here lies Etiolles Pompadour), 1764, *Livre de caricatures* WM 675.366 © Waddesdon Manor
- Figure 2.44 Charles-Germain de Saint Aubin, *Recueil de plantes*, page 2, 1740 OSG MS0148
- Figure 2.45 Charles-Germain de Saint Aubin, *Recueil de plantes*, page 1, 1740, Morgan Library & Museum (MLM) 1956.13; Charles-Germain de Saint Aubin, *Essay de Papillons humaines*, 1748 MMA 1982.1101.1

- Figure 2.46 Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin, *Frontispice du Livre des Saint-Aubin*
Fonds des dessins et miniatures, Livre des Saint-Aubin, Folio 1, Musée du
Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques RF 52178, Recto © RMN-Grand-
Palais (musée du Louvre) / Thierry Le Mage; Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin,
Livre de Caricatures tant Bonnes que mauvaises, Title page, c. 1775, WM 675.1
© Waddesdon Manor
- Figure 2.47 Charles-Germain de Saint Aubin, *Recueil de plantes*, pages 8 and 46, 1742 and
1756, OSG MS0148
- Figure 2.48 Charles-Germain de Saint Aubin, *Recueil de plantes*, page 30, 1750
OGG MS0148
- Figure 2.49 Charles-Germain de Saint Aubin, *Recueil de plantes*, page 56, 1761 OSG MS0148
- Figure 2.50 Plan de l'hôtel de l'Esdiguières avec le jardin, près de l'Arcenal, 1717 BnF Paris
RES HA-18 (C, 7)-FT 6
- Figure 2.51 Charles-Germain de Saint Aubin, *Recueil de plantes*, page 55, 1761 OSG
MS0148; Charles-Germain de Saint Aubin, “Ny Germain, ny messonier, ny
gerard, ny Babel, ny moy” (Neither Germain, nor Messonier, nor Gerard, nor
Babel or me), 1740-1775, WM 675.210 © Waddesdon Manor
- Figure 2.52 Charles-Germain de Saint Aubin, *Recueil de plantes*, pages 67 and 68, 1757, OSG
MS0148
- Figure 2.53 Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin, *Bouquets Champêtres, dédiés à Madame La
Marquise de Pompadour*, c.1755-1768, INHA Paris 4 RES 125 (2)
- Figure 2.54 46e Vue d'Optique représentant le Jardin et l'Hôtel d'Évreux appartenant à
Madame la Marquise de Pompadour. A Paris chez Daumont rue St Martin, c.1753
Aquatint, BnF Paris LI-72 (1)-FOL)
- Figure 2.55 Charles-Germain de Saint Aubin, *Recueil de plantes*, page 79 verso and 80, 1762
OSG MS0148
- Figure 2.56 Charles-Germain de Saint Aubin, *Recueil de plantes*, page 79 verso and 80, 1762
OSG MS0148 (details)
- Figure 2.57 Charles-Germain de Saint Aubin, *Recueil de plantes*, page 46, 1756, OSG
MS0148; Charles-Germain de Saint Aubin, *Essay de Papillons humaines*, 1748,
MMA 1982.1101.1
- Figure 2.58 Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin, *Bouquets Champêtres dédiés à Madame La
Maréchale de Biron*, c.1755-1768, MMA 32.130.14
- Figure 2.59 Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin, “Renoncules ou Semi doubles,” 1756
Page 45, *Recueil de plantes*, OSG MS0148 (detail); Charles-Germain de Saint-
Aubin “Aube Épine blanche,” 1757, Page 49, *Recueil de plantes*, OSG MS0148

- Figure 2.60 Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin, *Mes Petits Bouquets dédiés à Madame La Duchesse de Chevreuse*, c. 1755-1768, MMA 2013.984, 1-6; Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin, “Renoncules ou Semi doubles,” 1756, Page 45, *Recueil de plantes*, OSG MS0148; Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin, *Des gens qui font les connoisseurs trouveront ce bouquet passable (People who pretend to be connoisseurs will find this bouquet tolerable)*, c.1740-1775, WM 675.252 © Waddesdon Manor

CHAPTER THREE

- Figure 3.1 Jean-Charles Krafft and Nicolas Ransonette, *Plans, Coupes, Élévations des plus belles maisons, et hôtels construits à Paris*, plate 49, 1801-1803, University of Virginia, Special Collections NA7348.P2 K8 1803
- Figure 3.2 *Pantin Folie*, Service photographique des archives de Seine, No. Inventaire 62/1,2,3, Centre de Documentation, Château de Sceaux
- Figure 3.3 Décoration peinte du XVIIIe siècle, *Petit salon de Mlle Guimard, Vente après décès, Boiseries anciennes... 100, rue de Pantin (Seine)*, 1913, no. 6 Centre de documentation, Centre national de la danse, Pantin (CND)
- Figure 3.4 Alexis Peyrotte, *Paneling for Grand Salon of Guimard's house in Pantin* (detail at right) Installation in the Château de Sceaux
- Figure 3.5 Alexis Peyrotte, *Paneling for Grand Salon of Guimard's house in Pantin* Installation in the Château de Sceaux
- Figure 3.6 Console du temps de Louis XVI, en bois sculpté peint, *Vente après décès, Boiseries anciennes... 100, rue de Pantin (Seine)*, 1913, no. 2, Centre de documentation, Centre national de la danse, Pantin (CND)
- Figure 3.7 Claude-Nicolas Ledoux, Detail of Félix Lecomte, *The Triumph of Terpsichore*, “Fragment de la Maison de Mlle Guimard,” Title page of *L'Architecture considérée sous le rapport de l'art, des mœurs et de la législation, Second Volume*, by Daniel Ramée, Published by Lenoir, Paris, 1847 BnF Paris HA-71-A-FOL
- Figure 3.8 Claude-Nicolas Ledoux, “Maison de Mlle Guimard située à la Chaussée d’Antin,” Plate 176, *L'Architecture considérée sous le rapport de l'art, des mœurs et de la législation, Second Volume*, by Daniel Ramée, Published by Lenoir, Paris, 1847, engraved by Claude-Mathieu Delagardette (detail) BnF Paris HA-71-A-FOL
- Figure 3.9 Claude-Nicolas Ledoux, “Porte de l’Hôtel d’Uzès,” Plate 152, *L'Architecture considérée sous le rapport de l'art, des mœurs et de la législation, Second Volume*, by Daniel Ramée, Published by Lenoir, Paris, 1847 BnF Paris HA-71-A-FOL
- Figure 3.10 Claude-Nicolas Ledoux, “Pavillon de Louveciennes,” Plate 270, *L'Architecture considérée sous le rapport de l'art, des mœurs et de la législation, Second Volume*, by Daniel Ramée, Published by Lenoir, Paris, 1847 BnF Paris HA-71-A-FOL

- Figure 3.11 Pierre-Louis Van Cléemputte, Engraving after Amant-Parfait Prieur, “Cross section of the Hôtel Guimard and theater,” *Recueil des plans, coupes et vues des plus jolies maisons de Paris, suivi de divers projets d'architecture*, Published by Joubert, 1789-91, fol. 23, BnF Paris RES ZF-425-FOL
- Figure 3.12 Félix Lecomte, *The Triumph of Terpsichore*, 1770 © Saint-Jean-Cap-Ferrat, Villa Éphrussi de Rothschild, photo by G. Veran
- Figure 3.13 Félix Lecomte, *The Triumph of Terpsichore*, “Fragment de la Maison de Mlle Guimard” 1770, Title page for *L'Architecture considérée sous le rapport de l'art, des mœurs et de la législation, Second Volume* by Daniel Ramée, Published by Lenoir, Paris, 1847 BnF Paris HA-71-A-FOL (detail)
- Figure 3.14 Pierre-Louis Van Cléemputte, Engraving after Amant-Parfait Prieur, “Coupe générale; Antichambre. Salle à manger,” *Recueil des plans, coupes et vues des plus jolies maisons de Paris, suivi de divers projets d'architecture*, Published by Joubert, 1789-91, fol. 23, BnF Paris RES ZF-425-FOL
- Figure 3.15 Claude-Nicolas Ledoux, *Floorplan of the Rez-de Chaussée of the Hôtel Guimard*, Plate 175, *L'Architecture considérée sous le rapport de l'art, des mœurs et de la législation, Second Volume*, by Daniel Ramée, Published by Lenoir, Paris, 1847 BnF Paris HA-71-A-FOL; After Claude-Nicolas Ledoux, *Anteroom of the Hôtel Guimard, Interior decoration scheme for the dining room of the house of Mademoiselle Guimard, Rue de la Chaussée d'Antin, Paris: perspective showing barrel-vaulted ceiling decoration*, Drawing, 1795, Royal Institute of British Architects SD10/8(3) RIBA31690
- Figure 3.16 Hugues Taraval, *Boiseries and lambris for the Hôtel Guimard*, c.1770-1775 Musée du Louvre 2011. OA 12375, Photo by author, 2018
- Figure 3.17 Hugues Taraval, *Painted lambris for the Hôtel Guimard*, c. 1770-1775, Musée du Louvre 2011. OA 12375, Lambris (left); Lambris with overdoor sculpture (right)
- Figure 3.18 After Claude-Michel Clodion, *Satyresse and Child*, Terracotta, c.1770-1775 Musée du Louvre 2011. OA 12375 (detail)
- Figure 3.19 Hugues Taraval, *Detail of Lambris for the Hôtel Guimard*, c.1770-1775 Musée du Louvre, 2011. OA 12375 © 2011 Musée du Louvre / Harry Bréjat; Juste-Nathan Boucher, *Premier cahier d'arabesques*, 1767, Published by Chéreau, Etching and engraving, INHA 8 RES 128; Juste-Nathan Boucher, *Six Tombeaux dessinés et gravés par F. Bo. fils*, 1767, Published by Chéreau, Etching and engraving, INHA 8 RES 128
- Figure 3.20 Juste-Nathan Boucher, *Premier cahier d'arabesques*, 1767, Published by Chéreau, Etching engraving, INHA 8 RES 128
- Figure 3.21 Hugues Taraval, *Detail of Painted Lambris for the Hôtel Guimard (left)*, c.1770-1775, Musée du Louvre 2011. OA 12375 © 2011 Musée du Louvre / Harry Bréjat

- Figure 3.22 Hugues Taraval, *Detail of Painted Lambris for the Hôtel Guimard (right)*, c. 1770-1775, Musée du Louvre 2011. OA 12375 © 2011 Musée du Louvre / Harry Bréjat
- Figure 3.23 Pierre-Antoine Baudouin, *Concert de chambre*, c.1769, Gouache on vellum, Musée du Louvre RF30662, Photo by author, 2018
- Figure 3.24 Attributed to Francois-Andre Vincent, *Musical Quartet*, c.1769-70, Oil on canvas Musée de Picardie, Amiens 1894-197
- Figure 3.25 Claude-Nicolas Ledoux, “Second antechamber and dining room of the Hôtel Guimard,” Plate 175, *L'Architecture considérée sous le rapport de l'art, des mœurs et de la législation, Second Volume*, by Daniel Ramée, Published by Lenoir, Paris, 1847 BnF Paris HA-71-A-FOL
- Figure 3.26 After Claude-Nicolas Ledoux, *Second antechamber and dining room of the Hôtel Guimard; section showing ceiling and wall decoration with domed skylight*, Drawing, 1795, Royal Institute of British Architects, SD10/8(2) RIBA31693; After Claude-Nicolas Ledoux, *Detail of a latticed window from the dining room of the house of Mademoiselle Guimard, Rue de la Chaussée d'Antin, Paris*, Drawing, 1795, Royal Institute of British Architects, SD108(4) RIBA22467
- Figure 3.27 After Claude-Nicolas Ledoux, *Interior decoration scheme for the drawing room of the house of Mademoiselle Guimard, rue de la Chaussée d'Antin, Paris* Drawing, 1795, Royal Institute of British Architects SD10/8(1) RIBA22472
- Figure 3.28 Jacques-Louis David, *L'accord de la poésie et de la musique*, Black chalk, EBA Paris Inv. 728, Photo by author, 2018
- Figure 3.29 Jean-Honoré Fragonard, *La Muse de la Poésie lyrique*, Musée des Beaux-Arts de Besançon, D.2853; Jean-Honoré Fragonard *Danseuse au tambourin, dite Terpsichore*, Musée des Beaux-Arts de Besançon, D.2852; Jean-Honoré Fragonard, *Danseuse*, Musée des Beaux-Arts de Besançon, D.2943 © Besançon, musée des beaux-arts et d'archéologie, 2009; Jean-Honoré Fragonard, *A Muse*, Bibliothèque municipale de la ville de Besançon, vol. 453, no. 318, photo by author, 2018
- Figure 3.30 Pierre-Adrien Pâris, *Bordure pour une tapisserie représentant l'enfance de Bacchus*, Watercolor and pen, Bibliothèque municipale de la ville de Besançon vol. 453, n° 114 © Besançon, bibliothèque municipale
- Figure 3.31 Jacques-Louis David, *Portrait of Mademoiselle Guimard as Terpsichore*, c. 1773-1775, Oil on canvas, Private Collection
- Figure 3.32 Gaetano Merchi, Bust of Madeleine Guimard, 1779, Marble, BnF Paris, Bibliothèque-musée de l'Opéra, Photo by author, 2017

- Figure 3.33 Louis-René Boquet, Maquettes for costume design for *Diane, Folie, and Azollan* 1762-1774, Watercolor, wash, and ink, BnF Paris, Bibliothèque-musée de l'Opéra D216 IX-5
- Figure 3.34 Sebastien Coeuré, engraved by Jean Prud'hon, *Mlle. Guimard as la Chercheuse d'esprit, ballet pantomime*, 1812, As she appeared in the ballet performed in 1778, New York Public Library, Cia Fornaroli Collection, Ballets and Theatrical Dances
- Figure 3.35 André Dutertre, engraved by Jean-François Janinet, *Mlle. Guimard dans le ballet du Navigateur ou Le pouvoir de l'amour*, From *Planches pour : Le Vacher de Charnois (Jean-Charles), Costumes et Annales des Grands Theatres de Paris*, 1785 BnF Paris RES EF-105(4)-FOL
- Figure 3.36 M. J. Lomont, Reconstruction of Mlle Guimard's theater, Centre de documentation, Château de Sceaux, Extrait de *Théâtre, Éclairage*, p. 17, Bulthe3, Librairie théâtrale, 3, rue des Marivaux, Paris 2^e ; Claude-Nicolas Ledoux, "Théâtre de Mlle Guimard, Coupe," Plate 177, *L'Architecture considérée sous le rapport de l'art, des mœurs et de la législation, Second Volume*, by Daniel Ramée, Published by Lenoir, Paris, 1847 BnF Paris HA-71-A-FOL
- Figure 3.37 Claude-Nicolas Ledoux, "Théâtre de Mlle Guimard, Premier Étage," Plate 177, *L'Architecture considérée sous le rapport de l'art, des mœurs et de la législation, Second Volume*, by Daniel Ramée, Published by Lenoir, Paris, 1847 BnF Paris HA-71-A-FOL
- Figure 3.38 Jean-Michel Moreau, *View of the Versailles royal Opéra during a performance of Athalie de Racine for the celebration of marriage of the Dauphin and Marie-Antoinette*, May 23, 1770, Château de Versailles © RMN-Grand Palais (Château de Versailles) / Gérard Blot
- Figure 3.39 *The Hôtel Guimard*, Paris, Pen and black ink with watercolor, c.1780-1790 Maps and Views of King George III, British Library, Maps K.Top.124 Supp.fol.17; Jean-François Janinet, *Vue de la Maison de Mlle Guimard, rue de la Chaussée d'Antin*, Aquatint, c.1787-89, Plate 17, *Vues pittoresques des principaux édifices de Paris* (1787-1790), Published by Campion frères, Musée Carnavalet – Histoire de Paris G.3634
- Figure 3.40 *Pavillon de Louveciennes*, Pen and black ink with watercolor, c.1780-1790, Maps and Views of King George III, British Library, Maps K.Top.124 Supp.fol.3.
- Figure 3.41 Pierre-Louis Van Cléemputte, etched by Amant-Parfait Prieur, *Maison de Mlle Guimard bâtie par M. Le Doux, Coupe générale*, 2^e cahier, Plate. 14, Wash-manner etching, *Recueil des prix proposés et couronnés par l'Académie d'architecture, enrichi des plans, coupes et vues des plus jolies maisons de Paris*, Published by Joubert, 1791, Musée Carnavalet – Histoire de Paris G.18056; INHA Paris FOL EST 441; Pierre-Louis Van Cléemputte, after Amant-Parfait Prieur, *Maison de Mlle Guimard bâtie par M. Le Doux, Coupe générale* (detail)

- Figure 3.42 Giovanni Battista Piranesi, *View of the Roman Forum with the Temple of Venus and Rome*, 1759, Etching from *Vedute di Roma*, MMA 37.45.3(61)
- Figure 3.43 Jean-Baptiste Maréchal, *Maison de Mlle Guimard, rue de la Chaussée-d'Antin*, 1786, Pen and ink wash BnF Paris FOL-VE-53 (F)

CHAPTER FOUR

- Figure 4.1 Jean-Charles Delafosse, Title page and Plate 2, “L’Air et l’Eau,” *Nouvelle Iconologie historique*, 1768-1771, BnF Paris FOL-TD-3
- Figure 4.2 Richard de Lalonde, *Œuvres diverses de Lalonde*, 1776-1788, Published by Chéreau, INHA Paris FOL RES 117 (1-2)
- Figure 4.3 Jean-Charles Delafosse, Etched and engraved by Mlle Thouvenin, *Diverses Frises Inventées et Gravées par Delafosse*, plate 1 in *19^e Cahier, Frises, T*, in *II^e Volume de l’Œuvre de J. Ch. Delafosse*, Published by Chéreau, c.1771-1773 INHA Paris FOL RES 107 (02)
- Figure 4.4 Jean-Charles Delafosse, *La Charité – L’Humilité*, Plate 82, *Nouvelle Iconologie Historique*, 1768-1771 BnF Paris FOL-TD-3
- Figure 4.5 Jean-Charles Delafosse, *Fontaine – Le Chaos and L’Air et l’Eau*, Plates 1 and 2, *Nouvelle Iconologie Historique*, 1768-1771, BnF Paris FOL-TD-3
- Figure 4.6 Jean-Charles Delafosse, Plate 2, *L’Air et l’Eau*, *Nouvelle Iconologie Historique*, 1768-1771, BnF Paris FOL-TD-3; Jean Mondon, “Jeune dessinateur dans un décor de rocailles dessinant l’Hercule Farnese,” Plate 2, *Livre de formes Cartels et Rocailles*, Engraved and published by Antoine Aveline, 1736, INHA Paris 4 RES 23
- Figure 4.7 Jean-Charles Delafosse, *1^{ère} et 2^{ème} Remarque, depuis Apollon jusqu’à Bacchus* Plate 14, *Nouvelle Iconologie Historique*, 1768-1771, BnF Paris FOL-TD-3
- Figure 4.8 Jean-Charles Delafosse, Plates 27 and 30, “Europe” and “America,” In *Nouvelle Iconologie Historique*, 1768-1771, BnF Paris FOL-TD-3
- Figure 4.9 Jean-Jean-Charles Delafosse, *Cinquième livre de Trophées contenant divers attributs de chasse et de la pêche*, plate 1 in *41^e Cahier, RR*, in *II^e Volume de l’Œuvre de J. Ch. Delafosse*, Etched and engraved by Jean-Dominique-Étienne Le Canu, Published by Chéreau, c.1771-1773 INHA Paris FOL RES 107 (02)
- Figure 4.10 Jean-Charles Delafosse, *Cahier de Six Grilles de Chenets et de Feux de Cheminées*, plate 2, “Chenet,” in *25^e Cahier, AA*, *Cahier de Feux et Chenets*, in *II^e Volume de l’Œuvre de J. Ch. Delafosse*, Etched and engraved by Nicolas Berthault, published by Chéreau, c.1771-1773 INHA Paris FOL RES 107 (02)

- Figure 4.11 Gabriel Huquier, *Iconologies où sont représentés les vertus, les vices, les sciences, les arts, et les divinités de la fable, en deux cent seize estampes, inventées et gravées par Huquier*, plates E12, H10, and I1, “L’Amour,” “L’Eloquence,” and “La Concorde,” 1768, Etching and engraving INHA Paris 8 RES 54
- Figure 4.12 Jacques de Lajoue, *Paravent*, Painting on marouflé paper, c.1735, Petit Palais, musée des Beaux-arts de la Ville de Paris, Inv. PDUT874 © RMN-Grand Palais / Agence Bulloz; Jean-Charles Delafosse, Plate 2, “L’Air et l’Eau,” *Nouvelle Iconologie Historique*, 1768-1771, BnF Paris FOL-TD-3
- Figure 4.13 Jean-Charles Delafosse, *Design for a Ewer*, c.1768, Pen, black ink, brush, and gray wash, MMA 80.3.663; Jacques de Lajoue, *Livre de Vases inventés par J. de la Joüe Peintre du Roy*, c.1735, Engraved and published by Huquier, EBA Paris Est 9516
- Figure 4.14 Jean-Charles Delafosse, *Fontaine publique*, c.1768, Pen and ink, gray wash, MAD Paris RES 21557 B; Jacques de Lajoue, *Livre de Cartouches Inventés par le Sr de la Joüe*, c.1735, Engraved and published by Huquier, EBA Paris Est 9520
- Figure 4.15 Jean-Charles Delafosse, *Livre de Cartouches, Motif avec vase et écu*, 1768 Black chalk, EBA Paris O.461; Jacques de Lajoue, *Livre de Cartouches*, c.1735, Engraved and published by Huquier, EBA Paris Est 9633
- Figure 4.16 Jean-Charles Delafosse, *5 Projets de Cartouches*, c.1768, MAD Paris 21614 A-E ©Paris, MAD / Jean Tholance; Jacques de Lajoue, *Livre de diverses esquisses et griffonnements par J. de la Joüe*, c.1735, Engraved and published by Huquier, EBA Paris Est 9567
- Figure 4.17 Jean-Charles Delafosse, *Drawing, Project for the Entrance Wall of a Salon with Alternative Suggestions*, c.1760-1770, Pen and black ink, brush and rose and brown washes, graphite on white paper, CH New York 1911-28-44
- Figure 4.18 Jean-Jean-Charles Delafosse, *Cinquième livre de Trophées contenant divers attributs de chasse et de la pêche*, plate 1 in *41^e Cahier, RR*, in *II^e Volume de l’Œuvre de J. Ch. Delafosse*, Etched and engraved by Jean-Dominique-Étienne Le Canu, Published by Chéreau, c.1771-1773, INHA Paris FOL RES 107 (02); Eugène Atget, Photographic negative of the Hotel Titon, 1913, 58, rue du Faubourg-Poissonnière, Façade sur rue, portail, Photographies (Mémoire) © Ministère de la Culture (France), Médiathèque du patrimoine et de la photographie, diffusion RMN-GP
- Figure 4.19 Jean-Jean-Charles Delafosse, *Cinquième livre de Trophées contenant divers attributs de chasse et de la pêche*, plate 1 in *41^e Cahier, RR*, in *II^e Volume de l’Œuvre de J. Ch. Delafosse*, Etched and engraved by Jean-Dominique-Étienne Le Canu, Published by Chéreau, c.1771-1773, INHA Paris FOL RES 107 (02) (detail); Hôtel Titon, 58 rue du Faubourg Poissonnière, 1776-1783, Photograph, *Paris Promeneurs*, 2012 © JPD

- Figure 4.20 Jean-Jean-Charles Delafosse, *Cinquième livre de Trophées contenant divers attributs de chasse et de la pêche*, plate 1 in *41^e Cahier, RR*, in *II^e Volume de l'Œuvre de J. Ch. Delafosse*, Etched and engraved by Jean-Dominique-Étienne Le Canu, Published by Chéreau, c.1771-1773, INHA Paris FOL RES 107 (02); Hélios Ch. Rouget, *Vase ornant la niche Hôtel Titon*, 58 rue du Faubourg Poissonnière, Photograph, plate 2, Paris: P. Content, 1922, BnF Paris FOL-NF-11066 (14)
- Figure 4.21 Jean-Charles Delafosse, plate 5, in *33^e Cahier, II, Poêles, Piédestaux, et Frises, II^e Volume de l'Œuvre de J. Ch. Delafosse*, Published by Chéreau, c.1771-1773, INHA Paris FOL RES 107 (02); Hôtel Titon, 58 rue du Faubourg Poissonnière, 1776-1783, Photograph, *Paris Promeneurs*, 2012 © JPD
- Figure 4.22 Jean-Charles Delafosse, *Deux projets de décoration pour un plafond*, Drawing, MAD Paris 21612 BC
- Figure 4.23 Jean-Charles Delafosse, *Projet de décoration pour un plafond*, Drawing, MAD Paris 21612 BC
- Figure 4.24 Richard de Lalonde, *Album of Drawings for a Marchand-Mercier*, Table no. 1, c.1785-1800, Pen and black ink, wash, over chalk, MAD Inv CD 189
- Figure 4.25 Richard de Lalonde, *Album of Drawings for a Marchand-Mercier*, page 3, c.1785-1800, Pen and black ink, wash, over chalk MAD Inv CD 189
- Figure 4.26 Richard de Lalonde, *Album of Drawings for a Marchand-Mercier*, pages 113 and 120, with prints pasted inside, c.1785-1800, Pen and black ink, wash, over chalk MAD Inv CD 189
- Figure 4.27 Richard de Lalonde, *Œuvres diverses de Lalonde, 1776-1788, Cahiers de Tables et Consoles avec leurs Plans, 5^e cahier, E*, plates 25 and 26, Engraved by Augustin Nicolas Foin, Published by Chéreau, INHA Paris Fol Res 117 (01)
- Figure 4.28 Richard de Lalonde, *Œuvres diverses de Lalonde, 1776-1788, Cahiers de Tables et Consoles avec leurs Plans, 5^e cahier, E*, plates 28 and 29, Engraved by Augustin Nicolas Foin, Published by Chéreau, INHA Paris Fol Res 117 (01)
- Figure 4.29 Adrien Delorme, *Writing table*, 1776-1780, Oak, with veneers and marquetry of purplewood, tulipwood, sycamore and other woods; mahogany with gilt brass mounts, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, Jones Collection, Museum No. 1020-1882 (1980) ©Victoria and Albert Museum, London; Jean-Charles Delafosse, Engraved by Jean-Dominique-Étienne Le Canu, *Quatrième Livre de trophées contenant divers attributs pastorales*, plate 126, Published by Daumont and Chéreau, c.1771-1773, BnF Paris HD-14 (A)-PET FOL; INHA Paris FOL RES 107 (02)
- Figure 4.30 A.L. Gilbert, *Lady's Writing Desk*, 1776-1780, Oak veneered with stained sycamore and tulipwood, holly, purplewood, ebony, hornbeam, pearwood, and boxwood in parts stained and inked; mounted with ormolu and gilt bronze,

Victoria and Albert Museum, London, Jones Collection, Museum No. 1020-1882 (1980) ©Victoria and Albert Museum, London

- Figure 4.31 A.L. Gilbert, *Lady's Writing Desk*, 1776-1780, Oak veneered with stained sycamore and tulipwood, holly, purplewood, ebony, hornbeam, pearwood, and boxwood in parts stained and inked; mounted with ormolu and gilt bronze, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, Jones Collection, Museum No. 1020-1882 (1980) ©Victoria and Albert Museum, London
- Figure 4.32 Richard de Lalonde, *Œuvres diverses de Lalonde*, 1776-1788, *Cahiers de Tables et Consoles avec leurs Plans*, 5^e cahier, E, plates 27 and 28, Published by Chéreau Engraved by Augustin Nicolas Foin, INHA Paris Fol Res 117 (01)
- Figure 4.33 Richard de Lalonde, *Quatrième Cahier de Meubles et d'Ébénisterie*, Dessinés par Lalonde, D, plate 1, Engraved by De Saint-Morien, Published by Chéreau, 1776-1788, INHA Paris Fol Res 117 (02); Richard de Lalonde, *Album of Drawings for a Marchand-Mercier*, page 53, c.1785-1800, Pen and black ink, wash, over black chalk, MAD Inv CD 189
- Figure 4.34 Richard de Lalonde, *Drawing, Elevation, and Plan for a Side Table with Covered Dishes, Urns, and a Cup*, c.1780, Pen and black ink, brush and wash on cream paper, CH New York 1911-28-206
- Figure 4.35 Richard de Lalonde, *Œuvres diverses de Lalonde*, 1776-1788, XII^e Cahier de Lalonde, *Cheminées avec leurs Trumeaux*, M, plate 2, Engraved by De Saint-Morien, Published by Chéreau, INHA Paris Fol Res 117 (01)
- Figure 4.36 Richard de Lalonde, *Projet de cheminée et son trumeau*, MAD Paris inv. 7610 B © Paris, MAD / Jean Tholance
- Figure 4.37 Nicolas Pineau, *Applique à trois branches ornées de rocailles*, MAD Paris CD 1737; Richard de Lalonde, *Encadrements de glaces*, MAD Paris inv. 7610 DEF© Paris, MAD / Jean Tholance (detail)
- Figure 4.38 Richard de Lalonde, *Design for a Mirror Frame, with Alternate Suggestions*, c.1780, Pen and ink, brush and watercolor, graphite on paper, CH New York, 1911-28-208
- Figure 4.39 Richard de Lalonde, 1776-1788, *Cahiers de Tables et Consoles avec leurs Plans*, 5^e cahier, E, plate 26, Engraved by Augustin Nicolas Foin, Published by Chéreau INHA Paris Fol Res 117 (01); *Console table after a design by Richard de Lalonde*, 1780–90, Carved and painted oak; white marble top, MMA 07.225.479
- Figure 4.40 Jean-Charles Krafft and Nicolas Ransonette, “Maison Jarnac,” plate 31, *Plans, Coupes, Élévations des plus belles maisons et hôtels construits à Paris*, 1801-1803, UVA, Special Collections NA7348.P2 K8 1803
- Figure 4.41 Richard de Lalonde, 1776-1788, *Cahiers de Tables et Consoles avec leurs Plans*, 5^e cahier, E, plate 26, Engraved by Augustin Nicolas Foin, Published by Chéreau

INHA Paris Fol Res 117 (01); Richard de Lalonde, *Album of Drawings for a Marchand-Mercier*, page 103, c.1785-1800, Pen and black ink, wash, over black chalk, MAD Inv CD 189

Figure 4.42 Richard de Lalonde, *Album of Drawings for a Marchand-Mercier*, pages 103 and 132, c.1785-1800 Pen and black ink, wash, over black chalk MAD Inv CD 189

Figure 4.34 Richard de Lalonde, *Album of Drawings for a Marchand-Mercier*, c.1785-1800, page 141, Pen and black ink, wash, over black chalk MAD Inv CD 189

Figure 4.44 Richard de Lalonde, *Album of Drawings for a Marchand-Mercier*, c.1785-1800, page 141, Pen and black ink, wash, over black chalk MAD Inv CD 189; Jean-Charles Krafft and Nicolas Ransonette, "Maison Jarnac," *Plans, Coupes, Élévations des plus belles maisons et hôtels construits à Paris*, 1801-1803, Line engraving, plate 31 UVA, Special Collections NA7348.P2 K8 1803

Figure 4.45 Louis Delanois, after Jean-Charles Delafosse, *Canapé*, 1768-1775, Carved and gilded walnut (modern upholstery) Château de Versailles, VMB 14372 Versailles © RMN-Grand Palais (Château de Versailles) / Franck Raux

Figure 4.46 Jean-Charles Delafosse, *III^e Volume de l'Œuvre de J. Ch. Delafosse, Cahier B*, plate 3, *Ottoman ceintrée, Turquoise, Veilleuse, Paphose en gondole*, Engraved and published by Daumont, c.1771-1773, INHA Paris FOL RES 107 (3)

Figure 4.47 Jean-Charles Delafosse, *III^e Volume de l'Œuvre de J. Ch. Delafosse, Cahier A*, plate 2, *Fauteuils et chaises dans le gout pittoresque et dans le gout antique*, Engraved and published by Daumont, c.1771-1773, INHA Paris FOL RES 107 (3)

Figure 4.48 Jean-Charles Delafosse, *III^e Volume de l'Œuvre de J. Ch. Delafosse, Cahier E*, plate 2, *Écrans dans le goût antique et dans le goût pittoresque Veilleuse*, Engraved and published by Daumont, c.1771-1773, INHA Paris FOL RES 107 (3)

CONCLUSION

Figure 5.1 Jean Henry Alexandre Pernet, engraved by Laurent Guyot, *Twelve Roundels with Landscapes*, c.1788, Etching, aquatint, and tool work printed in blue, red, yellow, and black inks, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. 2003.72.1

Figure 5.2 Jean Henry Alexandre Pernet, engraved and published by Laurent Guyot, *VIII^e Feuille de paysage*, c.1788, Etching and aquatint, BnF Paris RES-EF-112 (4)-FOL

Figure 5.3 Jean Henry Alexandre Pernet, engraved and published by Laurent Guyot, *XIV^e Feuille de paysage*, c.1788, Etching and aquatint, BnF Paris RES-EF-112 (4)-FOL

Figure 5.4 Jean-François Janinet, after Nicolas Lavreince, *Les heures du jour*, color aquatint and etching, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. 1942.9.2386

Figure 5.5 Buttons with etching and aquatint placed under glass, c.1788, Musée Carnavalet - Histoire de Paris (not yet inventoried)

- Figure 5.6 Buttons with etching and aquatint placed under glass, c.1788, Musée Carnavalet - Histoire de Paris (not yet inventoried)
- Figure 5.7 *I see everything and I see nothing (Je vois tous et je ne vois rien)*, with hidden silhouettes of the French royal family, Published by D. Martin, 1796, MMA 26.28.632
- Figure 5.8 Jean-Dominique-Étienne Canu, *Violettes*, after 1815, etching with color, Musée Carnavalet, Histoire de Paris G.34080, © Paris Musées / Musée Carnavalet - Histoire de Paris

INTRODUCTION

In 1766, in one of his final print publications, embroiderer Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin (1721-1786) interlaced a single antique fretwork scroll among a twisting set of floral monograms, its geometric filigrees made sinuous and supple when situated within the lively play of *rocaille* lettered initials evoking the tactility of ermine, icicles, ribbons, and wheat (figure 0.1).¹ This engraved ornament print belongs to a larger body of prints by such figures as Saint-Aubin, Gabriel Huquier (1695-1772), and Jean-Charles Delafosse (1734-1789), who produced ornament prints in a wide range of formats and various *recueils*, or compilations. These prints were produced and circulated in Paris between 1736 and 1788, a half-century typically understood as a period of stark transition between two stylistic and historical anchors: the *goût rocaille*, or rococo, and the *antique* or neoclassical.² While art historical narratives from Hugh Honour to Marc Fumaroli have reinforced this division—alongside the reforming or rectifying nature of neoclassicism,—recentering upon print allows us to investigate patterns of stylistic imbrication while tracing the richly imaginative qualities of the *rocaille* that negotiated and conditioned taste for the emergent antique in the eighteenth century.³

¹ Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin, *Premier and Deuxième Recueil de Chiffres*, engraved by Clément-Pierre Marillier, published by Chéreau, c. 1766. Best known for his 1748 series *Papillonnies Humaines*, vignettes of butterflies engaged in human activities, few scholars have turned to Saint-Aubin's later work or noticed his subtle introduction of the antique into the visually deceptive and playful ornament typical of the rococo of the 1730s.

² Beginning with the first use of the term *rocaille* in an ornament *cahier* in 1736, these dates span the decades when ornament proliferated during the *ancien régime*. See Alastair Laing, "French Ornamental Engravings and the diffusion of the Rococo," 1979, in *Le stampe e la diffusione delle immagini e degli stili*, ed. Henry Zerner (Bologna: Clueb, 1983), 109-127 for the circulation of engraved ornament *à la rocaille* beginning in the 1730s. See also Christophe Lérubault, "Reviving the Antique Décor," in *L'Antiquité rêvée: Innovations et résistances au XVIIIe siècle*, eds. Marc Fumaroli, Guillaume Faroult, Christophe Lérubault, and Guilhem Scherf (Paris: Musée du Louvre, 2010), 39-41 for a recent discussion of major architectural and antiquarian tomes and ornament publications.

³ I employ the term rococo as a designation for what was termed in print in the 1730s the *goût rocaille*, *goût moderne*, and *goût pittoresque*, and which came to be called rococo later through negative critical reactions, as foundational accounts by Fiske Kimball and Peter Fuhning and more recent interventions by Melissa Hyde and Jean-François Bédard have shown. My use of the term neoclassical is informed by Hugh Honour's foundational account and more recent interventions by Marc Fumaroli in examining the resurgence of the antique beginning in the 1740s. The neoclassical was termed in print in the eighteenth century the *goût antique*, *goût grec*, and *goût étrusque*, terms that I use when examining taste conditioned through ornament prints.

Recent scholarship has reexamined the long life of the rococo, extending its temporal center of gravity beyond the early eighteenth century and tracing its diffusion outside of Paris.⁴ Parallel renewed interest in the mid-century antique turn still conceives of the antique as a vehicle for correcting errors of taste and recalibrating the arts away from the rococo.⁵ While accounts of the rococo analyze the circulation of ornament prints but neglect stylistic transition and the resurgence of the antique, accounts of the reformation of taste tend to segregate prints from their narratives.⁶ My dissertation both builds upon and bridges this body of scholarship by centering on the commercial circuits of Parisian print production, considering print as a connective thread that allows us to reconsider the interrelations between works on paper, painting, sculpture, and the residential interior more broadly. A central claim of this dissertation is that the stylistic categories and terms used by scholars—rococo, *goût moderne*, neoclassical, *goût grec*, and *goût étrusque*—have thus far neglected to account for the production, use, and reception of these prints. Extending beyond an investigation of formal and stylistic blurrings, my analysis recenters upon the tensions found in these essential formal and visual qualities: bimodal asymmetry and symmetry, curvilinearity and rectilinearity, and excess and restraint. In print and

⁴ Sarah Coffin, ed. *Rococo: The Continuing Curve 1730-2008* (New York: Cooper-Hewitt, 2008), and Melissa Hyde and Katie Scott, eds. *Rococo Echo: Art, History, Historiography from Cochin to Coppola* (Oxford: Voltaire, 2014) both expand the temporal and geographic bounds of the rococo, but tend to approach it almost as if it existed in a vacuum, neglecting the new generation of *ornemanistes à l'antique* that emerged in the print trade in the 1740s.

⁵ Fumaroli's recent account, *Le comte de Caylus et Edmé Bouchardon: Deux réformateurs du goût sous Louis XV*. (Paris: Somogy éditions d'art: Louvre éditions, 2016), traces the shared investment in taste reform on the part of artist and amateur, hinging on the latter's distancing from Watteau and culminating with his *Recueil d'antiquités égyptiennes, étrusques, grecques, romaines, et gauloises*, 1752–67. Fumaroli's study reinforces a rupture between the lively *fêtes-galantes* of Watteau and the sobriety and linearity of Bouchardon, while sidelining the commercial circuits of print production.

⁶ Recent studies such as *L'Antiquité rêvée. Innovations et résistances au XVIIIe siècle*, March Fumaroli, et.al., eds. (Paris: Musée du Louvre, 2010) engage cross-media exchange but have yet to foreground the pattern books published during this period or stage these prints in productive dialogue with the decoration of the interior. In Lérubault's more focused account of the decorative arts, "Reviving the Antique Décor," in *L'Antiquité rêvée*, 39-41, the work of *ornemanistes à l'antique* is situated at the end of a long history of the diffusion of antique models from expensive tomes beginning with Caylus' *Recueil d'antiquités* in 1752, and in which *anticomanie* overtakes a rococo that becomes progressively outmoded.

the residential interior, these qualities articulated themselves along the supposed antimonies of natural and artificial, public and private, interior and exterior—which mutually dissolve and coalesce in interiors that invite peripheral and fragmentary views, facilitating an increasing sense of comfort and intimacy. Key to my approach is a consideration of the *rocaille* not only as a formal term for reexamining periodization, but also as a site of experiential, visceral encounter in both print and the space of the decorated interior.⁷ Ornament prints were mobile, fluid matrices of exchange that facilitated experimentation and dialogue among *ornemanistes*, architects, clients, and artisans, and intimately patterned the taste of viewers. Though scholars have assumed that this ornament receded during efforts to reform taste in the 1740s, the perceptual process facilitated by the rococo may be traced through the course of the eighteenth century and found in the work of both rococo artists and new generation of *ornemanistes à l'antique*.

Primarily produced in the rue Saint-Jacques in Paris near the Sorbonne, a book and print-publishing center since the seventeenth century, these prints reveal significant shifts in the use and reception of decoration among architects, artisans, and consumers in the eighteenth century, as interior illustrations became more detailed and progressively detached from text (figure 0.2).⁸ Used as ornament sourcebooks for designers and artisans, models for drawing instruction, and later as catalogs in the shops of *marchands-merciers*, the objects of my study were published either in folio volumes or in small *cahiers*. These prints attest to the magnetic allure of the residential interior as it was represented in manuals, treatises, and ornament sourcebooks, as well

⁷ Here I build on Melissa Hyde's conception of the rococo as not only an aesthetic category, but as a social category that blurred class and gender distinctions, as I extend this framework to consider the spatial blurring in the residential interior. Melissa Hyde, *Making up the Rococo: François Boucher and His Critics* (Los Angeles: Getty, 2006), 463.

⁸ See Katie Scott, *The Rococo Interior: Decoration and Social Spaces in Early Eighteenth-Century Paris* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 241–65 for a discussion of the practice of publishing rococo ornament beginning in the 1730s.

as in individual *cahiers* and *livrets*, or small half- or quarter-folio notebooks.⁹ As ornament gradually dislodged itself from sumptuously bound treatises, images of the elite interior and its most privileged spaces became accessible and commercially available as scenes that viewers could physically obtain and observe.¹⁰ These independent *recueils* or groupings of ornament took several forms and emerged from different artisanal sources, from metalsmiths to panel painters (figure 0.3). They were also distinct in their use of bifurcation or bimodal asymmetry, a visual technique that divided the page into two asymmetrical halves along a central axis (figure 0.4). This asymmetry produced a flickering effect known as *papillotage*, causing the viewer's eyes to dart about the page, and inviting active attention, discernment, and even choice on the part of the viewer.¹¹ This *rocaille* ornament was first conceived in positive terms in the *Mercure de France* as an assemblage of disparate fragments that stimulated viewer awareness and perception, before the tide turned with biting criticism in the 1740s and 1750s by Étienne La Font de Saint-Yenne (1688-1771) and Charles-Nicolas Cochin (1715-1790).¹² Tracing the prints made by both rococo *ornemanistes* and their successors *à l'antique* allows us to reexamine the antique as a malleable

⁹ On residential interior space represented and discussed in architectural manuals, treatises, and other texts in the eighteenth century, see Meredith Martin, "The Ascendancy of the Interior in Eighteenth-Century French Architectural Theory" in *Architectural Space in Eighteenth-Century Europe: Constructing Identities and Interiors*, eds. Densie Baxter and Meredith Martin (Burlington: Ashgate, 2010), 15-34. Many of these publications were intended for an independent urban society of financiers, actresses, and *salonnières* who distanced themselves from Versailles at the turn of eighteenth century.

¹⁰ Scott, *The Rococo Interior*, 241-65. See also Martin "The Ascendancy of the Interior," 15-34, and Robin Middleton, "Introduction," in Nicolas Le Camus de Mézières, *The Genius of Architecture; or, The Analogy of that Art with our Sensations* (1780), trans. David Britt (Santa Monica: Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1992), 17-64 for a discussion of the interior within treatises by architects including Germain Boffrand, Jacques-François Blondel, and Le Camus.

¹¹ Marian Hobson, *The Object of Art: The Theory of Illusion in Eighteenth-Century France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 47-61.

¹² See for example the "piquant and extraordinary forms" described in the *Mercure de France*, March 1734, 558 compared to the later criticism of 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" (The Hague: Jean Neaulme, 1747), 14-15, and Charles-Nicolas Cochin, "Supplication aux Orfèvres, Ciseleurs, et Sculpteurs en bois, pour les appartements aux autres, par une Société d'Artistes" *Mercure de France*, December 1754, and "Lettre à M. l'abbé R***, sur une très mauvaise plaisanterie qu'il a laissé imprimer dans le Mercure du mois du Décembre 1754, par une société d'Architectes, qui pourrait bien aussi prétendre être du premier mérite et de la première réputation, quoiqu'ils ne soient pas de l'Académie," *Mercure de France* (February 1755), 148-174.

and expressive language engaged in dynamic visual exchange with the traces of what I term the “belated rococo,” or the continuation of such visual devices as *papillotage* that conditioned viewer taste and elicited active viewer engagement.¹³ The prints that form the central axis of this project attest that this ornament could be just as playful and irreverent as its supposedly more licentious forbearer.

My foregrounding of ornament *recueils* builds upon Katie Scott’s concept of the “rococo exposed” in her closing discussion in *The Rococo Interior*, in which she asserts that by the 1740s, printed ornament floated and circulated almost licentiously, freed from its original critical moorings in the realm of elite social distinction in the architectural treatise, and was thus open to accumulating new meanings and serving various decorative purposes.¹⁴ My research repositions ornament *cahiers* as dynamic objects in fruitful dialogue with other media, as opposed to their framing as somewhat passive receptacles of meaning in Scott’s analysis.¹⁵ As I trace the elaboration of the rococo in print, my thinking has been informed by recent scholarship by Michael Yonan, who takes up ornament prints by silversmith Juste-Aurèle Meissonnier (1695–1750) as distinctive not only for their curving c-scrolls and s-scrolls, but also, and equally vitally, as a way of knowing the world—that is, as objects that require active viewer participation and engagement in order to discern their meaning.¹⁶ Building on earlier scholarship on the notion of

¹³ I draw this notion of lateness from Satish Padiyar, “Out of time: Fragonard, with David,” in *Rococo Echo*, 213–31, who has argued that the rococo operated belatedly in painting alongside the emerging antique.

¹⁴ Scott, *The Rococo Interior*, 248. According to this view, decoration had first served as a secondary addition in instructive architectural treatises, and progressively detached itself from text, so that autonomous and widely accessible ornament prints circulating in *cahiers* proclaimed their readiness for material execution as decorative arts objects, for artisan education, and other commercial uses, or simply as autonomous objects in their own right.

¹⁵ While Scott has since reexamined rococo drawings as agents of communication and artisanal process, corresponding prints have not yet been similarly analyzed. See Katie Scott, “Persuasion: Nicolas Pineau’s Designs on the Social,” *RIHA Journal* 86, Special Issue “When Art History Meets Design History” (March 2014): URN.

¹⁶ Michael Yonan, “Knowing the World through Rococo Ornamental Prints,” in *Knowing the World through Objects in the Eighteenth Century* symposium. Institute for Humanities and Global Cultures, University of Virginia, November 4, 2016 and Yonan, “Knowing the World through Rococo Ornamental Prints,” in *Organic Supplements: Bodies and Things of the Natural World, 1580–1790*, ed. Miriam Jacobson and Julie Park (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2020), 177–198.

rococo *papillotage*, or its ability to divert the eyes of the viewer through dissimulative play, Yonan contends that rococo prints served to articulate knowledge of the material world in the eighteenth century. This activation of viewer attention was decidedly fragmentary, indeterminant, and tactile—qualities that allowed ornament prints to simulate the disjointed happenstance of embodied encounter.¹⁷ Beginning with the circulation of prints by the Huquier firm in the 1730s, my dissertation extends Yonan’s temporal framework through the eighteenth century to consider the *rocaille* as a form of perception through the end of the *ancien régime*. The prints at the heart of my study both invite a sense of fragmentation and evoke the way decoration was approached in the residential interior: that is to say obliquely, while viewers were in a state of motion, through fleeting glances toward decoration that both embellished the interior and signaled something more beyond the space of the interior itself, often the natural world.¹⁸ Moving beyond Yonan’s analysis of fragmentary perception, my dissertation considers the deeply sensate qualities of ornament as a vital means of mediating the emergent intimacy of the architectural interior in the eighteenth century. In activating the attention of viewers, these prints both anticipate and shape emerging theories of *caractère*, or the cultivation of emotional expression in architecture, which would be fully articulated in 1780 by Nicolas Le Camus de Mézières (1721-1789) in his *Le génie de l’architecture, ou l’analogie de cet art avec nos sensations*.¹⁹ In their oscillation along a number of registers—natural and artificial, earnestness

¹⁷ Ibid., 194.

¹⁸ On the peripheral gaze and ornament, see Ibid., 191, Hobson, *The Object of Art*, 47-61, and Scott, “Persuasion: Nicolas Pineau’s Designs on the Social,” URN.

¹⁹ On the history of architectural *caractère*, see Martin, “The Ascendancy of the Interior,” 25-27, Caroline van Eyck, “Introduction,” in Germain Boffrand, *Book of Architecture: Containing the General Principles of the Art and the Plans, Elevations, and Sections of Some of the Edifices Built in France and in Foreign Countries* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2002), xxv, and Middleton, “Introduction,” in Nicolas Le Camus de Mézières’s *The Genius of Architecture; or Analogy of that Art with our Sensations* (1780), 17-64.

and joke, interior and exterior,—ornament prints reveal an unfolding terrain of intimacy and sensual expression that flows along ever more porous and malleable spatial bounds.

My intermedial approach to print is grounded in the work of scholars including as Jean-François Bédard, David Pullins, and Kristel Smentek, who have offered interpretations of eighteenth-century prints in which they are situated in dynamic relation to decorative objects for the interior: from inlaid overdoor paintings, to folding screens and snuffboxes.²⁰ Pullins has approached ornament as a collaborative, intermedial process across painting and works on paper, focusing on mobility and the mechanical procedures of *découpage* (cutting paper and placing it upon other objects or resizing inlaid panel paintings to fit overdoor decoration) anchored in the manipulation of materials in designers' workshops.²¹ In my analysis across media, I consider prints not only as objects that were mobile and physically cut out and pasted, but also as rich territories for potential design and the negotiation of taste among architects and clients—allowing for an iterative process of transmission of ideas: across ornament and its translation in such decoration as painted paneling. In her transmedia analysis of prints, Smentek has considered the cutting and pasting of aquatints into snuffboxes and buttons, and the mimetic potential of paper in both deceiving the eye and enabling wider access to aristocratic fashion items.²² Rather than closely tracing the physical manipulation and pasting of prints upon other

²⁰ Jean-François Bédard, *Decorative Games: Ornament, Rhetoric, and Noble Culture in the Work of Gilles-Marie Oppenord* (Newark: University of Delaware Press), 2011. David Pullins, "Images as Objects: The Problem of Figural Ornament in Eighteenth-Century France," in Alina Payne, *Histories of Ornament: From Global to Local* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016), 113-120; Kristel Smentek, "An Exact Imitation Acquired at Little Expense: Marketing Color Prints in Eighteenth-Century France," in *Colorful Impressions: The Printmaking Revolution in Eighteenth-Century France* (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 2003), 9-21.

²¹ Pullins, "Images as Objects: The Problem of Figural Ornament in Eighteenth-Century France," 113-120.

²² Smentek, "An Exact Imitation Acquired at Little Expense: Marketing Color Prints in Eighteenth-Century France," 9-21. These were "populuxe goods," a term that was employed by Cissie Fairchild to describe inexpensive replications of luxury items that circulated outside of guild regulation during the eighteenth-century. Cissie Fairchild, "The Production and Marketing of Populuxe Goods in Eighteenth-Century Paris" in *Consumption and the Worlds of Goods*, eds. John Brewer and Roy Porter (London, 1993), 229.

objects, my dissertation recenters upon print before such interventions occur in order to reconsider their optical engagement with viewers through the bimodal asymmetry of arresting intaglio impressions. In activating viewer perception as a means of gaining knowledge of the world before they were placed upon other objects or used as models for furnishings, print already offered an experiential encounter on its own terms, while anticipating its possible translation in the round as furnishings and decorative objects. For tracking the diffusion of these *recueils*, important interlocutors include Heather Hyde Minor, whose recent study of Piranesi's *Antichità romane* offers an analysis of composite print volumes that unsettle familiar categories of ornament.²³ Recent studies of ornament and commerce have also informed by thinking about print's capacity to pattern viewer taste through the discernment and choice elicited by the *goût rocaille* and the *goût antique*.²⁴ While Stacey Sloboda has recently analyzed *chinoiserie* ornament as an active, critical mediator of commerce, my dissertation locates ornament as an equally vital means of shaping emerging theories of perception and sensory engagement in the eighteenth-century. My approach also engages Scott's recent interventions in the history of *rocaille* drawings, in which she pays particular attention to such visual strategies as bimodal asymmetry and sensual *accoutrements* that elicit viewer choice.²⁵ While Scott conceives of these drawings as "projects" that bear traces of communication and negotiation among clients, architects, and journeymen, I extend this framework to consider prints as equally evocative sites of working out taste and preference among publishers, architects, and clients. By centering on print as a means of negotiating the expressivity of the interior, my dissertation repositions the

²³ Heather Hyde Minor, *Piranesi's Lost Words* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2015) investigates Piranesi's use of both image and text as a means of copying and reworking of antique fragments.

²⁴ Stacey Sloboda, *Chinoiserie: Commerce and Critical Ornament in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Manchester: Manchester University Press), 2014.

²⁵ Scott, "Persuasion: Nicolas Pineau's Designs on the Social," URN.

hôtel particulier (residential townhome) in dynamic relation with the architects, designers, and artisans of its production.

Considering print alongside key theoretical texts and architectural writings by Jacques-François Blondel (1705-1774), Charles-Nicolas Cochin, and Nicolas Le Camus de Mézières, my dissertation in turn illuminates the heightened sensory expression of the decorated interior in the eighteenth century, activated through successive ornament patterns that were increasingly suggestive of each distinct *appartement*, refined according to its requisite decorative accoutrements and capacity to inspire such sensations as bewilderment or delight. Analyzing ornament prints alongside these critical texts allows us to reanimate eighteenth-century ornament as part of a longer chain of transmission of ideas about sensual expression, comfort, and intimacy, and to conceive of the *hôtel particulier* as a more fluid and less bounded space than it has previously been considered.²⁶ In my analysis of the circulation of print, I also engage recent studies of print exchange by scholars including Scott, Smentek, and Stephen Bann that assert an increased—rather than diminished—value or “currency” the more print proliferated.²⁷ While scholars have recently considered “reproductive printmaking” such as pastel-manner prints that recorded pastel drawings, the prints at the center of my study were not reproductive or derivative of other media, but rather generative of ideas about style and encounter in the interior. One of the central provocations of this dissertation is the assertion that print be considered *as potential*; that is, rather than representing the final disposition of a design to be executed, print offered variable, shifting possibilities in how objects could be conceived. In my orientation away from print as

²⁶ Both Scott and Martin have conceived of the *hôtel particulier* interior as a separate space from the surrounding garden, entryway threshold, or even broader Parisian territories such as the print trade.

²⁷ Scott, “Reproduction and Reputation: ‘François Boucher’ and the Formation of Artistic Identities,” in *Rethinking Boucher*, eds. Melissa Hyde and Mark Ledbury (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2006), 91–122 and Smentek, “An Exact Imitation Acquired at Little Expense: Marketing Color Prints in Eighteenth-Century France,” 9–21. See also Stephen Bann, *Parallel Lines: Printmakers, Painters, and Photographers in Nineteenth-Century France* (New Haven: Yale University Press), 2001.

reproductive, I build upon Jennifer Roberts' recent interventions in the study of printmaking as a deeply intimate site of technical, visceral, and social contact on its own terms, independent of whether it replicated or reproduced other media.²⁸ With a firm center of gravity in the print market throughout the eighteenth-century, my dissertation revitalizes the commercial circuits of the Parisian print trade as just as *generative* of ideas about making and engaging with decorative objects as they were *reproductive*. This generative, multivalent circulation of ornament prints both patterned and conditioned shifting tastes and shaped expanding territories of sensual expression across Parisian topographies of print and the residential interior.

Building on the work of Dena Goodman, Mimi Hellman, and Martina Droth, my dissertation also centers upon experiential encounters with ornament and decoration, from gilt *boiseries* (wood paneling) to painted *lambris* (double doors).²⁹ My approach is informed by recent work by Droth on the integration and mutual relationship between individuals, sculpture, and furniture in interior space, as I insert print as a vital through-line in how decoration was conceived across two-dimensional prints and three-dimensional decorative objects.³⁰ While scholars have identified the blurred boundaries between sculpture and decoration in the interior, I suggest that that we may locate these material blurrings already in play in print, which facilitate integration across media through their emphasis on heightened sensory engagement. Serving as the spine of my study, these prints also function in each chapter as vehicles for examining these

²⁸ Jennifer Roberts, *Contact: Art and the Pull of Print*, Part I: "Pressure," *The 70th A.W. Mellon Lectures in the Fine Arts*, National Gallery, Washington, D.C., April 25, 2021. <https://www.nga.gov/research/casva/meetings/mellon-lectures-in-the-fine-arts/roberts-2021.html> (Accessed May 8, 2023).

²⁹ Mimi Hellman, "Furniture, Sociability, and the Work of Leisure in Eighteenth Century France," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 32, no. 4 (Summer 1999): 415-445; Martina Droth, ed. *Taking Shape: Finding Sculpture in the Decorative Arts* (Leeds and Los Angeles: Henry Moore Institute and J. Paul Getty Museum, 2009); Dena Goodman, "The *Secrétaire* and the Integration of the Eighteenth-Century Self," in *Furnishing the Eighteenth Century: What Furniture Can Tell Us about the European and American Past*, eds. Dena Goodman and Kathryn Norberg (New York: Routledge, 2011), 183-203.

³⁰ Martina Droth, "Transforming the Real with Sculptural Form," in *Taking Shape: Finding Sculpture in the Decorative Arts* (Leeds and Los Angeles: Henry Moore Institute and J. Paul Getty Museum, 2009), 10-17.

relationships across media. I focus in particular on sets of ornament for the fabrication of luxury objects and the decoration of *hôtels particuliers*, prints whose material lives flowed along circuits of commercial exchange from the rue Saint-Jacques up to the rue Saint-Honoré on the right bank where most *marchand-mercier* shops were situated, serving the needs of the fashionable Chaussée d'Antin neighborhood.³¹ I situate these publications within a set of four episodes centering on exchanges among architects, *ornemanistes*, publishers, and clients.

Chapter One “Fluid Impressions: The Currency of *Rocaille* Ornament Prints on the rue Saint-Jacques” centers on the commercial activities of the Huquier print firm in the pivotal years from 1736 to 1761 as a locus of the dissemination of prints by artists who are often considered to represent strikingly different aesthetic investments. It was chez Huquier where sculptor Edmé Bouchardon’s (1698-1762) suites of anthropomorphic vases and fountain designs circulated alongside the ornament of silversmith Juste-Aurèle Meissonnier and others in the 1730s, and the forms of these *recueils* evince striking reciprocal borrowings; while Bouchardon employs the rushes, rocks, and shellwork typical of the rococo, contemporaneous pattern books by Jean Mondon first make use of the term *rocaille* to illustrate scenes in which antique sculpture is nestled within architectonic *cartouches* (figure 0.5).³² Mondon’s work in particular suggests the happenstance and randomness of encounter, evoking a disjointed, fragmented, even embodied way of gaining knowledge facilitated by the rococo. Interweaving two accounts that are usually cast asunder, this chapter considers the antique and the *rocaille* to be mutually constitutive in the

³¹ See Nina Dubin, *Futures and Ruins: Eighteenth-Century Paris and the Art of Hubert Robert* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2010) for a discussion of this site of particularly pronounced speculation, building demolition, and construction beginning from 1770 onwards.

³² On this early use of the term “rocaille,” see Peter Fuhring, *Juste-Aurèle Meissonnier: Un génie du rococo, 1695-1750*, vol. 1 (Turin: U. Allemandi, 1999), 2-73 and Colin Bailey “Was there such a thing as rococo painting?” in *Rococo Echo: Art, History and Historiography from Cochin to Coppola* (Oxford: Voltaire, 2014), 176.

pride trade, with the work of Bouchardon strongly influencing some of the most influential rococo *ornemanistes* of the eighteenth century.

While Chapter One investigates the early years of the rococo in the print trade, Chapter Two “Irreverent Ornament: Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin’s *Recueils de Chiffres*” turns to the continuation of a particularly mischievous rococo in the 1750s and 60s. This chapter investigates Saint-Aubin’s 1766 floral monograms that melded together materials of his embroidery trade.³³ Embedded in a longer rococo tradition of visual play and wordplay, Saint-Aubin’s work shaped the contours of an irreverent, belated *rocaille* that endured well beyond the decades of its supposed eclipse. In their sensory evocation of organic materials, these prints served to unsettle the boundaries between natural and artificial, interior and exterior, and in their relationship to his patron Madame de Pompadour, they suggest a permeability between the private sphere of elite sociability and the public sphere of the print trade. Whereas Chapter One analyzes the early contours of the rococo as architectonic and almost sculptural, Chapter Two investigates its later permutation as a richly sensory and tactile impression in dialogue with Saint-Aubin’s embroidery practice and his satirical *Livre de caricatures*. In dissolving the bounds between interior and exterior in his evocation of Pompadour’s *Hôtel d’Évreux* and several other noble residences through *trompe l’œil* drawings, Saint-Aubin’s work in the *Recueil de plantes* goes even further than earlier rococo *ornemanistes* in keeping the eye moving across the page. It negotiates the merging of natural and artificial, garden and interior that was later articulated in such texts as Jean-François Bastide’s 1758 novella *La petite maison* and Claude-Henri Watelet’s 1774 *Essai sur les jardins*.

³³ Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin, *Premier and Deuxième Recueil de Chiffres*, 1766, Institut national d’histoire de l’art (INHA) (Fol Res 108), Oak Spring Garden Library (OSG RB1328), Metropolitan Museum of Art (MMA 22.55.3) and Morgan Library & Museum (PML 151031).

My Third Chapter “Playing Antique: Terpsichore and the *Hôtel Guimard*” takes up cross-media exchange within the decorated interior itself, as I trace the circuits of print exchange from the rue Saint-Jacques up to the Chaussée d’Antin neighborhood, centering on the residence and private theater constructed by Claude-Nicolas Ledoux (1736-1806) in 1773 for the actress and ballet dancer Marie-Madeleine Guimard (1743-1816) (figure 0.6). My analysis engages a continuum of intermedia relationships across architectural engravings, drawings, and portraits, including the early work of Jacques-Louis David before his departure for Rome. I highlight this episode—familiar as an example Guimard’s construction of the self through the interior—as an architectural project that shaped emerging theories of *caractère* that would be fully articulated in 1780 by Le Camus in his *Le génie de l’architecture*.³⁴ Le Camus indeed approved of Guimard’s residence, whose staging strategies anticipate—even set the terms for—his elaboration of the deeply sensate and expressive interior. The prints and drawings I discuss in this chapter were used as models and inspiration for the decoration of the *Hôtel Guimard* and were also employed by Ledoux and others to record it, thus serving both as patterns for the residential interior and as memories of its staging upon the Parisian landscape.

Chapter Four “Ornament as *Caractère*: The Expressive *Recueils* of Delafosse and Lalonde” centers on the *ornemanistes* at the heart of the print and *marchand-mercier* trade in the 1770s and 1780s. It is anchored by the work of two *ornemanistes*—Académie de Saint-Luc instructor Jean-Charles Delafosse and designer for the Menus-Plaisirs and the Garde-meuble de la Couronne Richard de Lalonde (1735-1808). Produced during his tenure as an instructor at Saint-Luc, Delafosse’s *Iconologie historique* reconceived the emblematic tradition as a pattern

³⁴ Nicolas Le Camus de Mézières, *Le Génie de l’Architecture, ou l’analogie de cet Art avec nos sensations* (Paris: Benoît-Morin, 1780) Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF), V-22114. Le Camus referred approvingly to Guimard’s decoration in his text as “le plus délicieux” and a “palais de fée.” See Le Camus, *Le Génie de l’Architecture*, 186.

book, merging the practice of ornament *recueils* with that of iconological sourcebooks (figure 0.7).³⁵ Gesturing to the practice of the grand tour, his prints playfully articulate knowledge of the antique, only here conjured in terms of exaggeration and excess. Although work produced by *ornemanistes* such as Delafosse was dismissed by architect Jacques-François Blondel as “architecture à la mode,” Delafosse’s prints reveal a tension between the need to temper an unruly antique and an increasing emphasis on sensory and expressive engagement within the residential interior. Examining the pattern books of Lalonde produced a decade later, I suggest that the work of this *ornemaniste* operates as a particularly fertile site for the staging of choice and the activation of taste through viewer discernment.³⁶ Not only does the bimodal asymmetry of the rococo persist, but ornament also activates viewers on an increasingly intimate level. Lalonde incorporates such *accoutrements* as flickering candles and urns burning with incense atop a console table, or four different design possibilities upon a pier-glass mirror (figure 0.8). His works suggests a progressively close connection with viewers, implying lived experience, and engaging the viewer in an intimacy tied specifically to each distinct *appartement* of the residential interior. I draw a comparison in particular between these prints and the evocation of interiors in Le Camus’s *Le génie de l’architecture*. Detached from the floor plans or elevations of specific architectural spaces, it is the interplay of technical furniture design and decorative detail in these images that reference the particular *caractère* of each *appartement*, suggesting an increasing focus on sensory perception among *marchands-merciers* and clients. I argue in this

³⁵ The *Nouvelle Iconologie Historique, ou Attributs Hiéroglyphiques qui ont pour objet les quatre éléments, les quatre parties du monde, les quatre saisons et les différentes complexions de l’homme* was Delafosse’s largest body of printed work and circulated widely in the Chaussée d’Antin neighborhood. While some of Delafosse’s prints and drawings have been examined by scholars, the full scope of his work has yet to be uncovered, as there is no comprehensive monograph equivalent to studies of *rococo ornemanistes* such as Meisssonier or Lajoue.

³⁶ Scott, “Persuasion: Nicolas Pineau’s Designs on the Social,” URN. Scott considers Pineau’s designs as “acts” on paper geared toward certain moments in the artistic process among networks of “agents.” I extend this framework to include both prints and drawings.

chapter that not only did the illustrations in architectural treatises change in relation to pattern books as scholars have noted, but that pattern books themselves responded to new theories and worked to actively condition taste.

Anchored by the *ornemanistes* at the heart of my study, my account reestablishes networks of Parisian print and commercial exchange, while tracing theoretical and material cross-pollination across topographies of print production in the rue Saint-Jacques, the Chaussée d'Antin, and Saint-Honoré. In positioning rococo *ornemanistes* alongside their counterparts à *l'antique*, my account reveals the permeability of the rhetorical and formal boundaries of style, thereby locating engraved ornament as critical to a new understanding of aesthetic debates from 1736 through 1788. As I trace the *rocaille* in print, my dissertation also recovers a theory of visual engagement associated with the rococo that continued well after the period of its supposed decline. Rather than inscrutable *rocaille* forms emptied of meaning as they circulated commercially, ornament emerges in my account as deliberately summoning the visual dynamics of the rococo as a means of shaping the intimacy of the residential interior. In examining these currents alongside the writings of Blondel, Cochin, and Le Camus, my dissertation uncovers the permeable spatial bounds of the decorated interior, and reveals ornament for the *hôtel particulier* as a vital means of navigating and shaping emerging theories of sensual architectural expression. My dissertation not only shows the supposedly oppositional aesthetic categories of the rococo and antique to be mutually entwined; it locates the asymmetry, curvilinearity, and abundance of the *rocaille* as a site of deeply evocative, fragmented, and sensory engagement across print and decoration, anchored and sustained by intaglio ornament impressions. These prints mediate and make visible the emergence of sensual expression, the activation of taste, and, together with allied works in architecture and decoration, reveal an increasingly intimate and expressive

shaping of the decorated interior. Ornament prints hover in the indeterminant space of potential between the realm of ideas and the actualized three-dimensional territory of decorative objects in the *hôtel particulier*. In this fluid realm of possibility, ornament emerges as a deeply meaningful site of exchange and interface between intaglio impressions and ideas about decoration in the eighteenth century. Long overlooked in scholarship, it is by way of ornament prints that we may revitalize our understanding of style as experienced and beheld—and print as fertile terrain for experimentation, expression, and encounter among *ornemanistes*, publishers, *marchands-merciers*, architects, and clients in the eighteenth-century. Tracing the circulation of ornament prints across Parisian topographies of commercial exchange and decorated interiors, my account uncovers a *rocaille* that subtly persisted in negotiating ideas about decoration and conditioning taste, threaded gracefully through print from the 1730s through the final years of *ancien régime*.

CHAPTER ONE

Fluid Impressions: The Currency of *Rocaille* Ornament Prints on the rue Saint-Jacques

Introduction

In Paris in the 1730s, something in print was changing. In March 1734, silversmith and metalwork designer Juste-Aurèle Meissonnier published his first *Livre d'ornemens*, a set of fifty quarter-folio etchings of cartouches, whose convulsing forms melded with winding staircases and watery fountains (figure 1.1). Appointed *Dessinateur de la chambre et du cabinet du roi* in 1727, Meissonnier had already produced strikingly asymmetrical designs for candlesticks, chandeliers, and tableware such as soup terrines, alongside festival decorations and highly ornate frames for paintings. When his intaglio cascades, fountains, and shells were published by the Chéreau print firm on the rue Saint-Jacques, they were thus described in the *Mercure de France*:

A set of horizontal prints has appeared in the style of Étienne la Belle, and which must pique the curiosity of the public and *curieux* of better taste. These are fountains, cascades, ruins, *rocailles*, shells, morsels of architecture, which make bizarre effects, singular and picturesque, through their piquant and extraordinary forms, where often no portion responds to another, and without which the subject would appear less rich and less agreeable. There is also a sort of ceiling with figures and animals, grouped with intelligence, in which the borders are extremely ingenious and varied... These prints are sold on the rue Saint-Jacques, at the widow Chéreau's, at the two golden pillars. There are almost fifty, engraved by Laureolli.³⁷

The *Mercure* emphasized the fragmented quality of the prints, their capacity to join pieces and portions of architectural elements together in unconventional shapes. Meissonnier had obtained a *privilege* to publish a suite of prints in November 1733, which were derived from his snuffbox

³⁷ *Mercure de France*, March 1734, 558-559: "Il paroît une suite d'Estampes en large, dans le goût d'Etienne La Belle, qui doivent piquer la curiosité du Public et de Curieux du meilleur goût. Ce sont des Fontaines, des Cascades, des Ruines, des Rocailles, et Coquillages, des morceaux d'Architecture qui font des effets bizarres et pittoresques, par leurs formes piquantes et extraordinaires, dont souvent aucune partie ne répond à l'autre, sans que le sujet en paroisse moins agréable. Il y a aussi des espèces de plafonds avec figures et animaux, groupez ave intelligence, dont les bordures sont extrêmement ingénieuses et varies. Le cartouche qui sert de Frontispice, porte ce *Titre: Livre d'Ornements inventez et dessinez par J.O. Meissonnier, Architecte, Dessinateur de la Chambre et Cabinet du Roy*. Ces estampes se vendent rue S. Jacques chez la veuve Chéreau, aux deux Piliers d'or. Il y en a près de cinquante gravées par Laureolli."

designs.³⁸ The horizontally-oriented plates that he produced were comprised of bits of ornamentation such as one would find in the decoration of a frame or candlestick, only with the scale amplified such that these details became central to the scene. These images formed bridges and walkways punctuated with rushing streams and fountains (figures 1.2-1.3).³⁹ The oft-quoted *Mercure* text makes distinctive use of the word “rocaille,” an early example in advertisement of employing this term to convey the visual effects of printed ornament that evoked three-dimensional rock and shellwork formations.⁴⁰

Stretching vertically through the Latin quarter from the Sorbonne up to the Pont Marie on the Seine, the rue Saint-Jacques was home to the most notable Parisian booksellers and print-dealers in the eighteenth century.⁴¹ Their shop signs and other markings—such as François Chéreau’s *Deux piliers d’or* and Pierre-Jean Mariette’s *Colonnes d’Hercule* with a large iron-wrought butterfly—extended into this narrow street until 1761, when a municipal order forced their removal due to obstruction of natural light.⁴² The quality and content of these dealers’

³⁸ Fuhring, *Juste-Aurèle Meissonnier*, 55. Meissonnier obtained a general privilege for the suite at the garde de Sceaux, responsable des affaires de l’imprimerie on 26 November 1733. While the full set of fifty has never been identified, the most complete portion of these prints are found at Waddesdon Manor.

³⁹ This sense that formerly peripheral framing devices were pulled into rococo ornament as central, blurring the boundaries between center and edge, has been noted by Fuhring, *Juste-Aurèle Meissonnier*, 72-73 and Fiske Kimball, *The Creation of the Rococo Decorative Style* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1943), 161. In the *Mercure* text, Meissonnier’s work was also compared to the prolific seventeenth-century Italian printmaker Stefano della Bella, who produced intricate etchings of all manner of scenes including friezes and acanthus scrolls, thus linking this work to an earlier, ornate Italianate Baroque style of ornamentation.

⁴⁰ Fuhring, *Juste-Aurèle Meissonnier*, 440 still offers the most complete account of tracking the term “rocaille” in this period and its relationship to Meissonnier especially. The term was increasingly used to describe Meissonnier’s decorations, including the cartouches of his wooden frame designs, such as a 1730 frame sculpted by Slotz for a painting by Jean-Baptiste Oudry depicting a hunting scene.

⁴¹ These included Pierre-François Basan, François Poilly, Antoine Aveline, François Chéreau, Gabriel Huquier, and Pierre-Jean Mariette. On the long history of the Paris print trade, see Marianne Grivel, *Le Commerce de l’estampe à Paris au XVII^e siècle* (Paris, Paris: Publications de l’École Pratique des Hautes Études, V^e Section, Sciences historiques et philologiques, 1986) 59-62 for the rue Saint-Jacques, and Corinne Le Bizouté, “Le Commerce de l’estampe à Paris dans la première moitié du XVIII^e siècle,” Thèse de l’École Nationale de Chartres, 1986.

⁴² On the history of Parisian shop signs see Richard Wrigley, “Between the Street and the Salon: Parisian Shop Signs and the Spaces of Professionalism in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries,” *Oxford Art Journal* 21, no.1 (1998): 45-67. On the Mariette shop, see Alexandre Gady, “Rue Saint-Jacques, aux Colonnes d’Hercule: la maison de Jean Mariette retrouvée,” *Commission du Vieux-Paris, Procès-verbaux*, 1995, 5-20.

collections varied considerably, from Mariette's luxury edition of Blondel's *De la distribution*, to small sets of ornament prints costing just a few *sous*. Independent *recueils* of ornament circulated alongside architectural tomes, and in the eighteenth century, these booklets took many forms and were produced in partnership with artisans, engravers, and print publishers. In the 1730s, metalsmiths such as Meisssonier, woodcarvers like Nicolas Pineau, and decorative panel painters like Alexis Peyrotte produced small booklets, also known as *cahiers* or *livrets*, by having their drawings engraved and making them available for sale chez Huquier, Chéreau and other publishers at the relatively cheap price of several *sous*.⁴³

The center of the print trade had shifted in the seventeenth century from the rue Montorgueil on the right bank to the rue Saint-Jacques on the left, where booklets of ornament patterns were produced for multiple purposes, including artisanal use and drawing instruction, with models for embroidery, metalwork, architectural ornament, and woodwork.⁴⁴ The commercial circuits between left-bank print dealers and right-bank *marchands-merciers* and artisans were punctuated by itinerant *étaleurs* along the river, who had also sold *cahiers* of ornament since the seventeenth century, offering all manner of inexpensive prints, with unbound sets of ornament circulating alongside political satire and pornography.⁴⁵ So accessible were ornament prints that from the 1720s through at least the 1740s, buyers were encouraged to cut

⁴³ After Meisssonier had his work published by Chéreau in 1734, beginning in 1738, he worked with Huquier, who took over the project and transferred his work into the folio-size edition *Oeuvre de Juste-Aurèle Meisssonier* (1748) in close consultation with the artist. See Fuhring, "Juste-Aurèle Meisssonier and his Patrons," in *Rococo: The Continuing Curve*, ed. Sarah Coffin, 6. Pineau seems to have sold his work through the publisher Louis Crépy. See *Nouveaux desseins de Pieds de Tables et de Vases et Consoles de sculpture en bois Inventés par le Sieur Pineau Sculpteur*, à Paris chez Crépy le fils rue S.t Jacques près S.t Yves. INHA, 4 EST 696.

⁴⁴ On this geographical shift and the rue Saint-Jacques, see Grivel, *Le Commerce de l'estampe*, 58-62. On decorative engraving produced in this location, see especially 150-153.

⁴⁵ Scott, *The Rococo Interior*, 247-249. Scott advanced the notion of a "promiscuous" rococo that gradually detached itself from expensive architectural tomes with textual explanation, shifting to small *cahiers* of ornament sold by print dealers, to cheap prints sold by street-sellers along the Seine. On the itinerant dealers and *bouquinistes* who set up shop along the *quais* and *ponts* of the Seine in the seventeenth century, see Grivel, 62-69.

them out and paste them onto fans and folding screens, transforming interior illustration into scenes that viewers could own and observe.⁴⁶ In these years, Huquier published such suites as *Premier Livre de nouveaux Caprices d'Ornements meslés de fleurs et de fruits* (1740) and *Trophées de Fleurs et Fruits Étrangers* (1738-49), works that mixed rococo cartouches, chimera, and spiraling tendrils of floral ornament of pure invention, too complicated to be faithfully translated by artisans (figure 1.4).⁴⁷

Since the late seventeenth-century, intricate interlaced designs for embroidery-style flowerbeds, or *parterres en broderie*, were published alongside designs for unfurling grotesque wall and ceiling patterns, suggesting a strong mutual engagement between interior and exterior ornament.⁴⁸ In the 1730s, the relationship between prints and textiles became increasingly blurred: wallpaper could imitate the look of damask or cut velvet, and flocked paper made of feathers or powdered wool could be fabricated in elaborate designs resembling outdoor greenery.⁴⁹ In addition to this graphic melding of textures and materials in print, the relationship between ornament and the physical body was also entwined. For instance, the undulating forms of printed dance notations—schematic renditions of the popular *danse noble* performed at the Opéra—closely recalled the traceries of arabesque curves used for wall decoration.⁵⁰ These

⁴⁶ Pullins, “Images as Objects,” 46. See also Scott, *The Rococo Interior*, 250-51, and Simon Jervis, “Huquier’s ‘Second Livre,’” *J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 14 (1986): 113-120.

⁴⁷ See Gabriel Huquier, *Premier Livre de nouveaux Caprices d'Ornements meslés de fleurs et de fruits*, 1740 and *Trophées de Fleurs et Fruits Étrangers*, 1738-49. Bibliothèque du Musée des Arts Décoratifs (MAD).

⁴⁸ Sarah Cohen, *Art, Dance, and the Body in French Culture of the Ancien Régime* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 94-95. Decorators of interiors and garden designers were in frequent contact in the planning of châteaux ornamentation, and this relationship was in turn reflected in ornament books.

⁴⁹ On the hanging of tapestries, silks, and brocades to decorate interiors, and imitations of this material in flocked wallpaper as an inexpensive alternative, see Scott, *The Rococo Interior*, 36-41.

⁵⁰ On the relationship between the arabesque and dance, see Cohen, *Art, Dance, and the Body in French Culture of the Ancien Régime*, 89-133.

prints were available for sale along the Seine, and were published annually alongside sheet music for those who wished to learn the steps and take part in balls and other forms of social dancing.⁵¹

In these same years, another group of artists began disseminating their work in print: the *pensionnaires* who returned from Rome in 1730s and 40s, including sculptors Edmé Bouchardon and Jacques-François-Joseph Saly. Their etchings were published in Rome and Paris, with such subjects as architectural fantasies, ruins, vases, tombs, and fountains.⁵² While normally studied within the broader context of the reformation of taste for the antique, in the 1730s the work of these artists in fact intermingled in Huquier's shop with the latest *rocaille* prints by François Boucher (1703-1770), Jacques de Lajoue (1686-1761), and Meissonnier. These artists' prints—so often considered separately—evinced striking reciprocal formal borrowings when observed in dialogue with one another. While Bouchardon is immersed in the shellwork of the rococo, pattern books by Lajoue and others employ the *rocaille* to illustrate antique sculptural fragments framed by the curvilinear *cartouche*.⁵³ By centering on the Paris print trade, this chapter examines accounts that are usually considered apart from one another: rococo and its dissemination at the height of the Huquier firm in the 1730s, the etchings and antiquarian writings of the comte de Caylus, and the criticism of the rococo in the 1740s and 50s as

⁵¹ See for example Michel Gaudrau after Louis Pécour, *Nouveau recueil de dance de bal et celle de ballet, contenant un très grand nombre des meilleures entrées de ballet de la composition de Mr Pécour tant pour hommes que pour femmes qui ont été dansées à l'Opéra ouvrage très utile aux maitres et à toutes les personnes qui s'appliquent à la dance recüeillies et mises au jour. Par Mr Gaudrau m.e. de dance et de l'académie royalle de musique* (Paris: Gaudrau, 1713) BnF Paris RES-V-1639. This volume was available at Gaudrau's studio on the rue de Seine and at the Pierre Ribou bookshop at the foot of the Pont Neuf.

⁵² On the *pensionnaires* and the neoclassical turn, see Svend Eriksen's classic account *Early Neoclassicism in France* (London: Faber, 1974), 29-41. More recent interventions have focused on this period as uneven and fraught in how the antique was conceived across media, though they still frame the antique as a means of reforming errors of taste. See Fumaroli, "Retour à l'antique: la guerre des goûts dans l'Europe des Lumières," in *L'Antiquité rêvée*, eds. Fumaroli et.al., 23-55.

⁵³ See Mondon, *Premier Livre d'ornements de forme rocquaille et cartel*. Published by Antoine Aveline, 1736 INHA Paris 4 RES 23. Eriksen has discussed the imaginative and fanciful vase designs of the generation of *pensionnaires* of the 1740s in Rome, but scholars have not considered the circulation of this ornament in Paris and its connection to rococo design.

architectural ornament for the residential interior increasingly proliferated. Caylus' theories of imaginative and sensual viewer engagement articulated in the preface to his *Recueil d'antiquités* drew upon his training composing etchings after the sinuous arabesques of Antoine Watteau.⁵⁴ While scholars have suggested that these theories allowed Caylus to reconcile the differences between his early and late graphic practices, I suggest that we might situate them within a longer history of the rococo strategically employed to negotiate an emerging preoccupation with the antique.

By examining the persistence of *rocaille* formal devices in ornament prints—notably, such key elements as bimodal asymmetry and *papillotage* that activate viewer attention—this chapter in turn highlights the first stirrings of new antique language that accommodates and works with *rocaille* design during these decades, rather than quickly overtaking it. When Scott traced the apotheosis of a somewhat passive rococo that continued to float through the atmosphere in the 1750s as a “richly derogatory sign in a multitude of other discourses,” it seemed that it never recovered the traction it had in the work of Pineau, Meissonnier, Lajoue, and Oppenord in the 1730s.⁵⁵ According to this view, the original critical, ironic meaning of the rococo and its imbrication in patterns of elite social distinction fell away once it entered the open-ended marketplace, where it became swept up in the world of commerce and criticism.⁵⁶ The rococo's relationship to social distinction and *distribution* (the coherent balancing of ordered, hierarchical spatial arrangement with social rank) was lost in the print trade, along with its turn-of-the century *mondaine* playfulness and capacity for subversion. In turning an eye to rococo prints produced by the Huquier firm, this chapter contends that the *rocaille* continued to

⁵⁴ On the early and late work of Caylus in relation to the *Recueil d'antiquités*, see Hector Reyes, “Drawing History in the Comte de Caylus' *Recueil d'antiquités*,” *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture* 42 (2013): 171-189.

⁵⁵ Scott, *The Rococo Interior*, 265.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 241-65.

shape playful modes of looking that not only persisted as they circulated, but were essential to the way that emerging antique forms articulated and assembled themselves. Far from draining these images of meaning, the dispersals of commerce allowed print to engage all the more in the vertiginous delights of *mondaine* playfulness, increasing the vitality and “currency” of this play. My analysis builds on Stephen Bann’s assertion that repetition and reproduction were not limiting to print, but rather enhanced its value through its circulation of images.⁵⁷ While scholars such as Pullins have recently considered the transmedia application of ornament prints upon other objects such as screens and fans, less attention has been paid to the way that ornament prints already framed and conveyed these broader material and spatial blurrings, immersing viewers in visual fragmentation and optical inversions through the activation of *papillotage* that persisted all the more as the rococo commercially circulated.⁵⁸

This chapter is divided into three sections. My account begins with a detour back to the Crozat circle at the turn of the eighteenth century and the linguistic and visual play of *burlesque*, which I posit provides a rich context for the comte de Caylus’ etchings, and which enriched the practice of close looking forged during his friendship with Watteau, informing his approach to the *Recueil d’antiquités*. I then turn to the rue Saint-Jacques in the 1730s and 40s as an important locus of print production and dissemination, focusing on the Huquier print firm. Blondel’s 1737-38 *De la distribution des maisons de plaisance* provides a final episode, along with later publications by Huquier, in which ornament *recueils* are increasingly produced against mounting criticism of the rococo. Foregrounding visual connections among prints that have otherwise been

⁵⁷ See Stephen Bann, *Parallel Lines: Printmakers, Painters, and Photographers in Nineteenth-Century France* (New Haven: Yale University Press), 2001 for an analysis of repetition and reproduction that were not limiting, but rather enhanced the “currency” and meaning of prints, especially “reproductive printmaking” that is often sidelined in scholarship.

⁵⁸ Pullins, “Images as Objects,” 223

placed into separate categories allows us to consider continuities across various forms of print production.⁵⁹ These print endeavors across ornament, architecture, and decoration reveal an increasing focus on individual, subjective experience as they graphically articulate three-dimensional objects in arresting intaglio impressions. These pieces, or more evocatively, morsels, of decoration evoke a fragmented, sensual way of looking that continued in spite of the reformation of taste and changing attitudes about the rococo.

Playful Prints: From the Burlesque to the Rocaille

In Antoine Watteau's *The Perspective* (1714-15), a grove of trees embraces a quiet scene of individuals engaged in conversation, music-making, promenading, and other *mondain* activities associated with the social practice of the *fête galante* (figure 1.5).⁶⁰ The *galante* parties to which Watteau's picture alludes were elite entertainments that entailed an element of enchantment or make-believe, with balls, masquerades, and dining in garden settings. These forms of leisure were practiced as part of the cult of *honnêteté*, marked by the cultivation of pleasure, refined sensibilities, and artful comportment that allowed members of the high aristocracy to both distinguish themselves from those of lower rank (who could increasingly buy titles) and playfully resist the absolutism of Versailles.⁶¹ These activities often took place in the gardens of aristocratic country estates, where entertainments and diversions such as *jeux champêtres* (country games) and masquerades derived from rituals at Versailles, reimagined with

⁵⁹ Studies of *ornement à l'antique* have often been folded into broader catalogues documenting collections such as Mary Myers, *French Architectural and Ornament Drawings of the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art: H.N. Abrams, 1991) and Peter Fuhling, *Design into Art: Drawings for Architecture and Ornament* (London: P. Wilson Publishers, 1999). There have also been few monographs on these artists comparable to such studies as Marianne Roland-Michel, *Lajoue et l'Art Rocaille* (Neuilly-sur-Seine: Arthena, 1984) or Peter Fuhling, *Meisssonier: Un génie de Rococo* (Torino: Allemandi, 1999).

⁶⁰ On Watteau and the *fête galante*, see Julie Anne Plax, *Watteau and the Cultural Politics of Eighteenth-Century France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 110-153.

⁶¹ On *honnêteté* and Watteau, see Mary Vidal, *Watteau's Painted Conversations: Art, Literature, and Talk in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century France* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992).

a lightness that resisted the weighty social strictures of court.⁶² Participants in these activities also borrowed from lower cultural forms such *parades*: short, sometimes crude theatrical performances that poked fun at the king and members of the clergy, performed by the *commedia dell'arte* at the *foire* Saint-Germain before being banned in 1679 by authorities.⁶³ Appropriating this clandestine theater as a means of further socially distinguishing themselves and artfully resisting the tightly controlled etiquette of court life, these entertainments afforded members of the high aristocracy the chance to reimagine the *fêtes* of Versailles with playful subversion. While most of Watteau's paintings are situated in imaginary, ambiguous locations and evoke the artful sociability of the *fête galante* without recalling specific people, *The Perspective* refers to a particular location where the artist is thought to have stayed on occasion: the grounds of Montmorency, the country estate of immensely wealthy financier and collector Pierre Crozat, and the former home of painter to Louis XIV, Charles Le Brun.⁶⁴ Known for its characteristically linear perspective in alignment with the geometric gardens of Versailles, the tree-lined *allées* leading to Crozat's home are softened in Watteau's picture, transformed into a shaded, wooded grove that harbors quiet, subdued conversation and gentle strolling through the grounds.⁶⁵ Glimpsed from a distance between the trees, the façade of the house can just be made out—a

⁶² Notable examples of these festivities are the Duchesse du Maine's 1714 *Nuits de Sceaux*, a series of fifteen nighttime parties, theatrical performances, and spectacles such as fireworks, which drew upon royal entertainments while playfully recasting them outside the official bounds of court. See Nina Lewallen, "Architecture and Performance at the Hôtel du Maine in Eighteenth-Century Paris," *Studies in the Decorative Arts* 17, no. 1, The Bard Graduate Center for Studies in the Decorative Arts, Design, and Culture (Fall-Winter 2009-2010): 2-32.

⁶³ On the mixing of high and low in Watteau's arabesques and the appropriation of the *parade* from the fair, see Thomas Crow, *Painters and Public Life in Eighteenth-Century Paris* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 55-65.

⁶⁴ As scholars have noted, this location is suggested in an annotation by Pierre Mariette on a 1726 etching by Caylus after Watteau's painting, which reads "Maison de M. Le Brun, premier peintre du roi Louis XIV." See BnF EST 42739-40.

⁶⁵ For different interpretations of this picture, see Scott, *The Rococo Interior*, 157, and Marianne Roland-Michel, *Watteau: Un artiste au XVIIIe siècle* (London: Trefoil Books, 1984), 160-62.

fragile, almost stage-set like classical edifice in the distance.⁶⁶ In *The Perspective*, the weightiness and legibility of Le Brun's classicism is altogether obscured, replaced by a dreamlike *fête galante* that lends the scene a lightness, a fleeting and ephemeral quality. The delicacy of interlaced bodies maneuvering through garden pathways is rather closer in character to Le Brun's lesser-studied decorative work for château interiors, such as his arabesques for Vaux-le-Vicomte, which were created in dialogue with the intricate *parterres en broderie* designed by André Le Notre for the surrounding gardens.⁶⁷

Crozat purchased the residence in 1702, and in 1719 he hired architect and designer Gilles-Marie Oppenord to build an *orangerie* on the grounds, a greenhouse conservatory where music concerts and other entertainments were held. Oppenord had enjoyed a positive reputation by the time he gained the Crozat commission, having been named First Architect to the regent Phillipe II d'Orléans in 1713. In 1704, Crozat constructed the famous *Hôtel* Crozat (later the *Hôtel* de Choiseul) in Paris on the rue de Richelieu in today's second arrondissement. The home would become an important site of numerous gatherings among artists, collectors, and theorists, including print dealer and publisher Pierre-Jean Mariette, textile manufacturer and collector Jean de Jullienne, theorist Roger de Piles, artists Antoine Coypel and Watteau, and the comte de Caylus. This influential circle of *amateurs*, theorists, and collectors who gathered weekly has been described by scholars as a sort of informal or "shadow academy," where advanced aesthetic discourse was promoted, and where later eighteenth-century methods of

⁶⁶ Michel has suggested that the building in the background is in fact based on the stage-set decoration for the ballet *Les Noces de Thétis*, used by Watteau to evoke the theatrical performances that took place at Crozat's estate. See Roland-Michel, *Watteau: Un artiste au XVIIIe siècle*, 160-62.

⁶⁷ On Le Brun's arabesques, see Kimball, *The Creation of the Rococo*, 30-31 and Cohen, *Art, Dance, and the Body*, 94-95. Le Brun's intricate decorative work for interiors can offer an alternative view of the artist, so often seen as the epitome of a weighty, strictly legible French classicism.

connoisseurship were practiced and formulated.⁶⁸ The *Hôtel Crozat* overlooked a kitchen garden, several *parterres*, and a fruit garden, and included a mirrored *grand galerie* that reflected the surrounding arbors and greenery. Nicolas Lancret's c.1720-24 pendant paintings depict Crozat's well-known concerts—both at Montmorency where the large windows of the oval salon in the greenhouse are thrown open, and at the Parisian *hôtel* where musicians play within the mirrored *galerie* overlooking the gardens (figure 1.6). In these convivial meetings, interior and exterior—*apartment* and garden—melded together, a blurring of space that extended to a certain permeability between public and private realms that scholars have noted in the Crozat circle during the Regency (1715-23).⁶⁹

The play between indoors and outdoors permeates the work of Oppenord in particular, especially his drawings of wall elevations for *salons* and other interiors likely executed in Paris around 1730 and posthumously published by Gabriel Huquier around 1748 in what is known familiarly as the “Grand Oppenord.”⁷⁰ After the regent's death in 1723, Oppenord did not receive any commissions from the new duc d'Orléans Louis, and in 1729-30 he moved to the *Hôtel Crozat*, where he lived in an apartment on an extension of the property that he had added along the rue de Richelieu. During his time living in the midst of the Crozat circle, he made plans for numerous *hôtels* and gardens, including many drawings that were taken up later by Huquier as part of his *œuvre* projects. Scholars have observed that plates from this series produce marked effects of spatial and perspectival confusion, though little attention has been paid to the wider

⁶⁸ On the Crozat circle as a “shadow academy,” see Crow, *Painters and Public Life*, 40. On Mariette and the history of eighteenth-century connoisseurship, see Kristel Smentek, *Mariette and the Science of the Connoisseur in Eighteenth-Century Europe* (London: Farnham, Surrey and Burlington VT: Ashgate, 2014).

⁶⁹ Crow, *Painters and Public Life*, 41. According to this view, language and conversation held sway in Crozat's gatherings beyond what was then practiced at the Academy, and Crozat, rather than the Academy, was instrumental in assembling the painting collection of the duc d'Orléans.

⁷⁰ On this volume, see Jean-François Bédard, *Decorative Games: Ornament, Rhetoric, and Noble Culture in the Work of Gilles-Marie Oppenord* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2011), 17-38.

context in which Oppenord lived and worked while making these images.⁷¹ In these prints, decorated overdoors and inlaid paneling are punctuated by scenes that evoke decorative paintings, mirrored reflections of the outdoors, or a kind of ruptured space that leads to a strange outside world. The slices of landscape glimpsed beyond are remarkably incongruent, and do not add up to one cohesive whole. In *Porte pour le Sallon côté*, figures in the distance converse along a staircase with a balustrade, while in the center and at right, a bosquet with fountains extends along a garden, and a reflecting pool with steps appears to emerge from the floor (figure 0.2). The result is a sort of inverted composition in which the *salon* becomes a kind of empty shell or scaffolding, rather than a firm structure. Oppenord's wall elevation becomes merely a frame or device through which to view the gardens, fountains, and staircases of the outdoors, rather than a realizable design for a *salon*. The gardens puncture the arabesques and decorations of the *salon* interior's walls, yet they are glimpsed and apprehended as fragmentary scenes, at once strikingly present and somehow far-off. In *Projet pour la décoration d'un grand Sallon*, incomplete parts of staircases, balustrades, and hedges provide a similar spatial effect, while in *Projet d'un grand Sallon sur un jardin*, the archways and ceilings of an entirely different interior create an especially complicated view (figures 1.7-1.8). It is as if Oppenord has taken the arched windows from Lancret's painting of Crozat's concerts and turned them at an angle, or taken the architectural portions of an inventive Meissonnier or Lajoue print and inserted them into a seemingly straightforward set of wall elevations. In these prints, Oppenord does not record or suggest a particular place as much as he manages to evoke the presence of the outdoors that one might experience at one of Crozat's *fêtes*—whether listening to a concert with the windows

⁷¹ On these plates, see Roland-Michel, *Lajoüe et l'Art rocaille*, 158-161, and Scott, *The Rococo Interior*, 159.

open, experiencing the disorientation of mirrored reflections of the gardens in the *grand galerie*, or stepping into the grounds of the country house to partake in the pleasures of *jeux champêtres*.

These rococo formal qualities including alterations in scale, spatial inversions, and flickering effects have their roots in earlier work such as that of Oppenord. The practice of taking something straightforward and manipulating it to alter its meaning was central to Oppenord's drawings, and to the *burlesque* tradition more broadly. In the late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth century, and especially during the Regency, decoration for interiors by Oppenord and his contemporaries Claude Audran, Claude Gillot, and Jean Bérain had formed part of a light decorative idiom that reinforced *mondaine* values of playfulness, gallantry, and resistance to absolutism (figure 1.9).⁷² Grotesques and arabesques that were painted upon walls and ceilings also circulated in print, and these images harkened back to the *monde* of the early seventeenth century and its noble culture of playful sociability that resisted Baroque grand manner themes.⁷³ The culture of the *mondaine* relied on irony and oppositions, often practiced as part of linguistic parlor games.⁷⁴ These collective games found visual analogues in interior decoration, especially the grotesque and arabesque. Their decorative forms conveyed a sense of contrast through the mixing of high and low, the classical and the vernacular—with elements drawn from mythology, the fairground, and later, the *commedia dell'arte*.⁷⁵ As Sarah Cohen has shown, the grotesque closely paralleled designs for garden trceries and choreography for the ballet, with each one relying on formal variations of curvilinear patterns around a central axis.⁷⁶ The bimodal designs

⁷² For an overview of these themes in relation to Oppenord, see Bédard, *Decorative Games*, 17-38.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 26-27.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.* *Burlesque* parlor games involved all kinds of word puzzles and linguistic techniques, including the *bout-rimé* (end-rhyme) a sonnet with fixed endings that allowed participants to invent verses leading up to the rhymes.

⁷⁵ On the arabesque, see Bruno Pons, "Arabesques, or New Grotesques," in *The History of Decorative Arts: Classicism and the Baroque in Europe*, ed. Alain Gruber (New York: Abbeville, 1996), 157-223. On the integration of low-life and fairground figures in decoration, see Crow, 58-62 and Scott, *The Rococo Interior*, 154-55.

⁷⁶ On the grotesque and dance, see Cohen, *Art, Dance, and the Body*, especially "Aristocratic Trceries," 89-133.

of a suite of engraved grotesques, the curvilinear patterns of arabesque paneling, or the intricate patterns of the embroidered *parterre* each evoked the traces of the courtly body in motion.⁷⁷ These patterns tended to be symmetrical, axially laid out, and analogous to the movements of a collective “artful body”—that is, the graceful comportment of courtiers in motion around the body of the king.⁷⁸ By the early eighteenth century, court ballet had transitioned from Versailles to the Paris Opéra, where it was performed for audiences who could also purchase music sheets with dance notations in print shops on the rue Saint-Jacques. At the same time, new dances such as the *contredanse*, a couple’s dance featuring intimate pairings between two partners, became increasingly popular both at the Opéra and in ballrooms.

Decoration correspondingly changed; instead of the complicated, horizontally splayed grotesques of Berain that aligned with the collective movements of the courtly body, the vertical arabesque of Audran and Watteau emerged, with a more intimate focus on spatial play and multiple, shifting perspectives (figure 1.10). The choreography of the *contredanse* emphasized the dancers’ steps along the sides, then their joining together in the middle briefly, movements that were conveyed by the cascading linear patterns and hourglass shape of the arabesque.⁷⁹ So too, arabesques found increasing use in more intimate settings outside the bounds of Versailles, including *hôtels particuliers* and country retreats. One of the most evocative descriptions of the decorating of these spaces was offered by the comte de Caylus, who recalled in his 1748 *Vie de Watteau* that these decorative schemes were sometimes composed while in conversation with the owners of the residence, with full-scale sketches by Audran applied directly on the wall paneling or ceiling, allowing for an element of spontaneity and collaborative creation:

⁷⁷ Ibid., 94-95.

⁷⁸ See for instance the spectacle of the *danse noble* at the court of Louis XIV as described by Cohen, 13-52.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

“Elles étaient susceptibles, par les places qu’il y réservait, de recevoir différents sujets de figures et autres, à la volonté des particuliers qu’il avait su mettre dans le goût d’en faire décorer leurs plafonds et leurs lambris, en sorte que plusieurs artistes de divers genres y trouvaient de l’emploi.”⁸⁰

Caylus thus remembered that Audran would leave certain areas blank so that other artists of “divers genres” could fill these spaces in according to the desires of the *hôtel* patron, a practice that Bédard has likened to the improvisation of playful burlesque conversation.⁸¹ These decorative practices have also been compared to the informal performance of the theatrical *parade*, to which I would also suggest the intimate give-and-take of the *contredanse*.⁸² These multiple registers of meaning suggest a mutual relationship between decoration and social encounter, of the practice of taking lived, embodied experience and rendering it schematically as print or the trceries of wall paneling. These decorative devices in turn call forth active viewer participation, whether in their production or in the visual effects *papillotage*, eliciting in viewers the activity of casting glances from oblique angles and looking from multiple perspectives. The vertiginous, constant movement implied in decoration and elicited in viewers thus required a reciprocal give-and-take between ornament and audience, with both held suspended in a state of endless motion. In the work of Oppenord especially, these qualities invite a sense of chance and discovery, evoking the experience of playful encounter.

The legacy of the *burlesque* can be observed in some of its most expressive and playful in Oppenord’s 1713 decorated *Iconologie* from the Canadian Centre for Architecture (the 1636 French edition of Cesare Ripa’s *Iconologia*, with text by Jean Baudoin and illustrations by

⁸⁰ Caylus, “La Vie d’Antoine Watteau Peintre de figures et de paysages Sujets galants et modernes lues à l’Académie le 3 février 1748 par le Come de Caylus, in *Vies anciennes de Watteau*, ed. Pierre Rosenberg (Paris: Hermann, 1984), 53-91.

⁸¹ See Bédard, *Decorative Games*, 29.

⁸² On the correspondence between decoration and social activities such as *salon* conversation or theatrical performances, see Crow, 59 and Scott, *The Rococo Interior*, 123-133.

Jacques de Bié), in which expressive drawings are sketched over more serious allegorical emblems organized alphabetically.⁸³ These images were later recomposed by Huquier and distributed on the rue Saint-Jacques print market around 1748. Ripa's iconological emblems are illustrated by de Bié as a set of medallions organized six to a page. On top of these medallions, Oppenord composed sketches derived from certain details of de Bié's visual attributes, creating an imaginary context for them. For example, traits such as "Patience," "Perfection," and "Piété" on page 22 are situated by Oppenord within the cascading waters of a fountain with a swan and nymphs, while "Célérité," "Chasteté," and "Confidence," on page 25 are placed along a ship's mast, with oars plunging into the waves amidst the salty spray of sea foam (figure 1.11). The ship rushing towards the viewer is derived from the little ship model held by the allegory of "Confidence," amplified and made larger than life in Oppenord's drawing, which delights in the chance juxtapositions of illustrative attributes chosen by de Bié and the kinds of fanciful drawings that emerge when certain of these details are used for his large-scale sketches. On page 28, the small camel used to illustrate "Discretion," is not discrete at all, instead transformed into a gnarled, yawning animal holding up a complicated column including nymphs, putti, and a vase, set within an architectural pediment (figure 1.12). Sometimes the medallions seem more like a pretext for Oppenord's inventive designs, such as on page 43 (figure 1.12), where the carefully composed monument topped with a large vase doesn't seem to correspond to anything particular in the iconological vocabulary.

These images attest to the importance of language and wordplay for the *burlesque*, in the hands of architects like Oppenord who were well-versed in its linguistic strategies. As Bédard

⁸³ Gilles-Marie Oppenord, Copy of Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia* by Jean Baudoin, illustrated by Jacques de Bié, after 1713, DR1991:007. On the album, see Bédard, *Decorative Games*, 29. Oppenord's sketches after Cesare Ripa functioned according to this view as visual equivalents of burlesque word games or *bouts-rimés*.

has shown, the seriousness of the emblems is playfully subverted and deflated by these drawings, which rely on random assortments and groupings. I would contend further, however, that the didactic meanings of these images are deliberately obscured in favor of playful incongruities, and even a sense of chance and discovery. As scholars have noted, the early eighteenth century also witnessed the waning of the seventeenth-century heroic mode, in which the iconography of heraldic devices moved from periphery to center in ornament prints, resulting in the empty decorative cartouche.⁸⁴ While this tendency has been understood by Bédard as undercutting the legacy of noble heraldry and decentering the coat of arms, it might also have functioned, I suggest, as a way of visually foregrounding the process of imaginative encounter itself. In Oppenord's drawings, the emblems lose their straightforward, instructive qualities as part of de Bié's manual; they become instead objects that are found and made knowable through the happenstance and randomness of encounter, evoking a disjointed, fragmented, even embodied way of gaining knowledge. The repetition of images of fountains and waterways—and especially the sailing ship illustration—further suggests a sense of travel and discovery, of found objects brought forth and washed ashore. What we may identify as the “early rococo” in Oppenord's work operates, I suggest, as both a playful subversion of Grand Manner themes and as a way of coming to terms with these themes differently, of confronting the vast array of emblems and vocabulary at the artist's disposal. In this sense, the early rococo is very much anchored in the process of knowing the world.⁸⁵ It allows Oppenord to apprehend, process, and articulate knowledge in a way that is sometimes disorganized, grasping, and seen from oblique angles or multiple perspectives. Before Meissonnier and Lajoue in the 1730s, we can already see in

⁸⁴ Scott, *The Rococo Interior*, 181-182.

⁸⁵ Here I build on Yonan, “Knowing the World through Rococo Ornamental Prints,” 177–198, to locate this way of “knowing the world” earlier than Meissonnier, already at work in the illustrations of Oppenord c. 1713.

Oppenord the first stirrings of a shift to markedly topsy-turvy, asymmetrical compositions, with heaps of objects precariously balanced together. These images attest to a noticeable shift from the carefully symmetrical grotesques of the seventeenth century, and their relationship to collective social practices, toward a focus instead on the particular and the subjective—whether the intimate patterns of a couple’s dance in the arabesques of Watteau, its schematic representation as tracings of steps in *Recueil de danses composés par M. Feuillet* (figure 1.13) or the quiet sense of discovery and chance encounter evoked by the sketches of Oppenord.

This focus on the particular and the individual also aligned with a shift toward the desire to capture the distinctive *manière* or style of the artist compiled in print *recueils*.⁸⁶ Print was central to the Crozat circle, with its emphasis on viewing and discerning works of art and recording an artist’s particular hand or touch that gave rise to the format of the *recueil*, bound compendiums of reproductive engravings.⁸⁷ These issues might seem far removed from the rococo ornament print, which occupied a different space in the commercial territories of print exchange, and which was not so much reproductive of other works of art as it was generative of ideas, formal variations, and decorative possibilities. However, as we shall see, the rococo was at the heart of the earliest endeavors by Caylus in his etched transcriptions of Watteau, including the *fête galante*, the arabesque, and numerous sets of fountains.⁸⁸ In 1721, Crozat embarked upon his ambitious *Recueil d’estampes*, a large-format catalogue of Italian and French paintings and

⁸⁶ On Mariette and the notion of *manière*, see Smentek, *Mariette and the Science of the Connoisseur*, 68-69. According to this view, engravings held an ambivalent position for Mariette; they documented and transcribed paintings but could also showcase the talented skills of engravers. They thus always mediated access to the painter’s authorial touch, which could only be directly accessed through the medium of drawing.

⁸⁷ On the eighteenth-century *Recueil* as a reproduction of painting collections, see Smentek, *Mariette*, 56-69. These *recueils* reproduced and disseminated painting and drawing collections, were organized by artist and school, and included descriptive texts that reinforced the collectors’ methods of empirical analysis and attribution.

⁸⁸ On the friendship between Watteau and Caylus, the Crozat circle, and the conditions under which Caylus learned etching, see Fumaroli, “Une amitié paradoxale: Antoine Watteau et le comte de Caylus (1712-1719),” *Revue de l’Art*, no. 114 (1996): 34-47.

drawings from the collections of the king, the Regent, and private collections including his own, known familiarly as the *Recueil Crozat*.⁸⁹ In addition to the Crozat gatherings, the basis for this influential *recueil* resides, as Smentek has shown, in the commercial territory of the print trade, where the practice of sifting through large quantities of prints and assembling print albums was fundamental to Mariette's occupation as a dealer.⁹⁰ At the same time as the *Recueil Crozat* was underway, Jean de Jullienne was compiling his own collection of drawings after Watteau, and had them engraved in the two-volume *Figures de différents caractères* (1726 and 1728), with sets of figures in various poses and positions, detached from contextualizing landscape backgrounds.⁹¹ The first lavish volume of the *Recueil Crozat* appeared next in 1729, with the second volume published by Mariette in 1742 (following Crozat's death in 1740, and before Mariette's retirement in 1750). Afterwards, the first volume of Caylus' *Recueil d'antiquités* was issued in 1752, published by Desaint & Saillant, just around the corner from Huquier, on the tiny rue Jean-de-Beauvais across from the Collège de France. These important print endeavors have been well-studied as foundational to eighteenth-century connoisseurship and antiquarianism, and to the conception of the *œuvre* as a corpus based on attention to individual style, touch, and gesture.⁹² However, the loftier goals of these grand *recueils* and the didactic, broadly

⁸⁹ For a detailed material analysis of the *Recueil d'estampes d'après les plus beaux tableaux et d'après les plus beaux desseins qui sont en France dans le Cabinet du roi, dans celui de Monsieur le Duc d'Orléans, et dans d'autres cabinets*, see Benedict Leca, "An Art Book and its Viewers: The *Recueil Crozat* and the Uses of Reproductive Engraving," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 38 (2005): 623-50. The volumes engaged forty-five printmakers including Charles-Nicolas Cochin père and fils, Nicolas Tardieu, Antoine Aveline, and Caylus. With accompanying expository text authored by Mariette, the *Recueil Crozat* has been described as the first "art book," a comprehensive illustrated survey of western painting.

⁹⁰ See Smentek, *Mariette*, 56-69.

⁹¹ On the *Figures de différents caractères, de paysages, et d'études dessinées d'après nature*, see Isabelle Tillerot, "Engraving Watteau in the Eighteenth-Century: Order and Display in the *Recueil Jullienne*." *Getty Research Journal*, no. 3 (2011): 3-52. Known familiarly as the *Recueil Jullienne*, this corpus of prints was engraved by several artists including Audran and Boucher, with additional contributions by Caylus. The publication in 1726 and 1728 followed Watteau's death in 1721, and the project likely originated from Watteau's own engravings after his drawings, *Figures de modes* and *Figures françaises et comiques* that he had published in 1710 and 1715.

⁹² Smentek, *Mariette*, 61. The *Recueil Crozat* demonstrated the importance of print as a faithful, accurate record of a work of art, as a careful transcription of a painting or drawing, rather than an inventive interpretation. See also

systematizing efforts of eighteenth-century print publishers have often overshadowed an understanding of the rococo's early shaping of print in the Crozat circle and Caylus' theories of imaginative, sensual viewer engagement.

While familiar art historical narratives position Caylus as fully rejecting his earlier engagement with Watteau upon his friendship with Bouchardon in 1733 and his subsequent efforts to reform taste, his writings in the *Recueil d'antiquités* attest that he remained invested in certain sensual, meditative qualities of art that were rooted in his early graphic training.⁹³ Further, his early etchings demonstrate an interest in quietly studying the character of different artists and subjects, without placing them in any kind of conflict or face-off. Around 1726-27, Caylus compiled a small quarter-folio set of twenty-four plates after his friend Watteau, entitled *Suite de figures inventées par Watteau gravées par son ami C.*, within the larger compendium *Recueil de tout ce que j'ai gravé à l'eau forte ou en bois* (figure 1.14).⁹⁴ While Caylus' etchings attempted to simulate the distinctive touch of Watteau, they also meditated upon some of his most sinuous forms of decoration, including *Le Dénicheur de Moineaux*, in which an amorous couple reposes amidst a flurry of foliage and trceries (figure 1.15).⁹⁵ With their bodies entangled in the surrounding greenery, the figures blend seamlessly into the arabesque. Another creative endeavor recorded an oblong design for the top of a harpsichord, complete with

Benedict Leca, "An Art Book and its Viewers: The *Recueil Crozat* and the Uses of Reproductive Engraving," 640-42. Didactic in their efforts to offer up the best of French art, the prints within these publications also highlighted best of French printmaking. They employed a "mixed intaglio" method that finely replicated the modeling of painting through careful modulation of etched and engraved lines, often gestural etching finished with crisp line engraving.

⁹³ Caylus' reforms of taste have been most notably studied as part of his negative assessment of Watteau in "La Vie d'Antoine Watteau Peintre de figures et de paysages Sujets galants et modernes lues à l'Académie le 3 février 1748 par le Comte de Caylus," in Rosenberg, *Vies anciennes de Watteau*, 53-91, and Fumaroli, *Le comte de Caylus et Edmé Bouchardon: Deux réformateurs du goût sous Louis XV*, 53-92.

⁹⁴ See Caylus, *Suite de figures inventées par Watteau gravées par son ami C.*, 1726-27, BnF Paris, ED-98-FOL.

⁹⁵ On the *Dénicheur de Moineaux* as an especially dynamic example of the melding of bodies and patterns akin to ballet choreography, see Cohen, *Art, Dance, and the Body*, 193-94. The better-known print by Boucher c.1726-35 was used for the *Recueil Jullienne*, which might explain why Caylus' foray into this arabesque has been overlooked.

frolicking *singeries* and was sold at both the rue des Noyers and with *marchand-mercier* Edmé-François Gersaint (figure 1.16).⁹⁶ Among the better-known suites of antique figures that Caylus produced after Bouchardon beginning in 1733, he also etched such ornament as *Suite de six fontaines* after the artist, composed of different organic configurations of water and earth, as well as close studies of animals such as snakes and lobsters, alongside more elegant antique statuary. These studies figure in his notebooks amidst the work of Watteau and seventeenth-century artists such as Raymond La Fage and Gillot, signaling an early moment when these artists were not yet cast asunder, but cohabitated as equally worthy subjects of study.⁹⁷ As time went on, in keeping with the format of the *Recueil Jullienne* and in composing prints and reversal prints, Caylus focused more closely on formal variations in the poses of Watteau's figures, who are extracted from their backgrounds, almost as if turning them around in one's hand (figure 1.17). In *Suite de figures inventées par Watteau*, Caylus also composed etchings after the work of sixteenth-century sculptor Baccio Bandinelli with a succession of alternate views of figures in motion, allowing him to examine different perspectives of the body. This tendency to capture views from different angles was also found in his etchings after Watteau's *The Perspective*, which formed part of the same volume (figure 1.18). In *Maison de M. Le Brun*, Caylus concentrates on Crozat's home through the trees, taking the fragile, blinking edifice in the distance and pulling it forward into the foreground, as if encountering it for the first time.⁹⁸ It is as if the etching allowed Caylus to reanimate and reconsider this structure, which was so lost in the distance in Watteau's painting.

⁹⁶ This plate exists today as a nineteenth-century reproduction. See *Les Arabesques de Watteau, Panneaux Décoratifs, Écrans, et Trophées*, gravés par Boucher, Crépy, Huquier, etc. et reproduits en facsimile. Préface par Léon Deshairs, INHA Paris, Pl Est 101.

⁹⁷ See Caylus, *Recueil de tout ce que j'ai gravé à l'eau forte ou en bois*, BnF Paris, ED-98-FOL.

⁹⁸ Mariette owned this group of Caylus' etchings. See BnF Ed-98-Fol to Ed-98c-Fol.

When Caylus later composed the preface to the first volume of the *Recueil d'antiquités* (1752), he was less interested in the ordering and sweeping systematizing that we associate with grand eighteenth-century antiquarian tomes, and focused instead on the distinctive *goût* of the ancients.⁹⁹ The frontispiece to the volume was relatively simple, showing a structure with two columns and a pinecone on top (figure 1.19). In the preface, Caylus wrote of the capacity of print to articulate the fragmentary “morsels” of the antique within his own collection:

Mais au lieu que le Physicien, ayant toujours, pour ainsi dire, la nature à ses ordres, et les instruments sous la main...l'Antiquaire au contraire est souvent obligé d'aller chercher au loin des morceaux de comparaison dont il a besoin...La gravure les rendent communes à tous les peuples qui cultivent les Lettres: les copies multipliées, quoique dépourvu de cet vie et de cet âme qu'on admire dans les originaux, ne laissent pas de répandre au loin le goût de l'antique; et en ne réunissant de différens cotés dans les Cabinets des Curieux, elles y forment en quelque façon un corps de lumière dont toutes les parties s'éclairent mutuellement.¹⁰⁰

It was through this “luminous body” of print, according to Caylus, that we may capture the spirit of the ancient original. His method was not to passively record by rote; it was rather based on careful study through observation, the practice of drawing and etching, and discerning the particularities of the *goût* of the ancients:

Le dessin fournit les principes, la comparaison donne le moyen de les appliquer, et cette habitude imprime de telle sorte dans l'esprit le goût d'une nation...Elle consiste à étudier fidèlement l'esprit et la main, et à pénétrer de ses vues, à le suivre dans l'exécution, en un mot, de regarder ces monumens comme la preuve et l'expression du goût qui régnait dans un siècle et dans un pays...le goût d'un pays une fois établi, on n'a plus qu'à le suivre dans ses progrès, ou dans ses altérations; c'est le moyen de connaître, du moins en partie, celui de chaque siècle.¹⁰¹

⁹⁹ On the expressive qualities of the *Recueil d'antiquités*, see Julie Boch, “L'esthétique du comte de Caylus: un nouveau classicisme expressif,” *Littératures* 36 (Spring 1997): 49-69. On Caylus, *goût*, and his early and late graphic work in relation to the *Recueil d'antiquités*, see Hector Reyes, “Drawing History in the Comte de Caylus' *Recueil d'antiquités*,” 171-189.

¹⁰⁰ Caylus, *Recueil d'antiquités*, “Avertissement,” vol. I, 1752, iv-v. This notion of the “morsel” also figures in his discussion of caring for his artifacts when he gave them to the royal collections, vi: “Ce motif m'engage à publier ce *Recueil d'Antiquités*, et à mettre au cabinet du Roi une partie des morceaux qu'il renferme; bien moins parce qu'il me paraisse digne d'y occuper une place, que pour les conserver et les mettre à l'abri des accidents.”

¹⁰¹ Anne-Claude de Tubières, Comte de Caylus, *Recueil d'antiquités*, “Avertissement,” vol. I, 1752, vii-viii.

The *Recueil* has long been understood as spurring the circulation of *goût grec* ornament, whose proliferation in print overtook a rococo that became progressively outmoded.¹⁰² However, the history of even these well-known antiquarian volumes is less linear than scholars had previously believed; recent scholarship has reevaluated Julien-David Leroy's *Les ruines des plus beaux monuments de la Grèce* (1758 and 1770) for instance as a part-travel journal, part-archaeological record, and part-treatise, thus defying easy categorization.¹⁰³ As Caylus continued to develop his ideas in the subsequent volumes of the *Recueil*, as Hector Reyes has observed, he further clarified that *goût* stimulated the imagination of viewers by asking them to conceive of the lived or embodied experience of the ancients.¹⁰⁴ Beyond reconciling his early and late graphic endeavors as scholars have suggested, these theories allowed Caylus to draw upon the techniques of his earlier etchings, repurposing them as a way of representing and animating the art of the ancients. This is not to suggest that the *Recueil* was somehow rococo; rather, it allowed for a sense of fragmentation and discovery, called upon the agency of viewers in conjuring the past, and perpetuated *mondaine* sensibilities of active engagement that were never lost, despite changing mid-century attitudes about the *rocaille*.

Huquier's *Rocaille* on the rue Saint-Jacques

In the 1730s, this deeply experiential, fragmented way of looking began to articulate itself in prints whose forms became increasingly architectonic, warped, and asymmetrical. Taking the delicate pirouetting arabesques of Watteau and Audran and distorting them into

¹⁰² Christophe Lérubault, "Reviving the Antique Décor," in *L'Antiquité rêvée. Innovations et résistances au XVIII^e siècle*," 39-41.

¹⁰³ See Julien-David Le Roy, *The Ruins of the Most Beautiful Monuments of Greece*, introduction by Robin Middleton; translation by David Britt (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2004) for an overview of its place within travel literature, architectural treatises, and the French academy in the long eighteenth century. See also Christopher Drew Armstrong, *Julien-David Leroy and the Making of Architectural History* (London; New York: Routledge, 2012) for a discussion of Le Roy's overlooked innovations within architectural history.

¹⁰⁴ Reyes, "Drawing History," 179-185.

aggressively irregular, hefty, and heaving compositions, these prints were the first *recueils* to be titled “rocaille” and advertised as such in the *Mercure de France*.¹⁰⁵ As we shall see, the proliferation of this ornament was a marked change from the lightness and delicacy of the arabesques of such artists as Watteau and Audran from earlier in the century. By the 1730s, Watteau’s diaphanous arabesques and sinuous grotesque traceries gave way to something markedly architectonic and unwieldy. These new compositions seemed held tenuously together, and always on the cusp of tumbling down. This shift from the grotesque to the *genre pittoresque* or the *rocaille*, as it was called interchangeably in advertisement, was also marked by several new components: the incorporation of landscape elements such as fountains and garden grottos, the integration of ornament for the interior such as dining accoutrements, and the insertion of imagined archaeological fragments, as if recently unearthed and strewn about.¹⁰⁶ And it was from its inception, I suggest, that these rococo prints were in fruitful dialogue with the antique, rather than in conflict. Instead of simply understanding these images as a particularly asymmetrical and distorted rococo that would later be the center of criticism by academicians, I contend that it was through their particular compositional configurations that these prints enabled a highly tactile, sensory, and fragmented way of looking and grasping at knowledge—whether through the unearthing of antiquities or the revealing of intimate spaces in the residential interior. With the concurrent publication of *goût grec* ornament prints by *pensionnaires* such as Bouchardon, these prints shared decorative experimentation and, I suggest, were mutually conceived chez Huquier—far from residing in the strict categorical divisions later assigned to them by scholars. Further, as they circulated commercially and dislodged themselves from the

¹⁰⁵ See Jean Mondon, engraved by Antoine Aveline, *Premier Livre de forme Rocquaille et Cartel*, 1736, INHA, 4 RES 23. The suite was announced in the *Mercure de France*, April 1736.

¹⁰⁶ On the early circulation of this material, see Pons, “Arabesques, or New Grotesques,” 332.

¹⁰⁶ *Mercure de France*, June 1734, 1405.

strictures of *convenance* (decorum, upheld through the appropriate relationship between a building's arrangement and the social status of its owner), they maintained fragmented, sensual qualities that scholars have overlooked that were rooted in earlier *mondaine* playfulness.

Well prior to its appearance in 1734 in the *Mercure* to describe the work of Meissonnier, the term “rocaille” had been in currency in France since at least the seventeenth century. It was used by the *Menus Plaisirs* and the *Bâtiments du roi* to describe the rounded, encrusted stones and shells employed in the decoration of grottos and fountains at Versailles and other royal residences.¹⁰⁷ In 1732, the *Dictionnaire des Arts et des Sciences*—published at the print shop and bookstore Le Mercier on the rue Saint-Jacques next to the Sorbonne—defined “rocaille” in terms of the rough texture of raw, unpolished stones, crystal formations, corals, shells from the river or sea, and even sandy pigments used for painting on glass:

On appelle *Ouvrage de rocaille*, ce qui est fait de plusieurs sortes de pierres brutes et coquillages, comme des marcasites, les branches de corail rouge, blanc et noir, les améthystes, les cristaux, les émaux de sortes des verreries, et une infinité de coquillages de mer et rivière qui ont différens noms, ainsi qu'on en voit aux grottes et aux bassins de fontaine. C'est une composition d'Architecture rustique qui imite les rochers naturels. On y met du lattier de forge. On appelle aussi *Rocaille*, des petites patenôtres ou petits grains ronds verts et jaunes qui vendent les merciers, et dont on se sert à faire les couleurs que l'on emploie pour peindre sur le verre. La *Rocaille jaune*, se fait avec trois onces de mine de plomb et une once de sable que l'on calcine, et la *Rocaille verte* avec une once de mine de plomb et trois sables.¹⁰⁸

The *Bâtiments du roi* used the term for the restoration work of sculptor Jean Hardy from 1729-30, who attended to *bosquets* around a series of fountains, reflecting pools in parks, and other watery decorations at Versailles.¹⁰⁹ In 1730, the term was again employed to describe a frame

¹⁰⁷ This term seems to have gained currency to describe the *rocailles* used for decoration in and around Versailles from the 1670s onward, including the Grotto of Thetis, as well as for *hôtels particuliers* in Paris, including the fountains of the large gardens of the Hôtel de Condé. See Fuhring, *Meissonnier*, 439-444.

¹⁰⁸ Thomas Corneille, *Le dictionnaire des arts et des sciences, de M. D. C. de l'Académie françoise. Nouvelle édition revue, corrigée et augmentée par M****, de l'Académie royale des sciences.... T. 2, M-Z*, vol. II (Paris: P. G. Le Mercier fils, 1732), 355.

¹⁰⁹ Fuhring, *Meissonnier*, 440.

composed of shells and *rocailles* designed by Meissonnier for a hunting scene by Jean-Baptiste Oudry installed at the Château de Marly.¹¹⁰ These descriptions attest to a highly tactile, sculptural, three-dimensional quality associated with the “rocaille” in the 1730s. It evoked both a connection to the natural, mineral world of crystals and sediments, and a suggestion of the manipulation of materials—the carving of stucco in a grotto, the whittling of wooden frames into shell and *rocaille* shapes, or the mosaic-like placing of glittering stones and seashells inside fountain basins. The “rocaille” could thus denote both the use of rocks, shells, or sediments, and the decorative arrangement or sculpting of objects in imitation of these natural forms. Its emergence as a descriptive term for print in the *Mercure* and in the titles of print *recueils* is therefore striking in its summoning of this genre of emphatically three-dimensional formats of decoration for two-dimensional intaglio impressions. These prints, therefore, reveal that the term could apply equally to organic and artfully sculpted objects and their graphic counterparts in etching and engraving. Impressions by Meissonnier and others in the 1730s seemed to evoke for viewers the encrusted shellwork and rockwork formations that one would otherwise encounter in the grottos and fountains of royal parks and gardens, or the more intricate gardens of the grandest *hôtels particuliers* in Paris. They also conjured the ornate decoration of picture frames, mirror frames, chandeliers, and silver tableware—*accoutrements* of the decorated interior—and offered up imaginative design possibilities for these objects as two-dimensional sheets that one could intimately handle and observe, the viewer’s eyes ranging over their asymmetrical graphic shapes. Far from the negative connotations that the rococo was assigned by its critics from about 1745 onwards, these prints were received positively in the *Mercure* in the 1730s for their sensual

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

qualities, and these morsels of *rocaille* forms were actively promoted as “ingénieux,” “intelligent,” singulier,” and “agréable.”¹¹¹

In the seven plates of Meisssonier’s 1734 *Livre de légumes inventées et dessinées par J.M.er*, the silversmith depicts various groupings of vegetables, from celery to asparagus, twisted into asymmetrical surfaces with rabbits, lobsters, and birds, often held aloft by shells (figure 1.20). Combining the forms and textures of leaves, shells, feathers, fish scales, and other assorted natural and artificial objects, Meisssonier’s prints did more than simply offer confounding organic forms to the viewer. Unlike the work of Pineau, which had been used in part to illustrate Blondel’s 1737 *De la distribution des maisons de plaisance*, Meisssonier offered ornament on its own terms. Removed from textual explanation, Meisssonier’s prints insisted on the value of nonlinguistic representation.¹¹² When Meisssonier’s first *Livre d’ornemens* was announced in the *Mercure* in 1734, his formal distortions were described as “morceaux d’Architecture,” signaling their capacity to articulate small, fragmented portions of ornament. Later, in Huquier’s 1748 *Œuvre* of Meisssonier’s work, the seven sheets of the artist’s *Livre d’ornemens* were printed on a single page, allowing the viewer to consider these “morsels” all at once as a grouping of successive distorted shapes (figure 1.21). Meisssonier’s prints relied on being dispersed as morsels and individual parts in order to activate the effects of *papillotage*, inviting the viewer’s eyes to dart across the page in an attempt to comprehend and discern, in however fragmented a sense, the various bizarre shapes on view. When Meisssonier’s prints were adapted for use as soup tureens and candlesticks, they were often paired down to some degree. When Meisssonier

¹¹¹ Here I refer to the language used in the *Mercure de France* March 1734, 558-559 for Meisssonier, and April 1736, 768 for Mondon. For the earliest criticisms of the rococo as a negative distortion or perversion of form about a decade later, see Jean-Bernard, abbé Le Blanc, *Lettres d’un François* (The Hague: Jean Neaulme, 1745) and 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* (The Hague: Jean Neaulme, 1747).

¹¹² Yonan, “Knowing the World through Rococo Ornamental Prints,” 177-198

oversaw the casting and chasing of the dining set for the Duke of Kensington for instance, he allowed silversmith Charles Duvivier to simplify the designs; the candlestick remained asymmetrical but included two candle holders that were upright so that the candles placed in them would burn correctly, with wax dripping downward.¹¹³ Such choices on the part of designer and silversmith indicate an awareness that some of the most fanciful inventions in intaglio could not be fully transferred in three-dimensional chased silver. Conversely, these choices also demonstrate a sensitivity to the possibilities of print as fertile territory for artistic experimentation and the communication of ideas, whether those ideas could be fully realized in three dimensions or not. They also signal and almost anticipate the eventual tactile engagement with a candlestick or a fork, a sense of turning these objects around in one's hand.

This sense of print as potential—as a means of transmitting ideas about experiential engagement—was invoked by other designers including Alexis Peyrotte and Jacques de Lajoue. Both artists were painters and designers of print, and their work suggests multiple possibilities for the transmission of decoration across media. In September 1734, Lajoue published *Recueil Nouveau de différens cartouches*, a set of twelve curvilinear cartouche designs engraved by Cochin and Huquier (figure 1.22).¹¹⁴ They were available chez Huquier at his fashionable address “Aux Armes d’Angleterre” on the right bank at the end of the rue Saint-Denis, just across the bustling Les Halles market from Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin’s studio, and across the Seine from the innumerable print shops of the rue Saint-Jacques. Lajoue’s compositions used striking bifurcation to delineate alternate design possibilities, eliciting active viewer discernment

¹¹³ Fuhring, *Meissonnier*, vol. II, 214-17.

¹¹⁴ Jacques de Lajoue, Engraved by Cochin and Huquier, *Recueil Nouveau de différens Cartouches*, 1734, Published by Huquier, EBA Paris Est 9466. See also Roland-Michel, *Lajoue et l’art rocaille*, 314-15. The *Mercur* advertisement noted “des cartouches gravés d’après le sieur de la Joue, de la même Académie [que Boucher,] duquel nous avons eu l’occasion de parler plusieurs fois avec éloge,” *Mercur de France*, September 1734, 2027.

in choosing between the two halves of the page. In *Second Livre de Vases* (figure 0.4), these effects were especially pronounced, with one half of the page incorporating fountains, staircases, and landscape elements, and another half offering several iterations of vases.¹¹⁵ Over the course of the 1730s, Lajoue followed this suite with a cascade of publications of vases, cartouches, fountains, and architectural fragments or *morceaux*. Employing excessive decoration and curvilinearity, his compositions seemed as if they were in constant movement and transformation, engaging with viewers in the visual dance of trying to discern their forms. Lajoue's prints formed part of a larger corpus of inlaid panel paintings, stage set designs, and prints for *découpage*, or the cutting and pasting of prints and painted paper onto such objects as fans and screens.¹¹⁶ Lajoue indeed composed a painted screen in 1735 decorated with painted paper pasted upon its wooden leaves, with a set of unfolding arabesques atop fountains (figure 1.23). Huquier kept the six-part *paravent* in his shop, where it has been suggested that it stood beside or in front of his printing press.¹¹⁷ Huquier may have used the screen as a means of showing clients the easy transference between paper and furnishings for the interior, as inexpensive alternatives to fire screens and folding screens, which were otherwise decorated with more costly textiles or tapestries.¹¹⁸ Lajoue's work across media, especially his engagement with the decorative possibilities of the *paravent*, suggests a sensitivity to print as a means of conveying design possibilities, while also embracing experiential and embodied engagement with print—and with paper more broadly—as physical objects that could be painted and adorn furnishings. Print therefore formed part of Lajoue's wider corpus as an integral means of

¹¹⁵ See for example Jacques de Lajoue, *Second Livre de vases*, Engraved by Huquier c. 1740, École des Beaux-Arts (EBA), Est Les 30.

¹¹⁶ Roland-Michel, *Lajoue et l'art rocaille*, 314-15.

¹¹⁷ Katie Scott, "Screen Wise, Screen Play: Jacques de Lajoue and the Ruses of the Rococo," *Art History* 26, no. 3 (May 2013): 569-607.

¹¹⁸ Gail Davidson, "Ornament of Bizarre Imagination," in *Rococo: The Continuing Curve 1730-2008*, ed. Sarah Coffin (New York: Cooper Hewitt, 2008), 54.

communicating design ideas across two- and three-dimensional decorative objects for the residential interior.

In other work such as Alexis Peyrotte's 1734 *Divers ornements*, the imaginative effects of print easily surpassed the possibility of faithfully executing the designs. As a decorative painter, much of Peyrotte's work embellished the walls, doors, and other surfaces of the decorated interior.¹¹⁹ His decorative repertoire for panel painting included cascading ribbons and vessels, and his prints signal his fluency with tracing these ornaments upon various surfaces.¹²⁰ In *Second Livre d'Ornements*, Peyrotte's acanthus leaves intended for rosettes (decorative roundels) for commodes, tables, and ceilings, called to the viewer's imagination as much as to the practical work of *ébénistes*.¹²¹ In one of the most striking images in this suite, a shellwork rosette and acanthus intermingle with various sprouting leaves and a stalk of wheat, blurring the distinction between organic vegetation and its counterpart in stylized, whittled *ébénisterie* (figure 0.3). In another plate, a vase and bits of foliage and acanthus are so entwined that they appear to be growing out of the earth—Peyrotte's vase is no longer simply a vessel, but an active source of newly sprouting organic life (figure 1.24). In other prints, acanthus curls for wood or stucco transform into flattened ribbons, objects more suitable for textile design or millinery embellishment. For instance, in *Second Livre d'Ornements*, patterned ribbons or lace are placed next to a rosette at left that transforms into a waterfall, thus taking the rosette ornament at the heart of the *suite* and animating it as if it were part of a landscape (figure 1.25). The rosettes extend beyond the repertoire of interior decoration to the realm of fountains or fabric, and thus

¹¹⁹ Peyrotte painted the *boiseries* of Madeleine Guimard's Sceaux residence c.1763-1765, and would later paint the wall decorations for the Dauphin's apartments at Versailles in 1747 through a commission with the *garde-meuble de la couronne*.

¹²⁰ Davidson, "Ornament of Bizarre Imagination," 56.

¹²¹ Alexis Peyrotte, *Divers ornements dédiés à Monsieur Tarnevot*, 1734. A Paris chez Huquier rue des Mathurins au coin de celle de Sorbonne. École nationale des beaux-arts (EBA), EST 1214-1228.

overlap with garden and textile design.¹²² His work suggests that even in ornament with design specifications for artisans, designers could denounce any straight-forward instrumentality of their work. His prints both activate the multiple, shifting glances of *papillotage* and suggest an imaginative, experiential engagement with his work once translated as a whittled rosette adorning a table or ceiling. Beyond the play between print and woodwork, his prints were also used similarly to those of Lajoue for *découpage* onto fans and screens.¹²³ For those viewers not redesigning their home with the latest rosettes, Peyrotte's prints made the privileged spaces of the elite interior accessible and available as intaglio impressions that could be cut and pasted onto existing surfaces—not as panel painting, but something more akin to “panel pasting” of the latest trends. Peyrotte's prints therefore invite an alternative, embodied engagement with these roundels as paper impressions to be cut out and applied onto decorative objects as the viewer saw fit.¹²⁴ Beyond their potential use as matrices for the transference of designs such as woodcarving or panel painting, Peyrotte's prints were also objects that could be approached, I suggest, through embodiment and physical experience.

Two years after these publications by Lajoue and Peyrotte, publisher Antoine Aveline produced a suite of ten cartouches by *ornemaniste* and jewelry designer Jean Mondon entitled *Premier Livre d'ornements de forme rocquaille et cartel* (figure 1.26).¹²⁵ The suite was available

¹²² Designers of interior spaces and exterior gardens were in frequent communication, and their training sometimes overlapped. Ornament designers like Peyrotte gestured to these shared endeavors in their prints. See Kimball, 29-33 and Cohen, 94-95.

¹²³ Davidson, 54.

¹²⁴ On prints cut and pasted onto screens and fans, see Pullins, 113-120; and Smentek, “An Exact Imitation Acquired at Little Expense: Marketing Color Prints in Eighteenth-Century France,” 9-21.

¹²⁵ See Jean Mondon, engraved by Antoine Aveline, *Premier Livre de forme Rocquaille et Cartel*, 1736, INHA, 4 RES 23. The suite was announced in the *Mercure de France*, April 1736, 768: “Le sieur Mondon, le fils, jeune homme, dont la profession est de Sculpture en Bijoux, connus sur le nom de Cizélure pour les Montres, Tabatières, Pommes de Canes et autres Ouvrages enrichis en diamants, a aussi beaucoup de génie et de talent pour le Dessin, surtout pour les formes singulières, agréables, et ingénieuses, comme des Trophées, Rocailles, Cartels, le tout enrichi de figures groupées naturellement, varies, et contrastées avec goût. Il vient de mettre au jour 14 Morceaux en hauteur, gravés par le sieur Aveline, dont le Public paroît très content de la composition et de l'exécution. Ce sont, pour la plupart, des Trophées de Marine, de Jardinage et Bergeries, d'Étude, de Musique et de Théâtre, de Rocailles,

chez Aveline on the rue Saint-Jacques and at Mondon's studio on the little rue Saint Eloy at the *Hôtel Pépin* located on the *île de la cité*, straddling the left bank print trade and the mercers and tradespeople of the right bank. In these prints, the central cartouche is amplified and broken open to reveal scattered ornament parts that serve as a sort of architectonic landscape for various figures in conversation. Engaging viewers in the visual play of discerning the interlocking cartouche, vase, and trophy as decorative elements in a seeming state of constant movement, Mondon's prints were described in the *Mercure* in April 1736 as "14 Morceaux en hauteur," with each plate serving as a successive morsel of the whole suite.¹²⁶ On plate 2 of the suite, a young draftsman is seated in a landscape of architectural fragments, warped cartouche frames, and broken columns (figure 0.5). Among the heaps of objects strewn about, including the *accoutrements* of drawing and observation such as measuring devices, a globe, and an easel fallen to the side, the apprentice reaches his hand to his head, struggling to comprehend the object of his study. At the center of the scene, the Farnese Hercules extends a rather pointed foot forward upon a printed page inscribed with an inscrutable *rocaille* shape, a swirling c-curve that echoes the convulsing cartouches surrounding the figures. The posture of the Hercules seems to humorously poke fun at the sinuous formal language of the rococo, with the statue ceding its place to this new, strange vocabulary that the apprentice tries to understand.¹²⁷ However, rather than suggesting an unresolvable conflict between the antique and its *rocaille* surroundings, the plate ingenuously melds the two idioms. The substantive architectonic structure of fountains, staircases, and cartouches creates a tangible landscape for the unearthing and study of antiquities,

d'Architecture et autres Ornemens de bon gout. Dédiés au Prince de Carignan, qui honore l'Auteur de sa protection, suffrage d'un grand poids et qui doit donner une idée très favorable des talens, du mérite et des Ouvrages du sieur Mondon. Ces estampes se vendent chez lui, rue. S. Eloy à l'Hôtel Pépin, et chez le sieur Aveline, rue Saint Jacques. Prix 30 sols."

¹²⁶ *Mercure de France*, April 1736, 768.

¹²⁷ A rare analysis of this intriguing plate is that of Fuhring, *Meisssonier*, 37, who suggests an air of humor or satire in Mondon's treatment of the subject.

quite at odds with the fragile, diaphanous arabesques of Watteau or Gillot from earlier in the century. Conversely, with his foot *tendu* like a ballet dancer, the Farnese Hercules is rendered with a delicacy suggestive of Watteau's *fête galante* figures, such as his 1716 *L'indifférent* (figure 1.27). Conceived before Caylus' *Recueil d'antiquités*, and two years before the archaeological excavations on Herculaneum began in 1738, Mondon's plate offers an example of an imaginative negotiation between the *goût moderne* and the classical subjects of academic training. His work suggests an antique altered by and adjusting to its *rocaille* setting, alongside rococo ornament that could function as a means of playfully and unexpectedly encountering the antique, and even articulating knowledge of the world.¹²⁸

Moreover, Mondon's publication marks one of the earliest—possibly the first—use of the term “rocaille” within the title of a suite of prints. That artist and publisher deliberately employed *rocaille* as a descriptive term within the title of the suite suggests that this language was increasingly used to designate certain formal properties such as bimodal asymmetry.¹²⁹ It also suggests that the rococo was already in fruitful dialogue with an emerging interest in antiquities as a means of conveying a certain kind of intimate and fragmented way of gaining knowledge through the emphatically tactile and sensate. As time wore on, this language continued to be used to describe prints that activated *papillotage* through complicated architectonic landscape forms. Between 1736 and 1738, Boucher produced a set of five sumptuous vertical models for folding screens, *Nouveaux Morceaux pour des paravents* engraved by Charles Duflos, with panels including “Rocaille” (figure 1.28).¹³⁰ Boucher's

¹²⁸ Here I extend the framework in Yonan, “Knowing the World through Rococo Ornamental Prints,” 177–198 to include the work of Mondon and its engagement with the early antique.

¹²⁹ On this early use of the term “rocaille,” see Fuhring *Meissonnier*, 72–73 and Colin Bailey “Was there such a thing as rococo painting in Eighteenth-Century France?” in *Rococo Echo: Art, History and Historiography from Cochin to Coppola*, eds. Melissa Hyde and Katie Scott (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2014), 176.

¹³⁰ On which, see Bailey “Was there such a thing as rococo painting in Eighteenth-Century France?” 174 and Davidson, 51.

“Rocaille” panel consisted of an elongated, unwieldy fountain structure composed entirely of shells, lichen, rocks, moss, and other bits and pieces of earth. The whole composition extends upwards toward a large swaying feather, drawing the eyes vertically as the viewer’s gaze darts along the various surfaces. The overall asymmetrical effect keeps the viewer’s eyes in constant motion, whether the print itself was cut out and pasted onto a screen or used as a model for the decoration of its painted leaves. The eventual standing screen would invite gazes from different perspectives in order to contemplate its multiple hinged surfaces placed at a slight angle from one another (figure 1.23).¹³¹ While scholars have noted the visual effects of the standing screen, I suggest that the vertical and bimodal flickering effects of movement in Boucher’s print imitate and even anticipate the placement and unfolding—accordion-like—of the screen for which it would potentially be used. Boucher’s print therefore signals the way that these spatial and optical blurrings were being conceived and worked out by Boucher and Duflos in anticipation of their proliferation in print and as patterns for multiple registers of painted paper leaves.

As these prints increasingly designated themselves as “rocaille” as a way of signaling their engagement with these complicated visual dynamics, new expressions of ornament *à l’antique* concurrently emerged in the print trade. These prints were anchored in the repertoire of classical study that *pensionnaires* engaged in during their time in Rome, while also merging with the language of the rococo that permeated print in the 1730s. A pivotal artist in this shift to the antique was the sculptor Edmé Bouchardon, who has long been a touchstone figure in studies of the reformation of taste in the 1740s.¹³² In particular, his work has been approached as a turning

¹³¹ On the relationship between viewers and folding screens, see Scott, “Screen Wise, Screen Play: Jacques de Lajoue and the Ruses of Rococo,” 569-607.

¹³² Fumaroli, “Le comte de Caylus et les origines françaises du néo-classicisme,” in *De Rome à Paris: Peinture et Pouvoirs aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles* (Dijon: Faton, 2007), 373-383 and Lérubault, “Reviving the Antique Décor,” 39-41.

point when the rococo began to wane in favor of more dignified, clarified forms derived from the close study of classical models.¹³³ But little attention has been paid to the first stirrings of Bouchardon's conception of the antique in the print trade in the 1730s, when his work was published by Huquier side by side with that of rococo *ornemanistes* such as Boucher and Lajoue. An analysis of the entwined print endeavors of Boucher and Bouchardon in the 1730s reveals that these artists were not at odds with one another as scholars such as Fumaroli have suggested, but rather that they relied on parallel strategies of distinctly rococo visual engagement anchored in the iterative, transformative potential of vase and fountain subjects. Although these artists are usually cast asunder in scholarship, their print projects reveal a deeply imaginative approach to the contours of the vase and fountain prototypes as rich territory for visual experimentation and the mutual sharing of ideas.

Bouchardon returned to Paris in 1733 after a ten-year residency at the French Academy in Rome. In 1736, he was appointed draftsman to the Académie des Belles-Lettres et Inscriptions, for which he designed medals for festival events and monuments. There he also worked on one of his first major Parisian commissions, *The Fountain of the Four Seasons* (1739-45) for the rue Grenelle, in today's sixth arrondissement.¹³⁴ Bouchardon composed a series of meticulous sanguine drawings in preparation for the Grenelle Fountain, together with drawings for the Neptune Fountain Basin at Versailles, and for statuary for the gardens of the Château de Grosbois.¹³⁵ These sanguines informed his print project with Huquier, who published a set of twenty-four exquisitely etched vases (including two fountains) in 1737 entitled *Premier Livre de*

¹³³ Fumaroli, "Caylus et le conjoncture Bouchardon, 1733-1762," in *Le comte de Caylus et Edmé Bouchardon: Deux réformateurs du goût sous Louis XV*, 53-92.

¹³⁴ On this commission, see Guilhem Scherf, "La fontaine de Grenelle," in *Edmé Bouchardon, Une Idée de Beau*, eds. Anne-Lise Desmas, Édouard Kopp, Guilhem Scherf et Juliette Trey (Paris: Somogy éditions d'art, Louvre éditions, 2016), 230-260.

¹³⁵ On these drawings as preparation for his fountain projects and other commissions, see Édouard Kopp, "Compositions profanes," in *Edmé Bouchardon, Une Idée de Beau*, 262-316.

Vases and *Second Livre de Vases Inventés par Edmé Bouchardon, Sculpteur du Roy* (figure 1.29).¹³⁶ These small-scale quarter-folio etchings quietly meditated on the vase subject, with multiple iterations of sinuous anthropomorphic forms.¹³⁷ The etchings are notably refined and serene, with elegantly presented ewers, urns, and other vessels appearing in succession in numerous formal variations amid slight alterations in light and shadow. Yet they also offer a distinct melding of natural forms with the sculpted body of the vases, interspersed with anthropomorphic figures, and recall, I suggest, the work of Lajoue and Peyrotte. In plate 1, sirens grip either side of a moss-covered shell fountain, while in plate 8, crawling ivy transforms into several writhing serpent-like creatures that cascade along the surface (figure 1.30). In plate 6, a pair of serpents form the handles of a large krater with a shell, while a gnome sits on top of the serpentine fountain in plate 12 (figure 1.31). Elsewhere, sphinxes, griffons, and other creatures merge with the contours of their requisite vessel, lending each image a kind of anthropomorphic alteration, as if the twenty-four vases are in a state of constant movement and transfiguration as the viewer leaves through the etched pages.

The vase had long been part of the repertoire of the *pensionnaires* in Rome as a subject of study for its endless imaginative possibilities. And while the practice of etching was not officially recognized by the Academy, it became increasingly popular for its expressive potential and sense of intimacy.¹³⁸ Bouchardon possessed prints by seventeenth-century *ornemanistes*

¹³⁶ See Gabriel Huquier after Edmé Bouchardon, *Premier Livre de Vases; Second Livre de Vases Inventés par Edmé Bouchardon, Sculpteur du Roy*, 1737 INHA Paris 4 EST 312.

¹³⁷ They were advertised in the *Mercure de France*, May 1737, 997, the first listing under *Estampes Nouvelles*, simply as “Premier Livre de Vases, Inventés par Edmé Bouchardon, Sculpteur du Roy, gravés par Gabriel Huquier, 12. Pièces en hauteur” and “Second Livre de Vases, Inventés par le même Auteur et gravés par le même Graveur, 12. Pièces en hauteur” without other accompanying descriptions. The list was one of several new prints by Huquier, after the work of artists including Oppenord, Oudry, Van Loo, and Boucher.

¹³⁸ On the vase in the eighteenth century, see Stephanie Walker, ed. *Vasemania: Neoclassical Form and Ornament in Europe: Selections From the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004). On the Piranésians and etching, see Nina Dubin, *Futures and Ruins*, 38-39. This circle embraced the expressive qualities of etching, with strong influence from Piranesi in producing fantastical, ephemeral scenes of classical ruins.

such as Jean Lepautre in his own collections, as well as sixteenth-century Italian prototypes of the genre, which scholars have suggested informed his approach to the vase and its iterative potential.¹³⁹ Although Bouchardon's vases form part of this earlier tradition, they are equally anchored, I suggest, in the repertoire of the rococo published by Huquier, with its particular insistence on the melding of unusual forms and shifting perspectives. In plate 4, a snake holding a leafy branch in its mouth as it climbs upwards would be taken to its most extreme by Peyrotte three years later, with his *vase à la rocaille* bursting with vegetation (figure 1.32). So too, Lajoue's 1740 vase series incorporates the satyrs, sirens, and rams found in Bouchardon's suite, inserting them into more fluid, distorted compositions (figure 1.33). Whereas Bouchardon placed these small antique figures symmetrically upon the handles or tucked underneath the mouth of the vase (figure 1.34), Lajoue reorients them so that they almost meld with the vessel—with the ram perched on top or the satyr under the handle sitting with his back to the viewer (figure 1.33). Far from disciplining the unruly work of Lajoue and Peyrotte, Bouchardon's prints were in fact published first, helping to inaugurate the formal variations on this subject on the part of rococo designers. Seen from this perspective, Bouchardon's work was not a reforming force against the rococo; rather, Bouchardon influenced the work of some of its most prominent *ornamentists*.

The year following Bouchardon's vase series, Huquier published Boucher's *Livre de vases par François Boucher, peintre du Roy* (1738) (figure 1.35).¹⁴⁰ The prints were published at Huquier's new address on the rue Saint-Jacques shortly after the publisher moved there from the

¹³⁹ These were listed in the sales catalogue of Bouchardon's collection, November 1762, cited in Kopp, "Compositions profanes," 292.

¹⁴⁰ See Gabriel Huquier after François Boucher, *Livre de vases par François Boucher, peintre du Roy*, 1738, INHA Paris 4 EST 215. See Gabriel Huquier and Pierre-Alexandre Aveline after François Boucher, *Recueil de fontaines Inventées par F. Boucher, Peintre du Roy*, 1736; and *Second Livre fontaines Inventées par F. Boucher, Peintre du Roy*, 1738, INHA Paris FOL RES 9. They were announced in the *Mercure de France* in April 1736, 737: "The Sieur Huquier a encore fait graver une suite de sept feuilles, de fontaines, inventées par Boucher, peintre du Roy, d'une très élégante composition."

right bank.¹⁴¹ Boucher had returned to Paris from Rome in 1731 and worked with Huquier to publish this commercially successful series in quick succession, before Huquier issued his own set of six-hundred vases beginning in 1745 intended as “très utile aux différents artistes.”¹⁴² In plate 11 of the *Livre de vases*, Boucher’s vase emerges from the earth through lichen, sirens, and seaweed, while in plate 4, a large shell held by a chain forms the mouth of the ewer (figure 1.36). In other instances, the bodies of serpents or birds form the handles. In plate 5, the writhing of snakes cascade along the sides of the vessel to form living, moving handles, while in plate 8, a krater is formed by an ivy-covered handle to the right and a heron’s long neck and beak to the left (figure 1.37). Boucher also made liberal use of swags, ram’s heads, pinecones, and even a sacrificial lamb atop one of the vases, all of which were decorative elements drawn from the repertoire of the antique used by the *pensionnaires*. For an artist so closely associated with the rococo, Boucher’s early career chez Huquier reveals a deep investment in the resurgence of the antique in the late 1730s. Published one year after Bouchardon’s vases and three years after Meissonnier’s dining ware project, Boucher’s work manages to combine elements of both of these artists. The use of the shell as the mouth of the vase in particular recalls Meissonnier’s soup tureens, with their shell-like forms adorned with celery and lobster (figure 1.38). Meissonnier was Boucher’s close friend, although a direct link between these two projects is difficult to discern in the absence of Boucher’s preparatory drawings. If Meissonnier’s silverware served to activate viewer attention in coming to know a world that was plucked from faraway seas, Boucher’s prints suggest a similar purpose. The undulating forms draw us in to better view the

¹⁴¹ They were not announced in the *Mercure de France*, but the rue Saint-Jacques address on the plates dates them to January 1738 at the earliest. On these prints, see Alicia M. Priore, “Boucher’s Designs for Vases and Mounts,” *Studies in the Decorative Arts* 3, no. 2 (Spring-Summer 1996): 2-51.

¹⁴² See Gabriel Huquier, *Recueil de plus de six cent Vases, nouvellement mis au jour, composés et gravés en partie par Huquier*, c.1745-72, BnF Paris, HD-101 (B)-PET FOL.

serpents and ram's heads, replacing the natural world with antiquities being unearthed. While the decoration changes, the investment in showing the viewer morsels of the world and curious objects remains the same, as does the capacity of these prints to beckon to the viewer's gaze.

The close relationship between Bouchardon and Boucher chez Huquier can be further traced in their projects for fountains, which include several preparatory drawings. Bouchardon's sanguine drawings for the Grenelle Fountain investigated the most sensuous properties of the subject, showing vessels animated by the flowing currents of water. In his 1735 *Rocaille Fountain with Venus, Amorini, and Swan*, a large cockleshell frames the tender central scene, supported by putti below as water cascades down either side (figure 1.39). The composition was later reworked and paired down as a more structural architectural pediment, removing the outstretched fan-like shell and replacing it with a simple arch within a linear framework (figure 1.40). Bouchardon's drawings closely informed his print project with Huquier, with the use of rounded cockleshells, falling moss and icicles, and the vertical balancing of organic forms with portions of architecture. Many of his drawings incorporated gargoyles and other fantastical creatures alongside the trickling of waters. Certain drawings in particular served as direct source material for Huquier's prints, including the shell basin with fanciful mermen at either side (figure 1.40), the dyad of nymphs outstretched along a tall pedestal, holding aloft a vase (figure 1.41), and the seated gnome atop a basin with serpentine handles and a tripartite fountain stream (figure 1.42).¹⁴³ While the Grenelle Fountain employed some of the more complicated icicles and seaweed from these compositions, it was in Bouchardon's drawings and prints that the artist worked through and circulated his ideas in deeply imaginative ways that surpassed the final, somewhat pared-down fountain structure (figure 1.43). Bouchardon's nymphs were in fact part

¹⁴³ On these etchings, see Kopp, 292-295.

of another set of four folio-size etchings that Huquier published separately around the same time.¹⁴⁴ A decade later, in 1747, Bouchardon's prints were still in circulation, when he contributed several fountain illustrations to a new edition of Antoine-Joseph Dezallier d'Argenville's garden treatise *La théorie et la pratique du jardinage*, published by Mariette (figure 1.44).¹⁴⁵

If Boucher borrowed from Bouchardon and Meissonnier for his vases, rococo *ornemanistes* drew upon similar decoration in prints of fountains, especially the incorporation of shellwork in complicated configurations. Boucher's 1736-38 *Recueils de fontaines Inventées par F. Boucher* centered on endless vertical variations of figures arranged within fountain and grotto structures amid the trickling of waters (figure 1.45).¹⁴⁶ Published concurrently, Boucher's *Nouveaux Morceaux pour des paravents* (1736-38) also insisted on the somewhat precarious heaping of objects on top of one another with figures nestled inside (figure 1.28). These vertical configurations recall the framing of figures within shells in Bouchardon's drawings, while at the same time stretching these configurations vertically in unwieldy compositions (figure 1.46).¹⁴⁷ One of the most direct engagements with Bouchardon's work by another artist was Lajoue's 1740 *Nouveaux Tableaux d'Ornements et Rocailles*. In these prints, complicated trellises and

¹⁴⁴ All of these prints bear the address Aux Armes d'Angleterre, near the grand Châtelet, on the right bank, where Huquier resided from 1729-37. They would have thus been among the material he published in his final year at that address, before he moved to the rue Saint-Jacques at the corner of the rue des Mathurins in January 1738.

¹⁴⁵ Edmé Bouchardon, *Fontaines*, 1747, Illustration in Antoine-Joseph Dezallier d'Argenville, *La théorie et la pratique du jardinage* (Paris: Mariette, 1747), BnF Paris S 4658, n.p. See discussion by Kopp, 277-279.

¹⁴⁶ See Gabriel Huquier after François Boucher, *Livre de vases par François Boucher, peintre du Roy*, 1738, INHA Paris 4 EST 215; Gabriel Huquier and Pierre-Alexandre Aveline after François Boucher, *Recueil de fontaines Inventées par F. Boucher, Peintre du Roy*, 1736; and *Second Livre fontaines Inventées par F. Boucher, Peintre du Roy*, 1738. INHA Paris FOL RES 9. They were announced in the *Mercure de France* in April 1736, 737: "The Sieur Huquier a encore fait graver une suite de sept feuilles, de fontaines, inventées par Boucher, peintre du Roy, d'une très élégante composition."

¹⁴⁷ See C.L. Duflos after François Boucher, *Nouveaux Morceaux pour des paravents*, 1736-38, Cooper-Hewitt, Smithsonian Design Museum, 1931-94-11. Boucher's screen designs could be purchased chez Nicolas De Larmessin, on the rue des Noyers, at the second carriage door at left when entering from the rue Saint-Jacques.

giant acanthus scrolls encircle fountains at the center of the compositions.¹⁴⁸ In plate 1, Lajoue uses the trellised structure as a means of enclosing a fountain of the *Three Graces* (figure 1.47). Like the plate in Mondon's suite showing the Farnese Hercules, Lajoue frames an encounter with the classical subjects of academic study through decorative elements that facilitate our coming to know and apprehend the antique. Lajoue thus employs *rocaille* ornament as a means of framing the central fountain of the *Three Graces*. Taking a composition identical to Bouchardon's 1735 drawing, turning the central Grace around, and surrounding the antique figures with trellises, giant c-scrolls, and shells, it is as if the rococo assists in encountering and understanding the grouping of the *Three Graces* upon the fountain. In what is likely the second instance of the use of "rocaille" within the title of an ornament *recueil*, the viewer is again confronted with a scene of classical sculpture that is intimately connected to the visual dynamics of rococo ornament. In Lajoue's work, this asymmetrical, nonlinear, somewhat confounding ornament is necessary in order to see and understand the *Three Graces*, in order for the sculpture and fountain to fully emerge into view from the vertiginous movement of *papillotage*.

While recent narratives of the antique turn still tend to focus on stylistic succession and the waning of the rococo with the reemergence of the antique, the work of Boucher, Lajoue, Bouchardon, and Meissonnier reveals that these were not strict categories, but rather shared graphic endeavors to investigate the world and activate viewer attention through especially sensory intaglio impressions chez Huquier. Later in 1746, *pensionnaire* and sculptor Jacques-François-Joseph Saly issued his own large set of thirty especially imaginative vase designs, which were published in both Paris and Rome, and which scholars have also linked to the Bouchardon

¹⁴⁸ Lajoue issued *Nouveaux Tableaux d'ornements et rocailles* and *Second Livre de tableaux et de rocailles* c. 1740, the artist's first use of the term "rocaille" as the title for his suites. See Roland-Michel, *Lajoue et l'Art rocaille*, 347.

project.¹⁴⁹ Saly's vases made use of similar elements found in the work of Boucher and Bouchardon, including a pair of tritons holding a vessel that seems to have just emerged out of the sea (figure 1.48).¹⁵⁰ Ennemond-Alexandre Petitot's work in 1764 was also anchored in this tradition, with prints that engaged in significant, sometimes jarring alterations in scale.¹⁵¹ In initiating a commercial trend for suites of vases taken up by Boucher, Huquier, Saly, and Petitot, Bouchardon authored through Huquier some of the most sensual and imaginative prints produced in Paris. These prints are far from the reforming, disciplining force that neoclassicism was later assigned.¹⁵² In fact, the antique is revealed in these prints to be just as imaginative and licentious as its immediate forbearer. Cochin noted the offenses of the vase in his *memoires*, and lamented the *goût grec* vase in particular as a primary offender of good taste.¹⁵³ He wrote that the ancients had simply used vessels for holding liquids, but that Parisian decorators had transformed vases into clock pendulums, while garlands became cords descending into wells, all of which inundated Paris with "drogues à la Grecque."¹⁵⁴ This assessment is all the more revealing given Cochin's own youthful investment in the rococo as the engraver of Boucher's prints for screens. In his *memoires*, he fully disowned this earlier activity, embracing instead practical usefulness and clarity of form. For Cochin, it seems, the problem wasn't the rococo per se, but a tendency toward excess and unnecessary transmutation, with objects morphing from one into another, an issue that could be equally as problematic for ornament *à l'antique* as it had been for the rococo.

Perhaps because the formal properties of shells, grottos, and *rocailles* are so characteristic of the *goût rocaille* in print, these images are rarely considered alongside the work of artists like

¹⁴⁹ Kopp, 295.

¹⁵⁰ See Jacques-François Joseph Saly, Plate 30, *Design for a Vase*, INHA Paris 8 EST 69.

¹⁵¹ See Benigno Bossi, after Ennemond-Alexandre Petitot, *Mascarade à la grecque* 1764 INHA Paris, Fol Res 113.

¹⁵² On the neoclassical as corrective to the excesses of the rococo, see Fumaroli, "Retour à l'antique: la guerre des goûts dans l'Europe des Lumières" in eds. Fumaroli et. al., *L'Antiquité rêvée*, 23-55.

¹⁵³ Charles-Nicolas Cochin, *Mémoires inédits* (Paris: Baur, 1880), 143.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid.

Bouchardon, who is so closely associated with the mid-century reformation of taste.¹⁵⁵ When approached from the perspective of the Paris print trade, we see that Bouchardon's anthropomorphic impressions circulated next to the ornament of Boucher in these years, both of which were published with the prints distributed by the Huquier firm in the 1730s. Thus, before the strongest criticisms of the rococo divided artists like Bouchardon from Boucher, they were published side by side, both issuing sets of prints as they embarked on their careers in Paris upon their return from Rome. While Bouchardon was invested in certain elements of the *goût pittoresque* in his prints of vases and fountains, which theorists later assigned to a rococo category at odds with his work, Boucher's prints in turn incorporate a remarkable degree of antique decorative elements that we do not associate with this artist, such as swags, ram's and lion's heads, pinecones, serpents, and burning incense.¹⁵⁶ Considering Boucher's incense and Bouchardon's shells together thus confounds traditional stylistic categories and sheds light on the medium of print in the 1730s as a space of flexibility, generative of design possibilities, where artists like Boucher and Bouchardon actively worked out new vocabularies for the repertoire of vases and fountains in decoration. Bouchardon's work did not rein in the rococo; rather, he immersed himself in existing rococo language and impacted the work of some of its most important *ornemanistes*.

¹⁵⁵ Fumaroli, *Le comte de Caylus et Edmé Bouchardon*, 53-92.

¹⁵⁶ On Boucher's adoption of training from his studies with the French Academy in Rome, see Pierre Rosenberg, "In defense of mythological painting," in *The Loves of the Gods: Mythological Painting from Watteau to David*, eds. Colin Bailey and Carrie Hamilton (Fort Worth: Kimbell Art Museum, 1992). Boucher first began to incorporate putti and antique vases within watery *rocaille* settings.

Blondel, License, and Morsels of Architecture

While these ornament *cahiers* circulated in the print trade, architectural treatises such as Blondel's 1737 *De la distribution* and Germain Boffrand's 1745 *Livre d'architecture* increasingly employed illustrations of interiors in conjunction with text, from schematic layouts to more detailed wall elevations.¹⁵⁷ Articulating and illustrating the proper *distribution* of rooms according to the requirements of social rank, and increasingly, an individual's personal sense of comfort and sensual perception, these publications began to place more emphasis on the images themselves, with pages devoted exclusively to illustration. At the same time, the architects and *ornemanistes* involved in the production of these publications increasingly issued ornament *cahiers* after their illustrations as separate booklets.¹⁵⁸ This ornament for the architectural and decorative elements of the interior, from painted arabesques, to silverware, to sculpted molding, could be marketed separately from larger architectural treatises, and was often aimed directly at artisans who could employ them for design instruction or the material execution of interior decorative schemes and *accoutrements*.¹⁵⁹ The production of *ornemanistes* was uneven; in the 1720s, the workshop of Pineau seems to have occasionally produced ornament *cahiers*, while Lajoue became one of the most prolific issuers of suites of cartouches and fountains through the Huquier firm from 1734 onwards.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁷ On views of the interior within treatises by architects including Germain Boffrand, Jacques-François Blondel, and Nicolas Le Camus de Mézières, see Martin, "The Ascendancy of the Interior," 15-34, and Robin Middleton, "Introduction," in Nicolas Le Camus de Mézières, *The Genius of Architecture*, trans. David Britt, 17-64.

¹⁵⁸ On the relationship between illustrations within architectural volumes and separately issued detached ornament booklets, see Scott, *The Rococo Interior*, 241-65.

¹⁵⁹ On the use of ornament for design instruction for artisans and craftsmen in Paris, see Ulrich Leben, *Object Design in the Age of Enlightenment: The History of the Royal Free Drawing School in Paris* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2004).

¹⁶⁰ Pineau contributed to illustrations for numerous architectural volumes, such as his plates in the fourth volume of Augustin-Charles d'Aviler's *Architecture française* (1727-38), as well as separately issued ornament suites such as *Nouveaux desseins de Pieds de Tables et de Vases et Consoles de sculpture en bois Inventés par le Sieur Pineau Sculpteur* INHA, 4 EST 696. Lajoue's numerous publications began with *Recueil Nouveau de différens cartouches* 1734, EBA EST 9466, and *Nouveaux Tableaux d'ornements et rocailles* and *Second Livre de tableaux et de rocailles* c.1740, INHA, 4 EST 287.

Blondel's 1737 *De la distribution* begins as if the author is leading the reader on a walk through the gardens of a *maison de plaisance*, followed by its interior. Beginning with several *parterres de broderie*, whose manicured scroll-like forms of flowers and grassy turf weave their way through the vertical flowerbeds, Blondel proceeds to describe several variations of fountains and vases. His text specifies that a vase in the shape of a basket of flowers is to be set against a garden gate, which appears alongside more sober vases with stylized flames appropriate for the façades and balustrades of the central building (figure 1.49). In spite of his disapproving views on the rococo, his illustrations employ many elements of the *rocaille* that breathe life into his more conservative texts aimed at correcting decorative excess. Drawing from his previous illustrations for Mariette's publication of Augustin-Charles d'Aviler's *Architecture française* (1727-38), the illustrations of *De la distribution* included mirrors framed by curvilinear sconces that recalled the work of Pineau and Oppenord. In a view of a *grand salon* for instance, rounded candelabras are situated at either side of a central mirror, and on top of console tables set before mirrored paneling at either end of the room (figure 1.50). In the accompanying text, Blondel notes that the curvature of the decorative elements could be permitted so long as the whole room maintained overall symmetry and harmony, with the candlelight reflections forming an "agreeable repetition" in the mirrors, from whose s-scroll borders the sconces appeared to emerge.¹⁶¹ Such conjunctions of candle and mirror were typical of Pineau especially, from his large-scale asymmetrical chalk drawings to his pen-and-ink wall elevations, such as a chimneypiece with *rocailleux* sconces and andirons (figure 1.51).

¹⁶¹ Jacques-François Blondel, *De la distribution des maisons de plaisance*, 1737-38, 102-103. "On doit décorer avec une exacte symétrie les Salons et autres lieux semblables qu'on habite l'Hyver par préférence, et la distribution des glaces doit aussi concourir à leur beauté; la réflexion des bougies y faisait une agréable répétition. Dans cette vue, les angles de cette pièce sont à pans que j'ai ornés de glaces, au-dessous desquelles sont posées des tables de marbre sur des pieds en console: les girandoles qui reçoivent des bougies, paraissent sortir des enroulements qui forment les bordures des glaces, et viennent s'asseoir sur ces tables: elles sont de ces quatre angles une agréable symétrie avec celles qui sont places vis-à-vis sur la cheminée."

While such elements were permitted in the space of the *salon*, Blondel writes in a section on designs for cupboard doors that certain of his images were too “licentious” to be included in the treatise itself, whose primary objective was to correct the liberties taken by decorators.¹⁶² He therefore issued them as separate *feuilles*, not as prints to be followed exactly, but which could be adapted more loosely to different sorts of decoration:

J’aurais donné des dessins de semblables Portes,* si je n’avais pas craint d’insérer ici des exemples trop licencieux et peu convenables à la sagesse qui doit régner dans la bonne Architecture. *Mais j’ai préféré de donner en feuille au public séparément, non comme des exemples à suivre absolument mais comme des morceaux généraux dans lesquels ils se trouvera des parties utiles, qui pourront s’appliquer à différents genres de décoration; m’étant aperçu, comme je l’ai dit, qu’il serait à craindre de les donner pour exemples dans un traité d’Architecture, qui a pour objet principal de corriger la liberté du siècle dans la décoration intérieure; ce même égard m’a fait changer plus d’un exemple que je donne dans ce Volume, seront néanmoins sentir la différence qui est observé entr’eux et ceux-ci. Je les donnerai aussi en feuille dans la même grandeur que les premières Portes.¹⁶³

For Blondel, the open-ended nature and interpretive possibilities of the *cahiers* and *livrets* on the print market were better suited to these designs, which would be issued in folio size similarly to the illustrations for the doors within the treatise. On the cupboard doors that Blondel does include as plates, intricately detailed c- and s-scrollwork *menuiserie* are used to frame two suggestions for antique *vedute* in the overdoor paintings above (figure 1.52). On the left page, the curvilinear rococo overdoor frame serves to encircle the representation of an inlaid painting of what appears to be a view of the Temple of Diana and Venus at Baia in the bay of Naples. In this plate, it is as if the rococo is the means by which the antique can be seen and understood, made knowable and tangible through the encircling of the rococo’s curves. Blondel notes that these

¹⁶² Scott has noted this decision on the part of Blondel to issue certain prints of “licencieux” cupboard doors separately, but interpreted these as losing their meaning on the market and almost disappearing; while I am more interested in their tangible, continued presence as folio-size editions in the print trade, as well as their relationship to the more acceptable published illustrations of these doors within the treatise. See Scott, *The Rococo Interior*, 242.

¹⁶³ Blondel, *De la distribution des maisons de plaisance*, 76-77.

overdoor frames conformed to a fitting balance or harmony between the linear and curvilinear.

Perhaps the vegetal growth sprouting from the ruins was also seen to have a balanced counterpart in the surrounding shellwork, acanthus, and floral frames. Presumably, the “licentious” sheets that Blondel issued separately were even more complicated than these images, and could only be digested by viewers as “generous morsels” to be broken down as various parts.¹⁶⁴

The interior was of central concern to some of the rococo’s earliest critics, including Étienne La Font de Saint-Yenne in his 1747 *Réflexions sur quelques causes de l’état présent de la peinture en France*. Saint-Yenne referred to the rococo as a mirror, focusing on its reflections and attendant sculpted ornament or gilding. In Saint-Yenne’s account, mirrors had woefully displaced painting as the primary focal point of attention in the interior; they pierced and broke up the length of walls, unnecessarily increased the size of interiors, and reflected both sunlight and candlelight, while their current manufacture dangerously increased their number “à l’infini.”¹⁶⁵ A year later, the critic Abbé Jean-Bernard Le Blanc took aim at the rococo as an unfortunate predilection on the part of “depraved” architects to “heap cornices, bases, columns, cascades, rushes, and rocks...in a confused manner.”¹⁶⁶ He preferred rather the “noble simplicity” of vertical and horizontal lines conforming to strict geometrical rules.¹⁶⁷

Meissonnier’s designs in particular came to embody the rococo for its critics. When Mariette wrote the artist’s obituary in 1750, he noted that it wasn’t just that Meissonnier transgressed the laws of *bon goût*; there was now something contorted and “torturé” about the rococo. It

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., 102-103.

¹⁶⁵ 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,” (The Hague: Jean Neaulme, 1747), 14-15.

¹⁶⁶ L’Abbé Jean-Bernard Le Blanc, *Lettre XXXVI in Lettres d'un François*, 228.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid.

as if someone had perversely twisted its forms so as to defeat their function, not to mention the burden on joiners and glaziers who would have to shape carpentry and glass into these bizarre shapes.¹⁶⁸ Its forms were so unruly that they worked against their own usefulness, allowing candlewax to willfully drip upon chandeliers, for instance.¹⁶⁹

Among the strongest criticisms of the rococo in the 1750s were Charles-Nicolas Cochin's invectives in the *Mercure de France*, which appeared in 1754 and 1755. When the draftsman and engraver published "A Petition to goldsmiths, carvers, wood-sculptors, and others by a society of artists" and an ironic rejoinder, "Letter to M. l'abbé R***, concerning a very poor pleasantry published in the *Mercure* December last," he invoked specifically the formal qualities of ornament prints associated with artisans who were members of the Académie de Saint-Luc.¹⁷⁰ Cochin's letters differed from the earlier criticism by Saint-Yenne and Le Blanc in that they were aimed at the decorators themselves, the gold and silversmiths who forged precious metal for dining *accoutrements*, and the carvers who whittled and chiseled wooden ornaments into organic, curvilinear shapes. His text described a discordance in scale that strongly recalled Meissonnier's designs for silverware, candlesticks, and soup tureens, with their cascading forms evocative of the malleability of metal in the process of being forged. In Cochin's estimation, one of the most offensive qualities of the *rocaille* was its breaching of the rules of scale and proportion, to the degree that the size of an artichoke or piece of celery was amplified to be

¹⁶⁸ Charles-Nicolas Cochin, "Supplication aux Orfèvres, Ciseleurs, Sculpteurs en bois, pour les appartements aux autres, par une Société d'Artistes," 180. "Nous leur serions encore infiniment obligé s'ils voulaient bien ne pas changer la destination des choses, et se souvenir par exemple, qu'un chandelier doit être droit et perpendiculaire pour porter la lumière, et non pas tortué, comme si quelqu'un l'avait forcé; qu'une bobèche doit être concave pour recevoir la cire qui coule, et non pas convexe pour la faire tomber en nappe sur le chandelier, et quantité d'autres agréments non moins déraisonnables qu'il serait trop long de citer."

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., 180 and 185.

¹⁷⁰ Charles-Nicolas Cochin, "Supplication," 178-87; and "Lettre à M. l'abbé R***, sur une très mauvaise plaisanterie qu'il a laissé imprimer dans le *Mercure* du mois du Décembre 1754, par une société d'Architectes, qui pourrait bien aussi prétendre être du premier mérite et de la première réputation, quoiqu'ils ne soient pas de l'Académie," *Mercure de France* (February 1755), 148-174.

larger than the size of a pheasant or hare, which were in turn reduced to no larger than the size of one's finger:

Sont priés les Orfèvres, lorsque sur le couvercle d'un pot à ouille ou sur quel qu'autre pièce d'orfèvrerie, ils exécutant un artichaut ou un pied de céleri de grandeur naturelle, de vouloir bien ne pas mettre à coté un lièvre grand comme le doigt, une alouette grande comme le naturel, un faisan du quart ou du cinquième de sa grandeur; des enfants de la même grandeur qu'une feuille de vigne; des figures supposés de grandeur naturelle, portées sur une feuille d'ornement, qui pourrait à peine soutenir sans plier un petit oiseau; des arbres dont le tronc n'est pas si gros qu'une de leurs feuilles, et quantité d'autres choses également bien raisonnées.¹⁷¹

Meisssonier's *Livre de légumes*, one of the most likely culprits of these transgressions of scale according to this oft-quoted passage by Cochin, had been recently reproduced in 1748 as part of Huquier's lavish *Oeuvre* on Meisssonier, followed by a similar tome on Oppenord (1749-51).¹⁷² As we have seen, in the 1730s, Cochin had in fact engraved the work of Lajoue, participating in the creation of some of the very works he would later condemn. For instance, in the second plate of *Second Livre de Cartouches inventées par de Lajoue*, a 1734 suite of asymmetrical cartouches emerging from beds of grass, moss, and fountains, Cochin's engraving shows a central ornament that has been broken open, like a cracked egg (figure 1.53). Of the twelve plates in the series, which show ornament appearing to grow out of the earth and framed by leaves, shells, or bits of lichen, Cochin's plate is the only one to depict a cartouche as the source of the fountain spring itself, with water flowing forth from its center. In this plate, surrounding goblets and vases offer suggestions of classical *accoutrements* in which the antique flickers into view alongside moss, gurgling fountains, and nimble animalia scattering about—with all of these elements brought forth for viewer discernment and inspection. The vase and cup strewn to the right suggest an antique peeking into view that the viewer happens upon almost haphazardly, similarly to

¹⁷¹ Cochin, "Supplication aux Orfèvres," 179.

¹⁷² Gabriel Huquier, *Oeuvre de Juste-Aurèle Meisssonier*, 1748. Gabriel Huquier, *Oeuvre de Gilles-Marie Oppenord*, "Le Grand Oppenord," 1749-50. INHA PL EST 102 (1). The *Oeuvre* on Lajoue was never completed.

encountering the perched squirrel on top of the cartouche. Lajoue would further play with the capacity of c-scrolls to serve as the conduit for waterflow in his 1735 painted screen, in which a set of arabesques atop fountains unfold accordion-like (figure 1.23). The second leaf of the screen in particular recalls the broken open ornament and cascading fountain of plate 2 of Cochin's engraving after Lajoue. In Huquier's shop, his output of prints after rococo *ornemanistes* echoed in Lajoue's folding screen, which, I suggest, offered a succession of papered decoration alongside its counterpart in printed impressions. In his memoirs, Cochin lamented the rapidity with which Lajoue's prints sold, widely circulating and multiplying the vertigo of their contorted architectural views and endless fountains.¹⁷³ In contemplating the painted screen, the viewer's perspective constantly shifts; on each leaf of the screen, a central fountain is placed beneath another scene that recedes into the distance, pulling the viewer's eyes between two competing views. Lajoue's prints only furthered these visual dynamics, drawing the viewer's eyes along endless variations of cartouches that seemed to be in constant movement.

The publication of Cochin's articles in the *Mercur*e has been widely understood as a turning point, when the *rocaille* of Lajoue and others was already in retreat in print, solidifying its falling out of favor.¹⁷⁴ However, thanks to Huquier, these prints did in fact continue to circulate alongside the antiquarian texts that have been privileged in more linear histories of stylistic transition. Colin Bailey has suggested that Cochin's frustration with the rococo was motivated by Huquier's recent memorialization of Meissonnier and Oppenord in several large *Oeuvres* (Meissonnier died in 1750; Oppenord in 1742).¹⁷⁵ In a drawing for Huquier's trade card, these volumes are shown behind the table in his office, beneath shelves that mix the collected

¹⁷³ Cochin, *Memoires inédites*, 140. "La Joue, même peintre d'architecture assez médiocre, fit des dessins d'ornements assez misérables, qui se vendirent avec la plus grande rapidité. Tout était livré à un esprit de vertige."

¹⁷⁴ Scott, *The Rococo Interior*, 250.

¹⁷⁵ Bailey, "Was there such a thing as Rococo Painting?" 176.

works of Rubens, Natoire, and Boucher, alongside volumes of ornament for metalwork, flowers, locks, screens, and fans (figure 1.54). In the drawings, each *recueil* is shown as a large tome of prints, whether the *oeuvre* of an artist or a *recueil* of metalwork patterns. These mingle side by side as possibilities from which “les curieux et les artistes” may choose, positioning the print shop as a site where bits of ornament and artisanal patterns are arranged and presented to the viewer on equal footing with the work of academic painters. As Bailey has suggested, it was almost as if the rococo became an affront to taste when published as a folio-sized monograph, presuming to assert itself on an equal level with the *oeuvres* of old masters. In 1754, when Cochin published his “Supplication,” antiquarian volumes were also flourishing. The first installments of Caylus’ six-volume *Recueil d’antiquités* had recently been published just around the corner from Huquier. It would soon be followed by the first ornamental adaptations inspired by this publication and produced by several of its engravers, such as Jean-François de Neufforge’s nine-volume *Recueil élémentaire d’architecture* (1757-1772). The first edition of Leroy’s two-volume *Les ruines des plus beaux monuments de la Grèce* (1758 and 1770) appeared soon after, produced with the assistance of Caylus and Mariette.¹⁷⁶ Perhaps Cochin’s discomfort with Huquier’s lavish tomes of rococo ornament was also prompted by the parallel circulation of antiquarian publications in these years; on the rue Saint-Jacques, it seems, the rococo presumed to assert itself alongside everything that was printed, including the antique.

Evidently not deterred by Cochin’s 1754-55 remarks, Huquier continued his large-format publications until 1761, with his *Nouveau Livre de Principes d’Ornements*, in which he reproduced the arabesques of Claude Gillot and Antoine Watteau from earlier in the century

¹⁷⁶ It was published on the rue Saint-Jacques by H. L. Guérin & L. F. Delatour, the same book publishers who produced a series on luxury trades to which Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin contributed.

(figure 1.55).¹⁷⁷ The volume was also available chez Chéreau, thus resurrecting the arabesque and the turn-of-the-century *fête galante* in folio-size editions. Perhaps most indicative of Huquier's intentions in producing these works was his appeal to readers on the title page of the *Nouveau Livre*, which advised viewers to take a mirror to the page at a right-angle in order to infinitely multiply the views of the ornament held within (figure 1.56). While scholars have noted this plate as an example of Huquier's call to viewers' attention and the practices of *découpage*, the significance of this comparatively late publication date has not been emphasized.¹⁷⁸ Theorists would take up the mirror in the coming years with an increasing focus on the play of the eyes across the surface of an object, of the sensation of being caught in endless cycles of repetition and reflection. By 1774, Blondel emphasized the mirror's "magic" in multiplying "to infinity" the decorative carvings of ribbons and floral molding.¹⁷⁹ As late as 1777, Blondel's final *Cours d'architecture* continued to employ illustrations like those of Pierre Patte, whose decoration of a *salon* employed curvilinear candelabras at the sides of mirrors strongly recalling the work of Pineau from earlier in the century. Published by the widow Desaint on the rue Saint-Jacques, not far from Chéreau, these treatises by Blondel and ornament by Huquier continued to comingle and inform one another. An understanding of these mutual endeavors, afforded from the perspective of print, is therefore striking. On the cusp of the 1760s, not only was the rococo evidently not in retreat, it was endlessly split into small morsels and

¹⁷⁷ Gabriel Huquier, *Nouveau Livre de Principes d'Ornements particulièrement pour trouver un nombre infini de formes qui en dépendent*, c. 1749-61, INHA Paris RES 16.

¹⁷⁸ See Scott, *The Rococo Interior*, 248. On Huquier and *découpage*, see Jean-François Bédard, "Gabriel Huquier, Bricoleur d'ornements: de la rocaïlle au goût à l'antique," in *Ornements, XVe-XIXe siècles: chefs-d'œuvre de la Bibliothèque de l'INHA, collections Jacques Doucet*, eds. Michaël Decrossas et Lucie Fléjou (Paris: Institut national d'histoire de l'art, 2014), 228-239.

¹⁷⁹ Blondel, *Les amours rivaux, ou L'homme du monde éclairé par les arts* (Paris: Jean-François de Bastide, 1774), 90.

recomposed anew in Huquier's assertively large-format publications like the *Nouveau Livre*, part of an infinitely generative process.

Conclusion

As the *rocaille* unmoored itself from the confining text of the architectural treatise, its wide dispersal, ever more complicated forms, and increasingly large format suggest that it was more tangible than scholars have supposed, and did not readily dissolve into so many amorphous pages floating along the Seine. In Scott's account of the rococo, the ascendancy of the *goût antique* in print seemed all but assured by the 1740s, with its various permutations as *goût grec* and *goût étrusque* as the decades wore on. According to Scott, the rococo's formal qualities were increasingly taken out of context, and critics approached it, rather, as a set of inscrutable shapes to be deciphered, and when no interpretation could be found, it was dismissed as meaningless and unintelligible.¹⁸⁰ Certainly, *cahiers* of ornament continued to circulate separately from text, while maintaining their visual distortions in scale, bimodal asymmetry, and flickering effects of *papillotage*. However, as Cochin's anxious musings attest, I contend that far from draining these images of meaning, this dispersal increased their capacity to convey and articulate knowledge through the imaginative, sensual methods of looking they elicited. In the prints of Oppenord, Pineau, and others, this fragmentary, tangible manner of looking and ranging over images teased at the fault lines of natural and artificial, interior and exterior—blurring the boundaries between gardens and the decorated interior—and would become all the more pronounced in the coming years in the work of *ornemanistes* such as Saint-Aubin.

An overlooked episode from late in his life suggests that Caylus might have become interested in the capacity for humor in these ornament prints. In an anonymous 1763 “badinage”

¹⁸⁰ Scott, *The Rococo Interior*, 241-65.

or joke, a set of etchings depict characters with warped and excessive clothing in the *goût grec* taste.¹⁸¹ Scholars have recently tentatively attributed these to Caylus, and they might have inspired Petitot's better-known satirical *goût grec* costume etchings.¹⁸² In the first plate, an Architecte à la Grecque with a ram's head holds a plaque in one hand, and a sign for a "magasin des modes" on his back along with a garland of flowers and other knickknacks (figure 1.57). He clasps his forehead with a headache as he spits out various bits of ornament, from c-scrolls to Greek fretwork, which spew forward in a fountain of ornamental confusion. His pose recalls the confused draftsman from Mondon's plate *à la rocaille* in 1736, only now the taste for the antique has taken over and run amok, invading the body. While this image surely critiques the whims of fashion, its humorous tone also speaks to a broader culture of jest and lightheartedness in conceiving of the antique as time wore on, a far cry from the more prescriptive writings of Cochin in 1754-55 or even Caylus' pronouncements against Watteau in 1748. As we shall see in the next chapter, this capacity for humor, jest, self-consciousness, and even self-deprecation continues in the print trade in the 1760s, most notably with the work of Saint-Aubin. In his prints and drawings, these playful qualities continue to inform and shape the way the "belated rococo" articulated itself in print. Taken on their own terms and detached from text, these impressions were just as arresting and licentious as their early eighteenth-century predecessors.

¹⁸¹ Svend Eriksen, *Early Neoclassicism in France*, 357-60.

¹⁸² Marie-Pauline Martin, "L'ornement rocaille vs. l'imaginaire à l'antique?" in *Ornements, XV^e-XIX^e siècles: chefs-d'œuvre de la Bibliothèque de l'INHA, collections Jacques Doucet*, eds. Michaël Decrossas and Lucie Fléjou (Paris: Institut national d'histoire de l'art, 2014), 246.

CHAPTER TWO

Irreverent Ornament: Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin's *Recueils de Chiffres*

Introduction

In 1766, embroiderer and *dessinateur du roi* Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin published a set of thirteen etched and engraved floral monograms entitled *Premier* and *Deuxième Recueil de Chiffres*.¹⁸³ Each plate in the suite was composed of two intertwining letters, delicately adorned with a crown or wreath, and melding together natural and artificial objects, such as ribbons, flowers, or feathers (figure 2.1). Conjuring the tactility of ermine and wheat, the lively play of Saint-Aubin's *rocaille* initials integrated alphabetical forms into complicated interwoven patterns, their serpentine curls obscuring the legibility of the letters themselves (figure 2.2). They were advertised in the *Avant-Coureur* in October of that year, with text that noted that they represented a new genre of decoration and could be useful models to artists. They were published at the same time as new suites of floral line engravings for those who wished to "s'amuser à enluminer":

Chiffres gravés avec leur couronne. Ces chiffres sont au nombre de douze, d'un très grand nombre et très belle forme, et d'un genre neuf. Ils peuvent être utiles à plusieurs artistes. Quoiqu'ils ne soient point parfaitement graves, on y remarque cependant beaucoup de génie. Ils ont été inventés par M. de Saint-Aubin, Dessinateur du Roi, connu depuis longtemps pour la variété des dessins de broderie dont il a fourni toute l'Europe. Le même Artiste vient de faire graver deux cahiers de fleurs au trait, d'après nature, à l'usage des personnes qui veulent s'amuser à enluminer. On trouvera ces divers objets chez l'Auteur, rue des Prouvaires, vis-à-vis une marchande de modes; et Chez la veuve Chéreau, rue S. Jacques, aux deux Piliers d'or.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸³ Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin, *Premier and Deuxième Recueil de Chiffres*, 1766, INHA Paris (Fol Res 108), Oak Spring Garden Library (OSG RB1328), Metropolitan Museum of Art (22.55.3) and Morgan Library & Museum (PML 151031). For other editions, see Roger Portalis and Henri Bérardi, *Les Graveurs Du Dix-Huitième Siècle* (Paris: D. Morgand et C. Fatout, 1880-82), vol. 3, no. 21, Désiré Guilmar, *Les Maîtres Ornemanistes* (Paris: E. Plom, 1880), 211, no. 7, and Edmond de Goncourt, *L'art du dix-huitième siècle* (Paris: A. Quantin, 1882), 474.

¹⁸⁴ *L'Avant-Coureur*, no. 40 (October 6, 1766), 626.

Like many *ornemanistes*, Saint-Aubin's principle publisher for his relatively modest output of etchings and engravings was the Chéreau firm, a prominent family business situated on the rue Saint-Jacques, and one of the most important print merchants in Paris.¹⁸⁵ The elder brother of *peintres-graveurs* Augustin and Gabriel de Saint-Aubin, Charles-Germain was a prolific artist, and, following in the family trade, designer and fabricator of embroidery.¹⁸⁶ In his short autobiography at the beginning of the *Recueil de plantes* (1736-1785), a *flora botanica* manuscript he contributed to throughout his life, Saint-Aubin referred to himself as "Dessinateur du Roi pour la broderie et la dentelle," a title he included on almost all of his publications.¹⁸⁷ According to his account, he gave himself this title around 1751, a variation on the position his father had purchased in 1732, which had enabled court patronage while freeing him of guild restrictions.¹⁸⁸ Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin designed embroidered embellishments for the Dauphin for his marriage in 1747 and would go on to work for a host of noble patrons, including the marquise de Pompadour, Madame du Barry, and Marie Antoinette, carrying out royal commissions while maintaining his Parisian lace and embroidery practice.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁵ Chéreau's shop sign was marked by an image of two golden pillars, or *deux piliers d'or*, at their location on the rue Saint-Jacques until 1775. On the history of the firm, see Maxime Préaud, ed., *Dictionnaire des éditeurs d'estampes à Paris sous l'ancien régime* (Paris: Promodis, Éditions du Cercle de la Librairie, 1987), 79-84.

¹⁸⁶ For the classic biography of the Saint-Aubin brothers, see Victor Advielle, *Renseignements intimes sur les Saint-Aubin, dessinateurs et graveurs: d'après les papiers de leur famille* (Paris: L. Soulié, 1896). See also the recent biography in Colin Jones and Juliet Carey, "Introduction," in *The Saint-Aubin Livre de Caricatures: Drawing Satire in Eighteenth-Century Paris*, eds. Colin Jones, Juliet Carey, and Emily Richardson (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2012), 6-13.

¹⁸⁷ Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin, *Recueil de plantes*, (MS0148), 1736-1785, Oak Spring Garden Foundation, n.p.

¹⁸⁸ Saint-Aubin, op. cit., n.p. "Je pris alors le titre de dessinateur du roi, que personne ne me contesta." In 1732, Saint-Aubin's father Gabriel-Germain had purchased the official post of *brodeur du roi*, while his grandfather Germain had been embroiderer to the dowager duchesse de Lesdiguières, whose elegant *hôtel* was situated in the Marais.

¹⁸⁹ Saint-Aubin composed some 40,000 lace and embroidery designs for court dress according to his autobiography. Traces of these commissions are held in three volumes in the Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France, MS 2057-2059, *Dessins de Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin, annotés, pour la plupart, par Augustin de Saint-Aubin*, c. 1750-70.

Of the several sets of floral etchings and engravings Saint-Aubin produced in the 1760s, the artist mentioned the embroidery initials specifically in his short autobiography at the beginning of the *Recueil de plantes*: “I had twelve large flower *chiffres* engraved. This trifle will endure beyond me.”¹⁹⁰ With a touch of false modesty, Saint-Aubin wrote of these prints as a “bagatelle,” a mere trifle, a passing fancy; yet at the same time, they offered something enduring, with their sinuous forms sustained in two sets of folio-size plates, outliving the more ephemeral fancywork lace and embroidered brocades of his primary trade and source of income.¹⁹¹ In one of his more melancholy turns, he wrote at the end of his life that his thousands of embroidery designs would dissolve into oblivion, where he too was quickly headed: “such is the fate of all objects,” he sighs, “which fix our attention for but an instant.”¹⁹² Earlier in his *Essai de Papillonnies Humaines* (1748), a series of anthropomorphic butterflies flitting amongst gossamer and spiderwebs, Saint-Aubin had melded the playful and the precarious, qualities he would extend in their most abstract permutation in the *Chiffres*. Like the tracings of thread and lace, there is a fleeting and ephemeral quality to the interwoven letters, a sense of intricate patterns brought together and about to dissolve, sustained and held in suspension by prints whose elusive forms code and conceal as much as they reveal.

Scholars have studied Saint-Aubin principally for his embroidery practice and his biting satirical sketches of court nobility, endeavors that have been placed at two ends of a spectrum—the polite, professional realm of his trade and its accompanying treatise *L’Art du brodeur* (1770),

¹⁹⁰ Saint Aubin, *Recueil de plantes* (MS0148), Oak Spring Garden Foundation, n.p. “Ce bagatelle durera après moi.”

¹⁹¹ I am extending this notion of durability from Patrick Mauriès, *Sur les papillonnies humaines* (Paris: Gallimard, 1996).

¹⁹² Saint Aubin, op cit., 258. “Les quarante mille autre dessins qui ont fait mon occupation après avoir guidé les brodeurs, fabricants d’étoffes ou de dentelles sont rentrés au néant ou j’irai bientôt; tel est le sort de tous les objets qui fixent un instant notre attention.”

and the private circle in which his caricatures circulated.¹⁹³ The embroidery treatise formed part of a larger series produced by the Académie des Sciences on the French luxury trades, emerging on the heels of the final installments of Denis Diderot and Jean-Baptiste le Rond d'Alembert's *Encyclopédie*.¹⁹⁴ At first glance, the flat diagrammatic, demonstrative line engravings illustrating chain stitches in *L'Art du brodeur* (figure 2.3) could not be farther from Saint-Aubin's sardonic, crude, and sometimes scatological *Livre de caricatures tant bonnes que mauvaises* (c.1745-1775) (known in Saint-Aubin family tradition as the *Livre de culs* or Book of Arses).¹⁹⁵ At a time of heavy censorship when more pointed public satire of his patrons was unthinkable, his ribald caricatures have been viewed as marking the limits of caricature within such elite circles in the *ancien régime*, and the *Livre de caricatures* indeed remained anonymous during Saint-Aubin's life in order to protect its author.¹⁹⁶ While of a different, didactic genre, *L'Art du brodeur* nevertheless attests to the imagination of Saint-Aubin's trade, with instructions for stitching with such diverse materials as thread, sequins, metal wire, and animal fur.¹⁹⁷ In turning an eye to his prints, I seek in this chapter to resituate Saint-Aubin's lesser studied corpus of etchings and engravings within the commercial terrain of the print trade itself, a realm whose sensual, tactile ornament made it especially fertile territory for Saint-Aubin's cleverness, his penchant for sexual innuendo, riddles, and wordplay, all of which he carefully interweaves in his twisted

¹⁹³ Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin, *L'Art du Brodeur* (Paris: Delatour, 1770). On Saint-Aubin's embroidery practice, see Juliet Carey, "The King and his Embroider," in *Seeing Satire in the Eighteenth Century*, eds. Elizabeth C. Mansfield and Kelly Malone (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2013), 261-282.

¹⁹⁴ Published by Louis-François Delatour, the luxury trades series totaled seventy-two works on such subjects as *L'Art de la porcelaine* (1772) and *L'Art du menuisier* (1774).

¹⁹⁵ See Pierre Rosenberg, *Le livre des Saint-Aubin* (Paris: Musée du Louvre, 2002) and Colin Jones, Juliet Carey and Emily Richardson, eds. *The Saint-Aubin Livre de Caricatures: Drawing Satire in Eighteenth-Century Paris* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2012). The *Livre des Saint-Aubin* was an album of drawings by the three brothers compiled by the elder Charles-Germain as family chronicler.

¹⁹⁶ Richard Taws, "The Precariousness of Things," in *The Saint-Aubin Livre de caricatures: Drawing Satire in Eighteenth-Century Paris* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2012), 327-347.

¹⁹⁷ Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin, *L'Art du Brodeur*, 49, description of plates 9 and 10.

monograms. The double-meaning of the word “chiffre” as both an organizing letter or number upon a printed page, often at the top right corner, and a cipher code, further suggests the capacity of his prints to signal multiple registers of interpretation. There is a certain boldness on the part of the artist in designating such a title, rather than the more common “recueil” or “livre” “de fleurs” or “d’ornements,” as in the work of *ornemanistes* and publishers such as Jean Pillement and Huquier.¹⁹⁸ His work thus invites the viewer to “déchiffrer” or decode the images, or at least to engage in intense visual discernment as the eye darts across their complicated asymmetrical surfaces. While recent scholarship by Smentek has considered the tactility of prints that were cut and pasted onto other objects such as fans and snuffboxes—and thus melding luxury items with their imitation in paper,—this chapter repositions the contours of Saint-Aubin’s prints and drawings as sites where material and spatial blurrings were already conceived. In dissolving the bounds between interior and exterior in his evocation of Pompadour’s *Hôtel d’Évreux* and several other noble residences through *trompe l’oeil* drawings, Saint-Aubin’s work negotiates the merging of natural and artificial, garden and interior that was articulated in such texts as Jean-François Bastide’s *La petite maison* (1758, republished 1763) and Claude-Henri Watelet’s *Essai sur les jardins* (1774). As we shall see in Chapter Three, Bastide’s novella described an especially sensual boudoir that evoked a forest grove, whereas Watelet’s text signaled the decorated interior through the shape and arrangement of *parterres*.¹⁹⁹ Saint-Aubin’s *trompe l’œil* prints and drawings (conceived between 1740 and 1766) both conjure an earlier *burlesque*

¹⁹⁸ See for instance Gabriel Huquier, *Nouveau Livre de Principes d’Ornements Particulièrement pour trouver un nombre infini de formes qui en dépendent*, INHA (4 RES 16) and Jean Pillement, *Recueil de différents bouquets de fleurs, inventé et dessiné par Jean Pillement et gravé par P.C. Canot*, INHA (Fol L 299).

¹⁹⁹ Claude-Henri Watelet, *Essai sur les jardins* (Paris: Prault, 1774), ed. and trans. Samuel Danon (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2003), 54.

tradition while at the same time visually framing the porous spatial boundaries that would become essential to conceptions of the garden and the decorated interior in the coming years.

Of all of Saint-Aubin's work, the *Livre de caricatures* has been the most thoroughly and recently analyzed, reviving the artist's reputation compared to his better-known brothers Gabriel, a prolific artist and chronicler of the biennial Salons, and Augustin, a professional engraver who was agréé by the Académie royale in 1771. The *Livre* has been studied especially as a site of anxieties surrounding the overweening influence of Madame de Pompadour, and the gendered associations of the practice of embroidery.²⁰⁰ In turning attention to Saint-Aubin's overlooked *Chiffres*, this chapter also probes his complicated relationship with the marquise, who carefully constructed her identity as *maîtresse en titre* to Louis XV from 1742 onwards, before developing a distinct iconography of *amitié* beginning in 1751 upon her transition to dowager-consort. Commissioning in the 1750s several well-studied portraits that reinforced her heightened (rather than diminished) status in this role, she was also increasingly subject to *poissonades* (crude satirical songs and poems) and other insults.²⁰¹ In 1751, she began to produce her own series of etchings after drawings by François Boucher, made after engraved gems by Jacques Guay; this collaborative artistic endeavor across media circulated in limited editions in her private circle. The *Suite d'estampes gravées par Madame la marquise de Pompadour, d'après les pierres gravées de Guay, graveur du roy* (c.1755) (figure 2.4) was grounded in the iconography of

²⁰⁰ On the gender politics of embroidery in relation to Saint-Aubin, and its role as a site of anxieties about masculinity, see Melissa Hyde, "Needling: Embroidery and Satire in the Hands of Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin," in *Seeing Satire in the Eighteenth Century*, eds. Elizabeth C. Mansfield and Kelly Malone, 107-126. On embroidery as a site for the construction of the feminine, see Rozsika Parker, *The Subversive Stitch: Embroidery and the Making of the Feminine* (London: Women's Press, 1996).

²⁰¹ On the *poissonades*, which could result in imprisonment in the Bastille, see Colin Jones, *Madame de Pompadour* (London: National Gallery, 2002), 59-60 and Evelyne Lever, *Madame de Pompadour* (London: St. Martin's Griffin, 2000), 158.

amitié, with floral wreaths, offerings upon an altar of friendship, and the interlaced initials of Pompadour's name with that of Louis XV.²⁰²

In this chapter, I demonstrate Saint-Aubin's covert quotation of this suite, and posit that he integrates its symbolism with images drawn from his *Livre de caricatures* and *Recueil de plantes*. Through this dialogic lens, the seemingly arbitrary gathering of bits of random things à la *rocaille* in the *Chiffres* are revealed rather to be highly calculated and contrived according to the repertoire of in-jokes and references found in Saint-Aubin's private sketches. His prints therefore not only tread the distinctly rococo territory between natural and artificial, interior and exterior. They also suggest a permeability between the public and private spheres. Encoding caricature within interlaced *rocailleux* initials through the clever use of such word games as phonograms and allographs (individual letters or initials strung together that create full words and longer phrases when read out loud), Saint-Aubin extends veiled criticisms of Pompadour and other women patrons in print, breaching the private circle of his *Livre* so long considered the threshold of this genre of *ancien régime* satire.²⁰³ Saint-Aubin's work thereby underscores a fundamental paradox of the *rocaille* in his hands: that its earlier *mondaine* playfulness and subversion of absolutism—practiced among noble women and *salonnières* in particular—later carried the possibility of undercutting those very individuals, especially the women of court who financially sustained artists like him. The monograms in certain instances refer to the artist himself, gently satirizing his own role as artist and embroiderer who was subject to the taste of

²⁰² Katherine Gordon, "Madame de Pompadour, Pigalle, and the Iconography of Friendship," *The Art Bulletin* 50, no. 3 (September 1968): 242-269.

²⁰³ Literary satire and clandestine books and pamphlets in *ancien régime* France have been better studied than visual satire, alongside the practices of censorship. See Robert Darnton, *The Literary Underworld of the Old Regime* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982), *Revolution in Print: The Press in France 1775-1800* (Los Angeles: University of California Press 1988), and *The Forbidden Best-Sellers of Pre-Revolutionary France* (New York and London: W.W. Norton, 1996).

his patrons.²⁰⁴ Produced two years after Pompadour's death, his work suggests that nothing was spared from mockery and jest: the marquise, her self-fashioning, the practice of embroidery and engraving, even the rococo print itself. The *Chiffres* are thus best understood, I suggest, at the confluence of three artistic practices and exchanges: the public print trade, the practice of private satirical sketches, and court patronage of the luxury trades. Anchoring these spheres are Saint-Aubin's botanical studies and *trompe l'œil* drawings in the *Recueil de plantes* (1736-1785), his private caricatures in the *Livre de caricatures* (c.1745-1775), and Madame de Pompadour's own series of etchings and its attendant iconography of *amitié* beginning in 1750.²⁰⁵ Embedded in a longer rococo tradition of visual play and wordplay, Saint-Aubin's work shaped the contours of an irreverent, belated *rocaille* that endured well beyond the decades of its supposed eclipse by the mid-century reformation of taste.

Licentious Prints in Saint-Eustache

In 1760, Saint-Aubin settled into the Saint-Eustache neighborhood, the heart of the prestigious *marchand-mercier* and *marchand-drapier* district, and a major site of furniture and textile commerce, alongside other luxury trades.²⁰⁶ There he secured an exclusive contract with Dufourny, lace merchant to the queen, Maria Leszczyńska, for 1,200 *livres* a year.²⁰⁷ Situated at no. 29, rue des Prouvaires in today's first arrondissement just south of the bustling Les Halles

²⁰⁴ See Katie Scott, "Saint-Aubin's jokes and their relation to..." in *The Saint-Aubin Livre de Caricatures: Drawing Satire in Eighteenth-Century Paris*, eds. Colin Jones and Juliet Carey, 380. For the use of monogram initials to indicate artist names, sometimes taken from logograph word puzzles, see Johan Friedrich Christ, *Dictionnaire des monogrammes* (Paris: S. Jorry, 1750). See also Dezallier d'Argenville, *Abrégé de la vie des plus fameux peintres* (Paris: De Bure, 1745-52) for the use of floral motifs used as stand-ins for artist portraits.

²⁰⁵ See Gordon, "Madame de Pompadour, Pigalle, and the Iconography of Friendship," 242-269.

²⁰⁶ On the tailors, drapers, embroiderers, and other garment tradespeople in the Saint-Eustache neighborhood, see Annik Pardailhé-Galabrun, *La naissance de l'intime: 3000 foyers parisiens XVII^e-XVIII^e siècles* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1988), 92-98. See also Carolyn Sargentson, "The Manufacture and Marketing of Luxury Goods: The *Marchands-Merciers* of late 17th- and early 18th-Century Paris," in *Luxury Trades and Consumerism in Ancien Régime Paris*, eds. Robert Fox and A.J. Turner (New York: Routledge, 1998), 99-137.

²⁰⁷ Saint-Aubin, op. cit., n.p. "Une maison de commerce (M Dufourny M de dentelles de la Reine rue du Boule) me donne 1200 pour m'empêcher de travailler pour les confères. Ce que je fais pour elle est payé appart. Il fait un objet à mon âme, je me livre pendant dix ans à une amitié douce, tendre et presque exclusive, mais rien n'est stable."

market, Saint-Aubin's home and studio was located on one of the busiest commercial streets in Paris, intersecting with the rue Saint-Honoré populated by mercers and their luxury wares. Down the street, the *marchande de musique* Marie-Anne Castagneri sold music sheets with scores by famous composers, as well as new compositions printed on little cards, in an inviting shop with a brown taffeta parasol in the window display.²⁰⁸ Across the street from Saint-Aubin was a *marchande de modes*, a class of women merchants of luxury fashion who manufactured and sold items for feminine dress. Excluded from the guild system that regulated tailors and other garment tradespeople, the work of *marchandes de modes* consisted of additive fashion elements: fabric trimmings, millinery, capes, lace shawls, and decorative baubles sewn into dress.²⁰⁹ Gersault's illustration for a *marchande de mode* shop in his 1769 *L'art du tailleur* shows an assortment of lace trimmings and bonnets, arranged on tables for a client in an elegant setting complete with a mirror framed by two curvilinear candelabras (figure 2.5). While archival records don't give us more insight into whether this nearby *marchande* might have subcontracted with Saint-Aubin and Dufourny, the artist was favorably situated to take advantage of the surrounding commercial networks of Saint-Eustache, working independently of the guilds as a designer *suivant la cour* and maintaining the bourgeois status secured by his family.²¹⁰ In Saint-Aubin's 1760 *adresse*, or trade card, for the rue des Prouvaires location, floral elements drape over and stretch through an empty rectangular frame—stalks, stems, and silk tassels entwined (figure 2.6). The card is similar to a sketch in the *Livre des Saint-Aubin*, a volume of drawings and family history

²⁰⁸ *Avant-Coureur*, July 1770, 358. See also Sylvette Milliot, "Marie-Anne Castagneri. Marchande de musique au XVIIIe siècle (1722-1787)" *Revue de Musicologie* 52, no. 2 (1966): 185-195.

²⁰⁹ François Gersault, *L'art du tailleur* (Paris: Delatour, 1769), 54-56. Operating under the shadow of their tailor husbands according to Gersault, the *marchandes de modes* were recognized by the guild system in 1776, thanks in part to public presence of *marchande de mode* Rose Bertin, who became dressmaker and milliner to Marie-Antoinette.

²¹⁰ On the freedoms associated with merchants and artisans working for the court, who bypassed guild regulations, see Emma Delpeuch, "Les marchands et artisans suivant la cour," *Revue historique de droit français et étranger* 52, no. 3 (July-September 1974), 379-413.

compiled by the Saint-Aubin brothers with Charles-Germain as family chronicler, in which the artist uses a curtain as a sort of titlepage for a series of vignettes of their friends and acquaintances (figure 2.7). This drapery technique was common among merchants, from Huquier's coats of arms (figure 2.7) to Didier Aubert's tapestry promoting his flocked wallpaper (an inexpensive substitute for textiles) to a slight variation in the cartouche of the tailor Schelling, where garments were draped like flags. In Saint-Aubin's brother Gabriel's 1767 trade card for the ironmonger Périer, a curtain lifts to reveal a view of the shop, an homage to Watteau's *The Shop Sign* for dealer and publisher Edmé-François Gersaint (figure 2.8).²¹¹ Among the andirons and sconces, a grate to the right includes a cursive monogram in the center, a likely indication of the artist's name or that of Périer, but perhaps also a subtle nod to his brother's *chiffres*, which had been published the year before. Like his *chiffres*, Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin mixes the textile and floral in his trade card, referencing both the fabric materials of his embroidery practice and botanical subjects such as lilies and roses, all entwined. According to the *Avant-Coureur*, his prints were available for sale at both his studio and across the Seine at the Chéreau print firm on the rue Saint-Jacques.²¹² That his prints could be purchased at these locations suggests the circulation of his work both in the *marchand-mercier* district and through the print trade, a trend in keeping with other floral textile designs such as those of Pillement, whose patterns were available chez Huquier and the silk merchant Menissieu.²¹³ In the 1730s, the relationship between prints and textiles became increasingly blurred: wallpaper could imitate the look of damask or cut velvet, and flocked paper made of

²¹¹ Rena Hoisington, "Etching as a Vehicle for Innovation: Four Exceptional *Peintres-Graveurs*," 73, in *Artists and Amateurs, Etching in Eighteenth-Century France*, ed. Perrin Stein (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2013).

²¹² On the long history of the Paris print trade on the rue Saint-Jacques, see Grivel, *Le Commerce de l'estampe*, 1986 and Le Bizouté, "Le Commerce de l'estampe à Paris dans la première moitié du XVIII^e siècle," 1986.

²¹³ On Pillement's prints in relation to silk design, see Carolyn Sargentson, *Merchants and Luxury Markets: The Marchands-Merciers of Eighteenth-Century Paris* (London; Malibu: Victoria and Albert Museum; J. Paul Getty Museum, 1996), 45.

feathers or powdered wool could be fabricated in elaborate designs resembling outdoor greenery.²¹⁴ Further east from the rue Saint-Jacques, in what is today Saint-Germain des Près, a 1766 advertisement in the *Avant-Coureur* noted that artificial flowers and baskets of artificial fruit could be purchased for decorating tables or fireplace mantelpieces.²¹⁵ At the periphery of the print trade, with all its freely circulating ornament, capricious etched flowers, prints meant for *découpage*, and mixed-media paper, the market for decorative objects in the 1760s offered even more artificial flora and botanica, an expanding terrain of clever imitations of the natural world for the decoration of the interior.

In 1770, the inventory catalogue for Jacques-François Chéreau's extensive stock of copperplates—which he had purchased two years earlier from the Veuve Chéreau who had overseen the firm from 1755 to 1768—comprised a section on *recueils de fleurs* organized by author. First in the list of Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin's work was “Un Recueil de 12 Chiffres de fleurs agréablement composés, pour peindre sur les Voitures, en deux parties,” valued at the price of 3 *livres*, an average price for a *recueil* in folio. The same volume in color, like other illuminated prints, was valued at the higher cost of 12 *livres*, and the catalogue author noted curiously that the initials could be used for painting carriages.²¹⁶ Saint-Aubin's half- and quarter-folio etchings of flowers, “Mes petits bouquets” and “Mes fleurettes,” were listed at the more modest price of 12 and 16 *sous*. Organized with other booklets of floral ornament for

²¹⁴ On the hanging of tapestries, silks, and brocades to decorate interiors, and imitations of this material in flocked wallpaper as an inexpensive alternative, see Scott, *The Rococo Interior*, 36-41.

²¹⁵ *L'Avant-Coureur*, no.1 (January 6, 1766), 9. “Industrie. Fleurs et fruits artificiels. Le Sieur Odie, Décorateur des enfants de France, rue du Sépulchre, Faubourg Saint-Germain, du côté de la grande rue Tarenne, tient magasin de toutes sortes de Fleurs artificielles, tant à l'usage des Dames, que pour orner les tables. On y trouve aussi des jolies Corbeilles de fruits propres à figurer dans un dessert des Fruits qui renferment les Fleurs, et plusieurs autres productions de cette espèce, ou la Nature se trouve ingénieusement imitée.”

²¹⁶ *Catalogues des estampes provenant des fonds de planches des sieurs Gerard Audran, François Chéreau, Fr. Poilly, Bernard Lépicier et J. Moyreau, graveurs, Chez Jacques-François Chéreau, Graveur, marchand d'estampes, rue Saint-Jacques, près celle des Mathurins, aux deux Piliers d'Or* (Paris: Desprez, 1770), 35.

artisanal use and drawing instruction, his prints were inventoried after such volumes as Louis Tessier's *Livre de principes de fleurs* (1751-76), a book that was dedicated to the ladies, who were invited to color them in, though scholars have noted that it was also actively used by *marqueteurs* and other woodworkers to trace patterns for furniture marquetry designs (figure 2.9).²¹⁷ When approached only from the perspective of stock records and sales catalogues, Saint-Aubin's prints might appear unremarkable. The *recueil de chiffres* could easily be dismissed as a curious if expensive print endeavor, noted for its potential to decorate objects beyond the realm of embroidery, yet of no special significance.²¹⁸

In June 1770, the engraver Johan Georg Wille recorded in his diary a decidedly livelier side of the print trade, noting that he, Chéreau, and Saint-Aubin had dined at the home of print dealer François Basan, where they spent a jolly evening laughing together:

Nous sommes tous diné chez M. Basan avec la famille Chéreau et M. Saint-Aubin l'ainé. Nous avons ri beaucoup, et nous nous sommes promenés au Luxembourg. Vers la nuit, j'allai voir M. le baron Dahlberg, qui est incommodé.²¹⁹

In September 1774, Wille recorded another dinner at the home of engraver Nicolas de Launay with Saint-Aubin and others, where they feasted merrily and enjoyed an evening of good humor:

Ma femme, moi, et nos deux fils, avons diné chez M. de Launay, graveur, en compagnie de M. et madame Lampereur, M. et madame de Saint-Aubin, M. Choffard, etc. C'était un festin, et nous nous sommes restés assez longtemps a table de fort bonne humeur."²²⁰

²¹⁷ Yannick Chastang, "Louis Tessiers' *Livre de principes de fleurs* and the Eighteenth-Century *Marqueter*," *Furniture History* 43 (2007): 115-126.

²¹⁸ Mary Meyers, catalogue entry for "Decorative Monogram," in *Regency to Empire: French Printmaking in the Eighteenth-Century* (Baltimore Museum of Art; Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; and Minneapolis Institute of Arts, 1984-85), 212-214, provides the only extended analysis of Saint-Aubin's *chiffres*.

²¹⁹ Johan Georg Wille, *Mémoires et journal de J. G. Wille, graveur du roi*, Publiés d'après les manuscrits autographes de la Bibliothèque impériale par Georges Duplessis; avec une préface par Edmond et Jules de Goncourt, vol. 1. (Paris: 1857) entry for June 5, 1770, 440, quoted in Colin Jones, "French Crossings. II: Laughing over Boundaries," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, vol. 21, 2011, 1-38, read 26 November 2010, my emphasis.

²²⁰ Ibid., entry for September 25, 1774, 578.

Scholars have noted Wille's diary entries as possible evidence for the use of the *Livre de caricatures* in convivial gatherings in Saint-Aubin's circle of friends, where the in-jokes within its pages could have been safely enjoyed in private.²²¹ I would like to suggest that they also attest to a world of humor shared especially among the principal participants in the Paris print market: major dealers and professional engravers, alongside the Saint-Aubin family with their connections at court. Robert Darnton has traced the way that publishers and booksellers evaded censorship and tracking by authorities in devising elaborate systems of identification that included the loose term "philosophical," the cross mark to designate stock that should be hidden, slang such as "chestnut" for clandestine orders, as well as the commonly used asterisk to truncate names to a single initial.²²² Sellers or transporters found with forbidden books, such as the anti-clerical erotic novel *Histoire du Dom B****** could be branded with the letters GAL and sent off to be a *galérien*, or galley slave. Saint-Aubin was certainly aware of the punishment, with a 1762 drawing in the *Livre de caricatures* showing an unfortunate heraldic device composed of oars and chains, adorned with an urn with the letters "G.A.L." above (figure 2.10). Another reference to punishment is found in another drawing in the *Livre* showing Pompadour's coat of arms, comprised of a cluster of three crenelated towers encircled in laurel, inscribed upon a pedestal adorned with an impaled, fleur-de-lys crowned *toupie* or spinning top (figure 2.10). With its inscription "passe-partout à la Bastille," the drawing likens Pompadour's heraldry to a master key to the Bastille, a sure ticket to imprisonment for those who libeled or insulted her. Scholars have also noted the double meaning of *toupie* in the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française* as

²²¹ Colin Jones, "French Crossings. II: Laughing over Boundaries," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, vol. 21, 2011, 1-38, read 26 November 2010.

²²² See Robert Darnton, "Philosophy under the Cloak," in *Revolution in Print: The Press in France 1775-1800*, eds. Robert Darnton and Daniel Roche, 27-49.

both a toy top and a low form of prostitution, another occasion for a defamatory reference to the marquise, whose schemes had apparently entrapped Louis XV as her plaything.²²³

Dealers like Basan, Mariette, and Chéreau occupied a somewhat different sphere than the booksellers who traded in illicit pornographic novels, philosophical treatises, and political libel, dealing rather in the visual material of fine prints, with wares marked with the indication of official permission “Avec privilège du roi.”²²⁴ The visual satire that did exist in *ancien régime* France does not seem to have had the same currency or vast clandestine networks as literary satire, though it was also heavily censored.²²⁵ Moreover, the culture of caricature was much reduced compared to England, and politically driven satirical images wouldn’t be unleashed with wide circulation until 1789.²²⁶ The images that did circulate seem to have been met with curiosity on the part of viewers, and they could jab both the crown and men of letters such as Voltaire in equal measure.²²⁷ As scholars have noted, Louis-Sebastian Mercier’s *Tableau de Paris* described the viewing of caricature thus: “on passe, on regard, on sourit, on lève les épaules, et l’on n’y songe plus,” suggesting that its impact on viewers was rather benign.²²⁸ This sense that satirical visual material was offensive enough to be censored but at the same time trifling and or trivial might be explained, I suggest, by the other tradition that Saint-Aubin and

²²³ Humphrey Wine, “Madame de Pompadour,” in *The Saint-Aubin Livre de Caricatures*, 183-187, and Emily Richardson, “Tu n’as pas tout vü!” in *Seeing Satire in the Eighteenth-Century*, 92-94.

²²⁴ On the history of print permissions, see Peter Fuhring, “The Print Privilege in Eighteenth-Century France,” *Print Quarterly* 2, no. 3 (September 1985): 175-193. While printmaking was not as heavily regulated as the book trade, with copper-plate engravers independent from guild restrictions, many contracts between artists, engravers and publishers seem to have involved obtaining a *privilege* for commercial protections.

²²⁵ On *ancien régime* censorship of caricature, see Robert Justin Goldstein, “Censorship of Caricature before 1830,” in ed. Robert Justin Goldstein, *Censorship of political caricature in nineteenth-century France* (Kent: The Kent State University Press, 1989), 87-92. On *ancien régime* caricature, see André Blum, *L’estampe satirique au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Gazette des Beaux-Arts, 1910).

²²⁶ On the conditions of caricature at the start of the Revolution, see Michel Melot, “Caricature and the Revolution: the situation in France in 1789,” in James Cuno, ed. *French Caricature and the French Revolution, 1789-99* (Los Angeles: Grunwald Center for the Graphic Arts, 1988). See also A. de Baecque, *La caricature révolutionnaire* (Paris: Presses du CNRS, 1988).

²²⁷ Goldstein, *Censorship of political caricature in nineteenth-century France*, 91.

²²⁸ Louis-Sebastian Mercier, “Libelle,” in *Tableau de Paris*, t. VII, (Amsterdam, 1782-183), 26.

other *ornemanistes* drew upon: the early eighteenth-century *arabesques* of Claude Audran and Antoine Watteau, as well as the *singeries* of Jean-Baptiste Huet, artists who recalled the *mondaine* values of the seventeenth century and its noble culture of playful sociability.²²⁹ As we have seen, the verbal and visual culture of the *mondaine* relied on irony, burlesque oppositions in subject and style, and *bout-rimés*, techniques that found visual analogues in the interior decoration of architects like Oppenord, who were well-versed in its linguistic strategies. Republished in the 1740s and 1750s chez Huquier, these prints circulated widely with playful, sometimes anthropomorphic figures encircled by convulsing oval frames.²³⁰ The prevalence of these prints might help clarify the nonchalant attitude of viewers who encountered the *ancien régime* visual satire that did circulate, as these images often relied on similar devices, including the melding of human animal forms.²³¹

Saint-Aubin's 1748 *Essay de Papillonerie humaines* harkened to this early eighteenth-century tradition, with anthropomorphic butterflies arranged in arabesque forms and engaged in dancing, jousting, tightrope walking, and theatrical concerts (figure 2.11). Like these earlier practices, Saint-Aubin mixes lower forms of entertainment such as the Italian comedy with more elite activities such as the performance of the *toilette*, complete with less savory scurrying animals such as the rats perched on the title page.²³² In particular, Saint-Aubin references the arabesques of Watteau from earlier in the century, such as *La Voltigeuse* (*The Acrobat*) and *l'Escarpolette* (*The Swing*), in which the pleasurable aristocratic activity of swinging—practiced in the parks of *petites maisons*—is nestled within an abstract, trellised frame (figure 2.12). Saint-

²²⁹ On which, see Bédard, *Decorative Games*, 17-39.

²³⁰ See for example the set of cartouches in Gabriel Huquier, *Premier Livre de différents morceaux à l'usage de tout ce qui s'appliquent aux beaux-arts, inventé par G.M. Oppenord, Architecte du Roi*. CCA Montréal (ID: 87-B6065).

²³¹ On these images, see André Blum, *L'estampe satirique au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Gazette des Beaux-Arts, 1910).

²³² On the mixing of high and low in Watteau and the visual effects of the arabesque composition, see Crow, 55-65.

Aubin employs similar devices, lending a sense of flattening, a push-and-pull between the central stages upon which the butterflies dance and the surrounding decorative borders. In the vertiginous movement of swinging or the precariousness of tightrope walking, these images immerse the viewer in looking over the entire scene at once, which is held in suspension across both its pictorial and abstract elements. These effects continued later in the eighteenth century, taken up by such artists as Jean-Honoré Fragonard in his 1767 *Happy Hazards of the Swing*, a work that has been studied for its capacity to draw in the viewer as a participant and “playmate,” eliciting an active, playful engagement in viewers akin to the effects of taking a ride on a swing.²³³ Produced three years into Pompadour’s tenure as *maitresse en titre*, Saint-Aubin’s *Papillonerie*s evoke noble culture but never explicitly reference the marquise; rather they conjure a tenuous aristocratic frivolity that hangs suspended among unwieldy gossamer threads. Unlike the self-referential elite play in Watteau, Saint-Aubin riffs on the arabesque as a genre, poking fun at its social rituals where characters “papillonne” or flit from the ballet to the performance of the *toilette*, the practice used increasingly by Pompadour in shaping her aristocratic identity.²³⁴ Later in 1756, Saint-Aubin produced the print *l’Offrande à l’Amitié*, in which a butterfly makes an offer of friendship upon an altar, recalling one of Pompadour’s etchings in the *Suite d’Estampes* after a drawing by Boucher, and one of Saint-Aubin’s first parodies of her artistic endeavors as printmaker (figure 2.13).²³⁵ That the double-meaning of “essay” in the title of the *Papillonnerie* suite could refer to both a written text and a commercial sample size to determine

²³³ Jennifer Milam, “Playful Constructions and Fragonard’s Swinging Scenes,” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 33, no. 4 (Summer 2000): 543-559.

²³⁴ On Pompadour’s performance of elite identity and the *toilette*, see Melissa Hyde, “The ‘Makeup’ of the Marquise: Boucher’s Portrait of Pompadour at her Toilette,” *The Art Bulletin* 82, no. 3 (September 2000): 453-475.

²³⁵ This drawing has been lost, but the print was published by Victor Carlson in *Regency to Empire: French Printmaking in the Eighteenth-Century*, 126, who suggests either Pompadour’s suite, or Boucher’s drawings, as source material for Saint-Aubin’s parody. An inscription on the print reads, “Parodie d’un dessein de Boucher représentant l’Amitié Grave par Md la marquise de Pompadour en 1756. Par de Saint-Aubin l’ainé.” On the drawing, see also Gordon, 256 and Rosenberg, *Le Livre de Saint-Aubin* (Paris: Musée du Louvre, 2002), 21-24.

the quality of an item, further suggests Saint-Aubin's desire to offer viewers a little taste of something trifling, a benign version of the more pointed satire in his drawings and the *Livre de caricatures*.²³⁶

In his *Chiffres*, Saint-Aubin produced images that were even more abstract than his butterfly arabesques, with contrasting patterns and serpentine curls that made the images difficult to comprehend, immersing the viewer in the process of reading or discerning each ambiguous composition. Beyond the drawings found in the *Livre de caricatures*, there is also correspondence between the repertoire of ornament found in the *Chiffres* and the *Recueil de plantes* suggesting that Saint-Aubin drew upon these watercolor studies as source material.²³⁷ While scholars have recently begun to reevaluate ornament à l'antique, considering for instance the imaginative and sensory qualities of *ornemaniste* (and Boucher's son) Juste-Nathan Boucher, little attention has been paid to the formal properties of contemporaneous work that Saint-Aubin produced, which defies easy categorization.²³⁸ The *chiffres* were executed by Clément-Pierre Marillier (1740-1808), a painter turned illustrator and printmaker, who was known for using a burin to enliven his etchings, finishing them with finely engraved details.²³⁹ Delicately nuanced in tone with clear and crisp lines, Marillier's impressions delineate each petal, leaf, and filigree

²³⁶ On this wordplay, see Elizabeth M. Rudy, "Selling Etchings in Eighteenth-Century France," in *Artists and Amateurs Etching in Eighteenth-Century France*, ed. Perrin Stein (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2013), 65.

²³⁷ For a discussion of the *Recueil* as source material for Saint-Aubin's embroidery practice, see Juliet Carey, "The King and his Embroider," in *Seeing Satire in the Eighteenth Century*, eds. Elizabeth C. Mansfield and Kelly Malone, 272-278.

²³⁸ See Marie-Pauline Martin, "L'ornement rocaille vs. l'imaginaire à l'antique?" in *Ornements, XV^e-XIX^e siècles: chefs-d'œuvre de la Bibliothèque de l'INHA, collections Jacques Doucet*, 240-49. The *Chiffres* have only received marginal attention compared to Saint-Aubin's wider output; they are included for instance in nineteenth-century catalogues of eighteenth-century material such as the Hippolyte Destailleur collection, but they have not been the subject of any recent analysis. For these entries see Portalis and Béraldi, *Les Graveurs Du Dix-Huitième Siècle*, 21; Guilmard, *Les maîtres ornemanistes*, 211; Émile Dacier, *L'œuvre Gravé de Gabriel de Saint-Aubin: Notice Historique et Catalogue Raisonné* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1914); Peter Jessen, *Der Ornamentstich* (Berlin: Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft g.m.b.h., 1920), 2543.

²³⁹ Mary Myers, catalogue entry no. 42, "Decorative Monogram," in *Regency to Empire: French Printmaking 1715-1814*, eds. Victor Carlson and John Ittman (Minneapolis: Minneapolis Institute of Arts, 1984), 212.

of the two intertwining letters on each plate, with their distinct interplay of textures, such as the cacti and furry tail entwined in the shape of a “T” in plate 6, the feathered “D” in plate 7 or the large “M” composed of soft ermine in plate 9 (figure 2.14). Saint-Aubin wasn’t the first to use the crowned monogram motif; around 1713 Oppenord sketched a rosette with similar decoration in the drawings he inserted in his copy of Jean Boudouin’s *Iconologie*, playfully deflating the volume’s prevailing heroic mode (figure 2.15). From 1742 to 1752, the publisher Louis Crépy circulated a set of six plates of floral monograms with crowns by a certain P. Moithy, signaling at least one instance of this genre of material in the print market before Saint-Aubin’s publication. For Saint-Aubin, the initials functioned not only to evoke rococo visual effects; they also allowed him to represent himself as an artist by employing certain initials as references to his own name. In particular, the “CG” on the second plate of the first *recueil*, and the “SA” that open the second *recueil* refer respectively to his first and last initials, playfully anchoring himself and his authorial presence within the suite (figure 2.16).²⁴⁰ Further, the flowers that form the “SA” are composed of laurel, ivy, and the *aubépine* or hawthorn flower, a rhyme with “Aubin” when the “e” at the end is removed, thus creating a visual and linguistic play on the syllables of his name.²⁴¹ Saint-Aubin studied the hawthorn in the *Recueil de plantes*, where it was identified as the “Aube Épine” in two words like his last name, and he also included it in the rare etched suite “Les Fleurettes de Saint-Aubin” (figure 2.17).²⁴² In the *Recueil de plantes*, Saint-Aubin’s description of the flower noted that “Il y a une variété à fleurs roses qui fait un effet charmant dans les parterres,” making an association between himself, hawthorn, and “broderie” style flower beds, formed in embroidered or interlaced shapes. The subtlety and deliberateness of

²⁴⁰ Katie Scott, “Saint-Aubin’s jokes and their relation to...,” in *Drawing Satire in Eighteenth-Century Paris*, 380.

²⁴¹ Ibid.

²⁴² Ibid.

these references suggests that while the artist was deeply invested in the tactility and arrangement of organic objects central to the rococo ornament print, he was equally interested in its linguistic devices and in employing these in the service of subtle jokes that were knowable to himself and his inner circle. While the *Livre de caricatures* spans 1740 to 1775 in its scope, the *Chiffres* were published by Chéreau in 1766 and again in 1770, the year of Wille's first recorded instance of the convivial dinners with Saint-Aubin's family and well-known engravers and print sellers. Could these overlooked monograms themselves have aroused such hearty laughs among these individuals? The answer may lie, I suggest, in looking closely at their iconography, beginning with the distinct use of crowns and wreaths, and their relation to Pompadour.

The Chiffres and the Marquise: Amitié as Satire

Upon her ascension to the role of *maîtresse en titre* in July 1745, Jeanne Le Normant d'Étiolles Poisson was given the Limousin estate of the defunct Pompadour line, while adopting the Pompadour coat of arms, an *arriviste* gesture that provoked disdain by court nobles who witnessed the transactional transmission of family arms that were otherwise passed through lineage.²⁴³ The three silver crenelated towers of Pompadour heraldry would appear on many of her possessions to designate her status, especially her collection of books. In one of François Boucher's earliest portraits of Pompadour, she stands at a clavichord alongside a volume with a visible tower in the lower righthand corner, marking one of the accoutrements the *marquise* would employ in her self-fashioning as a *femme savante* and her performance of aristocratic identity (figure 2.18).²⁴⁴ Sometime after 1745 the marquise had a book of hours bound with the

²⁴³ Jones, *Madame de Pompadour*, 31-40.

²⁴⁴ On Pompadour's self-fashioning and portraiture, see Elisa Goodman, *The Portraits of Madame de Pompadour* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2000). On the performance of elite identity, see Melissa Hyde, "The 'Makeup' of the Marquise: Boucher's Portrait of Pompadour at her Toilette," *The Art Bulletin* 82, no. 3 (September 2000): 453-475.

wreathed floriated monogram “LP,” signifying the relationship between herself and the king in the decoration of her possessions through the distinct use of initials and flowers (figure 2.19). Around this time, Saint-Aubin’s brother Gabriel and Charles-Nicolas Cochin produced bookplates for the marquise, her brother the marquis de Marigny, and the comte de Vence, each of whom incorporated a shield or cartouche adorned with crowned initials (figure 2.20).²⁴⁵ Even more exuberant depictions of this decorative device would follow, including Boucher’s cartouche for a bookplate with toppling putti crowning Pompadour’s arms with flowers, and Gabriel de Saint-Aubin’s drawing depicting the Salon of 1757 (figure 2.21). In his drawing, Gabriel recorded the display of Boucher’s sumptuous 1756 portrait of Pompadour, where it was mounted on a dais, a mode of viewing that reinforced Pompadour’s elevation from duchess to the queen’s lady-in-waiting. The drawing evokes similar effects to those employed by Boucher, such as his 1754 pastel in which Pompadour is encircled by a floral festoon resting upon the emblems of the arts (figure 2.21).

In 1750, Pompadour transitioned in her role at court from official mistress to dowager-consort of Louis XV, ending her relationship with the king but remaining his close friend and counselor. She retained status and power in this new role, to the dismay of her detractors, and the theme of *amitié*, or friendship, informed the iconography of her artistic self-fashioning from this point onwards.²⁴⁶ In that same year, she began commissioning sculptures by Jean-Baptiste Pigalle and Étienne-Maurice Falconet in the new theme, allegorical statues that reinforced her new role in relation to the king. Pigalle’s *L’Amitié sous les traits de madame de Pompadour* (1753) was placed publicly in the gardens of her *Hôtel d’Évreux*, and *L’Amour embrassant l’Amitié* (1758) was placed in the bosquets of the Château de Bellevue across from a

²⁴⁵ Xavier Salmon, *Madame de Pompadour et les arts* (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 2002), 170-73.

²⁴⁶ Gordon, 242-269.

bust of Louis XV (figure 2.22). In these works, Pompadour is portrayed as the embodiment of platonic love through an allegory of friendship, asserting this new identity in the decoration of the gardens of her residences. In keeping with this trend, Pompadour commissioned around 1754-55 a set of nineteen biscuit porcelains from Falconet, which were produced at the Vincennes-Sèvres manufactory (figure 2.22).²⁴⁷ Falconet's work was based on prototypes provided by Boucher, which depicted a young woman making an offering of a wreath of flowers to a heart resting on an "autel" or altar of *amitié*, with cupids in attendance (figure 2.23). Pompadour gave these as gifts to her friends, linking her support of Sèvres and her new position at court. In addition to the themes of *amitié*, Boucher also drew upon the subject of *l'éducation de l'amour*, with which Pompadour was also familiar, having commissioned in 1750 an unrealized sculpture from Pigalle on the subject, which was to have stood in the Château de Muette.²⁴⁸ Pompadour was equally invested in the *éducation* subject, whose imagery was subtler than *amitié*, consisting of cupid receiving learning and instruction on reining in desire and sensual love in favor of higher forms of platonic love, often suggested by reading a scroll or book under the care of a maternal Venus.

By the time of the Falconet commission, Pompadour had embarked on the *Suite d'Estampes*, a serious artistic endeavor she began planning in 1751 when a press was installed in her apartments at Versailles. In this complicated project across media, carved intaglio gemstones by Jacques Guay were translated into drawings by Boucher. Pompadour then made etchings from the drawings with the assistance of Boucher, who reinforced her etched lines with engraving.²⁴⁹

²⁴⁷ On this commission, see Donald Posner, "Madame de Pompadour as a Patron of the Visual Arts," *The Art Bulletin* 72, no.1 (March 1990): 74-105.

²⁴⁸ On the subject of *l'éducation de l'amour* and its connection to *amitié* in relation to Pigalle and Pompadour, see Gordon, 249-253.

²⁴⁹ On the material processes of this artistic collaboration, see Susan Wager, "Boucher's *Bijoux*: Luxury Reproductions in the Age of Enlightenment," Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 2015.

In certain instances, Pompadour worked with Guay to carve the gemstones herself, signaling an interest in taking part in the creation of the dozens of gems and cameos that she commissioned from him. From 1753 to 1755, Pompadour produced 69 etchings that enhanced and enlarged these gemstone designs, and which showed such themes as portraits of Louis XV, allegories of various sorts including the art of engraving. Five of the prints conveyed the theme of *amitié*, employing the familiar iconography that signaled the passing of one phase of her identity at court to another (figure 2.24). Pompadour issued about twenty copies of the *Suite*, a small output meant to circulate among friends and acquaintances. In one of the plates in the *Suite*, Pompadour depicted a temple of friendship with a monogram of an “LP” set in a medallion beneath the pediment decorated with one of the towers from her coat of arms (figure 2.25). The image functioned as a sort of double portrait of Pompadour and Louis XV as interlaced letters, signifying the platonic joining of their names. In her residence at Évreux and her print *Suite* in the 1750s, the interwoven initial was carefully composed as part of a distinct decorative program meant to maintain a certain dignity in her self-representation, and which conjured a pared down, serene classicism that called for clarity and simplicity.

When Saint-Aubin composed his preparatory drawings for his *Chiffres*, he drew from the distinct shape of the triangular leaves on the crown in Pompadour heraldry, as in for example the form of the acanthus “DH,” which recalls Charles-Nicolas Cochin’s bookplate sketch (figure 2.26). Another initial composed in 1775 with lichen and floral sprigs in the form of an “NC” suggests that Saint-Aubin was still working on this material almost a decade after his first drawings.²⁵⁰ In addition to several preparatory drawings in the *Livre des Saint-Aubin*, he also

²⁵⁰ The *Livre des Saint-Aubin* in fact contains several preparatory drawings in brown wash that Saint-Aubin composed in 1766. The drawings on pages 10 and 11 of the manuscript are no doubt preliminary sketches for plates 8 and 12 of *Recueil de Chiffres*, with compositions that are nearly identical. See the initials “SA,” “RA,” and “LP”

played with the crowning themes that ran through Pompadour imagery, including the lost drawing of a butterfly offering a heart on an altar (figure 2.13). Alongside this material, the watercolors of flowers and bouquets in the *Recueil de plantes* served as source material for many of these prints, which are grounded in part in the very different taxonomy of botanical drawing, the careful observation of flora drawn from life that informed his embroidery designs.²⁵¹

Saint-Aubin's *Chiffres* open with a handsome title page, with a scroll entitled "Premier Recueil de Chiffres Inventés par de Saint-Aubin, dessinateur du Roi" held within intertwining branches with a crown of hyacinths (figure 2.27). Saint-Aubin's scroll evokes, I suggest, the imagery associated with the *l'éducation de l'amour*, and especially a lost drawing by Boucher on the subject that is preserved as a chalk-manner engraving by Gilles Demarteau (figure 2.27). In the print, *Amitié* holds a scroll that she and cupid read together, on which is inscribed "Amour à l'amitié tu dois ton existence," signaling the primacy of platonic affection. In drawing upon imagery that was meant to be sober and dignified, and employing the scroll as the title page for his *Recueil de chiffres*, Saint-Aubin appropriates and co-opts Pompadour's visual program for a highly sensual and irreverent set of images *à la rocaille*. Further, the crown of hyacinths in the title page imports the crowning motif of *amitié* while referring to one of Pompadour's signature flowers that she had planted at Versailles, and which figure in many of her portraits. Appearing most notably in Boucher's sumptuous 1756 portrait of the marquise, the hyacinths pinned at Pompadour's shoulder echo in the carvings of the mirror behind her and the patterns of the pillow she leans against, melding living flower and its decorative representation (figure 2.28).

in the Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques, Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin, *Chiffres*, AS: RF 52186, HR: RF 52187, LL: RF 52188, and NC: RF 52216. Each drawing is signed "Saint-Aubin l'ainé."

²⁵¹ See the *Naissance d'un papillon* on page 42 of the *Livre des Saint-Aubin* as a preparatory study for the engraved *Papillonnaires Humaines*, as suggested by McCullough, Ph.D. Dissertation 1981, 63-64. Carey has also noted the correspondence between the prickly pear watercolor on page 97 of the *Recueil de plantes* and the rattail cactus on plate 6 of the engraved *Chiffres*. See Carey, 272.

The hyacinth also makes an appearance in 1763 in the *Recueil de plantes*, painted on a single black rectangle evocative of fabric, whose dark ground offsets the brightness and shape of the flower, much like a complicated textile pattern. Boucher's 1756 portrait has been studied as a picture in which Pompadour asserts her authorial presence in the collaboration between subject and painter.²⁵² With its allegorical resonance with Boucher's 1754 pastel, the painting affirms Pompadour's own authorship in shaping her identity, depicting her coat of arms book seal and her set of etchings in their portfolio. Further, the inclusion of "Pompadour sculpsit" upon these etchings suggests the shaping and tracing of the self through the etching needle, evoking a distinctly artistic identity as printmaker. In one print then, Saint-Aubin manages to draw from both the classicizing, dignified imagery of *amitié* and one of the most sensuous and tactile of Pompadour portraits, reworking these images as a set of quizzical *chiffres*. His prints wrest Pompadour's careful self-representation out of its original context and studied iconographic program, and instead subtly inserts these traces of the marquise into the fluid, commercial realm of the rococo print.

After this title page, the first *chiffre* "AQ" manages to recall one of Saint-Aubin's cruder sketches. The plate is comprised of garden pinks, with one grouping bound and braided together to form the "A" (figure 2.29). In this particular letter and grouping, the "Q" immediately brings to mind a double-meaning in relation to "q" and "c" wordplay: the rhyming of "q" with the vulgar "cul" or arse, and the prevalence of this joke in Saint-Aubin's *Livre de culs*. A hardy, fast-growing perennial that creeps along garden floors in mat-like formations, the rosy garden pinks forming a "Q" conjure a negative association with Pompadour. One of the most notable drawings

²⁵² For different interpretations of the 1756 Munich portrait, see especially Melissa Hyde, *Making up the Rococo* (Los Angeles: Getty, 2006), 107-117 and Ewa Lajer-Burcharth, "Pompadour's Touch: Difference in Representation," *Representations* 73, no. 1 (Winter 2001), 54-88.

from the *Livre*—an image emblematic of the character of Saint-Aubin’s private sketches—is the gleaming posterior atop a pedestal, which scholars have linked to Pompadour (figure 2.30).²⁵³ The note “la plaisanterie n’est pas sans fondement” inscribed on the pedestal base is a double play on the meaning of “fondement,” which could mean base or buttocks. With flowers climbing along this monument and the crowning of the exposed bottom on top, the imagery in this sketch refers overtly to the iconography of “amitié,” and the offering of floral garlands upon altars that permeated Pompadour’s imagery from 1750 onwards. It subverts much of Pompadour’s self-fashioning: the sculptures she commissioned by Falconet and Pigalle, the iconography of friendship in her engravings, and the floral imagery distinctive of Boucher’s portraits. The use of single letters to refer to words, such as “Q” for “cul” also aligns with Saint-Aubin’s use of allographs in the *Livre*.²⁵⁴ The noble theme of flowers, wreathes, and altars permeating the “autel d’amitié” is thus playfully deflated by the entwined letter “Q.”

Analysis of the *Livre* alongside his prints signals both oscillation in Saint-Aubin’s professional identity and the emergence of spatial blurrings between his representations of interior and exterior in his prints and drawings. A sketch in the *Livre* known as *Les Talens du Jour* depicts a gesticulating courtier receiving a tambour frame—a feminine embroidery tool—from cupid on a pedestal underneath a garden trellis while a woman diligently embroiders to the right (figure 2.31). Hyde has suggested that this image articulated gendered anxieties about embroidery, a serious trade that Saint-Aubin engaged in professionally, yet which emasculated him in bending to the desires of his women patrons, who also practiced needlework as a decidedly feminine activity.²⁵⁵ Yet *Les Talens du jour* also traces a scene in an exterior garden

²⁵³ See Wine, “Madame de Pompadour,” in *The Saint-Aubin Livre de Caricatures*, 183-188 and Valerie Mainz, “Gloire, subversively,” in *The Saint-Aubin Livre de Caricatures*, 151-177.

²⁵⁴ On the allograph, see Richardson, “Tu n’as pas tout vü!” in *Seeing Satire in the Eighteenth-Century*, 90-92.

²⁵⁵ Hyde, “Needling: Embroidery and Satire in the Hands of Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin,” 107-126.

setting, and like his *Chiffres*, conflates exterior and interior—the private and public domains of shaping identity—signifying more permeable boundaries between the private practice of embroidery and the public realm of the print trade than scholars have suggested. If Saint-Aubin used the *Livre* in part as a site for working out anxieties about the practice of embroidery, his prints operate along a more subtle register. Any wordplay in the “AQ” plate is concealed beneath innocent flowers, reworked schematically in abstract forms that suggest multiple interpretive possibilities. After the next plate with the initials “CG” for Charles-Germain’s first name, twigs and flowers give way to earthen formations in plate 4; suspended stalactites in the shape of a “T” embrace a floral “L” crowned by a wreath of stars above, evoking at once the icy depths of caverns and the glittering heights of celestial realms (figure 2.32). Beyond its highly tactile and geological properties, the print may have been conceived, I suggest, in relation to a drawing in the *Livre* entitled *La Charité ou l'ancre de trophonius* (Charity or the lair of Trophonius). The title of this sketch refers to an oracle in ancient Greece who could be consulted in a subterranean cave, while the image depicts a woman sitting beneath a trellised arbor who pulls up her skirts in a bawdy joke. According to the story, travelers were lured into the cave by a swarm of bees and entered into a terrified state in its depths, another possible reference to Pompadour who was referred to as a beehive elsewhere in the *Livre*.²⁵⁶ While the two images are formally quite different, the association with Trophonius in the print may be suggested by the shape of the “T” formed by cavernous stalactites embracing a floral “L” for Louis, a dance of botanicals and icicles that subverts the dignified *amitié* of Pompadour’s carefully etched monograms. Yet the

²⁵⁶ These associations are difficult to trace and are suggested in the digital version of this plate in the *Livre de caricatures*: <https://waddesdon.org.uk/the-collection/item/?id=17170>. (Accessed October 7, 2021). According to the Waddesdon entry, another inscription at the top of the page cross-refers to another drawing, “Bracmardier, Soldat du pape,” one of many curious cross-references throughout the volume. Like Diderot’s “Encyclopédie,” the cross-reference or “renvoi” asked the reader to make connections between the linked pages and extract hidden meanings. In Saint-Aubin’s *Livre*, he seems to delight in sending the reader on a wild-goose chase.

fullness of interpretations, references, and cross-references in the *Livre* are lost in the print, which uses the organic rococo to its advantage in inviting sensuous visual engagement while obscuring the meanings of the offensive, bawdy drawing that might have inspired the print.

A very different reference may be suggested by the crown of stars above the initials in relation to the memory of Pompadour at her death. In February 1764, Pompadour fell ill during a stay at the Château de Choisy, but appeared to recover by March. During this time, one of her favorite painters Carl Van Loo composed a dramatic painting in which Painting, Sculpture, Architecture, Music, and the Beaux-Arts implore the three Fates and Destiny to spare the life of the marquise (figure 2.33). The fates hold a thread about to be snipped while Destiny wears a halo of stars. Van Loo's supplication of the fates was not successful, and Pompadour died in April, before the painter himself died the following year. Shown at the Salon of 1765, Diderot appraised the painting and the memory of Pompadour with bitterness: "What will remain of this famous woman who drained men of their money, leaving them without honor and without energy? The Treaty of Versailles, which will endure as much as it can, the *Amour de Bouchardon* at Choisy; which will always be admired; a few engraved gemstones, which will surprise future antiquaries, a good little allegorical painting by Van Loo, that we will look at sometimes; and a fistful of ashes."²⁵⁷ If Diderot underestimated the memory of the marquise, whose legacy persisted far beyond a bit of ashes, Saint-Aubin's prints form a strange part of her legacy that has so far gone unnoticed by scholars. Saint-Aubin's "TL" operates as a kind of alternative memorial to Pompadour compared to Van Loo's painting, one that takes the earnest tone of Van Loo and reduces it to tactile, quizzical, abstract shapes. The year 1764 saw the emergence of engraved memorial portraits of the marquise, but Saint-Aubin's prints preserved

²⁵⁷ Denis Diderot, Jean Seznec, and Jean Adhemar, "Salon de 1765," *Salons de Diderot*, vol. II, 1765 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1960) 66-67.

her memory in a different, distorted form. The bawdy associations with the cave of Trophonius were surely never meant to be grasped; rather these covert associations circulated ghostlike in the print market veiled beneath playful rococo tactility: radically present yet at the same time unreachable and obscure.

Another possible reference to Pompadour—and her practice of the *toilette*—might be found in the following plate, in which stems and shoots are linked together with heather or mignonette buds, and joined in a daisy chain to form a relatively discernable “RS” or “RQ” beneath a crown of swaying trees (figure 2.34). Saint-Aubin sketched bunches of heather flowers in his *Livre de caricatures* with the caption “People who pretend to be connoisseurs will find this bouquet tolerable” (figure 2.35) suggesting an awareness of a kind of pretentious connoisseurship on the part of the audience for this flower. Sometime between 1740 and 1755, he included heather in a set of bouquets dedicated to a certain Madame La Duchesse de Chevreuse, who was no doubt pleased with the flowers without realizing Saint-Aubin’s private disdain for her taste. By the time Saint-Aubin made his botanical study of heather in 1770 in the *Livre de plantes*, he had already circulated this material in print and composed his parody of a floral drawing in the *Livre de caricatures*, suggesting that his process was not always linear; rather, the more prescribed taxonomic illustrations could sometimes be conceived later, as staid memories of more promiscuous versions of these flowers already in circulation.

It is tempting to consider Saint-Aubin’s “R” alongside the distinct use of the letter in Pompadour’s final portrait, begun by François-Hubert Drouais in 1763 and completed after her death in 1764, which depicts her seated at an embroidery frame holding an embroidery needle in her right hand. A partially opened drawer next to the marquise is inscribed with the word “Rouge,” a cursive notation for the makeup pot, and by extension, the implication of the

continued use of *fard* or makeup by the marquise (figure 2.36).²⁵⁸ Hyde has traced the way critics of the rococo likened oil paint to cosmetic paint and the centrality of cosmetics to Pompadour's ascension and performance of aristocratic identity, a manipulation and "making up" of surface appearances that has its roots in *mondaine* salon culture.²⁵⁹ Rouge in particular was a device of the performance of the *toilette* that served to blur class and gender distinctions.²⁶⁰ The use of the letter "R" as a schematic representation of the very pink (and in very poor taste) heather flower (figure 2.36) provides a speculative link between this print, rouge, and the *rocaille* more broadly. Beyond its effects in prints and drawings, *papillotage* was also associated with oil painting and the wearing of makeup or rouge, which manipulated surface appearances.²⁶¹ Saint-Aubin was deeply invested in these qualities of "soft illusion" in his practice. His work invites a personal interaction with his *recueils* through their asymmetrical forms and highly sensual qualities, keeping the viewer's eye moving across the images or stopping to rest upon its etched surfaces.²⁶² His work thus deftly operates in rococo visual territory, calling forth viewer participation as a kind of playmate in navigating these flickering surface effects. In the context of his use of *papillotage* in his prints, we may posit the letter "R" almost as a signifier for *rouge* or *rocaille*, playfully satirizing the feminine associations of the rococo. Although the relationship between Saint-Aubin's print and Boucher's portrait is tenuous, there is some evidence for Pompadour's own role in elements of self-deprecating humor. Hannah Williams has noted that Pompadour owned Charles-Antoine Coypel's 1728 *Children Playing at the Toilette*, a strange

²⁵⁸ Hyde, *Making up the Rococo*, 463.

²⁵⁹ Ibid. Pompadour had given up the public performance of her rouge by the time of the Drouais portrait, receiving courtiers instead at her embroidery frame, but she still actively wore the makeup.

²⁶⁰ Ibid.

²⁶¹ Ibid.

²⁶² In her recent analysis of *papillotage*, Scott has focused on *rocaille* designers such as Pineau from earlier in the century, which employed bimodal asymmetry to invite viewer participation, stage individual choice, and activate taste, but less attention has been paid to prints. See Scott, "Persuasion: Nicolas Pineau's Designs on the Social," URN.

parody of the toilette in which children dress up as adults and run around a boudoir (figure 2.37). Williams suggests that Pompadour's ownership of this painting which hung in her boudoir indicates a certain ironic humor on the part of the marquise, one that aligns with broader libertine practices of self-parody.²⁶³ If Pompadour did engage in some lighthearted self-deprecating humor, then this would also signal a more nuanced relationship between Saint-Aubin and the marquise than has previously been considered.²⁶⁴ Rather than a firm boundary between Pompadour's dignified self-presentation and Saint-Aubin's artistic practice, we might instead consider a broader *mondaine* culture of playfulness in which the marquise herself publicly participated. Saint-Aubin's *chiffres* may also have engaged in these libertine practices, delighting in the visual ambiguity conjured by the conjunction of natural and artificial, real and imagined.

One of the most striking prints by Saint-Aubin in relation to Pompadour's self-presentation appears on plate 12 near the end of the *Deuxième recueil de chiffres* (figure 2.38). In this plate, the fretwork of architectural detail dissolves into a twisting, malleable scroll, linking itself with hyacinths or jasmine to form an "LP," with each geometric filigree turned soft and supple, like the interwoven strands of chain mail. It is as if the dentelle work at the juncture of a neoclassical wall and ceiling has been tugged away from its place in the architectural interior, emerging as a sensual fretwork necklace cascading among the roses of a garden outside. When viewed alongside plate 34 of Pompadour's *Suite* showing a medallion inside a classical temple, Saint-Aubin seems to have either borrowed from or used a shape very similar to the "LP" initials, with two L's side by side, and an elliptical form above that turns the left-hand "L" into a

²⁶³ Hannah Williams, "Viewing libertinage in Charles-Antoine Coypel's Children Playing at the Toilette," *Immediations* 1, no. 4 (May 2007): 25-30.

²⁶⁴ Recent assessments of Saint-Aubin and the *Livre de caricatures* tend to reinforce a clear division between the public and private realms. See Colin Jones, Juliet Carey, and Emily Richardson, eds., *The Saint-Aubin Livre de Caricatures: Drawing Satire in Eighteenth-Century Paris* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2012) and Elizabeth C. Mansfield and Kelly Malone, eds. *Seeing Satire in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2013).

“P” (figure 2.39). This close repetition of the cursive double L throughout Saint-Aubin’s *chiffres* might suggest intimacy and familiarity with Pompadour’s *Suite*, which only circulated privately among her acquaintances.²⁶⁵ This motif appeared often, and figures in Guay’s seal, Boucher’s drawing, and Pompadour’s prints. If Saint-Aubin did borrow from the Pompadour *Suite*, then his prints reveal a longer life and more protracted chain of transmission in this intermedial project than has previously been considered.²⁶⁶ Saint-Aubin’s choice of the jasmine flower also corresponds with Pompadour’s iconographic decisions in conveying *amitié*, employed in Van Loo’s portrait of the marquise as a gardener (figure 2.40). Displayed in her Château de Bellevue, the white jasmine and basket of flowers was meant to indicate the sobriety and politeness of more elevated passions. Years later, Saint-Aubin sketched a floral composition similar to the one Pompadour holds in Van Loo’s portrait, with lilacs, roses, and jasmine composed on a distinctly blue background, in dialogue with the marquise in even his seemingly more prescriptive botanical drawings (figure 2.40). At the same time, white flowers were also the subject of a “poissonnade,” perhaps one that Saint-Aubin had in mind when he composed the “LP” plate.²⁶⁷

In the “LP” monogram, ornament *à l’antique* loses its currency as a geometric and disciplining force, operating along the same tactile, sensory register as the licentious flora and fauna of Saint-Aubin’s wider corpus of prints and drawings. In Scott’s analysis of the rococo as

²⁶⁵ Victor Carlson, *Regency to Empire*, 126, suggests either Pompadour’s prints or Boucher’s drawings as prototypes for Saint-Aubin’s *Offrande à l’amitié*. According to his analysis, the close formal relationship between these images suggests that Saint-Aubin had access to prints by Pompadour or drawings by Boucher. We may posit that Saint-Aubin had a copy of the *Temple de l’Amitié* print by Pompadour or Boucher’s drawing in devising his “LP” plate. While it cannot be proven that he possessed Pompadour’s suite, his relationship with the marquise seems to have involved the exchange of gifts as thanks for his tutelage in botanical drawing. See Pierre-Antoine Tardieu, *Recueil de plantes*, 250 verso. Given this propensity for gifting on her part, it seems at least plausible that she may have given Saint-Aubin a copy of her *Suite d’estampes*.

²⁶⁶ On the intermedial nature of this project across prints and drawings, see Gordon, “Madame de Pompadour, Pigalle, and the Iconography of Friendship,” 242-269.

²⁶⁷ Salmon, *Madame de Pompadour et les arts*, 158. In April 1749, a “poissonnade” by the ministre de Maurepas referred to Pompadour’s leukorrhea as “fleurs blanches.”

textual illustration in the architectural treatise in the 1730s, she notes that it was sometimes “smuggled” into print; placed furtively at the back of the text.²⁶⁸ Conversely in the *chiffres*, the antique *à la grecque* is surreptitiously placed at the end of a set of playful monograms *à la rocaille*, inserting this new idiom into a longer tradition of artificial and capricious flora in print in the tradition of Huquier. Further, the architectural plans and views so systematically elaborated in antiquarian texts circulating along the rue Saint-Jacques are, in Saint-Aubin’s work, playfully subverted, reduced to just one bit of curious fretwork decoration among petals, stems, and a crown of lichen. Saint-Aubin’s use of Greek keywork may derive from his sketches in the *Livre de caricatures*, where he composed an architectural border around a 1764 allograph riddle entitled “Aventure à la grecque” (figure 2.41). When read aloud, the words form a tale of seduction of the Greek goddess Hebe, one that scholars have speculated was in dialogue with a similar allograph by Stanislas, comte de Boufflers, known as “La Vie d’Hélène.”²⁶⁹ An inscription “mode de 1764” by family chronicler Pierre-Antoine Tardieu links the riddle to *goût grec* fashion in the 1760s.²⁷⁰ In drawing from the latest modish trends, Saint-Aubin makes even the most pared-down classical fretwork encircle an encoded licentious tale. In a more personal use of antique fretwork in the drawing “Cy Gist dessous, qui but Dessus (Here lies below he who drank above),” Saint-Aubin composed a cursory cartouche beneath a table strewn with bottles and jugs, likely representing the convivial dinners with his friends and possibly the death of a close friend, thus linking this decorative mode to both the jovial and the fleeting or precarious.²⁷¹

²⁶⁸ Scott, *The Rococo Interior*, 242-243.

²⁶⁹ Eriksen, *Early Neoclassicism in France*, 50-51 and 388, plate no. 377. Saint-Aubin’s allograph reads: G.R.I.T. 1000 E.Q. GET / O.P.I. G.U. 1A.BI. J.E / M.E. EB. L.HA.C. 2 / R.O. E 2AB. LA.E.T. / M.U. AJ.T. L.A.M.E. / LA C.D. E.G. 20Q / I.R. Anthony Blunt deciphered this allograph in 1969, which reads: “I inherited a thousand Ecus. I went to the country where I obtained an abbey. There I loved Hebe. She drove away two heroes and two abbés. She was stirred, agitated. She loved. She yielded and I conquered. Yesterday, she broke the cat’s bowl.”

²⁷⁰ On these inscriptions by Tardieu, see Wine, “Madame de Pompadour,” 179-190.

²⁷¹ Richard Taws, “The precariousness of things,” in *The Saint-Aubin Livre de caricatures: drawing satire in eighteenth-century*, 327-347.

In the drawings “Aventure à la grecque,” “Cy Gist dessous, qui but Dessus,” and the “LP” print, Saint-Aubin freely plays with this new genre of ornament, adapting the antique as a malleable device in the service of tales of seduction or memories of his own convivial circle. Saint-Aubin’s harnessing of the new *goût grec* decorative mode as playful and irreverent aligns with such prints such as Ennemond Alexandre Petitot’s 1764 suite *Mascarade à la grecque*, a parody of *anticomanie* and the fashion for Greek taste in the 1760s (figure 2.42). Petitot’s delight in anthropomorphic, architectonic antique costumes might have been a response to a “badinage” composed by the comte de Caylus, a set of jesting images that showed warped and excessive clothing in the new taste.²⁷² Circulating in the print market in the 1760s, the playfulness of the “badinage” or “bagatelle” suggests a freer, more lighthearted manner of conceiving of the antique by this time, carrying on the asymmetry and warping that Cochin had complained about in the *Mercure de France* in 1754-55, rather than reforming these qualities. In 1768, Académie de Saint-Luc instructor Jean-Charles Delafosse composed a drawing that parodied the *ornemaniste*, a sort of wind-up toy who spits geometric antique fretwork, vases, and curvilinear c-scrolls and s-scrolls in equal measure, flowing fountain-like from his mouth (figure 2.42). Saint-Aubin’s “LP” *chiffre* manages to convey in more abstract terms a similar sense of free-form stylistic imbrication, in which *goût grec* fretwork is just as adaptable and mischievous as its rococo predecessor. Inserting Pompadour’s monogram into the mix deftly adds another layer of jest, which the marquise surely would have never anticipated when she etched her dignified medallion under its antique pediment in 1750.

This mixing of different styles extends to a kind of overall opacity in the prints, a deliberate obscuring of the legibility of the initials. In the final “AQ” plate in the series, the

²⁷² Martin, “Ornement rocaille vs. l’imaginaire à l’antique?” 246.

cornflowers of the first monogram are transformed into sheaves of bearded wheat, which are drawn from a single strand in the *Recueil de plantes* that would in turn be multiplied and linked together (figure 2.43). Perhaps the most ephemeral plate in the series, one can imagine the crown of straw and wheat being easily blown away, and the letters quickly breaking apart. When the marquise died in 1764, Saint-Aubin composed a memorial sketch to her that shows her crenellated towers barely visible on the other side of a pinned curtain, anticipating the somewhat concealed, fleeting quality of the references to her in his *chiffres* (figure 2.43). Like the work of Pineau and Meissonnier in Yonan's study, Saint-Aubin's prints are detached from the bounds of illustrated treatises with their accompanying expository text; yet unlike this earlier ornament, they also reintroduce textual and alphabetic forms as part of the composition itself.²⁷³ Existing on their own terms without textual explanation, the prints render alphabetic script elusive rather than clarifying or illuminating; obscuring its legibility, and summoning forth in viewers intense visual discernment and concentration. Finally, in laying claim to monograms, Saint-Aubin reoriented the vocabulary of Pompadour's etchings and inserted them into the commercial rococo tradition of strange and artificial flora, making them available on the market as *rocailleux*, and removing them from Pompadour's program of sobriety, simplicity, and restraint.

Trompe l'Œil in the Garden: Pompadour and the Hôtel d'Évreux

The *Chiffres* oscillate between exterior and interior, between the practice of embroidery indoors and the space of the garden or the natural world, from which the various flora and fauna, bits and pieces of animal and earth, have been culled. This tension between inner and outer, real and imagined, is best illustrated by six *trompe l'œil* watercolors by Saint-Aubin that mix prescriptive botanical taxonomy with illusionistic drawings (figure 2.44). Composed between

²⁷³ Yonan, 177-198.

1740 and 1761 (according to inscriptions by Saint-Aubin), these watercolors are located in Saint-Aubin's *flora botanica* manuscript the *Recueil de plantes*, which is housed in the Oak Spring Garden Library collection.²⁷⁴ This volume has been investigated within the context of the *Livre de caricatures*, but it has not been the subject of sustained scholarly attention, nor has it been studied in relation to Saint-Aubin's wider corpus of prints.²⁷⁵ The *trompe l'œil* drawings illuminate the tensions found in Saint-Aubin's prints, which evoke the visual play of rococo illusion, while suggesting a permeability between internal and external that would become all the more assertive in print in the coming decades—through a particular focus on simulating the natural world indoors with an abundance of ornament. In 1758, Bastide's novella *La petite maison* brought gardens into the inner territory of the *boudoir* with decoration that simulated trees and shrubs.²⁷⁶ Just one year before Saint-Aubin composed his drawings for the *chiffres*, Antoine-Joseph Dezallier d'Argenville's definition of the *parterre* for the *Encyclopédie* likened flowerbeds to embroidery, comparing the braiding or interweaving of floral patterns to interlaced *broderie*.²⁷⁷ After Saint-Aubin's *chiffres* were reissued in 1770, it would not be long before Claude-Henri Watelet (1718-1786) proposed landscape designs and *parterres* that recalled the decorated interior itself, and specifically the form of the *chiffre*, where “small trees and flowers

²⁷⁴ Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin, *Recueil de plantes*, Oak Spring Garden Foundation Library, Upperville, Virginia (MS0148).

²⁷⁵ Comprising 258 pages of watercolors and sketches, begun in Saint-Aubin's youth, and with contributions over the course of a half-century, the volume passed into the hands of engraver Pierre-Antoine Tardieu at his death, who provided annotations throughout the manuscript, including the Linnaean identifications for the flora. See Lucia Tongiorgi Tomasi, *An Oak Spring Flora* (Upperville, VA: Oak Spring Garden Library; New Haven: Distributed by Yale University Press, 1997), 239-245 for an overview of the manuscript.

²⁷⁶ Jean-François Bastide, *The Little House*, trans. Rodolphe El-Khoury (Princeton: Princeton Architectural Press, 1997), 9-11.

²⁷⁷ Antoine-Joseph Dezallier d'Argenville, entry for “Parterre” in *Encyclopédie, ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers*, eds. Denis Diderot and Jean Le Rond d'Alembert. Neufchâtel: Chez Samuel Faulche & Compagnie, vol. 12 (1765), 87: “Parterre, a flat, level, open piece of land on which several lines have been traced out and which is usually either planted with box in imitation of embroidery or divided into several turf compartments. Embroidered parterres take their name from the way in which the lines of box with which they are planted imitate embroidery.”

will be trained into festoons, wreaths, interlaced monograms, and garlands.”²⁷⁸ Whereas Watelet’s writings bring decoration for the residential interior outside into the garden, Saint-Aubin’s prints by comparison invite naturalia inside in twisted, braided forms, blurring spatial distinctions. If, in Watelet’s 1774 text, garden design invites a reciprocal relationship between interior and exterior, in which flower beds evoke the decoration of the *appartements* of the residential interior, Saint-Aubin’s work signals that these inversions were already underway in print in the 1760s.

Saint-Aubin’s little-studied 1740 title page “Plantes et Fleurs Nature[lles]” for the *Recueil de plantes* is composed of striking blue watercolor *rocailleux* s- and c-curves, forming a convulsing shellwork frame that recalls both the shape of an arabesque and a cartouche (figure 2.45).²⁷⁹ Saint-Aubin has gathered together the accoutrements of his artistic practice below, with an assortment of odds and ends including musical instruments and measuring devices on top, crowned overhead by a tree-like form with “à la nature” carved into the trunk. The emphasis on the natural in the title page, the suggestion that the specimens were taken from life, belies the inventiveness held within the pages of the manuscript, announcing at the outset the tension between natural and artificial in these drawings and elsewhere in Saint-Aubin’s practice. The frontispiece is decidedly more intricate than the one he composed for the sketchbook the *Livre des Saint-Aubin*, in which the title is framed by simple acanthus and flowers, and rather resembles in its complexity the title page of the *Livre de caricatures*, graced by a jester’s stick, windbags, and bells (figure 2.46). In invoking early eighteenth-century arabesque forms, the frontispiece of the *Recueil de plantes* also prefigures the floating scenes of his 1748

²⁷⁸ Claude-Henri Watelet, *Essai sur les jardins* (Paris: Prault, 1774), ed. and trans. Samuel Danon (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2003), 54.

²⁷⁹ Charles-Germain de Saint Aubin, *Recueil de plantes*, Morgan Library & Museum (1956.13).

Papillonneries, in which a spindly scaffolding of vegetal forms and c-scrolls functions as a sort of stage set for the antics of anthropomorphized butterflies (figure 2.45). The unusually bright blue architectonic framework and the still-life accretion of various objects already unsettles the notion of “natural” in the title, anticipating the *trompe l’œil* manipulations of botanical specimens to be found within the volume.

A careful scrutiny of the *Recueil de plantes* reveals that tensions between interior and exterior, real and imagined, were in play in Saint-Aubin’s watercolors from the 1740s onwards, coalescing in depictions of a number of noble residences, including the *Hôtel* de Lesdiguières, the Château de Choisy, and the *Hôtel* d’Évreux. In one of the earliest *trompe l’œil* drawings in the manuscript, composed in 1740, a view of the Château de Choisy and its gardens and fountains appears on a small painted page wrapped around a sprig of Jasmine, with a surrounding *trompe l’œil* seal and ink blot stain (figure 2.44). In the drawing, Saint-Aubin depicts a view of the residence with two vertical *parterres* surrounded by potted flowers. In the year that Saint-Aubin composed the watercolor, architect Ange-Jacques Gabriel began renovation on the small château, which Louis XV had recently purchased from the Princesse de Conti, expanding the gardens to include a potage and several *parterres*.²⁸⁰ The other watercolors similarly depict floral specimens seemingly obscured by a *tromperie* drawing, upon which Saint-Aubin depicts various scenes. These include a view of a residence, a sheet of music, or even an imitation of an etching by seventeenth-century artist Jacques Callot—which either give the illusion of wrapping around the floral specimen or resting upon it (figure 2.47). One *trompe l’œil* orange flower resting upon a square of dark cloth at once references the materials of the artist’s embroidery practice and would seem to prefigure the interplay of fabric and floral in his prints (figure 2.48). One of the

²⁸⁰ Elizabeth Hyde, *Cultivated Power: Flowers, Culture, and Politics in the Reign of Louis XIV* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005), 219.

most intricate watercolors, composed in 1761, depicts a *trompe l'œil* slip of paper pricked with little marks tracing patterns reminiscent of embroidery stitches (figure 2.49). The tilted paper obscures a cluster of saffron flowers playfully peeking out from behind the *trompe l'œil* page. Upon the *tromperie* drawing, Saint-Aubin composed a group of hedges, trellises, fountains, statuary, knotted flower beds in intricate circles, and a distant grove. These *bosquets* refer to the *Hôtel de Lesdiguières* in Paris, an elegant residence in today's fourth arrondissement known for its gardens, and where Saint-Aubin's grandfather had worked as embroiderer to the duchesse de Lesdiguières (figure 2.50).²⁸¹ Situated in the Marais district, just east of Saint-Aubin's home, the garden of the 1717 *Hôtel de Lesdiguières* included lacelike swirling *parterres de broderies*, which the artist recalled in his watercolor, playfully tilted vertically and pricked with the etching or embroidery needle (figure 2.49).

In certain drawings, such references to the residences are replaced by simple decorative elements, such as the curvilinear vase or cartouche on page 55 (figure 2.51). Composed of brown ink and placed on its side “in front of” marigolds and violets, the 1761 *trompe l'œil* sketch is reminiscent of the work of Meissonnier, with its irregular contours and bits of shellwork, and obscures the more technical botanical drawings “beneath” it. In his *Livre de caricatures*, Saint-Aubin had earlier made a more overt reference to rococo *ornemanistes* on a sketch of curling acanthus entitled “Neither Germain, nor Meissonier, nor Gerard, nor Babel or me” in which he aligns himself with designers of silversmith and goldsmith work, while playfully satirizing this genre of ornament by denying his authorship of the drawing. Elsewhere in the volume, Saint-Aubin manipulates viewer expectations, even contriving five false floral specimens that have no

²⁸¹ See AN MC/ET/VI/746. 25 septembre 1761 Bail, appartement, Paris passage Lesdiguières. In 1732, Saint-Aubin's father Gabriel-Germain had purchased the official post of *brodeur du roi*, while his grandfather Germain had been embroiderer to the dowager duchesse de Lesdiguières.

referent in the natural world.²⁸² In each of his watercolors in the *Recueil de plantes*, Saint-Aubin manipulates scale, with views of gardens, a residential façade, or portions of ornament that are reduced in size relative to the floral specimens on the page. Depictions of trellises and fountains are entangled in more prescriptive drawings with Linnaean identifications, knowingly obstructing our access to these images, and rendering them just as playful as they are didactic.

Throughout the *Recueil de plantes* manuscript, Saint-Aubin makes numerous references to Pompadour, centering mostly on her residence the *Hôtel d'Évreux*, located to the west of Saint-Aubin's home and studio in today's first arrondissement. Several further annotations, including both botanical taxonomies and biographical references, were inscribed by Saint-Aubin's grandson-in-law and printmaker Pierre-Antoine Tardieu, who married Saint-Aubin's granddaughter Eugénie-Isabelle in 1810 and inherited the volume at the death of her mother in 1822. Composed on the same sheets as Saint-Aubin's drawings and notes, Tardieu's inscriptions post-date Saint-Aubin's death and final drawings in the volume by at least some twenty years, and should be considered separately from the artist's inscriptions and rather part of the family tradition more broadly.²⁸³ At the end of the manuscript beneath the final lines of Saint-Aubin's short autobiography, Tardieu writes of an amical relationship between artist and patron, in which Saint-Aubin served as both embroiderer and tutor in botanical drawing. In return for his instruction, Tardieu reported that Pompadour sent Saint-Aubin a box of paints from China and Japanese porcelain, signifying her support and appreciation of his tutelage:

Madame la marquise de Pompadour aimoit beaucoup M. de Saint-Aubin. Elle fit venir exprès pour lui une boîte de couleurs de la Chine et lui fit souvent Cadeau de jolis meubles et porcelaines du Japon. Comme elle avoit dessiné et gravé, elle se plaisoit dans

²⁸² See for example Charles-Germain de Saint Aubin, *Recueil de plantes*, 140, *Rosa centifolia*, 1776. Tardieu's annotation identifies the false specimens: "Fleur que l'on croit être de pure invention. (Les fleurs semblent des digitales sans calices, mais les feuilles n'ont aucun rapport avec celles de la Digitales. C'est un caprice du peintre)."

²⁸³ On these inscriptions in the *Livre de caricatures* and other Saint-Aubin volumes, see Wine, 179-190.

sa fréquentation des artistes. Il paroît qu'elle alloit même chez lui, puisqu'une note de lui, page 68 de ce volume, témoigne qu'elle a travaillé au bouquet qui y est peint.²⁸⁴

Tardieu references a note written by Saint-Aubin beneath the *belles du jours*, or dwarf morning glories, on page 68 of the manuscript, which mentions that Pompadour collaborated with him on the drawing (figure 2.52).²⁸⁵ Hyde has cautioned against taking Tardieu's notations at face value, considering Saint-Aubin's inscriptions in light of his lampooning of Pompadour in the *Livre de caricatures*; his linking of Pompadour and the *belle du jour* (whose names rhyme) may well have been a subtle jab at the marquise, as this floral species held negative connotations in the eighteenth century as an invasive, fast-growing plant.²⁸⁶ In Charlotte de la Tour's *Le Language de Fleurs*, *belles du jours* were associated with the feminine deceptions of *coquetterie*.²⁸⁷ A note by Saint-Aubin beneath the drawing for the *belle de nuit* on the facing page specified that the picture was painted at the *Hôtel d'Évreux*, an explicit reference to Pompadour that locates her gardens as the site of amateur and tutor drawing together.²⁸⁸ Linked to timidity in *Le Language de Fleurs*, the *belle de nuit* may well have been an ironic jab at Pompadour as she refashioned her public identity in the 1750s as dowager-consort.²⁸⁹ A final inscription by Saint-Aubin on page 77 of the manuscript beneath meadow phlox notes that this flower was brought into favor by Pompadour.²⁹⁰ A brightly colored, fast-growing perennial known for its strong scent, the associations in this instance are likely negative, taken alongside the other floral references to the

²⁸⁴ Antoine Tardieu, *Recueil de plantes*, 250 verso.

²⁸⁵ Charles-Germain de Saint Aubin, *Recueil de plantes*, 67-68. The annotation by Saint-Aubin reads, "Belle du Jour. Madame la marquise de Pompadour a travaillé à ce bouquet en 1757" beneath the Linnaean identification.

²⁸⁶ Hyde, "Needling," 116-17.

²⁸⁷ Charlotte de La Tour, *Le language des fleurs* (Paris: Garnier, 1858, first published 1819), 291, quoted in Hyde, "Needling," 116-17.

²⁸⁸ Charles-Germain de Saint Aubin, *Recueil de plantes*, 67. "Convolvuls jalapa. Lin. Belle de nuit. Peint à l'hôtel d'Évreux. C'est le vrai Jalap."

²⁸⁹ De La Tour, *Le language des fleurs*, 291.

²⁹⁰ Charles-Germain de Saint Aubin, *Recueil de plantes*, 77. The annotation reads, "Phlox à tige ponctué. Plante mise en faveur par Madame de Pompadour."

marquise in the volume.²⁹¹ Saint-Aubin reproduced a variation of the *belle du jour* for plate 23 of his *Bouquets Champêtres, dédiés à Madame La Marquise de Pompadour, Dame du palais de la Reine*, a suite of engravings of various “country bouquets” or wildflowers with a dedication “par son très respectueux serviteur, de Saint Aubin, dessinateur du roi” (figure 2.53). The respectable laurel title page belies the more inventive or pejorative associations held in the bouquets within.

Pompadour purchased the *Hôtel d'Évreux* in 1753 upon her change of status to dowager-consort.²⁹² An engraving published by Daumont on the rue Saint-Martin shows the gardens of the *hôtel* at the time of Pompadour's residence there, with its façade of multiple long arched windows and visitors strolling among the trellises (figure 2.54). Notably, Blondel and Marc-Antoine Laugier complained of this sort of elongated windows that came into fashion in these years, and which seemed to dissolve the boundaries between interior and exterior. In his 1752 *Essai sur l'architecture*, Laugier wrote that “there is today a fever for elongated windows...which are unnaturally extended beyond that which is natural, due to the irregularity of their form.”²⁹³ The height and transparency might have also been unsettling to Blondel and others because the Évreux gardens were situated facing the new Square Louis XV at the entrance to the Champs Élysées, thus asserting Pompadour's new residence publicly, and in direct dialogue with other royal residences.²⁹⁴ This sense of permeability was no doubt enhanced by the fact that the residence's entryway remained partially open to the outdoors. According to Blondel, this open entryway would let in such a draft that it made the residence almost uninhabitable in cold

²⁹¹ Tardieu's inscription beneath the meadow phlox reads: “The root of the Jalap is a very energetic purgative, very violent,” both referencing Pompadour and aligning this flower with violent homeopathic purging qualities.

²⁹² On Pompadour's self-fashioning and interior space, see Scott, “Framing Ambition: The Interior Politics of Mme de Pompadour,” in *Between Luxury and the Everyday: Decorative Arts in Eighteenth-Century France*, eds. Katie Scott and Deborah Cherry (Oxford: Blackwell, 2005), 110-152.

²⁹³ Marc-Antoine Laugier, *Essai sur l'architecture* (Paris: N.-B. Duchesne, 1753), 55-56.

²⁹⁴ On Pompadour's public presence in relation to the *Hôtel d'Évreux*, see Scott “Framing Ambition,” 142.

weather.²⁹⁵ Pompadour's turn toward a simplicity (telegraphed by the *Hôtel d'Évreux*'s rather plain character) reinforced the sobriety and dignity of "amitié" and was also central to her relationship with the architectural interior."²⁹⁶ One of the most notable devices incorporated into Pompadour's new iconography and marking her change of status was the neoclassical temple, found both at the *Hôtel d'Évreux* and featuring in her redecoration of Château de Bellevue. In fitting with a pared-down classicism, she even maintained the severe internal decorative scheme of military trophies in the heroic Louis XIV style at Évreux, composed in 1722 by Michel Lange.²⁹⁷

Saint-Aubin's own relationship to the marquise, her gardens, and the *Hôtel d'Évreux* at once informs the *trompe l'œil* drawings in the manuscript, and is inscribed by way of encoded text in the volume that subverts the spirit of dignified restraint preferred by Pompadour in these years. Composed two years before Pompadour's death, a cipher code on the verso of page 79 recalls Saint-Aubin's time at Évreux with the marquise (figure 2.55). It is striking in that it is written in a code resembling musical notations, and one cannot help but remember the printed music sheets produced just down the street from Saint-Aubin's home and studio (figure 2.56). One of the most enigmatic portions of the manuscript, it is largely overlooked in scholarship on Saint-Aubin.²⁹⁸ The encoded text recounts an intimate encounter between Saint-Aubin and Pompadour at Évreux. The transcription of this story goes beyond the *trompe l'œil* distortions throughout the rest of the manuscript; rather than manipulating forms, it completely encodes and veils a narrative between artist and patron that could have compromised the artist if it were found

²⁹⁵ Blondel, *Cours d'architecture*, vol. 3, 1772, 117-119.

²⁹⁶ On amitié, see Gordon, 242-269.

²⁹⁷ Scott, "Framing Ambition," 142.

²⁹⁸ Saint-Aubin, *Recueil de plantes*, 79 verso. The code was written by Saint-Aubin in 1762, and the key discovered in 1824 according to Tardieu's inscription at the top of the page. I have plugged in Tardieu's key to fully transcribe and record this text, which to my knowledge has not been fully recorded or published.

in more direct expression in the manuscript. According to the account in the cipher text, Saint-Aubin received a note from Versailles on May 22, inviting him to the Évreux gardens to gather tulips, which he was to then draw so that Pompadour could embroider them. The tulips in question are presumably the ones painted on the recto of the facing page of this curious cipher, the only drawing of these flowers in the manuscript. These red and purple garden tulips are composed on the page with orange flowers and cabbage roses, which were also used in plate 5 of Saint-Aubin's *chiffres*. Viewers can, it seems, set their eyes on this floral composition while reading Saint-Aubin's 1762 account:

Ces tulipes sont moins recommandables par leur beauté que par l'anecdote que les accompagne. Je faisais assidument ma cour à Madame Pompadour et dessinais avec elle des fleurs dans son délicieux jardin de l'amitié, à l'Hôtel d'Évreux. Un jeudi 22 mai je reçois d'elle un billet de Versailles qui m'ordonne d'aller dans son petit jardin cueillir les plus belles tulipes et lui en envoyer le portrait, qu'elle voulait broder. Je vocce (?) à chotec (?), cronier (?) était sorti, sa charmante fille me conduit au travers des petits appartements fermant à mesure les portes sur nous. Elle me connaissait de vue et me complémentait sur la confiance de sa maîtresse en moi. L'amour des fleurs fut mon sexe. Elle était la rose le plus fraîche et la plus précieuse à mes yeux. Je l'embrasai, ne me la trouvait point très farouche, ce silence, la volupté du lieu, un sofa que je trouvai là, la sureté du lieu, me donna le temps de cueillir cette charmante fleur sans beaucoup de difficultés.²⁹⁹

The text recounts Pompadour's "fille"—her daughter, or perhaps a maid—taking Saint-Aubin through the enfilade corridor, where doors to adjacent rooms close in succession as they move through the space, before Pompadour sees the artist and greets him. The next lines describe her apartments as so silent, safe, and delightful that he loses his shyness and embraces her. However, the 1762 text also blurs the boundary between Pompadour and her young daughter (who had died at the age of nine in 1754), making it unclear just who is being seduced. By the end of the anecdote, he not only has time to fulfill Pompadour's wishes of gathering or picking tulips, but

²⁹⁹ Charles-Germain de Saint Aubin, *Recueil de plantes*, 79 verso.

also *this* flower, a “most fresh and precious rose.”³⁰⁰ The meaning of the text does not necessarily hinge on whether Saint-Aubin is needling Pompadour or being a respectful courtier. Nevertheless, I want to propose that it is especially striking in its reorientation of a very public residence and garden space into the locus of a private, furtive encounter. Concealed by text masquerading as music notes that needs to be *déchiffré*, or decoded, it deflates Pompadour’s dignity while operating along a subtler register than his lampooning caricatures. The 1762 text also anticipates the tale of seduction in Saint-Aubin’s 1764 goddess Hebe allograph in the *Livre de caricatures*, suggesting that the roots of encoded seduction may be found here in the *Recueil de plantes*. If Saint-Aubin turned the classically serene Évreux residence into a precarious space in his 1762 coded encounter, he then takes aim at the *anticomanie* trend more broadly in his 1764 “Avanture à la grecque” allograph. The encoded sexual license in these texts remained however safely out of view of the public eye.

The resemblance of the code that Saint-Aubin devised to music notes may also refer to page 46 of the manuscript, which depicts a *trompe l’œil* sheet of music before a gathering of wallflowers, dated 1756 (figure 2.57). The title of the music sheet reads “Essay de musique et de paroles. Dédiées à Mlle de P... en lui rendant un miroir de poche,” with wording similar to his 1748 *Essay de papillonerics* print series, whose title page had featured an unwieldy composition of anthropomorphic butterflies and zigzagging flower-like tendrils (figure 2.57). Scholars have suggested that the use of the word “essay” in the *Papillonerics* can be read as a play on words meaning either a written text or a light, witty attempt.³⁰¹ The lyrics written on the music sheet recount a song in which the author gives a certain Mlle de P a pocket mirror so that she can admire herself. Looking into the mirror in an attempt to find her, the author only sees a harshness

³⁰⁰ Ibid.

³⁰¹ Carlson, 123.

in his own face. He thus gives the mirror to the “true” model for which its reflection will be faithful.³⁰² Neither effusive in praise nor satirizing in tone, the curious text makes reference to this Mlle de P, possibly Pompadour’s daughter, in language similar to that of the cipher, bearing a certain deference while also intimating an unexpected closeness through the passing of such tokens as notes, flowers, and mirrors. Taken together with the other references to Pompadour in the *Recueil*, Saint-Aubin’s manuscript wrests Pompadour’s Évreux residence and garden from its official, public-facing role, and folds it into discreet, almost inscrutable references in his drawings. While scholars have studied Saint-Aubin’s capacity to satirize Pompadour and others privately, especially in his ribald *Livre de caricatures*, these references point to a private account that is more ambiguous in tone, and along the same lines of discretion and inscrutability as his *chiffre* prints.³⁰³ By 1766, when Saint-Aubin composed the “LP” *chiffre* with its single fretwork strand, he combined the cursive laciness of his encoded musical notes with the geometric forms of *goût grec* keywork, allowing traces of his drawing practice to inform the composition of his prints (figure 2.41). His *chiffres* attest to a permeability between the public sphere of the print trade and his private relationship with Pompadour. They also reveal the subtlety of rococo *papillotage*; that its abstract forms could immerse viewers in active visual discernment, while offering fleeting hints of Pompadour entangled in their complicated embroidery patterns.

³⁰² Charles-Germain de Saint Aubin, *Recueil de plantes*, 46. “Reprenés pris (?) ce miroir dont la glace est fidèle, sans cesse vous y pourrez voir des grâces le vray modèle; hier pour calmer mes douleurs, j’y cherchais votre image, mais Je n’y vis que vos rigueurs, Peintes sur mon visage.”

³⁰³ Charles-Germain de Saint Aubin, *Recueil de plantes*, 250 verso. The text also offers a counterpoint to Saint-Aubin’s biography in the manuscript, the public account of his life and work, in which his concerns focus less on his relationship to his patrons, and more on his reputation among other artists. He compares his watercolors for instance as “aussi belle” as those of well-known flower painters Claude Aubriet and Madeleine Basseporte in the Cabinet des Estampes du Roi.

Conclusion: “Tu n’as pas tout vü!”

In the late 1750s and 60s, Saint-Aubin published sets of floral bouquets dedicated to Pompadour, the Maréchale de Biron, and a certain Duchesse de Chevreuse.³⁰⁴ Incorporating rather effusive dedications in the title pages, with mention of Saint-Aubin as their faithful servant, these *recueils* of twisted flowers and foliage were titled *Bouquets Champêtres* or “country bouquets” and *Petits Bouquets*, and were often composed of very simple line engravings, far from the more fanciful etchings of his *chiffres*. Hyde has suggested that these publications could be quite undercutting in relation to these noble patrons, despite their complimentary dedications, even if their irony registered fully with only a select few in Saint-Aubin’s circle.³⁰⁵ Some of the prints are more overt in their negative tone; those for Biron are entwined with cabbage leaves and humble mushrooms (figure 2.58). In the Chevreuse bouquets, Saint-Aubin incorporates the “aubépine/Saint-Aubin” white hawthorn reference from the *Recueil de plantes* (figure 2.59). He then substitutes the hawthorn for the pink heather flower, a reference to his private joke in the *Livre de caricatures* on poor taste (figure 2.60). He thus erases a reference to his authorial presence in favor of a joke at the expense of his patron. Like his *chiffres* that wrest Pompadour out of her newly sober self-presentation and place her into the more fluid realm of rococo prints, the Chevreuse and Biron bouquets similarly allow for subtle subversion of their patronage, albeit in a more direct form. The 1766 *Avant-Coureur* advertisement suggests that these prints may have been issued by Chéreau in small booklets, and

³⁰⁴ *Bouquets Champêtres dédiés à Madame La Maréchale de Biron*, c. 1755-1768, Metropolitan Museum of Art (32.130.14); and *Bouquets Champêtres, dédiés à Madame La Marquise de Pompadour*, c.1755-1768, INHA (4 RES 125 (2)) are each comprised of nine plates, while *Mes Petits Bouquets dédiés à Madame La Duchesse de Chevreuse*, c. 1740-1755 (Metropolitan Museum of Art 2013.984, 1-6) comprises six plates. One rare suite of six small etchings entitled *Les Fleurettes de Saint-Aubin dessinateur du Roi* pasted into the *Recueil de plantes* includes hand-written Linnaean identifications of the depicted flowers, gathered into small sprays and stems.

³⁰⁵ Hyde, “Needling,” 116-17.

buyers could “illuminate” or add color to the pages.³⁰⁶ It is difficult to know whether this use was part of Saint-Aubin’s intentions in issuing these suites or a decision made by the publisher. While his *chiffres* called forth viewer participation in discerning their forms and using them as embroidery patterns, his floral bouquets suggest the capacity of even seemingly benign or marginal images to be quietly subversive, even as they may have been earnestly colored in by viewers who were not initiated insiders to the joke. In Saint-Aubin’s work, the currency of these images in the print market—and their removal from textual explanation—allowed their irreverence to pass unnoticed, and thereby to circulate beyond the private realm of his inner circle. The polite, professional realm of the print trade and the private circle for his ribald drawings were not in fact two distinct categories; rather they are bridged by the abstract, asymmetrical rococo print. At the end of the *Livre de caricatures*, Saint-Aubin wrote to readers: “Tu n’as pas tout vü!” suggesting that there was still more to learn about the artist. That our continued understanding of his work can be found in the *Chiffres*, and in the public realm of print circulation, suggests that his final joke was under our noses all along. If Saint-Aubin’s prints took license in subtly satirizing his patrons, then in next chapter, the patterns of print continue to intersect with identity and reputation in ways that were much more overt and pronounced. In the *hôtels particuliers* of the Chaussée d’Antin in the 1770s, the residential interior emerges as a particularly fertile site for the shaping of the self through architectural expression. For women clients in particular, the interior allowed for more agency in staging and performing the self. While Saint-Aubin’s rococo could still needle his patrons, in the hands of a new set of women clients and architects, the rococo, an assertive *gout à l’antique*, and print more broadly was summoned in the service of an expanded decorative terrain of sensual expression and intimacy.

³⁰⁶ *L’Avant-Coureur*, no. 40 (October 6, 1766), 626.

CHAPTER THREE

Playing *Antique*: Terpsichore and the *Hôtel Guimard*

Introduction

In 1762, the ballet dancer Marie-Madeleine Guimard debuted at the Académie Royale de Musique, the Paris Opéra, in the role of Terpsichore, the muse of the dance and choral song, in a production of *Fêtes grecques et romaines*, a ballet that had first been staged at Versailles in 1723.³⁰⁷ By the time Guimard commissioned an *hôtel particulier* in 1769 to be built by Claude-Nicolas Ledoux in Paris's fashionable northwest sector (today's eighth and ninth arrondissements), she was the *première danseuse* at the Opéra, and a well-known courtesan. The Temple of Terpsichore, as the building came to be known, was situated on the rue Mont-Blanc with a striking Ionic façade depicting the triumph of Terpsichore in low relief set behind a stone statue in the center of the entablature above the portico (figures 0.6 and 3.1). The *Hôtel Guimard* was equally known for a small private theater situated across a courtyard, a space where Guimard held her own performances for visitors and guests. The residence was one of a number of recent additions to this neighborhood, whose pasturelands near neighboring agricultural villages were swiftly developed during the final decades of the *ancien régime*. This location attracted an upwardly mobile set of bankers, actresses, and court nobility, who commissioned elegant *hôtels* and various forms of urban pastoral architecture beginning in the late 1760s.³⁰⁸ These individuals constructed notable residences and pleasure gardens in Paris and its environs,

³⁰⁷ Written by librettist Jean-Louis Fuzelier and set to a score by royal composer François Colin de Blamont, *Fêtes grecques et romaines* was staged for the fourth time when Guimard filled in for Sophie Allard. Guimard had danced with the *Comédie française* beginning in 1758. According to the *Mémoires secrets*, she debuted at the Opéra with the “plus grand succès” and a “légèreté digne de Terpsichore.” Louis Petit de Bachaumont, *Mémoires secrets de Bachaumont*, May 9, 1762 (Paris: Garnier, 1874), 28.

³⁰⁸ Meredith Martin, *Dairy Queens: The Politics of Pastoral Architecture from Catherine de' Medici to Marie-Antoinette* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2011), 188-89. This Parisian trend was the latest in a history of elite pastoral architecture, including contemporary examples such as Marie-Antoinette's *hameau* and Rambouillet that derived their inspiration from the well-known dairy pavilion at the chateau de Chantilly (c. 1680-1799).

including the Tivoli gardens for court financier Simon-Charles Boutin, the country house and gardens at Méréville for court banker Jean-Joseph de Laborde, and the “Folie Saint-James,” the country retreat of court financier Claude-Baudard de Saint-James.³⁰⁹ Some of the most vocal commentary and criticism was reserved for the controversial residences and pleasure pavilions built by a number of women clients.³¹⁰ These included Guimard’s Temple of Terpsichore, Madame Thélusson’s *hôtel*—a residence designed by Ledoux in 1776 that boasted an imposing triumphal arch at the entryway—and the home of dancer Anne-Victoire Dervieux designed by Alexandre-Théodore Brongniart in 1774, situated on the rue Chaintereine not far from the *Hôtel* Guimard.³¹¹

Scholarship on Guimard’s residence has situated it within longer histories of well-known architects and women clients in the Chaussée d’Antin, including commissions from Ledoux, Brongniart, and François-Joseph Bélanger, whose careers spanned a half-century of stylistic transition during a time of increasing emphasis on interior decoration in architectural writings and manuals.³¹² More recently, Martin has considered the way in which architects in the second half of the century cast themselves as modern through their experimentation and innovation in the interior, a preoccupation that coincided with shifts in the conception of *distribution* toward a balancing of display with an individual’s sense of ease and comfort, and the emergence of *caractère*, or the promotion of psychological sensations and emotional expression in clients and

³⁰⁹ Ibid.

³¹⁰ While eighteenth-century moralists warned against the risky ventures taken by financiers and bankers, courtesans tended to elicit commentary focused especially on the visibility of their new residences. Journalist Louis-Sebastian Mercier likely had the *Hôtel* Guimard in mind when he wrote “ce pavillon qui a l’air d’un temple élevé à l’amour est destinée à la prêtresse du libertinage!” Louis-Sebastian Mercier, *Tableau de Paris*, t. 7, ed. *Mercure de France* (Geneva: Slatkine, distributed in Paris by Campion and Minard, 1783), 73.

³¹¹ Allan Braham, *The Architecture of the French Enlightenment* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), 188.

³¹² Tanis Hinchcliffe, “Gender and the Architect: Women Clients of French Architects during the Enlightenment,” in *Gender and Architecture*, eds. Louise Durning and Richard Wrigley (New York: Wiley, 2000), 113-134.

visitors.³¹³ The Guimard residence aligns with shifts in eighteenth-century architectural theory privileging the notion of individual expression, with the *hôtel particulier* increasingly conceived as an assertion of the singular character of the client. During their careers, Ledoux, Brongniart, and Bélanger each worked for a distinct group of women patrons, who employed architecture to display and express their individuality, shaping a self no longer governed strictly by earlier eighteenth-century codes of social rank.³¹⁴ Though an increasing number of treatises and manuals delineating and codifying the rules of elite social distinction were produced during this period, Scott has shown that the existence of these tomes in fact signaled the unsettling of the ritualized time and space of the elite interior, with the relaxing of strictures of earlier *distribution* and *convenance*.³¹⁵ This development was especially true for the urban set to which Guimard belonged, and, as we have seen, coincided with a parallel current of wide circulation of ornament *cahiers* unmoored from the bindings of expensive architectural volumes and making the intimate spaces of the interior attainable and observable in print.³¹⁶ Perhaps most critical for rethinking the Guimard episode in architectural history is Martin's focus on the relationships between architect, client, and viewer; the Guimard pavilion is an example of a site that negotiated these identities, with architectural space and the self as mutually constitutive.³¹⁷

Most recently, Kathryn Norberg has drawn on psychoanalytic theories to examine Guimard's residence and those of other actresses-courtesans-dancers as sites of self-presentation and masquerade that sought removal and distance from their unconventional identities and sexual

³¹³ Martin, "The Ascendancy of the Interior," 25-27.

³¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 6-7.

³¹⁵ Scott, *The Rococo Interior*, 82.

³¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 248.

³¹⁷ Employing Michel de Certeau's theory of space as a "practiced place" and Henri Lefebvre's notion of space as a social product (not just a passive container), the authors in *Architectural Space in Eighteenth-Century Europe: Constructing Identities and Interiors*, eds. Denise Amy Baxter and Meredith Martin (Burlington: Ashgate, 2010) posit space as fluid and contingent. Within this study, architectural space is not stable, and its expressive capacities shift and vary depending on how it is inhabited or performed by its occupants.

behaviors.³¹⁸ In another more focused study on collecting habits, Norberg suggests that furniture inspired by antiquity lent a redeeming and ennobling quality to these women, corresponding to notions of the “noble” and learned courtesans of ancient Greece which circulated in eighteenth-century literature.³¹⁹ Her analysis serves as an important framework for considering how the antique was employed to construct public personae, calling forth shifting and interchangeable roles or types, from the “noble courtesan,” to the “learned woman,” to the “simple woman of sensibility.”³²⁰ Rather than analyzing the antique in terms of these three distinct personae, I address the Hôtel Guimard as a site of interleaving and exchange between the *goût rocaille* and the emergent antique—and the interlacing of decoration across media that was associated within each of these designations. In painting, I am concerned with qualities termed *le petit goût* or the *la petite manière*: light palettes, filled surfaces, and gallant themes or pastorals, while in ornament, I consider asymmetry and *trompe l’oeil* effects, qualities that connect to playful and ironic *mondaine* values stretching back to the turn of the eighteenth century. In tracing these associations, I address the circulation of prints and drawings depicting the *Hôtel Guimard* alongside portraits of the dancer, including her commission from a young Jacques-Louis David. These images and the architectural space of the residence mediated Guimard’s identity as the muse Terpsichore, a role which she employed both on and off the Paris Opéra stage. In

³¹⁸ Kathryn Norberg, “Salon as Stage: Actress/Courtesans and their Homes in Late Eighteenth-Century Paris,” in *Architectural Space in Eighteenth-Century Europe: Constructing Identities and Interiors*, eds. Denise Amy Baxter and Meredith Martin, 105-128. Norberg argues that evocations of the antique within the decoration of these spaces cultivated associations with their stage roles, in which they performed as goddesses, nymphs, or muses.

³¹⁹ Norberg, “Goddesses of Taste: Courtesans and Their Furniture in Late Eighteenth-Century Paris,” in *Furnishing the Eighteenth Century: What Furniture Can Tell us about the European and American Past*, eds. Dena Goodman and Kethryn Norberg (New York: Routledge, 2007), 97-114.

³²⁰ Norberg offers the most recent study of Guimard and other theater women such as Annette Dervieux, whom she refers to as “actresses-courtesans.” Norberg posits three personae that Guimard and others assumed as a kind of masquerade in order to divert attention from their unconventional behavior: the *hetaira* or honest, noble courtesan, the *femme savante* or learned woman and patron of the arts, and the simple woman of sensibility, a role associated with their performances of peasant girls, as well as the garden spaces in their homes.

considering Guimard's own performances in the theater of her *hôtel* and at the Opéra, I further trace how her identity maneuvered across visual and corporeal registers, whether built, painted, sculpted, or danced. Building upon scholarship on the performance of the self, I examine the integration and staging of these images within Guimard's *hôtel* in order to readdress the dancer's association with the muse of antiquity.

Guimard's residence was planned and built at a critical moment in the formulation of theories of architecture's expressive capacity and the subjective individual. In Blondel's 1737-38 *De la distribution des maisons de plaisance*, the architect articulated the notion of *distribution* as the careful sequencing of rooms to accommodate both comfort and the requirements of display.³²¹ Though still conceived along the central organizing axis of the *enfilade*, Blondel's treatise sought to accommodate the comfort of its residents, and he would continue to privilege convenience and intimacy in his subsequent publications. In 1743-45, architect Germain Boffrand's concept of *caractère* in his *Livre d'architecture* privileged architecture's expressive capacity and its ability to provoke emotions in the viewer, who was increasingly conceived of as a psychological subject, rather than bound by social rank.³²² In his 1774 epistolary novel, edited by writer Jean-François Bastide, Blondel indeed approved of Guimard's residence, noting its pleasing and harmonious interior, and signaling the approbation with which Ledoux's design was met by fellow architects.³²³ In the years following, Blondel's and Boffrand's theories were expanded upon by architect Nicolas Le Camus de Mézières in his 1780 treatise *Le génie de l'architecture, ou, l'analogie de cet art avec nos sensations*. In this text, Le Camus systematized

³²¹ Blondel, "De la décoration et distribution des édifices," *De la distribution des maisons de plaisance*, t. I, 1737, 22-48, and "De la décoration des appartements, *De la distribution des maisons de plaisance*," t. II, 1738, 81.

³²² Germain Boffrand, *Livre d'architecture contenant les Principes Généraux de cet Art* (Paris: Guillaume Cavelier père, 1745), 11-12, 16-17, and 25. See also Caroline van Eyck, "Introduction," in Germain Boffrand, *Book of Architecture: Containing the General Principles of the Art and the Plans, Elevations, and Sections of Some of the Edifices Built in France and in Foreign Countries* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2002), xxv.

³²³ Blondel, *Les amours rivaux, ou L'homme du monde éclairé par les arts*, 109.

the character of each room of the *hôtel particulier* and the feelings or sensations they should provoke in the occupants of the residence.³²⁴ Dedicated to garden theorist Claude-Henri Watelet, Le Camus's treatise was innovative in its sequencing of successive, increasingly more ornate spaces and their attendant sensations, and in its emphasis on sensuality and pleasure.³²⁵ In his focus on temporality and the movement of individuals passing through space, Le Camus also invoked the dramatic build-up of narrative in theater, with thresholds framing each room like scenes in a play.³²⁶

Situated at the crossroads of these theories of architectural and individual expressivity, Guimard's *hôtel particulier* is informed by Blondel and Boffrand, while anticipating—and I suggest, shaping—Le Camus's ideas, in which he would articulate as doctrine the character of each room and the corresponding psychological effects elicited in viewers. Le Camus indeed makes reference to Guimard in the body of his text, complimenting the “delightful” greenhouse next to her *salle à manger*.³²⁷ My re-examination of the *Hôtel* Guimard brings to bear Guimard's earlier “Little House” in Pantin—crucial both in terms of emergent architectural theoretical texts, and relative to the ultimate form of Guimard's Paris *hôtel*—as well as heretofore unexplored echoes between the librettos of Guimard's balletic performances and the distinctive shape of the *hôtel's* decorative registers. My analysis of Guimard's residence across media—including painting, sculpture, painted wall paneling, and prints—allows us to more closely examine the staging of a series of decorative tableaux or “scenes,” and the working out of expressive *caractère* before it was articulated in Le Camus's text. By “walking through” Guimard's

³²⁴ Nicolas Le Camus de Mézières, *Le génie de l'architecture, ou l'analogie de cet art avec nos sensations* (Paris: Benoît-Morin, 1780), Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF), V-22114. See especially his approving discussion of Guimard on page 186.

³²⁵ Middleton, “Introduction,” in Nicolas Le Camus de Mézières, *The Genius of Architecture*, 31.

³²⁶ Louise Pelletier, *Architecture in Words: Theatre, Language and the Sensuous Spaces of Architecture* (London: Routledge, 2006), 23.

³²⁷ Le Camus, *Le Génie de l'Architecture*, 186.

residence and her earlier Pantin *folie*, I evoke the organization of Le Camus's text, which takes the reader on an imaginative tour through an *hôtel particulier*. In my analysis, I probe especially the staging strategies within the residence that visually arrest the viewer, whose role I argue hovers between active participant and observer along the temporal and spatial unfolding the residence. Moreover, my analysis of decoration allows us to consider how the residence operated as a site of mutual exchange between the pastoral rococo and Guimard's self-fashioned stage persona as the antique figure of tragedy. In my analysis, I build on Martin's assertion that Le Camus's treatise did more than identify and catalogue the sensual character of rooms; it allowed for this character to fluctuate depending on the inhabitant, thus integrating the interior and the self.³²⁸ If interior architectural space operated as a dynamic, fluid site for constructing and performing the self, then the rococo and antique decorative forms that were employed for the *Hôtel* Guimard were no less active, mutually reinforcing one another in the service of Guimard's decidedly expressive performance of identity as Terpsichore.

Before Paris: La Folie Guimard

The *Hôtel* Guimard was constructed beginning in 1770, the private theater inaugurated in December 1772, and the residence completed in 1773. Ledoux's plan made use of a narrow plot of land that Guimard had purchased with funds from her protector the Duc d'Orléans, who also financed the building and decoration of the residence. Ledoux employed a transitional domestic plan, with a diagonal entryway along the street with the theater above, followed by an internal courtyard that led to the main house, behind which was located a formal garden. This layout and cross-section were recorded by Ledoux and published in by Daniel Ramée in 1847 in the second volume of *L'Architecture considérée sous le rapport de l'art, des mœurs et de la législation*,

³²⁸ Martin, "The Ascendancy of the Interior," 28.

which shows the residence situated among trees, emphasizing it as a pavilion located in a city (figure 0.6). The inspiration for Guimard's home was her country pavilion or "petite maison," located northeast of Paris in the neighborhood of Pantin, which had been a sought-after destination for escape from the social strictures of Versailles since the turn of the eighteenth century.³²⁹ Located at 104 rue de Paris, it was one of a small number of little houses—also known as *folies* or *maisons de plaisance*—in the neighborhood owned by women, mostly courtesans, who were known to host after-theater suppers, nocturnal spectacles, and outdoor parties or *fêtes-champêtres*.³³⁰ Blondel's 1737 *De la distribution* acknowledged these *maisons* as distinct types, while the *folie* designation engaged in humorous wordplay, suggesting both foliage and madness or extravagance. Guimard purchased the home in 1766 with the assistance of her first protector, composer and *fermier-général* Jean-Benjamin de la Borde from a certain François Poncy "intéressé dans les affaires du Roi."³³¹

The home was relatively simple, consisting of two main buildings, with a kitchen, office, dining room, anteroom, *salon*, billiard room, and several bedrooms upstairs.³³² In sales records, Guimard's home was described as a pavilion in a garden, and the grounds included *parterres*, or flower beds, fruit trees, a kitchen garden, woods, and *bosquets*, or groves.³³³ Though it was demolished in 1889, a surviving contemporaneous eighteenth-century *folie* in Pantin, similarly composed of two wings and a central courtyard, might give some sense of the exterior of

³²⁹ Rodolphe El-Khoury, "Introduction," in Jean-François Bastide, *The Little House*, trans. Rodolphe El-Khoury (Princeton: Princeton Architectural Press, 1997), 20-21.

³³⁰ Records of these activities are well-documented in police reports. See Gaston Capon, *Les petites maisons galantes de Paris aux XVIIIe siècle: folies, maisons de plaisance et vides bouteilles, d'après les documents inédits et des rapports de police* (Paris: H. Daragon, 1882).

³³¹ AN ET/XXXVIII/509. 7 September, 1766, transcription in Sceaux archives. See also André Caroff with Hélène Richard, "Beaumarchais et La Guimard à Pantin," Archives du Chateau de Sceaux. Previously, in 1764, the home had belonged to Jacques Chapelle, instructor at the Académie royale des sciences and owner of the manufacture royale de faïence de Sceaux du Maine.

³³² Alain Barbier Saint-Marie, *Cahiers Edmond & Jules Goncourt*, no. 5 (1997): 225-26.

³³³ AN ET/XXXVIII/509. 7 September, 1766, transcription in Sceaux archives.

Guimard's (figure 3.2).³³⁴ By 1775, when Guimard sold the home and its contents to the comte César Luc Marie de Selle de Garéjade de Castille, treasurer to the navy, the interior had been lavishly furnished and expanded to include a dozen new rooms and a small private theater for seating 234 people.³³⁵ During the nine years she owned this "superbe maison de campagne," Guimard held licentious performances, such as *La partie de chasse de Henri IV*, and gave three suppers a week for a select group of nobles, artists, and dancers, whose invitations were so sought-after that commentators spoke of *aller à Pantin* similarly to going to Versailles.³³⁶ Two Ionic columns framed the entryway to the theater formed by two half-ellipses, which contained twelve benches for seating and two wings comprising three little *loges* at either side, while a blue curtain adorned with two Corinthian columns marked the stage.³³⁷ The *loges* could be accessed through the wings of the house, allowing for guests who sought discretion to privately view performances. By the time Guimard inserted herself into the Parisian landscape in 1773, her Pantin suppers and soirées were well-known and would continue for two years simultaneously with those in her urban pavilion, where she conjured and reconfigured her intimate, suburban *fêtes* for a Parisian setting.

In addition to accounts in police reports and sales records, Guimard's *folie* is perhaps best remembered by Edmond Goncourt, who viewed the interior decoration after its 1886 sale and noted that in the *salon* could be found "distinguished luxury" and the "signature of the dancer in

³³⁴ Hélène Richard, "Une Folie à Pantin," *Sites et Monuments*, n.177 (April/May/June 2002), 19-20. This neoclassical building was constructed after 1773 by architect François-Victor Perrard de Montreuil.

³³⁵ AN ET/LXII/559, 21 March, 1775, transcription in Sceaux archives. The Pantin theater was constructed c. 1765-1768 and torn down in 1775.

³³⁶ *Le Gazetier cuirasse, ou Anecdotes scandaleuses de la Cour de France*, 1771, cited in Edmond Goncourt, *La Guimard* (Paris: Bibliothèque-Charpentier, 1893), 35.

³³⁷ Piètre, *Mémoire sur la salle de spectacle de Mademoiselle Guimard*, cited in Goncourt, *La Guimard*, 45-46. See also Henri d'Alméra and Paul d'Estrée, *Les théâtres libertins au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: H. Daragon, 1905), 190-91.

the name of elegance.”³³⁸ Though today only the paneling from the large *salon* exists, installed in the Château de Sceaux, sales records and Goncourt’s commentary offer some guidance into the interior of the little house, whose surviving *boiseries* and *lambris* were painted c. 1763-1765 by rococo *ornemaniste* Alexis Peyrotte.³³⁹ The ground floor was comprised of a dining room with paneling of pale floral painted paper on canvas, followed by a small *salon* with a vaulted ceiling and fluted pilasters that were “prettily” rounded with “rocailleux” capitals. This space was adorned with six grisaille *boiserie* panels of light grey-blue painted paper on canvas, which was decorated with thin, delicate arabesques in the style of *ornemaniste à l’antique* Henri Salembier.³⁴⁰ In each arabesque, vases in the form of quivers held fruit and flowers, and two of these included a siren in the center, her body transforming into c-scrolls, while grasping an arrow and holding aloft a basket of flowers unfurling into successive arabesques (figure 3.3).

Beyond this room, the large square *salon* was composed of four windows, three double doors, two mirrors, and a painted ceiling with an eagle gliding over clouds. Eight rosy cream-colored panels decorated with “charmante” floral and pastoral motifs were situated between bright green-blue molding.³⁴¹ In these panels, painted flowers by Peyrotte extend vertically along the green-trimmed panels, descending from the knots of blue ribbons or emerging from moss and grass-covered islands reminiscent of the rococo ornament of Pillement (figure 3.4). Curved s- and c-scrolls in the form of lattices and shells unfurl along the mirrors, while small pastoral

³³⁸ Goncourt, *La Guimard*, 53. The building was torn down in 1886 and the decorative ensemble sold to M. and Mme. Delizy in 1889, whose collection was then sold at auction in 1913, before the *boiseries* and paneling were acquired by the Sceaux collection in 1969. See *Catalogue des Boiseries anciennes...* 100, rue de Pantin (Seine), commissaire-priseur Lair-Dubreuil and experts Paulme & Lasquin, 29 June 1913.

³³⁹ Alain Barbier Saint-Marie, *Cahiers Edmond & Jules Goncourt*, 225. A very active rococo decorator, Peyrotte was known for publishing *découpure* prints (for cutting and pasting on fans and screens) and for his 1747 wall decorations for the Dauphin’s apartments at Versailles. See Davidson, 254-56.

³⁴⁰ Goncourt, 47-48. See also *Catalogue des Boiseries anciennes...* 1913, entry for “Petit Salon, décoration peinte du XVIIIe siècle.” This ensemble was first recorded in Guimard’s 1775 Pantin sale, AN ET/LXII/559, 21 March, 1775.

³⁴¹ Goncourt, 53.

trophées of watering cans, bagpipes, rakes, pales, flower baskets, doves, and quivers cluster in different configurations above the *lambris* (figure 3.5). In the large *salon*, the paneling covered the walls with roses, daisies, tulips, and lilacs, lending them a “joyful” color that one glimpsed like the light of dawn, according to Goncourt’s memory.³⁴² An elegant console table was set beneath one of the mirrors, and Goncourt likened its decoration to the faded pressed flowers one might find in the pages of a book, with flower garlands held in knotted ribbons descending from a rectilinear row of laurel leaves (figure 3.6).³⁴³ Perhaps most innovative in Goncourt’s account is the way the twisting green sculpted molding extended outward from the pier-glass mirrors, imitating the natural growth of shrubs and giving viewers a sense that they were in a garden. Ten years after its design, Guimard’s little house would inform the decoration of its Parisian counterpart, which would interlace its *rocaille* and pastoral language with that of the antique.

Scholars have linked the painted forest in the mirrored dining room of Guimard’s Parisian *hôtel* to Bastide’s 1758 *La petite maison*, while her Pantin *folie* has remained relatively little-studied.³⁴⁴ Republished in 1763, Bastide’s story of seduction of the impressionable Méli-te by way of the Marquis de Trémicour’s little house was written with the assistance of Blondel, and it is known especially for its description of the imaginary forest grove within the mirrored boudoir. Though he likely drew in part from Blondel’s 1737 *De la distribution* as an academic model, Bastide’s text also references such well-known *petites maisons* as Mattieu le Carpentier’s 1751 Pavillon de la Boissière, with their curved interiors.³⁴⁵ *La petite maison* combined the genres of the libertine novella and architectural treatise, and its narrative unfolded along a series

³⁴² Ibid., 49.

³⁴³ Ibid., 53.

³⁴⁴ Anthony Vidler, *Claude-Nicolas Ledoux: Architecture and Social Reform at the End of the Ancien Régime* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1990), 51. See also Norberg, “Goddesses of Taste,” 104.

³⁴⁵ Bastide, *The Little House*, trans. El-Khoury, 24.

of rooms with staged scenes composed of decoration, painting, and sculpture.³⁴⁶ The well-known passage on the *boudoir* is a paean to the senses, with tactile carvings that suggest a wooded grove, aromatic surfaces painted with perfume mixed in, and the sound of music drifting through the room. The visual effects were heightened by mirrors covering the ceiling and walls, blurring the distinction between interior and exterior, real and illusory:

The walls of the boudoir were covered with mirrors whose joinery was concealed by carefully sculpted, leafy tree trunks. The trees, arranged to give the illusion of a quincunx, were heavy with flowers and laden with chandeliers. The light from their many candles receded into the opposite mirrors, which had been purposely veiled with hanging gauze. So magical was this effect that the boudoir could have been mistaken for a natural wood, lit with the help of art.³⁴⁷

Bastide's descriptive language informed similar sensual effects in early commissions by Ledoux and architect Étienne-Louis Boullé in the 1760s and 1770s.³⁴⁸ According to Thiéry's *Guide des Étrangers*, Boullé's early 1760s *salon turc* for Rancine de Monville imitated a pavilion by allowing for views of trees and surrounding gardens that could be glimpsed in between columns, while the refurbished *salon* of the *Hôtel d'Évreux* in 1774 for financier Nicolas Beaujon enhanced and multiplied similar views of gardens thanks to their reflections in the mirrored paneling.³⁴⁹ If the descriptions in the sales records are correct, Guimard's little-studied Pantin *folie* was redecorated in the years following the publication of the *La petite maison*, sometime after 1766, and thus offers an early example of simulating gardens in the interior in the wake of this publication. Drawing upon sensory effects for Guimard's Parisian *hôtel* similar to those described in Bastide, Ledoux's choices were no doubt also informed by Guimard's existing little house, recalling the sylvan ambience of her Pantin soirées.

³⁴⁶ Ibid., 20-21.

³⁴⁷ Ibid., 75-76.

³⁴⁸ Vidler, *Claude-Nicolas Ledoux*, 51.

³⁴⁹ Thiéry, *Guide des amateur et étrangers*, t. 1 (Paris: Hardouin & Gattey, 1787), 82-83, 90.

As a possible inspiration for Guimard and Ledoux, *La petite maison* is also noteworthy for the text's sense of oscillation along a number of registers: as a fluid, hybrid genre, in its suggestion of permeability between interior and exterior, and in its evocation of the visual play of rococo illusion in its transformation of the spatial experience of *La petite maison* into the linguistic register. It was one of a number of mid-century publications that blurred the boundaries between fiction and didactic manual, offering the reader an architectural lesson embedded in a fictional narrative structure.³⁵⁰ The successive decorative *tableaux* described by Bastide recall the increasingly rich illustrations in architectural treatises by Blondel and Boffrand, in which images of interiors in turn suggested those in ornament manuals, breaching the boundaries between literature, ornament, and didactic treatise.³⁵¹ Bastide's sequencing of *tableaux* in *La petite maison* also conjured the new aesthetic of the picturesque garden, articulated more directly in such publications as Watelet's 1774 *Essai sur les jardins*. As we have seen in Chapter 2, in Watelet's text, landscape recalled the decorated interior, in which he asserts that "all things should submit to comfortable, agreeable, and sensuous uses. Grass-covered mounds will be turned into sofas and beds."³⁵² In the garden scene in *La petite maison*, Méлите admires *parterres* that "had been designed to imitate rooms," where "shrubs and trees created an amphitheater, a ballroom, and even a concert stage."³⁵³ These texts, alongside early designs by Ledoux and Boullé, suggest a reciprocal relationship between interior and exterior, in which gardens could suggest the decoration of rooms, just as interiors could simulate gardens and forest groves.

³⁵⁰ Vidler, "Preface," in Bastide, *The Little House*, trans. El-Khoury, 9-11. Blondel would later combine the genres of architectural treatise and epistolary novel in his *L'homme du monde éclairé par les arts*, published by Bastide the year Blondel died in 1774.

³⁵¹ Martin "The Ascendancy of the Interior," 22.

³⁵² Claude-Henri Watelet, *Essai sur les jardins* (Paris: Prault, 1774), 174, ed. and trans. Samuel Danon, *Essay on Gardens; A Chapter in the French Picturesque* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2003), 54.

³⁵³ Bastide, *The Little House*, trans. El-Khoury, 89.

Bastide's work also conjured the sensuous and illusory qualities of *rocaille* decoration, referencing a host of well-known painters and decorators. In the text, Méliete admires the rococo carvings of Nicolas Pineau, the fanciful arabesques of Claude Gillot and Christophe Huet from earlier in the century, as well as the paintings of François Boucher, all of which form part of her education on taste as she attempts to turn the conversation with Trémicour toward the intellectual discernment of decoration. Recently, Scott has argued that the fluctuation between text and explanatory footnote on these artists in *La petite maison* recreates the effects of rococo *papillotage*, in which the reader's eye is kept constantly moving along the page.³⁵⁴ In signaling artists like Pineau, the text refers to *rocaille* designers whose bimodal asymmetry or *contraste* invited active viewer participation, staged individual choice, and activated taste.³⁵⁵ Strategically employing the language of *rocaille* decoration, *trompe l'oeil*, and *contraste*, Bastide's work evokes these visual strategies in decoration and painting that summoned the viewer's attention as an individual psychological subject, and which would continue to inform Ledoux's decoration for the *Hôtel Guimard*.

The Hôtel Guimard: Staging the Façade

Drawing on her suburban pleasure pavilion rather than aristocratic *hôtels particuliers* and their language of social status or ranking, Guimard's home conveyed a sense of comfort, intimacy, and sensory delight. One of several new *hôtels* to be built in the Chaussée d'Antin neighborhood during an intense period of urban development, the residence was located near the Hôtel de Montmorency and along the avenue where the Hôtel Necker would soon be constructed. Guimard's *hôtel* distinguished itself from those of its neighboring financiers and architects with its Ionic façade, four columns spanning its width, behind which extended a low-

³⁵⁴ Scott, "Persuasion: Nicolas Pineau's Designs on the Social," URN.

³⁵⁵ Ibid.

relief frieze depicting the triumph of Terpsichore, who was seated in a chariot drawn by cupids with the three graces, dancing nymphs, and fauns in attendance—and which was later engraved for the title page of the second volume Ledoux’s *L’Architecture considérée*, published in 1847 (figure 3.7). Within the portico, a large stone sculpture of Terpsichore adorned with flower garlands, lyre in hand, and crowned by Apollo was set before a recessed niche, a “terrestrial orb” balanced like “a pearl in a shell” (figure 3.8).³⁵⁶ The pattern of coffering within the recess recalled the work of Robert Adam, while signaling another possible visual antecedent in Piranesi’s etchings of the exposed dome of the Temple of Venus and the city of Rome.³⁵⁷

Sharing the neighborhood with bankers and architects, Guimard’s eye-catching residence elicited responses almost immediately in the underground journal *Mémoires secrets*. In 1773, the Baron von Grimm’s commentary on the residence suggested the triumph of modern architecture over ancient: “if love bore the cost [of the house], pleasure itself drew the plan, and that divinity never had in Greece a temple worthier of her cult.”³⁵⁸ In Grimm’s account, Guimard’s modern self-fashioning is celebrated as appropriately laying claim to the classical muse in the service of her identity. In his 1774 *L’homme du monde éclairé par les arts*, published by Bastide, Blondel offered a positive assessment of its different rooms and their unifying character:

It couldn’t be better done or excelled. The apartments seem to owe their different pleasures to magic; rich without confusion and gallant without indecency, they present the interiors of the Palace of Love, embellished by the Graces. The bedroom invites one to rest and the salon to pleasure, the dining room to gaiety...A hothouse incorporated into the interior of the apartment joins it to the garden; it is decorated in the very style of winter. The [painted] landscape is soft without destroying the effect. The trellises are subordinated to the rule of good architecture; the arabesques have nothing chimerical

³⁵⁶ David Draper, James Guilhem Scherf, with Magnus Olausson, et al. *Playing with Fire: European Terracotta Models, 1740-1840* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art; Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 144.

³⁵⁷ Braham, *The Architecture of the French Enlightenment*, 174. Braham’s connection to Piranesi is echoed by Vidler, *Claude-Nicolas Ledoux*, 50.

³⁵⁸ Friedrich Melchior, Baron von Grimm, *Correspondance littéraire, philosophique et critique de Grimm et de Diderot, depuis 1752 jusqu’en 1790*, t. VIII, March 1773 (Paris: Furne, 1829-31), 16.

about them, and (I mustn't forget) the execution of these marvels seem to be the work of a single hand; delicious harmony, which puts the finish to the praise of the architect."³⁵⁹

The harmonious interior was framed by a façade whose entryway was screened by four peristyle columns, recalling the columned entryway of the 1766 Hôtel Alexandre by Boullé and the arched gateway of the recently reconstructed porch of Ledoux's Hôtel d'Uzès of 1769 (figure 3.9), though decidedly less grand and imposing.³⁶⁰ Compared to the Pavillon de Louveciennes (figure 3.10) of the Comtesse du Barry, Guimard's residence positioned the semicircular porch on the outside, rather than within the entryway. While aligned with a history of niches and columns at entryways, the use of coffering suggested the placing of an interior niche upon the exterior, thus lending a sense of intimacy and approachability to the temple.³⁶¹

This sense of approachability staged the *hôtel* within the urban landscape, drawing attention and curiosity, as well as commentary about the performances and after-theater suppers held within.³⁶² Beyond an entryway following the angled curve of the street, visitors would pass through the carriage and stables with the theater above and traverse a courtyard to the pavilion itself (figure 3.11). Signaling the identity of the client and the skills of the architect, the façade within the courtyard announced and framed the character of the building, not unlike the proscenium arch before a stage, with the sculptural group of the Terpsichore portico functioning like the arch's decorative cartouche. As theater architecture delineated stronger spatial divisions between performers and spectators, the proscenium arch in the late-eighteenth century occupied a contested space between the illusionism of the performance and the participation of the

³⁵⁹ Blondel, *Les amours rivaux, ou, L'homme du monde éclairé par les arts*, 109, quoted and translated in Braham, 175-76.

³⁶⁰ Braham, 174 and Vidler, 52.

³⁶¹ Ibid. Braham notes in particular Robert Adam's use of the half-dome within the interior of Syon House, which Ledoux effectively turns inside-out.

³⁶² On which, see Goncourt, *La Guimard*, 22 and Friedrich Melchior, Baron von Grimm, *Correspondance littéraire, philosophique et critique de Grimm et de Diderot, depuis 1752 jusqu'en 1790*, t. VIII, March 1773 (Paris: Furne, 1829-31).

viewer.³⁶³ Unlike the Louveciennes façade, which maintained a linear architrave and included a simpler bacchanal with children, Guimard's façade both recalled a proscenium cartouche and signaled her stage identity. Bridging the territory between stage and audience, the façade also unsettled the boundaries between visitor and resident, spectator and performer.³⁶⁴ Standing before the intimate and inviting entryway, with its internal decorative schemes revealed on the outside, visitors were both observers and participants in the construction of Guimard's identity, visually engaging with the Temple while beckoned inside to engage in the performance of Guimard's narrative.³⁶⁵ The very insertion of a suburban pavilion within an urban setting further enhanced this theatrical move, merging country and city, public and private, real and imagined.

The portico's sculptural group incited mixed reviews from critics. While Blondel approved of the home, it was the subject of criticism in Salon literature upon its completion. In Antoine Renou's *Dialogues sur la peinture* (1773), the critic recounts an imaginary conversation between an English lord, an Italian connoisseur, and a Parisian picture dealer. The individuals in Renou's text discuss the demise of French painting during a walk from the Salon exhibition through the streets of Paris, ending at the Guimard residence before returning to the Salon. In Renou's text, it was not painting or the interior, but sculpture and the façade that the trio emphasized over the course of their conversation and tongue-in-cheek remarks:

M. Remi: If the hotel Montmorency doesn't please you, a bit up the street you admired the temple of Mademoiselle [Gui], for whom all of the Artists have exhausted themselves.

M. Fabretti: Monsieur le [Do]...he certainly wore himself out for the interior. For the main building villainously masques this temple. And the peristyle surmounted with this

³⁶³ Pelletier, *Architecture in Words*, 88.

³⁶⁴ Ibid. Pelletier has shown how transitional the proscenium arch was mid-century, slowly becoming more fixed in a shift toward creating greater illusionism on stage. In contemporary theater designs such as Louis' theater for Bordeaux and Ledoux's own Besançon theater, the arch not only frames the stage extended along a colonnade into the auditorium, but also links the space of the stage and the audience.

³⁶⁵ Ibid. In Ledoux's own design for the theater at Besançon, columns also extend beyond the proscenium arch into the space of the auditorium, reinforcing the visual connection between stage and audience.

sort of basement window seems a sad invention. But this architect who likes statues has missed a good opportunity.

M. Remi: That's what he's been criticized for. He could have put an Apollo there playing the lyre, Pluto with his long cornucopia, and a standard swooning goddess. One should use statues to honor talents.

Milord: One must honor useful talents. Effeminate dance was never inclusive. And under the reign of Morals, we will only esteem this grave, military dance that Spartans and ancient Romans used.

M. Remi: Not everyone has policemen to place on their roof.

M. Fabretti: And when you do, you have to place them better.³⁶⁶

Likely taking aim at the configuration of Apollo and Terpsichore, who holds the lyre herself while being crowned triumphant by the attendant god, the individuals dismiss the Guimard residence along with the recently completed Louveciennes pavilion for Madame du Barry, positioning these buildings as the Salon's antithesis, before turning back around towards the Louvre. It is likely the confusion of place that most bothered Renou in his text, with its focus on the problematic façade and his desire for simple, more traditional, and more traditionally-gendered sculptures—an Apollo holding a lyre for instance, instead of crowning Terpsichore triumphant.³⁶⁷ While Blondel emphasized the harmony of the residence and the appropriateness of its various *appartements*, Renou disapproves of an antique that seems to transgress its boundaries, a sculptural configuration that breaches the rules of *convenance* by figuring

³⁶⁶ Antoine Renou, Dialogue IX, *Dialogues sur la peinture* (Paris: Tartouillis, 1773), 160. M. Remi: Si cet hôtel Montmorency vous déplaît, un peu au-dessus vous avez admiré en revanche le temple de Mademoiselle [Gui], pour lequel tous les Artistes se sont à l'envie épuisés.

M. Fabretti: Monsieur le [Do]...s'est sans doute épuisé pour l'intérieur. Car le corps de logis sur la rue masque bien vilainement ce temple. Et puis ce péristyle surmonté sur cette espèce de soupirail me semble une triste invention.

M. Remi: C'est ce qu'on lui a rapproché. Il pouvait mettre un Apollon jouant de la harpe, le bon Pluton versant sa longue corne d'abondance et la déesse se pâmant en mesure. Il fallait que les statues honorent les talents.

Milord: Il faut honorer les talents utiles. La danse efféminée n'était jamais en nombre. Et sous le règne des Mœurs, on n'estimera que cet danse grave et militaire à l'usage des anciens Romains.

M. Remi: Tout le monde n'a pas de connétables à mettre sur son toit.

M. Fabretti: Quand on en a, il faut les mieux placer.

³⁶⁷ Renou, 160. Jill Casid has noted that the English Milord promises to remember the large squares, the Invalides, and the Louvre, and to forget small picture *cabinets* and *boudoirs* of courtesans and other women. See Casid, "Commerce in the Boudoir," in *Women, Art, and the Politics of Identity in Eighteenth-Century Europe*, eds. Melissa Hyde and Jennifer Milam (London: Routledge, 2003), 101 and Renou, *Dialogues sur la peinture*, 155.

Terpsichore at the center of the composition, and which is obscured by a deceptive entryway that “masks” the offensive temple.

To compose the group for the frieze, Ledoux hired sculptor Félix Lecomte, a student of Étienne-Maurice Falconet, who had studied in Rome and had recently returned to Paris. Lecomte first completed a study for the frieze in terracotta, which was shown publicly at the Salon of 1771 (figure 3.12). Identified in the salon *livret* as “having been executed on site where the house of Mademoiselle Guimard was being constructed,” Lecomte’s linear composition shows the left side of the full grouping, in which Terpsichore plucks a harp, with the three graces walking behind, followed by flutists, bacchantes, and fauns (figure 3.13).³⁶⁸ The account of the terracotta in the *Mémoires secrets* was favorable, noting “one dwells with infinite pleasure on very part of the action, where unity and variety reign in plenty...the Goddess stands out in the midst of this festival and dominates it as befits the principal subject.”³⁶⁹ Diderot, however, criticized the composition, writing that the three graces were so awkward that they were “a gratuitous distortion of nature.”³⁷⁰ It was the composition of the last Grace to which Diderot particularly objected, noting the compression of pictorial space as she places her left hand on the right shoulder of the Grace in front of her, and the distortion of her legs, making her foreshortened and shallow. Diderot was concerned “that the second of the three Graces, who faces us, cannot in walking have her thigh and leg turned in as if pigeon-toed...It follows therefore that for this Grace to have any grace in walking, her knee, part of her thigh, and her leg should be in the round.”³⁷¹ These spatial distortions were no doubt so pronounced because Lecomte’s

³⁶⁸ Jean-Charles Deloynes, *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... dans le grand sallon du Louvre* (Paris: Hérisant, 1771), entry for no. 271, “Autre Esquisse: Le Triomphe de Terpsichore,” 47.

³⁶⁹ *Mémoires secrets de Bachaumont*, 1771, quoted in David Draper, James Guilhem Scherf, with Magnus Olausson, et al. *Playing with Fire: European Terracotta Models, 1740-1840*, 144.

³⁷⁰ Denis Diderot, “Salon de 1771,” *Œuvres complètes de Diderot*, vol. 11 (Paris: Garnier, 1875), 541-42.

³⁷¹ *Ibid.*

composition was meant to be viewed from below; the lightness and linearity of the three Graces and the frieze as a whole would be set above the doorway and behind the Ionic columns, and beheld overhead as one passed through the threshold. In spite of negative commentary by Renou and others, the *Hôtel Guimard* was immensely popular, and by the 1780s, tourists could find it in the guidebook *Guide des amateurs et étrangers* and could happily enter and have a tour for a small fee.³⁷²

Prologue

In 1808, Sir John Soane would take up Le Camus's theories in his lectures, likening the front of a building to the prologue before the first act of a play, whose narrative would unfold, following Le Camus's treatise, as the visitor enters the successive *cabinets* of the space.³⁷³ To consider the entryway to Guimard's pavilion and its bacchanalian procession as a prologue is especially fitting, as Guimard's first role as Terpsichore was for the prologue to *Fêtes grecques et romaines*. According to the libretto, the setting for the first scene of the prologue was a certain Temple of Memory, which was to be ornamented with the statues of great men and heroes, with inscriptions praising them.³⁷⁴ Before Terpsichore dances, the muses Erato and Clio engage in dialogue about the merits of history and myth. Clio worries that her illuminating torch of history, aligned with truth, might be too grave for their celebration, but in the end they decide that both truth and myth are needed to pay tribute to heroes of the past.³⁷⁵ In the second scene, Apollo and Erato call forth Terpsichore to dance with fauns and satyrs, the children of Erato and Terpsichore, as they praise their light and lively dancing.³⁷⁶ In the scenes that follow, time seems

³⁷² Luc-Vincent Thiéry, *Guide des amateurs et étrangers*, t. 1 (Paris: Hardouin & Gattey, 1787), 145-46.

³⁷³ Pelletier, 24.

³⁷⁴ Jean-Louis Fuzelier, *Prologue des Fêtes grecques et romaines* (Paris: De Lormel, 1741), 81. I've chosen the 1741 libretto in absence of a retrievable copy of a later version.

³⁷⁵ Fuzelier, *Prologue des Fêtes grecques et romaines*, 82.

³⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 85.

to collapse as Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans take up the stage together with Erato. Olympic games are held in the second act, while in the third, Latin poet Tibullus tries to win the heart of his love Delia, before saturnalian celebrations with shepherds and shepherdesses overtake the stage. By erecting a temple to herself in which Terpsichore is celebrated as the central character, seated in triumph, Guimard effectively appropriates this scene from her first ballet, turning the residence into a device of self-presentation, a memorial to her own dancing rather than to any hero of the classical past. It is therefore unsurprising that Terpsichore's triumph articulated in the sculptural configuration of the façade was positioned as the *hôtel*'s primary site of gendered transgression in Renou's criticism.

Staging the Interior: Act I

Within the residence, its multiple *salons* and rooms dedicated to receiving guests conveyed the centrality of entertaining for the life of the *hôtel*. The staging of these spaces comprised a succession of antechambers, a dining room, and winter garden glimpsed through screens of columns. Ledoux employed a team of decorators, cabinetmakers, sculptors, and painters, including Jean-Honoré Fragonard and court painter Jean-Hugues Taraval to execute the paintings for the ceiling and wall paneling of the main salon, as well as a private picture gallery.³⁷⁷ The *cabinet des bains* was hung with paper lanterns, while a *cabinet de toilette*, containing several chairs upholstered with fabric to match the walls, conveyed more intimate spaces for receiving guests.³⁷⁸ Upon entry, visitors found themselves in an oval vestibule, the first of two *antichambres* or anterooms, with several niches containing statues (figure 3.14).³⁷⁹

³⁷⁷ Gallet, *Claude-Nicolas Ledoux* (Paris: Picard, 1980), 86. Designed and built concurrently with the Comtesse du Barry's Pavillon de Louveciennes, many of the same painters and craftsmen were employed, including Fragonard, cabinetmaker Jean-Francois Leleu, and sculptor Jean-Baptiste Feuillet for reliefs and sculpture in stucco. Du Barry's pavilion was commissioned later, but its execution was given precedence, and it was completed by 1771.

³⁷⁸ Norberg, "Salon as Stage," 110.

³⁷⁹ Gallet *Claude-Nicolas Ledoux*, 1980, 86. Gallet provides no more information on the composition of the vestibule, though if the sculptures were completed by Jean-Baptiste Feuillet, as indicated by Ledoux's relationship

Guests followed along the diagonal axis from the vestibule to a second *antichambre* with a vaulted ceiling where stucco nymphs on white marble bases held torches which were affixed to the walls (figure 3.15).³⁸⁰ Nymphs adorned the ceiling and over doors, arranging garlands of flowers and joining their figures in arabesques, continuing the bacchanalian procession from the façade.

The nymphs and arabesques in Gallet's description of the anterooms may be related to a glimmering aquamarine paneling ensemble that has been largely absent from scholarship on Guimard and Ledoux (figures 3.16-3.17). Consisting of a set of painted *lambris* decorated with arabesques, an overdoor sculpture, a latticed window with shutters, and a pier-glass mirror, this ensemble provides the only surviving decorative scheme from the Paris *hôtel* interior.³⁸¹ Across the panels, gilded carved myrtle garlands (a favorite of Le Camus for decoration), cornucopias, and burning incense cascade down the *parclozes* (partition sides) of the windows and mirror.³⁸² While these decorative elements might have been located in different rooms, and separated by additional partitions, their installation in the Louvre gives us the closest sense of the overall effect of the refined, golden, blue-green interior of the *Hôtel* Guimard, whose soft colors according to Goncourt were meant to convey a feeling of calm associated with a feminine retreat or refuge.³⁸³ In his evocation of the *boudoir*, Le Camus references myrtle in particular in his

with the decorator for this project, they might have comprised stucco reliefs in the niches, corresponding with his stucco sculptures in the second anteroom.

³⁸⁰ Ibid. Gallet's details seem to be confirmed by Ledoux's engraving, in which two pairs of nymphs hold torches on either side of the antechamber.

³⁸¹ Jannic Durand, Michèle Bimbenet-Privat, and Frédéric Dassas, eds. *Décors, Mobilier et Objets D'art du Musée du Louvre: De Louis XIV à Marie-Antoinette* (Paris: Somogy éditions d'art: Louvre éditions, 2014), 370. Their absence from the literature is no doubt due to the fact that they remained in the residence after Guimard's 1786 sale, decorating the home of the next owner, before passing on to collector Jacques Doucet in 1907 and then on to Aline Guerrand-Hermès, who donated them to the Louvre in 2011. They were only recently put on exhibition.

³⁸² Ibid. and Bruno Pons, *Grands décors français 1650-1800* (Dijon: Fatou, 1995), 47. These carvings and sculpture in stucco have been attributed to Jean-Baptiste Feuillet and Joseph Métivier, who often collaborated with Ledoux.

³⁸³ Ibid. and Documentation, *Galleries Gismondi*, 2-3. According to Dassas, in *Décors, Mobilier et Objets D'art du Musée du Louvre*, eds. Jannic Durand, Michèle Bimbenet-Privat, and Frédéric Dassas, 370, comparable interiors

description of its olfactory pleasures: “orange trees and myrtles, planted in choice vessels, enchant the eyes and nostrils. Honeysuckle and jasmine twine like garlands around the Deity who is worshipped at Paphos.”³⁸⁴ In the overdoor above the *lambris* sits a terracotta medallion depicting a satyresse and child, whose forms are crowned by a gilded bow, and with ribbons interlacing with cornucopias of myrtles and roses that frame the scene on either side (figure 3.18).³⁸⁵ The terracotta mother and child is one of a number of bacchanalian elements in low relief possibly carried out by sculptor Claude-Michel Clodion, who had returned to Paris in 1771 after studying in Rome and was agréé at the Académie royale in 1773—dates that span the Guimard commission—before taking a second Italian sojourn in 1774. Clodion was active in decoration in the Chaussée d’Antin neighborhood in this period, carrying out similar arcadian decorative schemes in other *hôtels particuliers*.³⁸⁶

Along the walls of the *antichambre*, sinuous arabesques composed of mermaids and sirens transforming into *rinceaux* run up and down the painted *lambris*, with three pairs of figures balancing vases bearing unfurling acanthus tendrils and flowers (figure 3.19). At the top, a pair of mermaids join hands while holding aloft an overflowing flower basket. This particular pair of figures has been linked to a set of prints by Juste-Nathan (J.-N.) Boucher, which he began to produce in Paris upon his return from Rome in 1767 (figure 3.20).³⁸⁷ Retaining the

include the *Hôtel d’Aumont* by Pierre-Adrien Pâris (1775-77), *Bagatelle* by François-Joseph Bélanger (1777), and the *Hôtel Grimod de La Reynière* by Charles-Louis Clérisseau (1778-80).

³⁸⁴ Le Camus, *The Genius of Architecture*, ed. Middleton, 1992, 116. Middleton notes that Paphos may refer to the temple of Aphrodite near Cyprus, or to the statue brought to life by Pygmalion in Ovid, recently recounted by Condillac.

³⁸⁵ Documentation, *Galleries Gismondi*, 2-3.

³⁸⁶ Anne Poulet and Guilhem Scherf, *Clodion, 1738-1814* (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 1992), 213. This motif appears notably in the satyresse with a child in stucco for the Brongniart’s *Hôtel de Bourbon-Condé* in 1781. Scherf has noted that the attribution is uncertain due to the proliferation of terracotta models employing this theme. However, the Guimard decoration is signed “CLODION,” and predates the Bourbon-Condé commission by a decade, thus it would seem among the earliest versions of this motif in terracotta.

³⁸⁷ Alexia Lebeurre, “Le ‘genre arabesques’: nature et diffusion des modèles dans le décor intérieur à Paris 1760-1790,” *Histoire de l’Art* no. 42/43 (October 1998): 91.

composition of the mermaid figures, J.-N. Boucher replaced the flowers with an incense burner, and reoriented the medallion's curves into rectilinear forms, suggesting a desire to reconfigure the composition with antique attributes. Published by the Chéreau firm in 1767, his prints have been recently noted by scholars for their especially sensual and imaginative qualities, which recall gallant rococo themes.³⁸⁸ Possibly composed during his time as a *pensionnaire*, his images cast the *goût grec* almost as an alteration of the rococo, with delicate compositions of curling acanthus, interlaced c-scrolls, delicate sprays of tendrils, and embracing, fluid figures of nymphs and satyrs. If J.-N. Boucher's prints served as models or inspiration for Taraval's *arabesques*, then the dancer's decorators further tempered and adjusted J.-N. Boucher's antique, replacing his *athéniennes*, or incense burners, with aromatic flowers.³⁸⁹ In this instance, the antique gives way to a floral, organic rococo rather than the other way around, suggesting a mutual give and take between these two *goûts* in order to accommodate the larger decorative scheme of Guimard's residence. If the *lambris* influenced J.-N. Boucher's prints as he continued to publish variations on the sirens, then we might consider a reciprocal relationship between print and decoration, their language intermingled and their styles increasingly blurred.

While the *rinceaux* suggests stylistic imbrication linked to ornament *recueils* in the print trade, the painted medallions expand these blurrings to depict allegories of the senses, with two small circular scenes illustrating the sense of taste and hearing (figures 3.21 and 3.22). Painted by Taraval, they are each encircled with small floral garlands descending from the hands of mermaids above and cascading onto the serpentine tendrils of *rinceaux* below. On the left, three individuals in costume “à l’espagnole” sit for a hot drink as it is poured from a steaming kettle,

³⁸⁸ Martin, “L’ornement rocaille vs. l’imaginaire à l’antique?” 2014, 243-45.

³⁸⁹ Lebeurre notes that it is difficult to determine which came first, though the 1767 date of J.-N. Boucher's prints suggest that they were circulating in the market by the time Taraval decorated Guimard's *boiseries* and *lambris*, and thus were obtainable as cahiers of ornament through the Chéreau firm.

while on the right, they make music together, playing the violin, flute, and piano upon a terrace under blue skies. The composition of the musical trio recalls a 1769 miniature in the Louvre by Boucher's student and son-in-law Pierre-Antoine Baudouin, and a 1769-1770 painting in the Musée de Picardie by François-André Vincent (figures 3.23 and 3.24). The painting and circular miniature—on vellum set in bronze—portray the same intimate, convivial scene depicting a chamber concert with Guimard playing the harp surrounded by her three protectors: Jean-Benjamin de Laborde at the left, the Abbé de Rohan in the center playing the flute, and the Prince de Soubise playing the horn to the right.³⁹⁰ Baudouin was known for his “little pictures” of erotic subject matter and was especially criticized by Diderot in 1765 for his “effeminate” *boudoir* scenes.³⁹¹ Meanwhile Taraval, a student of history painter Carle Van Loo, had returned from Rome in 1763 and had presented his reception piece *The Triumph of Bacchus* to the Academy in 1769, the year before his work began on the Guimard residence.³⁹² Suggesting the sensory pleasures that would unfold for guests—whether tasting at Guimard's suppers or listening to music during her performances—the panels both evoke the senses and anticipate the sensuous experiences to follow in the succeeding rooms.

From the *antichambre*, guests could continue directly into the *salle de compagnie* or main receiving room, or they could follow another entryway to the left into the adjacent *salle à manger* or dining room, the most lavish room in the residence. Anterooms held special place in eighteenth-century architectural theory, and Le Camus would write of them in particular as transitional spaces that announced the character of the main rooms and created rhythm and

³⁹⁰ Matthieu Pinette, *Painting in Eighteenth-Century France from the Musée de Picardie* (Amiens: Musée de Picardie, 2001), 146. The individuals in these works have been identified thanks to an inscription on the back of the miniature.

³⁹¹ Hyde, *Making up the Rococo*, 70-72.

³⁹² Documentation, Galeries Gismondi, 3. Taraval also painted the ceiling of Guimard's theater. Gismondi galleries have signaled Carl Van Loo's 1754 *Concert espagnol* and 1755 *Lecture espagnol* (Hermitage, Saint Petersburg), as notable examples of this type that Taraval drew from as inspiration for these compositions.

spatial unity. Le Camus noted, “one must become aware of the sensation to be expected in the rooms to follow; it is, so to speak, the proscenium, and the utmost care must be lavished upon it to announce the character of the performers of the play.”³⁹³ As space and time unfolded along the procession through the successive rooms, “everything,” he wrote, “must concur to a single end, as in stage decoration, where all is connected.”³⁹⁴ The second *antichambre* and each successive *cabinet* functioned as theaters within a theater, each one framed by their respective proscenium arches and offering a glimpse of the scenes to unfold in the rooms to follow. In its evocation of the senses as visitors progressed through each room, Guimard’s residence anticipated and gave shape to Le Camus’ theories of sensual expression—its heightening of the senses, and its carefully calibrated progression through the decorated interior.

Act II: The Winter Garden

Beyond the façade, which I propose we consider as a primary proscenium arch, each threshold from the main axis of the residence offered a view onto the next rooms, lending a corresponding sense of approachability and intimacy as further bacchanalian processions beckoned beyond screens of columns. The second *antichambre* was separated by an Ionic colonnade from the *salle à manger* (figure 3.25), the central entertaining room within the residence, encompassing the height of the second story and top-lit by a domed skylight (figure 3.26). Guests would have been seated for dinner at three tables, upon eighteen green plush velvet chairs, matching green taffeta curtains.³⁹⁵ The walls of the dining room were composed of mirrored panels that extended along its perimeter. Upon the mirrors, green foliage, trees, trellises, and fountains were painted in imitation of a garden. Between an arc of tree branches,

³⁹³ Le Camus, ed. Middleton, 105.

³⁹⁴ Le Camus, ed. Middleton, 45.

³⁹⁵ Gallet, *Claude-Nicolas Ledoux*, 86. Gallet notes that the tables were of different sizes, with place settings for 30, 15, and 10 guests at each, making for a total of 50 possible guests in the space.

perhaps the most striking bacchanal within the residence unfolded, a celestial gathering of putti carrying flower garlands, accompanied by dancing fairies, set within billowing clouds that seemed to emerge from the painted forest (figure 3.27). If the muses of antiquity informed Guimard's identity along the façade of the temple, then in the erotic tumbling figures of the painted mirror, the formal language of the classical past dissolved within the interior of the residence into a veritable fantasy of nymphs and winged fairies.³⁹⁶ Le Camus referred to this dining room in his section on the *salle à manger* in *Le génie de l'architecture*.³⁹⁷ In this passage, he is particularly concerned with bringing elements from nature into the home, whether in the form of flowers or in the creation of a conservatory (greenhouse):

Let us not be sparing in the use of this simple and natural ornament; let us set flowers in all the places where we want gaiety; let us array them on our tables and place them at random and without symmetry. Too much art and a contrived arrangement detract from the effect. A charming actress, known for her qualities of heart and mind and skilled in the analysis of true pleasure, has well understood the value of such a notion. She has made a conservatory the most delightful part of her house, which is a Fairy's palace.³⁹⁸

In his description of *cabinet des bains*, Le Camus goes even further, with natural objects, painting, prints, and stage design all serving equally as inspiration for optical illusions. With a view onto a distant grove, one could glimpse the natural world outside, while at the same time experiencing a simulated aquatic garden indoors:

Shall we enrich this composition? Let us add birdsong, as we have suggested, to animate it and give it life. Before and behind some of the openings we place birdcages. We plant trees; with winter in mind, let us add some that are artificial; let illusion reign supreme.

³⁹⁶ The play between the real and imagined becomes all the more striking when compared to the antique tradition of simulated gardens, in which verdant vistas, seascapes, and even statues were painted upon the walls of private homes alongside interior gardens. The effects of delight and destabilization upon the spectators is enticingly similar, yet drawing a connection between this antique practice and residential painted gardens in the eighteenth century is beyond the scope of this analysis. See Valeria Sampaola, "Vegetal Effects in Pompeian Frescoes," in *The Garden: Reality and Imaginary in Ancient Art* (Castellammare di Stabia: N. Longobardi, 2006), 63-69 and especially Bettina Bergmann, "Staging the Supernatural: Interior Gardens of the Pompeian Houses," in Carol Mattusch, ed., *Pompeii and the Roman Villa: Art and Culture around the Bay of Naples* (Washington: National Gallery of Art; London: Thames and Hudson, 2008), 67.

³⁹⁷ Le Camus, ed. Middleton, 140.

³⁹⁸ Ibid.

Let us set the foreground with terracing, with aquatic herbs, and with various seashells scattered on the shore. In default of nature, silver gauze may replace the crystal waters; their sound may be imitated by some further device. Let us set all the magic of optics to work; this is the moment for the Artist to display all his talents, and make known the extent of his Art. He may give his fancy free reign, but above all, he must divert. His invention may be prompted by pictures and prints or by stage decorations.”³⁹⁹

Guimard’s *salle à manger* would have been visible through the Ionic gallery of the *antichambre* draped with curtains, creating a sort of miniature proscenium arch, through which the seated guests might have been framed in a series of enticing tableaux between the columns as they dined against the backdrop of faux foliage. Like the destabilization of the viewer at the beckoning entryway to the residence, the effect here may have similarly turned on the visitors’ multiplied roles: at once spectators and social actors. Windows opening onto the greenhouse or “winter garden” from one side served to further blur the distinction between the natural and the artificial, living and *trompe l’œil* painted gardens.⁴⁰⁰ Glimpsing decoration and guests engaged in conversation before entering into the scene themselves, visitors had the opportunity to engage as both viewers and participants, actively constructing their own narrative within the unfolding space.

Act III: Dancing Terpsichore

If guests were not invited to dinner, they would proceed from the second *antichambre* to the *salon de compagnie*. Within this receiving room, four mythological panels were originally planned by Fragonard, who withdrew from the project and was replaced by twenty-five year-old Jacques-Louis David.⁴⁰¹ At the time, David was a student in Joseph-Marie Vien’s atelier and had

³⁹⁹ Ibid., 124.

⁴⁰⁰ While Guimard’s residence was under construction, Horace Walpole suggested that the greenhouse could be accessed from the dining room: “I have heard no instance of luxury but in Mademoiselle Guimard, a favorite dancer, who is building a palace. Round the *salle à manger* there are windows that open on hot-houses, that are to produce flowers all winter,” August 25, 1771, quoted in Braham, 175.

⁴⁰¹ Classic accounts of the falling out between Guimard and Fragonard refer to Meister’s anecdote in Grimm, *Correspondance littéraire*, March 1773 and Pierre’s letter to Ledoux, 15 November 1773. See also Pierre-Jean-Baptiste Chaussard, *Le Pausanias français; état des arts du dessin en France, à l’ouverture du XIXe siècle: Salon de*

made four unsuccessful attempts at the Prix de Rome.⁴⁰² Having initially enrolled in Boucher's studio as his first choice, David was uncertain about Vien's "Greek style" and painted gallant mythological subjects somewhat reminiscent of Boucher in the years before his 1775 departure for Rome.⁴⁰³ One of David's earliest drawings, *L'accord de la poésie et de la musique*, has been tentatively connected by scholars to the project, and might give some sense of the artist's plans for the *salon* ceiling.⁴⁰⁴ In the drawing (figure 3.28), a choral muse with a lyre in hand is embraced by poetry as they sit before a wooded grove, their soft faces reminiscent of the work of Fragonard. David's completed decorative panels, now lost, were retouched by the artist for the Guimard sale in 1786, and were eventually sold at auction in 1846, at which point they were mistakenly attributed to Fragonard.⁴⁰⁵ They have yet to be located.

In the absence of these paintings, scholars have suggested that a series of sanguine drawings by Fragonard in the Musée des Beaux-Arts de Besançon might in some way be linked to the Guimard decorations, possibly informing David when he took over the project (figure 3.29).⁴⁰⁶ These four vertical drawings depict classical muses and dancers caught in movement as they step and *chasser* forward, some with musical *accoutrements* in hand. The muse Terpsichore has been associated with the first two drawings in the series according to an 1819 inventory, one

1806 (Paris: F. Buisson, 1806), 146-47, Régis Michel 1981, 238-39, and Pierre Rosenberg, *Fragonard* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1988), 297-99. Fragonard's 1771 commission for the Comtesse du Barry, *The Progress of Love*, took precedence over Guimard's decorations. Fragonard sketched out the four mythological panels for Guimard's *Salon de Compagnie*, and then asked Guimard for a larger sum and four years' time to complete the panels, before the project was taken over by David in 1773.

⁴⁰² Étienne Delécluze, *Jacques Louis David: son école et son temps: souvenirs* (Paris: Didier, 1855), 110-11.

⁴⁰³ David's youthful resolution in these years was that the "antique will not seduce me." See Antoine Schnapper and Séruliez, *Jacques-Louis David: 1748-1825* (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 1989), 41.

⁴⁰⁴ See Jacques-Louis David, *L'accord de la poésie et de la musique*, Black chalk, EBA Paris Inv. 728. See also Pierre Rosenberg and Louis-Antoine Prat, *Jacques-Louis David, 1748-1825: catalogue raisonné des dessins* (Milan: Leonardo arte, 2002), 32.

⁴⁰⁵ Ridet and Simonet, *Catalogue d'une belle collection de tableaux des meilleurs maîtres*, 21-22 December 1846. Vente Beurdeley (Paris: Guiraudet and Jouaust, 1846), catalogue no. 16., 7-8. These "quatre tableaux faisant pendants...les plus séduisants qu'on connaisse" were sold on December 21-22, 1846 (no.16), and the smallest measured 3.09 x 2.6-2.45 meters. See also Rosenberg, *Fragonard*, 297-99.

⁴⁰⁶ Rosenberg *Fragonard*, 297-99.

depicting a muse with a laurel crown holding a lyre, the other showing a dancer in more energetic movement striking a tambourine.⁴⁰⁷ Pierre Rosenberg has suggested that these four drawings were related to the Guimard project, dating them to no later than 1770, and recalling a passage in the *Correspondance littéraire* which references several unfinished paintings in her *salon*.⁴⁰⁸ While Colin Bailey has questioned this association due to the square format (rather than vertical) of David's lost panels according to the 1846 sale, a tapestry design in the Musée des Beaux-Arts de Besançon signals at least one decidedly horizontal translation of the drawings into a wider decorative scheme.⁴⁰⁹ Held in the collection of Fragonard drawings owned by the architect Pierre-Adrien Pâris, the sanguines likely served as models for the bacchanalian procession *L'Enfance de Bacchus* drawn by the architect, with two dancers at either side framing a mother and child seated upon a goat (figure 3.30). Pâris indeed seems to have closely traced two of Fragonard's drawings to complete the procession, interlocking their forms so that the muses appear at either side of the composition. Reminiscent of the Guimard paneling decorations by Clodion or the processional frieze by Lecomte, this design for a tapestry signals at least one instance in which the sanguines were interweaved for a larger decorative project.⁴¹⁰ Though scholars often focus on the account of Fragonard's falling out with Guimard in relation to these drawings, Sadish Padiyar has suggested that we might consider a mutually supportive bond between David and Fragonard during these years, with David stepping in to the project and able to make use of Fragonard's designs. So often pitted against one another in a kind of "face off"

⁴⁰⁷ Rosenberg, *Les Fragonards de Besançon* (Milan: Cinq Continents, 2006), 127.

⁴⁰⁸ Ibid. and Friedrich Melchior and Baron von Grimm, *Correspondance littéraire, philosophique et critique de Grimm et de Diderot, depuis 1752 jusqu'en 1790*, t. VIII, March 1773 (Paris: Furne, 1829-31).

⁴⁰⁹ Colin Bailey, *Fragonard's Progress of Love at the Frick Collection* (New York: Frick Collection, 2011), 47. Bailey has questioned the relationship between the lost David paintings and Fragonard's drawings, noting that the format of the paintings was almost square according to the 1846 sale, compared to the vertical format of Fragonard's drawings, and yet Pâris composed a long horizontal scheme as if tracing the drawings, suggesting that they may well be related to the Guimard project.

⁴¹⁰ Rosenberg, *Les Fragonards de Besançon*, 126-130.

between the rococo and antique, we might rather remember these artists as amiable colleagues whose work informed one another and who would continue to cross paths for several decades.⁴¹¹ If David's lost paintings are indeed related to these drawings, this would suggest that the interior decoration of the *salon* employed the language of Fragonard's drawings *à l'antique* along its walls, comingling side by side with David's decidedly rococo pastoral portrait of the dancer.

The Guimard portrait is perhaps the most memorable image David painted for the residence, depicting Guimard as Terpsichore c. 1773-1775 (figure 3.31). The painting exists within a constellation of images that Guimard commissioned in which she presented herself as the muse of choral song and dance. These included a portrait bust by the Italian sculptor Gaetano Merchi that also mediated Guimard's on-stage identity through the figure of the classical muse (figure 3.32). In David's portrait, Terpsichore's traditionally seated position and lyre attributes give way to the costume of the pastoral shepherdess and dancing pose of the ballerina, whose left foot extends to meet the arrow of an attending putto. Caught in the midst of movement, the portrait of the dancer reminds the viewer of the living, modern embodiment of Terpsichore, who fits the classical muse within a tight bodice, hoop skirt, and pointed shoes. A straw hat is placed upon her powdered hair, and her skirt and apron are decorated with bows and roses matching the surrounding garden setting redolent of the stage. Her bodiced costume, falling garlands of flowers, and beribboned hat suggest similar stylistic choices on the part of David in evoking her recognizable pastoral stage roles. Indeed, David's "stage" is explicitly coordinated with the "stage" of the *Hôtel Guimard*, with the pink and green pastel palette of the picture recalling Taraval's painted *boiseries*, and the cupids and bagpipes aligning the picture with the gallant and

⁴¹¹ Sadish Padiyar, "Out of time: Fragonard, with David," 213-31. Padiyar focuses on Fragonard's paintings of the 1780s, arguing that the rococo operated belatedly and alongside the work of David.

pastoral themes of the paintings of Boucher.⁴¹² In the residence, then, the portrait staged the identity of its owner within the temporal and spatial progression of the interior. It seems very likely that the painting hung within the home upon completion, treading David's own navigation of the territory between the rococo and the antique before his departure for Rome.⁴¹³ Bridging the divide between the flying bacchanalia and clouds of the *salle à manger* and the understated yet joyful procession of Lecomte's classicizing frieze, David's portrait situated the dancing body of Guimard herself as the balancing principle between these two currents, marshalled in equal measure in the service of her identity.

Stepping gingerly with her left foot, her right hand clutching a rose held against her chest, David's portrait also evoked Guimard's delicate gestures and stage costume, its lifted overskirt known as the *robe à la Guimard*, created by her costume designer Louis-René Boquet (figure 3.33).⁴¹⁴ In Jean Prud'hon's engraving recalling Guimard as the farmgirl Nicette in Pierre Gardel's 1778 sentimental ballet-pantomime *La Chercheuse d'esprit*, the artist depicts her in a pose similar to David's portrait, with her hand raised and holding a flower (figure 3.34). Her bodiced costume, falling garlands of flowers, and beribboned hat suggest similar stylistic choices on the part of David in evoking her recognizable pastoral stage roles. By the time Guimard played the shepherdess Mélide in Gardel's *Le Premier Navigateur* (1785), she had rid herself of

⁴¹² For a brief discussion of this picture in relation to Boucher, see Hyde Making up the Rococo, 7-8.

⁴¹³ It seems that the picture was hung within the home, though its precise location is not clear. According to the *Correspondance Littéraire*, March 1773, and quoted in the lot notes of the June 5, 2013 sale at Christie's, there were many paintings in the one of the salons, which could have been the picture gallery: "if it was paid for by Amor, it was designed by Volupté, and this divinity never had a temple in Greece more worthy of her cult. The salon is full of paintings; Mlle Guimard is represented as Terpsichore, with all the attributes that could characterize her in the most appealing way," possibly referring to the four panels that portrayed Terpsichore with classical *accoutrements*. According to Étienne Delécluze, (and quoted in lot notes), David remembered the portrait for Guimard's generosity in enabling the commission and for its outdated style, "irrefutable proof of the reform he had introduced into art."

⁴¹⁴ Judith Chazin-Bennahum, *The Lure of Perfection: Fashion and Ballet* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 47. In 1771, working with her costume designer Boquet, Guimard had increased the height of her overskirt to reveal her underskirt, her feet, and to allow for better freedom of movement. The play of colors between skirts became increasingly fashionable.

the paniers and hoops of previous costumes, and employed instead long, flowing white skirts that allowed the body to move unrestricted while also lending a sense of ethereal lightness to her already delicate movements.⁴¹⁵ In a chalk-manner engraving by Jean-François Janinet (1752-1814) Guimard's character and costume from the ballet suggest a striking departure from the character of the Nicette (figure 3.35). Mélide is shown stranded upon an island when a violent storm causes a rift in the landscape, her hair and generous skirts waving in the wind. Staged over three acts, the ballet elevated the sentimental romance of Mélide and her suitors within a dramatic narrative, with quick scene changes, dream sequences, and interventions by both Gods and natural forces.⁴¹⁶ With her hair let down and her loose shift, Guimard's performing body gestured in a newly uninhibited way within the choreographic framework of Gardel's *ballet d'action*, rendering its expressive possibilities more readily visible to spectators.

Pantomime and the Private Theater

Guimard's pantomime dancing in *La Chercheuse d'esprit* drew from the work of her predecessor Marie Sallé, whose graceful movements were likened by critics to a moving tableau in her 1734 performance of Antoine Houdar de la Motte's 1700 ballet *Le Triomphe des Arts*, also known as *Pigmalion*. In one of her earliest roles, Guimard too played the dancing statue in a 1764 staging at the Comédie française, in which she both danced and sang.⁴¹⁷ It was thus fitting that one of the first two ballets performed in Guimard's private theater on its inaugural night was an adaptation of *Pigmalion*, selected to replace the licentious *La vérité dans le vin*.⁴¹⁸ Located across the internal courtyard from the residence, the private theater was situated in direct visual

⁴¹⁵ Chazin-Bennahum, *The Lure of Perfection: Fashion and Ballet*, 49.

⁴¹⁶ Susan Leigh Foster, *Choreography and Narrative: Ballet's Staging of Story and Desire* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996), 132.

⁴¹⁷ Goncourt, *La Guimard*, 22.

⁴¹⁸ Ibid.

dialogue with the Temple of Terpsichore, its amphitheater above the carriage house with room for five-hundred people seated in both a *parterre* and gallery benches, and with the ceiling painted by Taraval (figures 3.36 and 3.37). Like her Pantin theater, the design included small *loges* that allowed more discreet guests to arrive privately. Ledoux's first theater design, it was also modeled after the recently completed theater at Versailles by Jacques-Ange Gabriel, with two large Corinthian columns framing the stage, albeit conceived as a smaller, more intimate version (figure 3.38).⁴¹⁹ According to the *Pigmalion* libretto, in the final scene of the performance, Love traverses the stage when Pygmalion isn't looking and passes a torch over Galatea's body as she comes to life. Pygmalion watches in disbelief as she descends the pedestal and walks toward him.⁴²⁰ If Guimard performed Sallé's choreography, Pygmalion then teaches Galatea how to dance, allowing the audience to take pleasure in watching a simulated dancing lesson in which Pygmalion teaches the dancer steps that she herself had choreographed.⁴²¹

Many of the performances in which Guimard danced were originally conceived at Versailles as courtly ballets drawn from the *comédies-ballets* of the seventeenth century.⁴²² Yet Guimard also performed in a number of contemporary ballets choreographed by Jean-Georges Noverre and his successor Pierre Gardel, who drew on comic opera librettos to construct modern "vaudeville pantomimes" of village romances conceived as intense dramas.⁴²³ Noverre in particular drew from the tradition of Graeco-Roman pantomime dancing, in which dancers

⁴¹⁹ Pelletier, 67. As a reduced version Opera at Versailles, it aligns with a history of small private theaters, including that built for Madame de Pompadour in 1748.

⁴²⁰ *Pigmalion*, d'après le livret d'Antoine Houdar de la Motte, "La Sculpture", in *Le Triomphe des Arts* (Paris: C. Ballard, 1700), 6.

⁴²¹ Cohen, 259.

⁴²² For history of this genre of dramatic theater with ballet interludes, see Sarah Cohen, op. cit. By the mid-eighteenth century, the commercialization of ballet and the development of the *ballet d'action* gave greater weight to the physical gestures and facial expressions of the ballet dancers.

⁴²³ Jennifer Homans, *Apollo's Angels: A History of Ballet* (New York: Random House, 2010), 99.

impersonated mythical characters through the integration of gesture, dance, and music.⁴²⁴

Attempting to both reestablish what he perceived to be a “broken link” with antiquity and to legitimize modern ballet, Noverre’s development of the *ballet d’action* figured within a larger turn in the character of the dancing body toward the primacy of individual expression.⁴²⁵

Guimard’s own dancing style incorporated Noverre’s expressive pantomime gestures, in which facial and bodily expressivity overtook the technical ability of her movements on stage while evoking and appropriating the techniques of classical pantomime. Moreover, Guimard’s embrace of free-flowing costume aligned with shifting tastes for more “natural,” fluid performing bodies and the attempt at achieving greater continuity between the plastic and performing arts.⁴²⁶ In her *hôtel particulier* and in her balletic performances, Guimard staged an ever freer, more expressive, and deeply sensory shaping of the self.

Guimard’s own dancing evoked an intimacy and approachability that corresponded to the space of her small theater. Elisabeth Vigée Le Brun commented that “her dancing was sketchy; she only did little steps, but with such graceful movements that the public preferred her to all the other dancers.”⁴²⁷ Goncourt would later write of her body’s “corporeal abandonment...and ease of the steps, the linking of her gestures with expressions of her figure,” in dancing characterized by “aplomb, strength, precision, quickness, and sinuous movements.”⁴²⁸ In Sallé’s performance

⁴²⁴ Ismene Lada-Richards, “‘Mobile Statuary’: Refractions of Pantomime Dancing from Callistrus to Emma Hamilton and Andrew Ducrow,” *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 10, no.1 (Summer 2003): 3-4.

⁴²⁵ Cohen 259. Cohen has shown the influence of Denis Diderot’s writings on Noverre in his development of the *ballet d’action*, especially Diderot’s 1757 *Entretiens sur le fils naturel*, in which he set forth a theory of modern theatrical genre departing from the classical comedy and tragedy and privileging the relationship between actors on stage over their expression toward the audience.

⁴²⁶ Lada-Richards, “Mobile Statuary,” 3. Lada-Richard’s analysis considers pantomime as a means to bridge dance, painting, and sculpture, at a time when drama was increasingly conceived in terms of the pictorial. See also Homans, *Apollo’s Angels: A History of Ballet*, 108. By 1790, after Guimard had retired, the fashion for loose costume inspired by antiquity was embraced by the entire corps de ballet.

⁴²⁷ Elisabeth Vigée Le Brun, *Souvenirs*, quoted in Cyril W. Beaumont, *Three French Dancers of the Eighteenth Century*. London: C.W. Beaumont, 1934, 27 and Goncourt, *La Guimard*, 2.

⁴²⁸ Goncourt, 2.

of Galatea, the dancer was one of the first to make use of free-flowing shifts in an effort to visually align the body with the plastic arts of painting and sculpture.⁴²⁹ Guimard followed in adopting loose gowns and expressive pantomime gestures, especially in her own role as Galatea.⁴³⁰ Influenced by Noverre's attempt to engage ancient pantomime, Guimard's dancing style conjured various expressive states through corporeal gesture, but unlike the pantomime attitudes of later in the century, such as those of Emma Hamilton, Guimard did not seem to model her movements and expressions on any particular antique statue. With the popularization of ballet for a paying audience in the eighteenth century, Guimard's performances in such ballet-opéras as *Fêtes grecques et romaines* and *Pigmalion* figured within an increasingly female-focused ballet in an emerging star system.⁴³¹ If Guimard's residence oscillated between authentic expression and illusion or simulation, her dancing embodied these same qualities, expressed through the corporeal pose, which depended on the evocation of emotional states as much as technical ability. With the winter garden and dining room functioning like a theater in which guests could become both spectators and performers, the private theater in turn staged the intimacy and immediacy of a private residence. This space in effect integrated public performance and private residence, establishing a continuity between the staging tactics within the *hôtel particulier* itself.

Conclusion: Ruins and Afterlives

In conjunction with Guimard's performances and her residence, watercolors and prints depicting the Temple of Terpsichore shaped her identity in the following years, while also

⁴²⁹ Cohen, 259. On the eighteenth-century reception of ancient pantomime dancing, see Lada-Richards, 3-37.

⁴³⁰ On Noverre's choreography within broader shifts between the pictorial and theater, see Sarah Hibberd and Richard Wrigley, eds. *Art, Theatre, and Opera in Paris, 1750-1850: Exchanges and Tensions* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2014).

⁴³¹ Cohen, op cit.

conjuring scenes of an imagined Paris. If the residence enacted a staging strategy upon the urban landscape, its presence is in turn recorded as a sometimes ruin, sometimes ethereal pavilion in contemporary prints and drawings. Picturesque elevations imagined the residence within a glade of trees, with passers-by lingering on its steps (figure 3.39). Differing from views of Louveciennes, which tended to show Du Barry's pavilion as rather isolated and stately (figure 3.40), the temple of Terpsichore is even in reproduction decidedly intimate and inviting. In one of the most striking contemporary renderings, an aquatint by Amant-Parfait Prieur after architect Pierre-Louis Van Cléemputte shows views of the courtyard of the *hôtel particulier* with the theater only partially built (figure 3.41). As figures approach the building, stepping along concrete slabs, it becomes increasingly unclear whether they are walking among a construction project or a ruined building. The aquatint engages a strikingly similar evocation of ruin as Piranesi's 1759 etching of the Roman forum with the Temple of Venus and Rome, seeming to expose a ruined temple's interior (figure 3.42). In Van Cléemputte's watercolor, the Temple of Terpsichore is caught between modern architecture and antique ruin, in a Parisian landscape that is just as fanciful as the ruins of antiquity in Rome.⁴³² This image signals the building activities of the Chaussée d'Antin neighborhood while also extending Guimard's identity to that of an antique ruin, suggesting the anticipation of completion of her residence alongside its eventual decay.

In architect Jean-Baptiste Maréchal's 1786 pen and ink drawing (figure 3.43), Guimard's residence is no longer in Paris at all but rather placed in a celestial setting, caught somewhere between Paris and Rome. Visitors admire the temple as putti descend from the clouds and

⁴³² Dubin has noted a similar operation at work in certain of Hubert Robert's views of Paris and Rome, in which buildings hover between almost-complete and dilapidated or ruined, a confusion that blurs the boundaries between the two cities. See Dubin, *Futures & Ruins*, 90.

nymphs carrying garlands of flowers enter the picture at right, an episode that recalls the interior of Guimard's dining room. It is as if the celestial procession decorating the backdrop of a dinner gathering has come to life, and escaped into the city, confusing interior and exterior, past and present, Paris and Rome. The building in this rendition becomes another extension of Guimard's performing body, one which is at once animated and on the verge of dissolving into cosmic mist. Maréchal's drawing also suggests the financial precarity of numerous *hôtels particuliers* of the Chaussée d'Antin in the 1780s, as though the Guimard's residence and all of its contents could be taken down and removed like stage décor at the end of the Parisian performance, retreating back to the pleasure pavilions of Pantin. Executed just two years before Guimard's protector the Duc d'Orléans went bankrupt and the dancer held a public auction of the contents of her residence by lottery ticket, Maréchal's drawing conjures an ephemeral *Hôtel* Guimard as much it traces the lively arcadian procession in the clouds.⁴³³ Writing of the building activities of the Chaussée d'Antin at the conclusion of his text, Le Camus noted the proliferation of new residences that emerged like "flashes of light, which are lost in immensity and leave only the semblance of a clear sky, soon to be clouded over," linking the changing Parisian landscape to dark weather, changing as quickly as emotional states.⁴³⁴ In Maréchal's and Van Cléemputte's drawings, the pastoral rococo is far from the threatening, unruly force of its earliest critics, while the antique is no longer harmonious and well-proportioned, instead becoming precarious, ruined, or grotesque. If these two aesthetic and social categories coexisted for a time in the service of Guimard's identity, and enabled the residence to function as a dynamic site for constructing and performing a self that depended on both in equal measure, then they continued to emit a

⁴³³ On the Guimard sale, see Émile Campardon, *Les comédiens du roi de la troupe française* (Paris: Champion, 1879), 135-142. See also the lottery ticket for the sale of the *Hôtel* Guimard, 1786, BnF Paris (RES 8-LN27-9380).

⁴³⁴ Le Camus, ed. Middleton, 175.

lingering, ruinous afterglow in the final years of the *ancien régime*. In the next chapter, a new generation of *ornemanistes* meditate on the intersections of *hôtels particuliers*, monuments, and ruins, and on fleeting sensations amidst the ever-quickenning passage of time, producing prints that stage especially visceral and ephemeral encounters with the decorated interior.

CHAPTER FOUR

Ornament as *Caractère*: The Expressive *Recueils* of Delafosse and Lalonde

Introduction

When Jean-Charles Delafosse published his *Nouvelle Iconologie Historique* in 1768, several artisans and merchants noted that his designs were very creative but impractical for actual execution as objects. The gilder, varnisher, and furniture seller Jean-Félix Watin, a fellow member of the Académie de Saint-Luc, advised his clients in a supplement to his 1773 *L'Art du peintre, décorer, vernisser* not to expect the entire engraved patterns of Delafosse to be executed, for the carvings would need to be simplified.⁴³⁵ Watin sold the engravings of Delafosse in his shop, and a note accompanying chair and fire screen designs suggested that the final product would “not necessarily correspond in every detail to the complicated ideas of engraving.”⁴³⁶ It also implied that “the celebrated M. Delafosse...sometimes allowed his fertile imagination to run away with him,” and that if his prints were strictly followed, they would be far too expensive:

Si on voulait en rendre tous les détails, l'exécution serait surement trop chère pour la fortune des plus riches particuliers, à la plus forte raison devient-elle excessive pour ce qui ne sont qu'aisés... il ne s'agit pour cela que de sacrifier quelques ornements, qui, souvent très agréables, rendu par le burin de la Gravure, déplaisent et devient lourdes sous le ciseau du Sculpteur.⁴³⁷

According to Watin, paring down the patterns was important because engraved ornament might seem agreeable when rendered with the burin, but would become too heavy and weighty once executed in three dimensions with the sculptor's tools.⁴³⁸ Watin's observations are illuminating in their discussion of print almost as a catalogue, with an emphasis on working with a client to

⁴³⁵ Jean-Félix Watin, *L'art du peintre, doreur, vernisseur, ouvrage utile aux artistes et aux amateurs qui veulent entreprendre de peindre, dorer et vernir toutes sortes de sujets en bâtiments, meubles, bijoux, équipages, etc. par le sieur Watin* (Paris: Prévost de Saint-Lucien, Roch-Henri, 1773), 553-54.

⁴³⁶ Eriksen, 403. The note from Watin's *L'art du peintre* reads: “Nous observons aux amateurs, qu'ils ne doivent pas se flatter que l'exécution répondra toujours aux idées quelquefois compliquées de la gravure.”

⁴³⁷ Jean-Félix Watin, *L'art du peintre*, 553-54.

⁴³⁸ *Ibid.*, 354.

select the best designs, to discuss the different prices for various components of ornament, and to attempt to render these unwieldy prints “easy” and “accessible” when translated in three dimensions, whether as softly whittled *ébénisterie* or inlaid veneered marquetry. Watin’s assessment of Delafosse’s “ingénieux dessins” with “traits fins, délicats; légers, gracieux, contours sveltes” even evoked the language that was used to describe Meissonnier in the 1730s.⁴³⁹ Watin’s focus on the tension between two- and three-dimensions—between the imagination of *ornemanistes* and the difficulties of merchants and artisans in adopting their designs—is in fact a central and overlooked facet of the way ornament conditioned taste as traces of the rococo overlapped with the *goût grec* in print.

Tracing the way ornament engaged with the sculptural, malleable forms of furnishings and decoration allows us to more closely examine the mutual endeavors by *ornemanistes*, merchants, and *ébénistes* to exchange and refine shifting tastes for the decorated interior. As we have seen, as ornament *recueils* for decoration increasingly circulated independently from larger architectural treatises, they were often aimed directly at artisans who could employ the prints for design instruction or the material execution of interior decorative schemes and accompanying *accoutrements*—such as painted arabesques, silverware, or stucco molding.⁴⁴⁰ Recent scholarship has reevaluated the ornament that emerged during the reformation of taste as more sensual in nature than has previously been considered, far from the pared-down reforming efforts recounted by Fumaroli.⁴⁴¹ Prints by Petitot, J.-N. Boucher, and Delafosse have been identified as more imaginative and evocative than scholars had previously given them credit for—even

⁴³⁹ *Mercure de France* (March 1734), 558-559.

⁴⁴⁰ On the use of ornament for design instruction for artisans and craftsmen in Paris, see Ulrich Leben, *Object Design in the Age of Enlightenment*, 17-18.

⁴⁴¹ Martin, “L’ornement rocaille vs. l’imaginaire à l’antique?” 240-249.

recalling a lightness and humor reminiscent of the *mondaine* from the previous century.⁴⁴²

However, scholars have still not fully probed the ways in which Delafosse and others negotiated the intersection of ornament with the interior. As *distribution* increasingly allowed for an individual's sense of ease and comfort, and as the concept of expressive *caractère* became ever more privileged in architecture, ornament devised increasingly elaborate means of appealing to individual sensibilities, sometimes to the cautioning of Blondel and Cochin. In the years leading up to and following Le Camus' treatise, *ornemanistes* issued *recueils* that revealed a topography of inner sensation, continuing to deploy such visual effects as *papillotage*, *trompe l'œil*, and bimodal asymmetry. Beyond the terrain of print and within the interior itself, Hellman's analysis of comportment and the social performance of furniture still serves as an important foundation for considering the social imbrication of individuals and decorative objects within the interior.⁴⁴³

More recently, scholars including Hellman and Droth have recently worked to unsettle the "decorative arts" designation for objects such as cartel clocks and sconces within the residential interior in thinking about the integration and mutual relationship between sculpture and decoration.⁴⁴⁴ This chapter builds on these ideas, inserting print as vital for considering how decoration was conceived across two- and three-dimensional objects. I also consider recent studies by Goodman and Carolyn Sargentson, which center on the sense of privacy, intimacy, and even secrecy that furnishings for the interior afforded.⁴⁴⁵ I consider print an important locus of experimentation in negotiating and visually shaping this unfolding inner terrain of intimacy.

⁴⁴² Ibid., 243.

⁴⁴³ Mimi Hellman, "Furniture, Sociability, and the Work of Leisure in 18th-Century France," 415-45.

⁴⁴⁴ Martina Droth, "Truth and Artifice," 10-17.

⁴⁴⁵ Dena Goodman, "The *Secrétaire* and the Integration of the Eighteenth-Century Self," in *Furnishing the Eighteenth Century: What Furniture Can Tell Us about the European and American Past*, eds. Dena Goodman and Kathryn Norberg, 183-203 and Carolyn Sargentson, "Looking at Furniture Inside Out: Strategies of Secrecy and Security in Eighteenth-Century French Furniture" in *Furnishing the Eighteenth Century*, eds. Dena Goodman and Kathryn Norberg, 223-225.

To this end, this chapter probes the “belated rococo” deployed by artists at the heart of the print trade and the business of *marchand-merciers*, the merchant-merciers who oversaw the fabrication and sale of luxury wares in the Saint-Honoré neighborhood.⁴⁴⁶ Anchored by the work of two *ornemanistes*—Académie de Saint-Luc instructor Jean-Charles Delafosse and ornament and furniture designer for the Menus-Plaisirs and the Garde-meuble de la Couronne Richard de Lalonde—this chapter analyzes how ornament prints served to activate taste and stage intimacy in the fabrication of the residential interior. I probe especially the expressive potential of *recueils* in the 1770s and 1780s. Prints such as Delafosse’s *Nouvelle Iconologie Historique* (1768-1771) (figure 4.1) and Lalonde’s *Œuvres diverses de Lalonde* (1776-1788) (figure 4.2) suggest an increasingly sensory engagement with furnishings for the decorated interior. In turning an eye to these artists, this chapter centers on the networks of exchange between ornament designers, artisans, and *marchands-merciers* as they negotiated the emerging language of what has been called the *goût grec* and *goût étrusque* in print—but what may be more accurately identified as a longer history of intimate viewer engagement. Turning an eye to the *hôtels particuliers* that emerged in the wider Chaussée d’Antin neighborhood after the *Hôtel Guimard*, this chapter continues to interrogate print alongside Le Camus’s writings, considering the relationship between furnishings for the interior and the cultivation of viewer delight and emotional expression.

Produced during his tenure as an instructor at the Académie de Saint-Luc, Delafosse’s work was derived from Jean Boudouin’s *Iconologie Moralisee* (1636) and was noteworthy for its

⁴⁴⁶ On the *marchands-merciers*, see Carolyn Sargentson, *Merchants and Luxury Markets: The Marchands-Merciers of Eighteenth-Century Paris*. Located between the *hôtels particuliers* of the Chaussée d’Antin and the tradespeople of Saint-Aubin’s neighborhood in Saint-Eustache, the *marchands-merciers* were by the 1770s a centrally important group of merchants who oversaw the sale, importation, fabrication, and marketing of luxury goods for the decoration of the interior—dealing in a vast array of items from patterned silks, vases, clocks, to refined furnishings such as *commodes* and *secrétaires*.

formal innovations, reconceiving the emblematic tradition using only ornament, rather than human figures as allegories.⁴⁴⁷ Though the ornament of Saint-Luc was dismissed by Blondel and Cochin, equating this *ornement à la grecque* with Meissonnier—whose unruly forms had notoriously impinged on proper *convenance*,—an investigation of Delafosse’s prints and architectural projects reveals that he anticipated the expression of *caractère* as it was articulated by Le Camus in the coming years.⁴⁴⁸ A close analysis of Delafosse’s prints in relation to his own designs for *hôtels particuliers* suggests a tension between the need to temper an unruly antique and an increasing focus on elaborate ornament in summoning the expressivity of the architectural interior. Turning an eye to the 1780s, this chapter also considers the pattern books of Richard de Lalonde, one of the most prolific yet understudied *ornemanistes* of the late-eighteenth century, and investigates the relationship between ornament prints and the luxury wares sold for residential interiors in the *marchand-mercier* shops of the rue Saint-Honoré. Even in recent scholarship, Lalonde’s work has been conceived as inhabiting a peripheral category called the “antique fleuri,” a term that does not fully account for the formal complexities of these prints.⁴⁴⁹ I suggest that Lalonde’s work operates as a site for the staging of choice and the activation of taste through viewer discernment evocative of the works of Pineau and his colleagues from earlier in the century.⁴⁵⁰ Not only does the bimodal asymmetry of the rococo persist for longer

⁴⁴⁷ In this sense, it is comparable to Gilles-Marie Oppenord’s *Iconologie* (c. 1715), which playfully illustrated Jean Boudouin’s *Iconologie Moralisee* (1636).

⁴⁴⁸ In addition to Cochin’s articles in the *Mercure de France*, reprinted in the *Encyclopédie* and his memories, Saint-Luc and its artisans were also positioned by architects as the institutional source of poor taste. In the preface to the first volume of the 1771 *Cours d’Architecture*, Blondel cautioned against a “modish” and severe neoclassical ornament for furniture, evoking the abundant forms of recently produced Saint-Luc ornament such as that of Delafosse.

⁴⁴⁹ Carl Magnusson, “Le renouveau dans le décor et le mobilier,” in *De l’Alcôve aux barricades, De Fragonard à David: Dessins de l’École des Beaux-Arts*, ed. Emmanuel Brugerolles (Paris: Beaux-Arts de Paris éditions, 2016), 257-261.

⁴⁵⁰ Scott “Persuasion,” URN.

than scholars have noted, adjusting itself to accommodate the language of the antique, but ornament activates viewer attention on an increasingly intimate level.

Serving as patterns for furnishings that negotiated an individual's relationship to the interior, these prints reveal an increasing focus on intimacy, comfort, and viewer subjectivity that would be fully articulated by Le Camus in 1780.⁴⁵¹ In inviting heightened sensations in viewers akin to those invoked in Le Camus's text, these prints anticipated and, I suggest, visually shaped emerging theories of sensual expression. In their focus on each distinct *appartement* of the interior, they invite personal, intimate engagement with precisely chosen furnishings appropriate to each individual *appartement* or *cabinet*.⁴⁵² Whereas Hellman and Droth explored these encounters as staged within the three-dimensional space of the interior, the prints of Delafosse and Lalonde suggest that the relationship between objects and individuals was already being worked out in two-dimensional intaglio impressions before their configuration in the round. While Droth identified the blurred boundaries between sculpture and decoration—from wrought iron firedogs to the giltwood carvings of a *canapé* frame—we may locate these blurrings already in play in print, which facilitated the integration of ornament and decorative objects through an emphasis on experiential and sensory engagement. And rather than the somewhat confining modes of corporeal engagement that Hellman identified, we see instead in the work of Delafosse and Lalonde a mutual relationship between ornament and individuals, activated through such heightened sensations as delight and bewilderment. In facilitating visual play and intimate looking well into the final years of the *ancien régime*, these prints employed sensual rococo devices that persisted in conditioning taste and shaping the intimacy of the interior.

⁴⁵¹ Nicolas Le Camus de Mézières, *Le génie de l'architecture, ou, l'analogie de cet art avec nos sensations* (Paris: Benoît-Morin, 1780).

⁴⁵² On the psychology of the interior, see Middleton, "Introduction," in Le Camus, *The Genius of Architecture*, 17-64.

Delafosse and “Architecture à la mode” in the Chaussée d’Antin

When Jean-Charles Delafosse published his *Nouvelle Iconologie Historique* in 1768, he had served for several years as a professor of drawing and perspective at the Académie de Saint-Luc, where he had been trained by the sculptor Jean-Baptiste Poulet.⁴⁵³ Delafosse’s widely circulating volume of 111 prints *à la grecque* for the design of furniture, architecture, and decoration was available for sale at the artist’s studio and for subscription.⁴⁵⁴ Republished in 1771, and subsequently published and reorganized by the Chéreau firm in 1773, 1776, and 1785, the volume served as an influential repository of *goût grec* patterns for fabricators of furniture, from wood sculptors and joiners in *ébénisterie* to the *marqueteurs* who cut and assembled inlaid wood veneers.⁴⁵⁵ In the lengthy *Avant-Coureur* announcement for the publication of the *Nouvelle Iconologie Historique* in July 1767, Delafosse’s work was advertised as having been recently finished, and available for subscription for 48 livres a year.⁴⁵⁶ Those who were interested, and especially artists, were invited to subscribe and view the proofs of the first issue of the plates at

⁴⁵³ AN MC/ET/XXXVIII/362. 10 novembre, 1747. Contrat de mise en apprentissage pour 5 ans, de Charles Delafosse, âgé de 13 ans, chez Jean Baptiste Poulet, sculpteur.

⁴⁵⁴ The full title page text reads: *Nouvelle Iconologie Historique, ou Attributs Hiéroglyphiques qui ont pour objet les quatre éléments, les quatre parties du monde, les quatre saisons et les différentes complexions de l’homme / Ces mêmes attributs peignent aussi les divers nations, Leurs Religions, les Époques Chronologiques de l’Histoire tant ancienne que moderne; Les Vertus renommés, Les Gloires renommées, Les divers genres de Poésies, les Passions, les différents Gouvernements, les Arts et les Talents / Ces Hiéroglyphiques sont composés et arrangés de manière qu’ils peuvent servir à toutes sortes de Décorations, puisqu’on est le maître de les appliquer également à des Fontaines, Frontispices, Pyramides, Cartouches, dessus-de-porte, Bordures, Médaillons, Trophées, Vases, Frises, Lutrins, Tombeaux, Pendules, etc. Dédiés aux Artistes / Par Jean-Charles Delafosse, Architecte, Décorateur et Professeur en Dessins.* The volume comprises Delafosse’s largest body of printed work. It was printed in 1767 by Maillet and published with notes a year later, comprised of 108 numbered pages divided into ten chapters. An ambitious work, it circulated widely from the 1760s onward in print, disseminating *goût grec* patterns among print publishers, *marchands-merciers*, and artisans.

⁴⁵⁵ See Geoffrey de Bellaigue, “Engravings and the French Eighteenth-Century Marqueter-III,” *The Burlington Magazine* 107, no. 748 (July 1965): 356-363 for an example of a pair of Delafosse hunting trophies used for the veneers of writing tables and a *bonheur du jour*.

⁴⁵⁶ *L’Avant-Coureur*, no. 27 (July 6, 1767), 417-19. “Le sieur Delafosse, Architecte et Professeur pour le Dessin, qui depuis quelques temps a donné au Public plusieurs Tombeaux dans le goût antique, divers Sujets et Pastorales, grand nombre de Trophées de différent genres, des Dessins de Vases et de Meubles de toute espèce, etc., avait formé il y a déjà plusieurs années le plan d’une nouvelle Iconologie très étendue, à laquelle il a continué de travailler sans relâche avec toute l’ardeur que pouvait inspirer l’importance de l’objet. L’Ouvrage est entièrement fini; il a pour titre: Nouvelle Iconologie Historique...”

Delafosse's studio on the rue Poissonnière, in today's second arrondissement in the Chaussée d'Antin neighborhood. His studio was located in the home of a street-paver, "en la maison de M. Menan, paveur, entre la rue de la Lune et celle de Beauregard," just north of Les Halles market from Saint-Aubin.⁴⁵⁷ If visitors could not come to his studio, which was open from 9am until noon, and from 2pm until 6pm, they were invited to head south across the Seine to the Delalain bookshop on the rue Saint-Jacques, which would have similar proofs available and the possibility to subscribe.⁴⁵⁸ In the title page of the volume, Delafosse enumerated the various uses for his designs for parts of the interior, including "toutes sortes de Décorations, puisqu'on est le maître de les appliquer également à des Fontaines, Frontispices, Pyramides, Cartouches, dessus-de-porte, Bordures, Médaillons, Trophées, Vases, Frises, Lutrins, Tombeaux, Pendules, etc."⁴⁵⁹ During Delafosse's tenure there, the Académie de Saint-Luc functioned alongside such emerging institutions as the *École gratuite de dessin*, training students in decorative draftsmanship in order to carry out the wishes of architects and designers.⁴⁶⁰ Their drawings were meant to be easily transferable through print, which could then serve as patterns for such luxury items as silks or folding screens sold by *marchands-merciers*.⁴⁶¹ Delafosse lived and worked among a network of *ébénistes* and other fabricators of furniture in the Chaussée d'Antin near his studio on the rue Poissonnière, who were employed to meet the demands of the emerging construction activities for new *hôtels particuliers*.⁴⁶² Delafosse was thus ideally situated to circulate these prints, both

⁴⁵⁷ Jean-Charles Delafosse, *Nouvelle Iconologie Historique*. A Paris chez l'auteur, rue Poissonnières, en la maison de M. Menan, paveur, entre la rue de la Lune et celle de Beauregard. Et chez De Lalain, libraire, rue S. Jacques. M. DCC. LXVIII. De l'imprimerie de Maillet, rue S. Jacques. BnF, Estampes et photographie, FOL-TD-3.

⁴⁵⁸ *L'Avant-Coureur*, no. 27 (July 6, 1767), 418.

⁴⁵⁹ Jean-Charles Delafosse, *Nouvelle Iconologie Historique*, 1.

⁴⁶⁰ Leben, 17-18. See also Sargentson, *Merchants and Luxury Markets*, 110-111.

⁴⁶¹ Sometimes mercers took an active role in the mediation of design through print, such as Louis Bonaventure du Bois, who worked with printmakers Aveline and Tardieu to produce a set of screen designs. See Sargentson, *op cit.*, 111 and Furhing, "The Print Privilege in Eighteenth-Century France," *Print Quarterly*, 1986.

⁴⁶² On the frenzied building construction in this neighborhood and its relationship to financial speculation, see Dubin, 93-97.

within his professional community at Saint-Luc, and within the wider commercial network of artisans, tradespeople, and merchants who lived and worked in this quarter.

Like many *ornemanistes* who produced prints *à l'antique*, Delafosse's work was published by the Chéreau firm at no.10 rue Saint-Jacques at the *Deux Piliers d'or*, just a few streets south of the Seine. Although Chéreau was one of the most influential dealers in Paris from 1718 to 1787, the firm has received considerably less attention than Huquier and others who widely disseminated rococo prints.⁴⁶³ For many years, Chéreau circulated ornament prints from earlier in the century alongside the work of a new generation of *ornementistes à l'antique*, including Delafosse, J.-N. Boucher, and Henri Salembier.⁴⁶⁴ In 1734, the *Mercure de France* had singled out the Chéreau firm as a major purveyor of architecture and ornament prints, where “l'Architecture et les divers ornements de la Sculpture, offrent aux yeux ce qu'il y a de plus agréable pour les formes et pour l'élégance des divers parties.”⁴⁶⁵ Inside the interior, comfortable chairs were fitted with green upholstery, and Watteau's *fêtes galantes* were hung along the walls, lending an air of early eighteenth-century elegance, with stock that included 144 plates after Watteau and 16 after Lancret.⁴⁶⁶ The arabesque was thus staged within the interior of the Chéreau shop in order to attract and draw in visitors and clients—signaling that rococo decoration continued to be used as a device to beckon and call to viewers in those years.

⁴⁶³ On the Huquier print shop as the largest purveyor of *goût moderne* design, see Davidson, 41-71.

⁴⁶⁴ For inventories of Chéreau stock from 1755 onwards, see AN MC/ET/LXXVI/350, AN MC/ET/XXVIII/636, and AN MC/ET/LXXVI/446. François 1^{er} Chéreau (1680-1729) had learned engraving from Gérard Audran and was received at the Académie in 1718. In the same year, he bought some of Audran's estate from his widow and took over his shop, marked by the *Deux Piliers d'or* sign on the rue Saint-Jacques, which marked the Chéreau family during the whole of the eighteenth century. Marguerite-Caillou Chéreau took over the business at her husband's death in 1729, continuing a strong trade in ornament prints until her own death in 1755. Jacques-François Chéreau (1742-1794) united the two branches of his family, buying the estate and copperplates from the Veuve Geneviève-Marguerite Chéreau in 1768 for 122,348 livres. He then sold his estate in 1787 to the merchant Joubert. See Maxime Préaud, ed., *Dictionnaire des éditeurs d'estampes à Paris sous l'ancien régime*, 79-84.

⁴⁶⁵ *Mercure de France* (June 1734), 1405.

⁴⁶⁶ AN MC/ET/C/621, 23 Avril 1755, Inventory of Marguerite Caillou Chéreau (1729-1755) (veuve François I).

Geneviève-Marguerite Chéreau assumed the business from 1755 to 1768, continuing her trade for seven years after Huquier's retirement in 1761. Her holdings included a diverse range of prints in which earlier rococo ornament mixed with the work a new generation of *ornementistes*, alongside popular devotional images and fashion prints. The 1768 inventory of the sale of her *fonds* to her son Jacques-François Chéreau included a stock of 550 plates of “modes, devotions, grotesques et *feuilles à copier*,” signaling the mixing of fashion, grotesques, and devotional images for the purposes of copying.⁴⁶⁷ The *fonds* also included a large stock of plates by engraver Quentin-Pierre Chedel, with engravings after Boucher, assemblages of *coquillages*, and several antiquarian views.⁴⁶⁸ In these records, the fixed division between the rococo and a reforming antique is nowhere to be found—and there is a particular blurring of images across styles, format, and intended use on the part of the dealer.⁴⁶⁹ A number of prints were produced after architecture and the antique, and these included work by ornament designers that were also identified as *feuilles à copier*.⁴⁷⁰ In the work of Delafosse and others, prints passed through Chéreau as part of multiple, shifting categories with active circulation of this work among *ornemanistes* and print dealers.

In the *Avant-propos* to his *Iconologie*, Delafosse writes that his *recueils* have grown and intensified almost beyond his control, overreaching boundaries and limits:

The love of study, the desire to deserve the suffrage of artists and enlightened amateurs has pushed the limit of this work farther than I could believe, to which I had at first given much tighter boundaries. In this work, I present to the imagination all of the most

⁴⁶⁷ AN MC/ET/LXXVI/410, 31 mars 1768, Vente du fonds d'estampes de Geneviève-Marguerite Chéreau (1755-1768) à son fils Jacques-François Chéreau.

⁴⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁹ See stock lists in AN MC/ET/C/621, 23 April 1755 and MC/ET/LXXVI/410, 31 March 1768. With 100 prints after Boucher and Chedel, and 27 after Watteau, Chéreau's holdings suggest a market for this work well into the 1760s.

⁴⁷⁰ AN MC/ET/LXXVI/410, 31 March 1768.

memorable things that have happened from the Creation of the world to the present, following the principal epochs of history, the Sacred as much as the Profane.⁴⁷¹

The prints attest to this sense of growth—not just as multiple iterations, but somehow burgeoning and generative of endlessly imaginative combinations, with tightly clustered, jammed configurations of tombs, trophies, friezes, and vases. In the suite *Diverses frises Inventées et Gravées par Delafosse* (1773), a separate *recueil* produced just after the *Iconologie*, quickly sketched etchings of acanthus tumble and clang with shields and helmets as they seem to run off the page (figure 4.3). Derived from a longer tradition of emblem books, Delafosse extended the model of iconographic sourcebooks such as that of Oppenord from Chapter One, providing a sweeping survey of various attributes, geographical locations, and chronological time periods. The individual *livres* or sections of the volume were organized and arranged thematically according to such categories as “La Charité” and “L’Humilité” (figure 4.4), allowing ornament itself to function as allegory, just as in Oppenord’s illustrations for De Bie’s *Iconologie*. Like the work of Oppenord, each attribute or trait was given a particular set of motifs, while inserting entirely new decoration of Delafosse’s own invention. Delafosse also integrated text, with a title for each plate that referred to the attributes, and a table of contents that offered a lengthy description and explanation for his choice of emblem. The volume begins with “Le Chaos” and the “Les Quatre Éléments” (figure 4.5), which are shown as enormous tomb-like monuments replete with decorative detail, with small human figures ambling through them. In this first volume, the elements of “Air and Water” are comprised of an eagle upon a medallion showing an oak tree caught in violent storms, while a fountain rushes beneath. In the

⁴⁷¹ Delafosse, *Iconologie*, 1: “L’Amour de l’étude, l’envie de mériter le suffrage des Artistes et des Amateurs éclairés, m’ont fait pousser plus loin que je ne croyais l’étendue de ce travail, auquel j’avois donné d’abord des bornes beaucoup plus resserrées. Dans cet ouvrage, je présente à l’imagination tout ce qui s’est passé de plus mémorables depuis la Création du Monde jusque à présent, en suivant les Époques principales de l’Histoire, tant Sacrée que Profane.”

plate for “L’Air et L’Eau” (figure 4.6), two figures rest by the fountain, while a man with a measuring instrument stops to take in the enormity of the scene. He recalls the draftsman by Mondon from Chapter One, who struggles to make sense of the archaeological rubble before him amid the convulsing *rocaille* cartouches. If the curvilinear forms of the rococo assisted that draftsman with coming to terms with the antique, then with Delafosse, the antique has risen to great heights, assembling itself from disparate fragments into a towering edifice with two stately pillars and a giant shell. And the draftsman is taken by wonder and awe at this grand sight, rather than mired in the confusion of Mondon’s apprentice. In Mondon’s print, the subjects of classical study reorganized themselves to accommodate the rococo as a means of coming to know them through the experiential lens of the student learning draftsmanship. Delafosse’s print by contrast evokes the practice of the grand tour more broadly, with its ambling figures dwarfed by a landscape of monuments. With heaps of accoutrements piled on top for viewer inspection as if swept ashore by the watery currents beneath, the images signal a means of coming to know the world through the reception of its various attributes brought forth to viewers. By 1768, after the circulation of antiquarian tomes such as Julien-David Leroy’s *Les ruines des plus beaux monuments de la Grèce* (1758 and 1770) and the final volume of Caylus’s *Recueil d’antiquités* (1767), Delafosse composed ornament that asserts itself as a sort of monument to decoration.

The second *livre* of the volume comprises an *Histoire Poétique* that begins with a series of decorative oval mirrors that record various histories (figure 4.7). Each plate depicts complicated, unwieldy ornament resting on top of and reflected in the surface of the mirror. In this suite, the insistence on ornamentation of every surface overtakes the function of the mirror, turning it into a vehicle for conveying a surfeit of motifs rather than a reflective surface. Among the thematic tombs, monuments, vases, *trophées*, and wall sconces, a fireplace mantle designated

“Europe” and a console table for “America” are overstuffed with ornament, including fretwork and heavy laurel swags (figure 4.8). In 1770, Delafosse began to produce additional, separate booklets of ornament through Cheréau, including *Cinquième livre de Trophées contenant divers attributs de chasse et de la pêche*, in which two gentlemen happen upon a colossal vase and shell (figure 4.9). The massive vase draped in a huge swag is far too large to decorate any *hôtel particulier*, and is instead amplified as a kind of classical monument, almost comically discovered by the two visitors on a sort of grand tour of interior decoration. Caught somewhere between the irony of Oppenord’s visual *bouts rimés* and the sensual play of Meissonnier, Delafosse’s print manages to embrace the new repertoire of *goût antique* ornament such as tombs and vases, while engaging in lighthearted humor that almost parodies the grand tour. In these prints, configurations of ornament articulate and offer up knowledge of the wider world, conjured in terms of exaggeration and excess, rather than conveyed through spare or pared-down geometries. In the *Iconologie historique*, the exuberance of these monuments is not a hindrance, but rather the very means of coming to understand the antique through its surfeit of objects. Furthermore, these prints invert exterior and interior, bringing fragments and portions of discovered objects from the outside in—and apprehended or known through the interior. These prints suggest that navigating the interior, with its many decorative possibilities, enables discovery and the acquisition of knowledge just as meaningfully as any external journey. Like many *ornemanistes* in his circle, Delafosse never traveled to Rome; nevertheless, he eagerly appropriated and invented antique vocabulary, merging the practice of ornament *recueils* with that of iconological sourcebooks. Whereas Blondel’s 1737 *De la distribution* had led the reader on a walk through a *maison de plaisance*, with illustrations accompanying his treatise,

Delafosse's volume suggests a kind of tour through a landscape of ornament itself, propelled entirely through images.

When Delafosse's *Iconologie* was republished by Chéreau in two parts with additions in 1771, his plates were reorganized according to their function in the *hôtel particulier*, with suites of rosettes, chairs, candelabras, and beds that more clearly demonstrated their place in each particular *appartement*. Rearranging these prints to privilege their place within the interior rather than the themes of Delafosse's "poetic history," Chéreau simplified Delafosse's imaginative, idiosyncratic system into patterns more readily available for transmission and application in the round. At the same time that Chéreau published his practical volumes after Delafosse, the *ornemaniste* issued additional individual *cahiers*, producing sketchy, rapidly executed prints—and which allowed for more fluid circulation of his designs. In *Diverses Frises* (figure 4.3), the two vertically stacked options for rosettes, acanthus swags, flower garlands, and shells are barely contained on the page. In *Cahier de Six Grilles de Chenets et de Feux de Cheminées*, Delafosse incorporates a dragon holding a laurel swag in its mouth, inserting a motif more commonly associated with Huquier's rococo as the central feature of a heavy geometric firedog (figure 4.10). In these prints, Delafosse combines clarified and serene ornaments with dragons and colossal shells, manipulating scale and merging the *goût pittoresque* with the new *goût grec*.⁴⁷² Delafosse's antique was not something to be meticulously copied according to refined measurements, but was rather conceived in terms of the very amplitude and fullness, or "du plein," denounced by Cochin in 1755.⁴⁷³ In his *Lettre à M. l'abbé R****, Cochin had been

⁴⁷² Scholars have tended to consider how the "imperfections" of an original antique fragment are reworked into an ideal, polished print. See for example Vicky Coltman, *Fabricating the Antique: Neoclassicism in Britain, 1760-1800* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press), 72-73. But little attention has been paid to *ornemanistes* like Delafosse, who did not work from a particular antique model or archeological fragments, but simply freely invented and adapted decorative vocabulary.

⁴⁷³ Cochin, "*Lettre à M. l'abbé R****," 162.

concerned not only with the practicalities of translating ornament into three-dimensional objects (candlesticks dripping wax for instance), but also with the physical problems posed by ornamental excess in relation to interior space. According to Cochin, decorators who employed ornament in this overstuffed manner had begun to run out of room, even crowding out the light filtering in through the windows.⁴⁷⁴ Such plentitude impeded one's capacity to see clearly, to know that the sun was shining outside, or even to breathe.⁴⁷⁵ For Delafosse however, it was this very sense of abundance that allowed him to fully explore endless configurations of ornament and to provide as many design patterns as possible for artisans. And it allowed him to offer an exaggerated antique replete with detail activated through bimodal asymmetrical arrangements. As if to signal his support for Delafosse—or at least his continued commercial savviness—Huquier came out of retirement in the year that the *Iconologie historique* appeared and made an unexpected antique turn, adjusting an earlier publication of prints after Oppenord in the *goût grec* and titling them “Iconologies” (figure 4.11).⁴⁷⁶ In these prints, the freewheeling early eighteenth-century burlesque ornament of Oppenord was reformulated into a more refined, if somewhat stilted collection of antique attributes piled on top of one another. Even Huquier was, it seems, so taken by Delafosse that he reimagined Oppenord, that consummate rococo *ornementiste* derided by Cochin, as an *ornemaniste à la grecque*. This strange, overlooked episode of Oppenord *à l'antique* at once represents a productive exchange between a print publisher and *ornemaniste*, and demonstrates the porous, flexible boundaries of style in negotiating the expressivity of the architectural interior.

⁴⁷⁴ Ibid, 163.

⁴⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁷⁶ Gabriel Huquier, *Iconologies où sont représentés les vertus, les vices, les sciences, les arts, et les divinités de la fable, en deux cent seize estampes, inventées et gravées par Huquier*, 1768, Etching, INHA Paris 8 RES 54.

As Delafosse's prints circulated in the market, Watin was not the only one who took note of the potential problems of antique ornament *recueils*—echoing Cochin's earlier concern about the relationship between overwrought ornament and the individual residents within the interior. In the first volume of the 1771 *Cours d'Architecture*, Blondel cautioned against using a severe, weighty style on chairs and tables, for its harsh angularities would hinder physical movement.⁴⁷⁷ The increasing emphasis on the balance between decoration and an individual's sense of ease and comfort required an ever more fine-tuned calibration between ornament and the physical body. It also necessitated a kind of deftness in the delicate dance between residents and their furnishings.⁴⁷⁸ As Hellman has shown, ornament was not an added surface component or inert object in the interior; rather, it functioned as part of a corporeal relationship with individuals in interior space and was actively used and performed.⁴⁷⁹ It was perhaps because of this increasing focus on individual subjectivity, the body, and its relationship to objects within the decorated interior that Blondel and Cochin were so concerned about overblown decoration. While Blondel approved of the sensual effects of Guimard's residence, he cautioned against the precarious vicissitudes of fashion, in which the harmony of *distribution* was ruptured by wild oscillations in the scale, size, and shape of decoration:

Une architecte à la mode, est encore celle qui d'après l'exemple de la multitude, est aujourd'hui massive sans motif, demain légère sans objet, grave sans nécessité, simple sans *convenance*, mais seulement parce que c'est le ton du jour, et sans autre raison déterminé de la part de l'ordonnateur que ses caprices ou ses doutes sur les règles de l'Art.⁴⁸⁰

Blondel also worried about problematic changes in the location of decorative objects, almost as if the body could not predict its orientation in space when there was too much ornament. It was

⁴⁷⁷ Blondel, *Cours d'architecture*, vol.1, 1771, 320.

⁴⁷⁸ Hellman, "Furniture, Sociability, and the Work of Leisure," 415-445.

⁴⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁸⁰ Blondel, *Cours d'architecture*, vol.1, 1771, 438-439.

as if heavy, severe, or weighty decoration would physically impinge on the body's fluid movements and comportment, its need to move seamlessly with furnishings and meld with decoration.⁴⁸¹ For Cochin too, there was a sense that an individual's physical movements, eyesight, and even breath were integral to their experience of the interior, and could be impeded by too much ornament.⁴⁸² Later, in his *memoires*, Cochin more expressly took aim at the vicissitudes of the fashionable antique, which he contended was just as problematic as the rococo.⁴⁸³ Excess of any kind, in any style, would, it seems not only infringe on proper *convenance*, but also the *distribution* of interior space and the capacity of ornament to engage, locate, and physically orient its residents. In the practice of furnishing the interior, the antique evidently also needed to be tempered and restrained, or at least practically simplified. While Hellman and Droth have considered the seamless integration of ornament and individuals within the interior once decoration was fully complete, prints by Delafosse reveal a certain cumbersome awkwardness during the provisional moments in print when ideas about ornament and the body were still being worked out.

While Blondel does not mention Delafosse specifically in the preface to his *Cours d'architecture*, it is not difficult to imagine that he might have had him in mind, as he laments architects whose work swings between heaviness and lightness, ornament that was hardly appropriate even for the more exaggerated decoration of the theater.⁴⁸⁴ This ornament could be variably massive, delicate, complicated, or simple, depending on the artist's whims, and seemed to follow no theory or set of guidelines. As a self-styled "architect, *décorateur*, and professor of drawing" at Saint-Luc, where he worked closely with students learning draftsmanship for

⁴⁸¹ Hellman, 415-445.

⁴⁸² Charles-Nicolas Cochin, "Lettre à M. l'abbé R***," 148-174.

⁴⁸³ Blondel, *Cours d'architecture*, vol.1, 1771, 438-439.

⁴⁸⁴ Ibid.

decorative purposes, Delafosse would seem to fit the description of an “architect à la mode” in Blondel’s estimation. Blondel’s own architectural school, the École des Arts, had begun in 1743, and by 1754 provided a popular series of lectures and studio courses for artists, architects, and craftsmen.⁴⁸⁵ The school was marked by its adherence to theoretical standards, allowing anyone who could pay tuition to attend and gain serious training, including clients who wanted grounding in architectural theory. While Delafosse operated outside of Blondel’s educational realm, he seems to have taken himself more seriously than Blondel’s writings would suggest, contributing a number of drawings to the annual *Salon* at Saint-Luc in 1774. In 1776, he constructed the Hôtel Titon and the Hôtel Goix on the rue du Faubourg Poissonnière, as well as several homes in Pantin that no longer survive.⁴⁸⁶ Delafosse later taught at the Académie de Beaux-Arts in Bordeaux, where he also exhibited at the Académie’s annual *Salon* in 1787. One exhibition commentator compared his drawings to Milton in their poetry, remarking that the artist’s imagination, with its verve and fire, made him more a painter than an architect.”⁴⁸⁷

The complexity of Delafosse’s images, with their labored explanations, take on additional meaning if we turn an eye beyond architectural training as it was conceived by Blondel and consider the broader print traditions upon which Delafosse drew. The visual discordance in scale in his images, one of the major problems for this sort of work according to Blondel, is rather indicative, I suggest, of the longer tradition of iconological illustrations in which Delafosse worked. In their teeming, massive configurations, Delafosse’s prints signal the challenges in how

⁴⁸⁵ Richard Cleary, “Romancing the Tome: Or an Academician’s Pursuit of a Popular Audience in 18th-century France,” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 48, no. 2 (1989), 139-40.

⁴⁸⁶ The Hôtel Titon at 58 rue du Faubourg Poissonnière was built for the lawyer Antoine-François Frémin, and was later purchased by government official Jean-Baptiste-Maximilien Titon. See Michel Gallet, “Jean-Charles Delafosse, Architecte,” *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (1963): 162.

⁴⁸⁷ *Le journal de Guienne*, 1787: “M. Lafosse n’a que deux dessins aux Sallon (de Bordeaux) mails ils annoncent un grand talent, sa touche est large et vigoureuse, ses compositions sont pleines de verve et de feu. Son imagination pourrait être compare à Milton en poésie, il est plus peintre qu’Architecte.” Quoted in Monique Moser, *Fragments Énigmatiques: Allégories de J.-C. Delafosse* (Paris: Musée des Arts Décoratifs, 1994), 9; my emphasis.

goût grec ornament articulated itself, as the experimentation and sensual expression of decoration confronted the demands of three-dimensional translation and the possibility of physical interaction. Delafosse's prints navigate the problem of *caractère*; they articulate a tension between the need to restrain unruly ornament in order to facilitate the fluid movements of the body on the one hand, and an increasing desire for decoration to elicit heightened sensations in viewers on the other. In appealing to the senses, Delafosse employs distinctly rococo visual qualities in order to activate the attention of viewers, including heightened curvilinearity, *papillotage*, and bimodal asymmetry. In his trophies and vases, Delafosse even recalls the rococo fountains of Oppenord and Lajoue, employing their characteristic shellwork and rushing waters at the base of his designs. Comparing Delafosse's "L'Air et l'Eau" to Lajoue's *Paravent*, for instance, reveals unexpected similarities: the sweeping vertical composition, the manipulation of perspective, small figures exploring landscapes made of ornament, central anchoring shells, and cascading fountains all appear across these images made more than thirty years apart (figure 4.12). In Delafosse's drawings more broadly, his conception of the antique further quotes the work of Lajoue, who in turn had produced prints in the 1730s that drew from the work of Bouchardon. For instance, *Design for a Ewer* employs the melding of writhing bodies as part of the form of a vase itself (figure 4.13). In these vases, body and ornament are fully interlocked and interdependent, mutually entangled in the curve of the ewer's handle. A drawing for a large public fountain relies on a giant horizontal clamshell at the base to allow water to flow in six different streams (figure 4.14), while a drawing for a *Livre de Cartouches* shows a large, curved central ornament with a skull, vase, swags, and incense vapors—strongly invoking the senses. In its aggressive frontality, it is strikingly evocative of Lajoue's *Livre de Cartouches* that depicted cartouches as ship's sails, rushing towards viewers on the currents of the high seas (figure 4.15).

Even small sketches of cartouches in succession follow a compositional model similar to that of Lajoue, with a grid-like pattern that allows the eye to dart quickly over a range of subtle changes in perspective and placement (figure 4.16). In these drawings, Delafosse purposefully activates *papillotage*, requiring viewers to endlessly range over the images in order to make sense of them. In working across architecture, decoration, and iconology, and composing a sort of hybrid volume that defied categories, Delafosse engaged formal techniques of asymmetry, alterations in scale, and overabundance that had long been part of the visual repertoire of rococo *ornemanistes*.

In an elevation drawing for a *Galerie d'Amphitrite*, Delafosse employs striking asymmetry to provide the viewer with alternative suggestions for a *salon* dedicated to the goddess of the sea (figure 4.17). The drawing shows a mirror with a small fountain on the left, alongside a large, complicated fountain extending along the length of the wall on the right. A central bimodal vertical axis separates the rectilinear frame on the left from the more curvilinear meeting of wall and ceiling on the right. Rather than adhering to a single perspective, Delafosse provides viewers with alternative views and choices according to their tastes and sensibilities, using the bimodal asymmetry we may more readily associate with earlier artists like Oppenord and Pineau.⁴⁸⁸ While those earlier artists tended to offer a distinct set of options for mirrors, mantlepieces, and wall decoration separated by a central axis, Delafosse has taken this practice a step further; his drawing elicits viewer choice by balancing the relatively spare and the more ornate, and offers a full range of new and old decorative motifs. The swags, vases, and arrows that had recently come into fashion are presented alongside a more fully *rocaille* option with an enormous fountain and attendant floral swags. Delafosse not only appeals to viewer attention in this drawing by eliciting choice; he also anticipates the shifting tastes of viewers and melds

⁴⁸⁸ Scott "Persuasion," URN.

different decorative vocabulary in a way that defies the more prescriptive, reforming pronouncements of Cochin. Much like the furnishings of the *Hôtel Guimard*, Delafosse's drawing not only signals an overlapping of styles, but also manages to visually convey the heightened sensual qualities later articulated by Le Camus. In his 1780 treatise, Le Camus would turn a particular eye to the goddess Amphitrite in his elaboration of the *cabinet des bains*, one of his most evocative passages:

In the matter of decoration, it would be possible to go further, and give the whole its proper character. Why not represent it as a grotto, worthy of Amphitrite, sparkling with all the riches of the deep? Why not create a chamber from Neptune's palace? How many interesting objects might be gathered there! Looking glasses, suitably placed, would reflect groups of columns; and these would form the basis of the decorative scheme. The resulting splendor of openings and perspectives would have the finest possible effect, inclining the soul toward a sensation of delight.⁴⁸⁹

Le Camus' interest in mirrors as the central organizing feature within a *Cabinet des bains* that could reflect the columns, paneling, and other decoration was rooted in a long tradition of ornament that used mirrors to amplify the reflections of *boiseries*, conveyed in ornament from Oppenord to Delafosse. In Delafosse's drawing of the *Galerie d'Amphitrite*, the fountain on the left is placed upon a bed of moss within a recessed niche evoking the space of a small cavern or grotto, while grassy reeds grow from the right fountain, whose lapping waters are reflected in the surrounding mirrors. For the gardens of the Hôtel Titon, Delafosse constructed both a fountain with iron-wrought putti and a small grotto, upon which stood a little pavilion.⁴⁹⁰ While these decorations no longer exist, their conception between 1776 and 1783 aligns with Delafosse's renovations of a small *folie* in Pantin for a certain Madame Delbarre, whose Paris residence on the rue Apollinaire he had recently renovated.⁴⁹¹ When construction on the *Hôtel Titon* began in

⁴⁸⁹ Le Camus, ed. Middleton, 124.

⁴⁹⁰ Paul Jarry, *Les vieux hôtels de Paris*, T. XIV, "La Nouvelle France," (Paris: P. Contet, 1922), 10.

⁴⁹¹ Michel Gallet, "Jean-Charles Delafosse, Architecte," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (1963): 162.

1776, Delafosse was also busy conceiving a garden fountain for Delbarre's Pantin residence, along with decorative vases and *trompe l'œil* wall decorations recorded in his payment as a *fausse perspective*.⁴⁹² Not unlike the play between Guimard's urban hôtel and suburban little house, the pavilion and grotto of the *Hôtel* Titon's gardens would seem to conjure the delights of suburban pleasures, perhaps nodding to Delafosse's recently completed Pantin *folie* for Parisian visitors. If the pavilion and *hôtel particulier* indeed evoked one another similarly to the dialogue between Guimard's residences, then Delafosse's drawings and prints operated within a much more nuanced decorative program in relation to his architectural projects than has previously been considered. Far from a careless "architecte à la mode," Delafosse carefully conditioned taste, relying on abundance and asymmetry as a means of conveying a multitude of decorative possibilities that could be applied across diverse decorative schemes and architectural projects—both in Paris and its environs. The "sensation of delight" that Le Camus so emphasized could be achieved through multiple architectural openings and perspectives: the caverns of a grotto, the staging of mirrors, and the vertiginous reflection of multiple columns, all of which Delafosse conveyed in his prints, drawings, and residential projects. In heightening the senses and activating viewer delight and bewilderment through bimodal asymmetry and shifting *trompe l'œil* perspectives, Delafosse laid claim to the same decorative effects as Ledoux for the *Hôtel* Guimard, anticipating and articulating in his ornament the sensual expression of architectural *caractère* that would be later systemized by Le Camus.

In the furnishings and designs for *hôtels particuliers* that Delafosse constructed in the *Chaussée d'Antin*, this overabundant ornament was not so much tempered and reined in as Cochin would have wished, but rather translated and reconfigured into highly tactile and

⁴⁹² Ibid.

evocative, if more subtly expressive three-dimensional decorative objects. For his construction of the 1776 *Hôtel Titon* at 58 rue du Faubourg Poissonnière for lawyer Antoine-François Frémin, Delafosse worked with fellow Saint-Luc instructor Jean-François Chenu, who was in charge of executing sculpture and decoration for the project, for which Delafosse furnished him with 50 preparatory drawings.⁴⁹³ The *hôtel particulier* was one of a number of new constructions in the Faubourg Poissonnière and the Faubourg Saint-Denis in today's tenth arrondissement that had been recently developed by speculators, and which offered opportunities both to architects like Ledoux and those associated with the Saint-Luc circle like Delafosse.⁴⁹⁴ Like many *hôtels particuliers*, the three-story building was situated across a courtyard, which was accessed through a *passage cocher* leading from the street.⁴⁹⁵ To adorn this passageway, Delafosse chose two large vases which closely recall the title page of his *Cinquième Livre de Trophées*, which had featured a colossal vase whose towering forms dwarfed a group of grand tour visitors (figure 4.18). Framing either side of the passageway of the *Hôtel Titon*, Delafosse's vase was reconfigured by Chenu as the central stone ornament within the recessed niches of the *passage cocher*, a threshold space between the façade overlooking the street and courtyard, later recorded in photographs of the passageway and façade (figure 4.19). In Delafosse's prints and documentation of the *Hôtel Titon* decoration, the large body of the vase was draped in a heavy laurel swag, its swelling form resting upon the same twisted fluting at its feet (figure 4.20). Whereas in Delafosse's print, the enormous vase appears almost like a monument, the vases of

⁴⁹³ While these drawings have not been identified, the associated decorations by Chenu for the *hôtel particulier* were delivered in December 1778. The façade, passageway, and ground floor rooms with decorated ceilings have been associated with the original construction of the home. See notice for the *Hôtel Titon*, AS 0089 Patrimoine architectural (Mérimée), *Monuments historiques*, 1992. See also Michel Gallet, "Jean-Charles Delafosse, Architecte," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (1963): 157-164 and Paul Jarry, *Les vieux hôtels de Paris*, XIV, "La Nouvelle France," (Paris: P. Contet), 1922.

⁴⁹⁴ On these *hôtels particuliers* in the Faubourg Poissonnière, see Jarry, *Les vieux hôtels de Paris*, 1.

⁴⁹⁵ AN Z/1f/498 and AN Z/1f/499. Construction of pilasters for the *porte cochère* was approved on October 2, 1776, while the columns were approved on May 28, 1777.

the *hôtel particulier* by contrast bear a more subtle, if still imposing sculptural presence placed up high within the large niches. In the round, these ornaments quietly summon visitors forth through the threshold—which would be observed at oblique angles upon entry through the passageway. In staging an encounter with this giant ornament in print, Delafosse anticipates a more subtle embodied engagement in the real with smaller decoration deftly placed within its architectural setting. No longer a looming edifice for tourists to stumble upon in print, the laurel vase in the entryway has instead merged with the broader decorative scheme of the *hôtel*, demonstrating awareness on the part of Delafosse and Chenu in using even these more fantastical designs as central decorative anchors for the architectural interior.

The laurel swags of the vase also appear along the *façade* of the *hôtel*, placed just above the windows of the first floor that open as doors onto the courtyard (figure 4.21). The repetition of these swags links the *porte cochère* with the *passage cocher*, drawing viewers into the courtyard and toward the entryway. Just above the horizontal set of windows punctuated by draped laurel swags, Delafosse placed a single long row of swirling acanthus.⁴⁹⁶ While it does not appear to be conceived directly from one particular print, and in the absence of preparatory drawings by Delafosse, the decoration of the *façade* bears closest resemblance to the acanthus and rosettes from *Diverses Frises*, particularly the rhythm of the lower frieze with laurel on plate 5 (figure 4.21). In this ornament, Delafosse incorporates the same play of small vases nested inside *rincaux* found in his prints, adapted into a larger horizontal shape to fit the space of the *façade*. Inside the *hôtel particulier*, several *appartements* on the ground floor of the old *corps de*

⁴⁹⁶ The courtyard, *façades* overlooking the courtyard and the *cité de Paradis*, the windows, and central passageway date to the original building, as well as several rooms on the ground floor of the *corps de logis*. See record for the Hôtel Tison, Ministère de la culture, Patrimoine architectural (Mérimée), AS 0089.

logis still retain some of their eighteenth-century decorations.⁴⁹⁷ Overlooking the intimate walkway known today as the *cit  de Paradis*, one of the rooms of the *H tel Titon* is decorated with a *trompe l' il* ceiling depicting a stone balustrade overlooking a blue sky, giving the effect of the room fully opening onto airy skies above.⁴⁹⁸ Not unlike Guimard's dining room, the *salon* ceiling simulated the natural world indoors for viewers, evoking the skylight of an open atrium. The next room elaborates on the theme with a cascade of putti upon the ceiling.⁴⁹⁹ Although it is difficult to determine whether the ceilings are of Delafosse's original conception in the absence of his preparatory drawings for Chenu, the *trompe l' il* decorations for Delbarre's Pantin home and the *H tel Titon* suggest a shared investment in manipulating perspective and creating *tromperie* views for both of these residences.⁵⁰⁰ In several pen-and-ink wash projects for ceilings, which Delafosse titled "Plafond pour un Sallon," he depicts swirling friezes, bands of acanthus, curving shellwork, and dancing putti in freewheeling concentric circles in which ornament almost endlessly builds upon itself (figures 4.22-4.23). In these drawings, the teeming ornament is divided along a central axis, allowing for choice on the part of the viewer in sorting through and determining which portions of ornament would best suit their needs. If such *plafond* drawings informed Delafosse's *trompe l' il* perspectives, then this would suggest that the fragmentation and spatial manipulation in his drawings was not just contained to the page, but also carried over to the optical and spatial effects of the residential interior itself. If Cochin was

⁴⁹⁷ According to the Patrimoine architectural (M rim e) database, the ceilings formed part of the old *corps de logis*, though more research needs to be carried out to determine Delafosse's relationship to them. These are among some of the earliest decorations, compared to the *Grand salon boiseries*, which appear to have been constructed later. These were transferred from the *H tel Titon* to the rue d'Alma by the time of Paul Jarry's documentation of the interior for *Les vieux h tels de Paris* in 1922. Adrien Panhard purchased the property in 1893 and moved the paneling and the inlaid paintings by Huet in 1920 to another home at 1, rue d'Alma. Their current whereabouts remain unknown.

⁴⁹⁸ See record for the *H tel Titon*, Minist re de la culture, Patrimoine architectural (M rim e), AS 0089.

⁴⁹⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰⁰ See for example records of the old *corps de logis* compared to Gallet's description of the *fausse perspective* in Pantin in Gallet, "Jean-Charles Delafosse, Architecte," 162.

worried about residents being unable to see out of the windows due to overabundant ornament that blocked sunlight, Delafosse's ornament suggests that it could facilitate rather than impede the sense of sight—through simulated architectural openings and skylights.

In other instances, Delafosse's ornament was used even more expressly to bewilder and delight residents and visitors to the *hôtel particulier*. In the neighboring *Hôtel Goix* constructed just a few years later, Delafosse went even further; according to Gallet, he designed a round *boudoir* decorated overhead with a complicated frieze composed of five rows of acanthus and laurel.⁵⁰¹ The walls of the circular room were entirely filled with mirrors placed within niches, endlessly reflecting the multiple stacked rows of *rincaux* above.⁵⁰² Compared to the visual dynamics of the Guimard dining room, which framed each threshold like a scene in a theatrical performance, this play of surfaces and perspectives would seem more akin to the multiple glances summoned in Bastide's evocation of the *boudoir*.⁵⁰³ Given the sense of movement elicited by *papillotage* and activated by mirrors, we may surmise that this complicated exchange between niche, mirror, and frieze invited viewers to turn endlessly around the room, beholding the various reflections while caught in a dizzying state of perpetual motion. Not just a disorderly grouping of objects as Cochin had feared, Delafosse's prints offered a surfeit of design possibilities from which to choose and adapt to the requirements of the space of the interior. In working closely with sculptor Chenu, Delafosse could direct how his ornament would be used, whether precisely placed within the niche of a passageway, or more freely adapted as part of the acanthus *rincaux* above a window. His quickly etched, overabundant *rincaux* prints offered up to the imagination an excess of ideas to be adapted to such complicated configurations as the

⁵⁰¹ Ibid., 161.

⁵⁰² Ibid.

⁵⁰³ Bastide, *The Little House*, trans. Rodolphe El-Khoury, 75-76.

boudoir of the *Hôtel Goix*, in which he was able to elaborate on five variations of the theme. The etchings of *Diverses frises* offered ornament in the midst of a kind of perpetual, asymmetrical flow—with vases and shells cut off halfway at the edge (figure 4.3). Delafosse’s approach allowed for considering multiple decorative possibilities before their execution by Chenu—from simple arrangements for the façade to the more complicated decoration of the mirrored *boudoir*. It was through the offerings of unruly, overabundant print that these ideas were elaborated, tested, and eventually actualized in the round, whether as vases in the *passage cocher* or the *trompe l’oeil* ceiling of the *salon*. Whereas Droth identified a mutual relationship between sculpture and decoration, linked by a kind of shared three-dimensional presence, Delafosse’s work reveals the way that prints already framed these reciprocal relationships, anticipating their eventual translation in the round.⁵⁰⁴ And in their oscillation between ornament, monument, decoration, and sculpture, Delafosse’s work signals that these formal and conceptual blurrings were already in play in print. Far from a carelessly modish architect, Delafosse was, it seems, highly aware of the central importance of decoration for the fabrication of furnishings, as well as the active attention and engagement that his decoration invited. The possibilities of *caractère*, and the evocation of expression through the precise decoration of each individual *appartement* of the *hôtel particulier*, would be fully articulated by Le Camus in 1780, by which time the prints and drawings of new *ornemanistes* such as Lalonde took on more pointed, if fleeting, sensual expression.

⁵⁰⁴ Droth, “Truth and Artifice,” 10-17.

Lalonde and Ephemeral Ornament in Saint-Honoré

Le Camus' *Le Génie de l'Architecture, ou l'analogie de cet Art avec nos sensations* was granted its *Privilege du Roi* in February 1780 and published on April 22 of that year by Benoît-Morin, Imprimeur-Librairie, on the rue Saint-Jacques.⁵⁰⁵ The treatise was for sale both at the Benoît-Morin bookshop and at Le Camus's home on the rue du Foin Saint-Jacques, a tiny side street at the Collège de Maître Gervais. As we have seen in the previous chapters, Le Camus dedicated the essay to Watelet, whose *Essai sur les jardins* had been published in 1774.⁵⁰⁶ On the title page was printed the line "C'est peu de plaire aux yeux, il faut émouvoir l'âme," from the *Poème de la Peinture*, a 1740 prose translation of François-Marie de Marsy's 1736 poem *Pictura*.⁵⁰⁷ The *Poème de la Peinture* had invoked a highly sensory relationship to painting, in which the author expressed his desire to "chanter la peinture," or to write verses that would sing of painting and evoke painting's enchantments, stirring the soul of the reader. Like de Marsy, Le Camus was preoccupied with the charms of the residential interior, wishing to move the reader's spirit in summoning the splendor of ornament. Unlike most architectural treatises, which had become ever more richly illustrated with accompanying plates over the course of the eighteenth century, Le Camus's text was not illustrated at all; rather, it resembled publications such as Watelet's in its reliance on descriptive language alone.⁵⁰⁸ Like Watelet's text, which had led the reader on a *voyage pittoresque* through his *Moulin Joli* pleasure garden on the Seine, along with the corresponding emotional sensations that the garden evoked, Le Camus' publication navigated a sequencing of successive decorated *cabinets* or rooms within the residential interior. As we

⁵⁰⁵ Nicolas Le Camus de Mézières, *Le génie de l'architecture, ou l'analogie de cet art avec nos sensations*. Paris: Benoît-Morin, 1780. Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF), V-22114.

⁵⁰⁶ Henri Watelet, *Essai sur les jardins*, 1774, Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF), S-15574.

⁵⁰⁷ Anne-Gabriel Meusnier de Querlon, *Poème de la Peinture*, 1740, after François-Marie de Marsy, *Pictura*, 1728.

⁵⁰⁸ Joseph Dispozio, "Introduction," in *Essay on Gardens: A Chapter in the French Picturesque Translated Into English for the First Time* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), 1-16.

have seen in the decoration of the Hôtel Guimard, each *cabinet* prompted a host of sensations that accompanied the richly ornamented spaces.

Le Camus employed text to navigate the residential interior sensually in a similar manner to Watelet's journey through the *Moulin Joli*, with an emphasis on sensory delight and pleasure that propelled the reader through interior space. Whereas Blondel's 1737-38 *De la distribution des maisons de plaisance* had included a walk through a garden as a precursor to walking through the residence itself, Le Camus's text inverted this model and made the sensory garden walk the primary conceptual framework through which the decorated interior would be approached. While Blondel's architectural publications in the 1770s continued to include accompanying illustrated plates in tandem with his text, Le Camus' treatise offered itself as a hybrid publication, modeled on the narrative structure of garden treatises.⁵⁰⁹ In aligning himself with Watelet—whose text had offered garden theory as an independent endeavor just as worthy of study as architecture—Le Camus effectively reoriented the residential interior on the garden treatise's terms.⁵¹⁰ In moving beyond the architectural framework of Blondel, which still relied on appropriate social *convenance*, Le Camus merged garden and architectural treatises in his publication, with *convenance* transformed by a fully expressive *caractère* that carefully arranged spatial sequencing according to the viewer's sensation.

As we have seen from Oppenord to Delafosse, ornament in independent *recueils* merged with other genres such as iconological sourcebooks, creating hybrid volumes that offered a wide range of vocabulary at the disposal of the *ornemaniste*. Turning an eye to the prints that circulated in the print trade at the same time as Le Camus' text allows us to consider the way that

⁵⁰⁹ Disponzio, "Introduction," in *Essay on Gardens*, 9.

⁵¹⁰ On Le Camus' investment in garden theory, see Middleton, "Introduction," in Le Camus, *The Genius of Architecture*, 46-51. I am interested in extending this thinking to consider especially the format of Le Camus' text, which resembled publications such as Watelet's much more than it did Blondel's.

ornament gave visual shape to new ideas of sensual expression, which were vital to furnishing and inhabiting the decorated interior during the increased building activities of the Chaussée d'Antin. While Le Camus' text was not illustrated, many of the ornament booklets that circulated among print sellers and *marchands-merciers* on the rue Saint-Honoré were increasingly expressive, incorporating new *accoutrements à l'antique* such as incense burners that actively summoned the viewer's attention on a deeply sensory level. In Hellman's analysis of furnishings and sculpture, individuals in the decorated interior were understood to be interlocked with three-dimensional furnishings in carved wood and cast bronze, which structured the performance of elite identity within interior space.⁵¹¹ In the work of Lalonde, the prints and drawings themselves are just as evocative, anticipating and patterning the delicate dance of individuals and their furnishings within the interior. Like the prints of Delafosse, Lalonde's work also suggests an eliciting of heightened expression, thus extending beyond the more confining modes of engagement traced by Hellman, or even the more fluid engagement recently traced by Goodman that revealed a greater sense of ease and privacy in the interior.⁵¹² In Lalonde's prints, the bewilderment and sense of awe elicited in Delafosse's prints is transformed into something deeply sensate, if fleeting and transient.

Looking closely at the work of Lalonde alongside Le Camus's text, we find that ornament activated a similarly expressive way of orienting to the decorated interior, requiring the active participation of the viewer. The *voyage pittoresque* traced by Watelet outdoors, and the journey of the spirit traced by Le Camus indoors can both be found in equivalent intaglio impressions as ornament for the decorated interior. As a designer for the *Menus-plaisirs* and the

⁵¹¹ Hellman, 415-45.

⁵¹² Goodman, "The *Secrétaire* and the Integration of the Eighteenth-Century Self," in *Furnishing the Eighteenth Century*, 183-203.

Garde-meuble, Lalonde designed ornament for ceremonies as well as furnishings for royal residences, including Marie Antoinette's Cabinet doré at Versailles, along with decoration for the Château de Saint-Cloud and the Château de Marly.⁵¹³ While Lalonde was involved in these royal commissions of furnishings, he also issued his own set of patterns in the print trade, which were sold by Chéreau and Watin, as well as drawings for architect François-Joseph Bélanger, and drawings for an album that has been linked to the *marchand-mercier* Dominique Daguerre at his lavish shop the *Couronne d'Or*.⁵¹⁴ These prints also reveal an expanded audience for decoration, and a commercial context in which prints were increasingly employed as catalogues within the *marchand-mercier* shops on the rue Saint-Honoré—that is, as booklets showing various options for the potential configuration of furniture and decorative objects. These booklets were particularly suited to conversations between *marchands-merciers* and their clients, which involved carefully choosing and refining the details of decoration from different possibilities. Removed from the manual execution of objects, the mercers were closely engaged in the process of assembly and retail, including the “enjolivement” of objects, determining the final details of color, decoration, and form based upon a clients' wishes.⁵¹⁵ This finishing or embellishing allowed them to satisfy shifting tastes by combining objects of different materials in innovative ways, using stocks of partially finished or unmounted goods, such as Sèvres porcelain plaques.⁵¹⁶

⁵¹³ Marie-Elsa Dantan, *Décors, mobiliers, et objets d'art du musée du Louvre de Louis XIV à Marie-Antoinette* (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 2014), 418.

⁵¹⁴ Peter Fuhring, *Designing the Décor: French Drawings from the Eighteenth Century* (Lisbon: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, 2005), 314. This album may be compared to several presentation drawings in the Esmerian Collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, which have been linked to commodes by Martin Carlin with inlaid Sèvres porcelain plaques at Waddesdon Manor and the Wallace Collection, and which were commissioned by the Daguerre firm. See Sargentson, *Merchants and Luxury Markets*, 49, Comte de Salvèrte, *Les Ébénistes du XVIIIe Siècle* (Paris: G. Van Oest, 1923), 45, and Alexandre Pradère, *Les ébénistes français: De Louis XIV à la Révolution* (Paris: Chêne, 1989), 38-39. While few comparable albums survive, the quickly sketched, iterative, and demonstrative quality of these drawings compared to Lalonde's more finished presentation drawings suggest its role in the process of gaining a commission and making selections according to a clients' desires—rather than being used to advertise or find a buyer for an already completed work.

⁵¹⁵ Sargentson, *Merchants and Luxury Markets*, 104.

⁵¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 46-54.

The multivalent, fragmented views that Lalonde's prints elicited were particularly suited, I suggest, to commercial spaces comprised of various portions of furniture and ornament that could be assembled in different configurations according to the instructions of the *marchand-mercier* and the wishes of the buyer. These prints facilitated the sociability of these spaces by assisting in the negotiating and shaping of taste through particularly refined, intimate details.

In the 1781 prospectus to the fourth edition of Félix Watin's *L'art du peintre*, the furniture seller and varnisher singled out Lalonde for the clarity and elegance of his designs, which could guide in the work of wood joiners and gilders.⁵¹⁷ Lalonde's most comprehensive publication, the *Œuvres diverses de Lalonde, décorateur et dessinateur, contenant un grand nombre de dessins pour la décoration intérieure des appartements* (c.1780-1788) (figure 4.2) circulated among a proliferation of "antique fleuri" ornament *recueils* in the 1770s and 1780s whose forms were especially delicate and sinuous.⁵¹⁸ Among these publications were Henri Salembier's light and fanciful friezes, which could be used for wood or stucco, Gilles Cauvet's 1777 *Recueil d'Ornements A l'Usage des Jeunes Artistes*, intended for young artists learning decorative draftsmanship, and Pierre Ranson's wall elevations, bedroom alcoves, and floral *boiseries*. Lalonde's work stands apart from his contemporaries, however, for its particular investment in the sensual expression of the *hôtel particulier*, and its emphasis on the sense of comfort and ease in each individual *appartement* of the interior, from the *boudoir* to the *cabinet de bains*. In addition to these prints, Lalonde produced more finished presentation drawings for

⁵¹⁷ Jean-Félix Watin, *Prospectus. L'art du peintre, doreur, vernisseur, ouvrage utile aux artistes et aux amateurs qui veulent entreprendre de peindre, dorer et vernir toutes sortes de sujets en bâtiments, meubles, bijoux, équipages, etc. par le sieur Watin* (Paris: De l'imprimerie de B. Morin, rue Saint-Jacques, 1781), 1-8, BnF VZ-1836 (4).

⁵¹⁸ The full title was *Œuvres diverses de Lalonde, décorateur et dessinateur, contenant un grand nombre de dessins pour la décoration intérieure des Appartements à l'usage de la Peinture et de la Sculpture en ornements. Meubles du plus nouveau gout, des pièces d'Orfèvrerie et de Serrurerie, etc. Ce Recueil Utile aux Artistes aux Personnes qui veulent décorer avec gout est divisé en deux parties, et se vend à Paris, chez Chéreau, rue des Mathurins, S. Jacques*, INHA Fol Res 117 (1-2).

side tables and commodes—each to be composed with marble tabletops or porcelain plaques.⁵¹⁹ These drawings provide multiple perspectives, alongside measurements to scale, signaling their capacity to facilitate choice while also guiding their configuration and assembly.⁵²⁰ In the work of Lalonde, bimodal asymmetry and intricate details offered a range of choices that shaped the viewer's relationship to changing taste.

Lalonde's publication specified that it was intended for the sculpting and painting of ornament in interior apartments, and that it would be "utile aux artistes et aux personnes qui veulent décorer avec goût," underscoring the good taste with which these prints would furnish individuals in the decoration of the interior.⁵²¹ A closer examination of Lalonde's *Œuvres diverses* (1776-1788) and a rare catalogue for a *marchand-mercier* (c.1785-1800) in the collection of the Musée des art décoratifs (MAD) allows us to trace his prints as patterns for furnishings and as active tools for the shaping of taste in relation to the individual *appartements* of the *hôtel particulier*. The MAD album is one of the only surviving such catalogues, and it details drawings for furniture, wainscoting, oil lamps, clocks, chimney pieces, and other vital components of the decoration of the residential interior.⁵²² A detailed, numbered table of contents lists the furniture thematically almost as a kind of inventory, and it has been proposed that it was used by Daguerre (figure 4.24).⁵²³ Perhaps most striking, the album begins not with a view of the interior, but with a sketch of a figure in a watery landscape next to a drawing for a

⁵¹⁹ Furhing, *Designing the Décor*, 340.

⁵²⁰ Sargentson, *Merchants and Luxury Markets*, 56-58.

⁵²¹ *Œuvres diverses de Lalonde*, 1, INHA Fol Res 117 (1).

⁵²² Richard de Lalonde, *Album of Drawings for a Marchand-Mercier*, c.1785-1800, Pen and black ink, wash, over chalk, Musée des Arts décoratifs (MAD), Inv CD 189.

⁵²³ Furhing, *Designing the Décor*, 340. Because it is so particular, comparison of this catalogue to others is challenging. The numbered lists arranged thematically have been compared to the engraved catalogues of Matthew Boulton, who sent his designs of Sheffield plate to retailers, who then showed them to clients. By contrast, this catalogue does not seem to originate from a manufacturer; its quickly sketched drawings and later insertion of prints by Lalonde suggests a close relationship to one *ornemaniste* who worked closely with Daguerre.

pier-glass mirror (figure 4.25). The drawing depicts a pavilion on an island, which can only be accessed across a lake, with blue wash that ripples across the page as the glimmering surface of the mirror. These initial drawings do not fully reveal the interior itself, but rather signal an approach to the interior by means of landscape, through the drifting currents of water and reflection. It has been suggested that these drawings were used to gain commissions, so that furniture would then be made according to specifications agreed upon by the merchant and client.⁵²⁴ Compared to Lalonde's more finished presentation drawings, which were used to advertise an already completed work, these drawings have a much sketchier, yet also demonstrative quality, combining measurements and multiple perspectives. They also illuminate the process through which decoration assembled itself in the mercer's trade—not always according to a strict set of guidelines, but rather through a particularly searching and fragmentary way of looking and sifting through multiple decorative possibilities. This process worked in tandem with Lalonde's prints, several of which were pasted inside the album. A set of friezes from Lalonde's *Cahier de frises* pasted onto page 113 of the album presents two possibilities for horizontal patterns composed of interlaced rosettes, while the prints pasted onto page 120 show two views of a *canapé* from *Cinquième Cahier d'Ameublements* (figure 4.26). Alongside the curved frame of the *canapé*, Lalonde has included two small vertical bands suggesting different possibilities for the carving of the wooden frame, implying the selection of the final details of the *meuble mobilier* before its eventual translation in the round. In the album, Lalonde's prints facilitate viewer discernment through their bimodal compositions, inserted from his *cahiers* of prints in order to supplement his drawings and assist in the staging of taste and the activation of choice.

⁵²⁴ Ibid., 313.

Lalonde's prints invited an intimate, yet fragmentary way of looking through their specific sensory details—one that was particularly suited to the possibility of multiple and varied configurations of ornament. In “Cahier de tables et consoles avec leurs plans,” published as part of the *Cinquième cahier* in *Œuvres diverses*, Lalonde depicts several console tables, side tables, a dressing table, and a writing table alongside “échelles de trois pieds,” with cross-section views shown to scale at three feet across (figures 4.27-4.28). In these prints, Lalonde offers several variations on the table, each distinguished by a distinct set of attributes, from a small looking glass to a globe and quills. While offering multiple iterations of ornament, Lalonde also combines furnishings that would have been placed in different locations of the *hôtel particulier*; the consoles were fixed, stationary objects often incorporated into the carved *boiseries*, while side tables were more mobile objects placed along the periphery of room, but which could move between rooms depending on the needs of its occupants.⁵²⁵ Lalonde manages to blend these categories as well: rather than an elegant, refined dressing table or *table de toilette*, Lalonde's print depicts a sculptural, weighty side table affixed with a mirror. The table does not bear a labyrinth of elegantly mobile and intricate compartments as one might expect, but is rather distinguished by its particular attributes: the mirror, the incense-bearing urns, and the basket of flowers. The sense of privacy and intimacy—even secrecy—so traced by scholars in such objects as a *table de toilette* or a *secrétaire* emerges differently in the hands of Lalonde.⁵²⁶ The writing table is not a light and elegant *secrétaire* configured of an elaborate series of compartments, nor is it a large, flat *bureau* with heavy storage drawers—rather, it is a sort of hybrid side table that manages to evoke the intimacy of writing and study through the placement of quills, a globe, and a single burning candle. Like the dressing table, the emphasis is not so much on its inner

⁵²⁵ Droth, 10-17.

⁵²⁶ Goodman, “The *Secrétaire* and the Integration of the Eighteenth-Century Self,” 183-203.

compartments as on the summoning forth of the senses through the careful placement of sensual attributes upon the table's surface. While the prints signal different furnishings appropriate for particular locations within the *hôtel particulier*, they also evoke a sense of disjointed fragmentation. A weighty table with an elegant looking glass suggests the working out and configuring of different portions of furnishings and adornments: a carved and gilded oak base, a marble tabletop, or a mirror set in gilt bronze, both ornament and inventory for the mercer's trade. It is as if the side table has taken on the attributes of a *table de toilette* as a means of conveying and displaying this inner terrain of intimacy and shaping of the social self, made accessible and knowable—even seductive and advertisable—through print.

Compared to Delafosse's prints, which had been used for marquetry patterns on tables, Lalonde's prints offer fully formed and measured furnishings that already signal their respective locations in the home. On the rue du Temple, just south of Delafosse's studio, the *ébéniste* Adrien Delorne had composed a writing table in 1776 that scholars have linked to a plate from Delafosse's c.1771-73 *Quatrième Livre de Trophées contenant divers attributs pastorales* as a model (figure 4.29).⁵²⁷ Delafosse's print depicts a capriccio of antique fragments and sculpture, with the title of the suite etched into a tilted slab. Rather than adapting any of the *trophées* contained within the *recueil*, Delorne chose the title page itself for his *marqueteurs* to assemble through interwoven veneers.⁵²⁸ The weighty monuments and complicated fragments of Delafosse's patterns were deftly transposed as interlocking purplewood, tulipwood, and sycamore, in which each piece was cut, reassembled, and glued jigsaw-like.⁵²⁹ Scholars have

⁵²⁷ Geoffrey de Bellaigue, "Engravings and the French Eighteenth-Century Marqueter-III," *The Burlington Magazine* 107, no. 748 (July 1965): 356-363.

⁵²⁸ *Ibid.*, 361.

⁵²⁹ On the technical process of assembling woodwork for furniture, see Ian Fraser, technical note for catalogue entry 24, in "Seeing Things Fall Apart," in *Taking Shape*, ed. Martina Droth, 97-98. The process could be additive as well as reductive, gluing and joining several pieces in aggregate using the guidance of drawings. The use of Delafosse's

recently suggested that the process of carving, joining, and gluing was just as additive as it was reductive, as generative as it was pared down.⁵³⁰ Delafosse's ornament offered endless patterns for this aggregate process, which reconfigured the sense of fragmentation in his prints as a patterned encounter with the antique upon a smooth writing surface. As veneers for the table's oblong shape, Delafosse's ornament was reconceived as a central decorative anchor for the activity of writing—bringing the archaeological fragments of a discovered antique inward to shape the sense of privacy and intimacy that this activity entailed.⁵³¹ In another instance, the same laurel vase from *Cinquième Livre de Trophées* used for the *Hôtel Titon* was possibly employed as a pattern for adorning the inside panels of a lady's writing desk that doubled as a *table de toilette* (figure 4.30). Scholars have analyzed the privacy afforded by this desk and the possible use of Delafosse's *trophée* designs, but not the inclusion of his laurel vase patterns on the inner panels.⁵³² The panels could be opened to reveal two compartments holding accoutrements for the performance of the *toilette*, as well as a small looking glass (figure 4.31).⁵³³ In each instance, a specific plate from one of Delafosse's *recueils* was used for just one panel, whose inner decoration would only be revealed to the user upon approaching the writing table's surface or delicately opening the compartments of the *table de toilette*. Compared to the threshold encounter with the laurel vase at the entrance to the *Hôtel Titon*, the vase of the *table de toilette* invites a more intimate and personal engagement with ornament as part of an embodied ritual in the *boudoir* at the innermost heart of the residential interior. That the same

prints by several *menuisiers* suggests that his work might have been particularly suited to this additive process of joining, gluing, and veneering of surfaces.

⁵³⁰ On the fabrication of furniture, see Ian Fraser, op cit. Drawings could be made that detailed surface qualities, including depth and shallowness in order to guide the tools for carving each wood ornament. In the case of a *canapé*, the wood pieces were joined together for the base of a frame using glues, and finally brushed with gesso and gilded.

⁵³¹ On writing tables and privacy, see Goodman, "The *Secrétaire* and the Integration of the Eighteenth-Century Self," 183-203.

⁵³² Eriskien, 333 and Carolyn Sargentson, "Looking at Furniture Inside Out," 223-225.

⁵³³ Sargentson, "Looking at Furniture Inside Out," 223-225.

print by Delafosse could be used across the inner and outer topographies of the *hôtel particulier* attests to the flexibility of his ornament, far from the overstuffed decoration that Cochin feared would block sunlight or the harsh angularities of furnishings that Blondel feared would cause residents to trip. A decade later, Lalonde's prints conveyed an ever more integrated sense of the interior as an inner landscape to be revealed and catalogued.

Lalonde's *Œuvres diverses* in particular patterned taste for the *goût antique* in its incorporation of vases, incense burners, and other vessels upon the table's surfaces (figure 4.32). These accoutrements recompose themselves in slightly different shapes and configurations upon each table, with drifting smoke and floating perfumes. In Lalonde's prints, it is as if the cumbersome vessels of Delafosse—and his journeys through time and archaeological fragments—are transformed into small, elegant adornments for the *meubles mobiliers* of a home. The scale of Lalonde's vessels is minute, with little urns wafting vapors or a small stick of incense being held tenderly by a small cylindrical accoutrement. Reducing the size of the vases even more than Delafosse's decoration for the *passage cocher* of the *Hôtel Titon* or even the *table de toilette*, these vessels have shrunk to a size appropriate for resting upon a table or on other furnishings, placed neatly into their respective place in the residential interior. If Delafosse's prints conjured a sense of awe and wonder through an imagined, discovered antique, Lalonde's prints sensually transported viewers with an antique that has managed to ensconce itself deftly and subtly within the residential interior on an emphatically human scale. Console tables were, in analyses by Droth and Hellman, stationary furnishings placed along the periphery of a room, fixed objects that established a spatial rhythm within the broader "mis en scène" of the interior.⁵³⁴ In Lalonde's prints, these objects are more active and animate than we might

⁵³⁴ Hellman, 419 and Droth, "Truth and Artifice," 10-17.

expect for such peripheral objects, suggesting a participation in the interior's rhythm, rather than passively framing it. They are not so far removed from the asymmetrical fireplace mantles of Oppenord or the *lambris* of Taraval in the *Hôtel Guimard*, in that they signal the potential to actively draw the viewer's attention to the edges of the room, to the texture of the wall and painted paneling, and to the carefully placed consoles in front of pier glass mirrors, keeping the viewer's eyes and senses actively engaged. Merging the demonstrative and the imaginative, Lalonde's prints do more than measure the tables to scale; they also invite the way that one would live among and use these objects, whether engaged in study, writing, or performing one's *toilette*. Yet further still, the tables suggest awareness of transient and fleeting sensations, with objects not so much performed and used as sensually experienced though the flickering of candlelight, the burning of incense, or the invisible drifting of vapors. Lalonde's prints suggest that heightened sensations were bound up with the intimacy of the interior, so much so that furnishings needed to be animate in order to facilitate the *toilette* or the practice of intellectual study. If the rococo prints of Oppenord and others signaled a fragmentary way of knowing the world through the accumulation of disjointed objects washed ashore for viewer contemplation, then the work of Lalonde reveals that this manner of gaining knowledge persisted as emphatically animate prints that merged the sensate, the fleeting, and the fragmentary, and which continued to shape the self in the decorated interior.

The sensory activation of Lalonde's prints aligns closely with the Le Camus's insistence on embellishments for the surfaces of furnishings in his writings. In Le Camus's elaboration of the *salon*, the *salle à manger*, and the *boudoir*, he advises the placement of urns and vases upon tables and plinths. These flourishes are suggested for pleasing the eye and refining the overall sensual effect of each room. In his description of the *boudoir*, Le Camus makes particular note of

the placing of flowers in vases of various materials including copper and enamel around the room to add to its graceful character:

Flowers must be placed in a number of vases around the room; have no fear of overloading the mantle with them. It would be pleasing to set in the corners little stands bearing finely designed vases. These would contain flowers, which would be all the fresher if the stalks were to stand in water. These vases may be of copper, enameled in lapis lazuli and with gilt trimmings...Such is the aspect of a dressing room, always remembering that cleanliness and grace must be its principal ornaments; let the whole room proclaim the exquisite freshness enjoyed by those who emerge from it.⁵³⁵

In this vision of the *boudoir*, Le Camus suggests not only the joining of ornament and expression, but also the entwining of garden and architecture, the natural world and the inner realm of furnishings. In *Quatrième Cahier de Meubles et d'Ébénisteries*, Lalonde composed stands and plinths expressly for holding floral arrangements, while often using quickly sketched flowers to enliven prints and his drawings in the MAD album (figure 4.33). A drawing by Lalonde related to his *Cahier de tables* depicts a side table with no less than seven vessels upon it, including vases, oil lamps, and incense burners (figure 4.34). Far from a mute object along the wall in order to witness and frame the *mis en scène* of bodies and furniture, the side table suggests a fully animate object that beckons the viewer toward an active, sensory encounter with its perfumes. In Lalonde's drawing, the small vessels resting on top of the table are just as important, if not more than the table itself, subverting its ostensible function and rendering the entire ensemble a sort of living sculptural presence emerging or almost growing from painted *boiseries*. In demonstrating the potential lived and experiential engagement with ornament through the careful placement and display of vases and flowers, Lalonde's drawing merges decoration, furniture, and sculpture even more vigorously than the work of Delafosse for the *Hôtels* Titon and Goix. While scholars have recently explored the formal blending of decoration

⁵³⁵ Le Camus, ed. Middleton, 120.

and furniture within the interior, we see in the work of Lalonde that these blurrings could extend to even ephemeral and organic objects such as flowers or incense. Lalonde's inclusion of the fleeting and the highly sensory in his prints and drawings suggests a preoccupation with transitory sensations that could only be apprehended through embodied, experiential encounter. Whereas scholars have centered on the visual blurring between three-dimensional gilt materials—carved wood and cast bronze—it is in the prints and drawings of Lalonde that we already find broader relational blurring in the interior, facilitated by the shared sensory activation of natural objects, fleeting sensations, and ornament.

In his description of the *salle à manger* or dining room, Le Camus emphasizes the importance of fragrance, submerging the viewer in the visual and olfactory pleasures of a garden and confusing interior and exterior:

To evoke a sweet sensation, fitting to the room, a little amphitheater of two or three steps might be set along the wall, constantly furnished with fresh flowers in vases of a pleasing and well-designed form. Their bright colors, their form, and their scent will convey pleasing sensations to the soul... Let us not be sparing in the use of this natural ornament; let us set flowers in all the places where we want gaiety; let us array them on our tables and at random without symmetry. Too much art and a contrived arrangement detract from the effect.⁵³⁶

As we have seen, one of the most successful *salles à manger* that evoked the freshness of the garden indoors was Guimard's "Fairy's palace" with its mirrored, painted forest.⁵³⁷ In his text, Le Camus extends this play between interior space and nature to the canted and curved angles of looking glasses appropriate for the overall harmony of the dining room, "softening the effect of the whole."⁵³⁸ Lalonde's prints signal similar inversions between the outdoors and the indoors, a bringing in of the natural world to enliven interior, as if the viewer is on a *voyage pittoresque*

⁵³⁶ Ibid., 140.

⁵³⁷ Ibid.

⁵³⁸ Ibid., 119.

through the interior, just as in Watelet's journey through the *Moulin Joli*. In his suite of plates for fireplace mantelpieces, Lalonde incorporates curling garlands up and down the sides of a pier glass mirror, or flaming urns at either side, which carefully punctuate the scene as chandeliers hang from above (figure 4.35). A corresponding engagement between the natural world and mirrors is strongly evoked in Lalonde's 1780 watercolor sketches in blue wash for pier glass mirrors (figure 4.36). The frames are composed of descending floral garlands and candelabras that morph into the shape of the mirror, giving the appearance almost of floating on the page. A closer inspection of the candelabras reveals sinuous forms that recall the work of Pineau from the 1730s, the very same contorted shapes that Cochin feared would cause wax to drip indiscriminately (figure 4.37). If Pineau's asymmetrical drawings functioned as sites for the activation of taste and the staging of viewer choice, Lalonde's drawings borrow from and quote these visual strategies, similarly calling to the attention of viewers.⁵³⁹ His fluid compositions employ decoration as the means of framing and animating his mirrors, breathing life into these central components of *hôtel* interior, which would have reflected and anchored the theater of social interactions taking place within.⁵⁴⁰ Taking Pineau's rococo a step further, Lalonde's mirrors are not simply asymmetrical and bimodal, but in fact offer four different design possibilities—a different one in each corner. In his yellow-wash drawings for mirror frames, each quadrant offers a slight alteration in decorative detail (figure 4.38). A single corner may suggest sweeping curves or a more rectilinear format, with decorative details that meet along an invisible axis at the center of the lower section of the frame. Flickering candelabras grace the sides of the mirrors, which are covered in entwined garlands. In each instance, the eye must dart across multiple sections of the drawing to take in the whole, prompting viewers to engage in

⁵³⁹ Scott, "Persuasion," URN.

⁵⁴⁰ Hellman, 429.

choice, comparison, and active discernment simply by looking. Far from reforming the unruly asymmetry of Pineau's rococo as Cochin would have liked, Lalonde's drawings subtly maintained the activation of taste through *papillotage* well into the 1780s.

At least four existing console tables—two gilt bronze, one painted wood, the other giltwood—have been linked to the console patterns by Lalonde.⁵⁴¹ In plate 26 of the *Cinquième cahier*, a console with a semi-circular top decorated with a pearl-studded frieze rests upon an acanthus-covered leg that blossoms into three foliated scrolls, with a floral garland strung across (figure 4.39). The gilt table formed part of the furnishings of the *Hôtel* de Jarnac on the rue Monsieur constructed by architect Étienne-François Legrand in 1784 for Charles Rosalie de Rohan-Chabot, comte de Jarnac.⁵⁴² Recorded by Krafft and Ransonette, the residence included a set of windows with mirrored paneling overlooking a large garden (figure 4.40).⁵⁴³ Lalonde's prints detail the decoration of the console, particularly the curling acanthus of the leg and the pearled frieze—and offer patterns for the carved oak base before the placement of the marble half-moon tabletop. Alongside plate 26 of the *Cinquième cahier* of prints, Lalonde made two related pen-and-ink drawings in the MAD album. The console table on page 103 of the album closely corresponds to the print, with the acanthus base and the garland of flowers draped along the foliated scrolls bearing the half-moon top (figure 4.41). On page 132 of the MAD album, Lalonde further elaborates on the placement of the console, with a view of the table elegantly placed before a pier glass mirror crowned with a wreath and surrounded by wainscoting and paneling that could be painted or adorned with stucco (figure 4.42). These drawings suggest that

⁵⁴¹ The bronze tables were produced by Benneman in 1788 for the *Salon des Jeux* of Saint-Cloud using wax models. See Furhing, 341. The giltwood table with a red marble half-moon top was recently sold at auction. See Collections de l'Hotel de Jarnac, Catalogue de vente, Drouot, May 2022.

⁵⁴² Jarry, *Les vieux hôtels de Paris*, 1.

⁵⁴³ Krafft and Ransonette, *Plans, Coupes, Élévations Des Plus Belles Maisons et des Hôtels Construits à Paris Et Dans Les Environs*, 1803, 31.

Lalonde made several iterations of these console tables across both drawings and prints with varying levels of detail, measurements, and cross-sections. Along with their accompanying prescriptive measurements, Lalonde's prints and drawings invite the possibility of multiple and varied configurations of consoles in the placement of the marble and the carving of the frame, along with suggestions for the table's staging within the interior as a sculptural extension of gilt *boiseries*. In the final page of the MAD album, Lalonde composed a fold-out view of the space of a *salon*, showing how his furnishings could be eventually configured together within a broader decorative scheme (figure 4.43). In the drawing, Lalonde employs geometric blocks of pink and blue wash to suggest pier-glass mirrors and painted paneling, and carefully punctuates the *salon* with carefully placed chairs, a console with an enormous ewer, a *canapé*, and a decorated mantelpiece and walls adorned with arabesques. Compared to the line engravings of Krafft and Ransonnette for the *Hôtel Jarnac* and the *Hôtel Guimard*, which record cursory details of windows, mantelpieces and paneling, Lalonde's album includes the internal spatial arrangement of the furnishings themselves (figure 4.44). The clock and flickering candelabras suggest the passage of time and the fleetingness of transitory sensations, conjuring the lived experience of the residential interior. The careful placement of furniture along the wall suggests the pacing of spatial and embodied experience, while also inviting the *marchand-mercier* or client as observers and agents of choice. Lalonde's work invites viewers to make selections for the staging of the interior before its internal rhythms and positions have been chosen and fully conceived. Not yet forming part of the physical performance of the interior, the quickly sketched *canapé* and console table serve to pattern a different kind of experience—that of intimately looking and ranging over a catalogue of drawings. They also suggest a sense of delight and spontaneity as opposed to a structured encounter, the fleeting and ephemeral over the labored or constrained.

Whereas scholars have conceived of furnishings for the *hôtel particulier* as anchoring intimate sociability for the display and observation of others within the room, and more recently as sites of privacy and secrecy, in the drawings of Lalonde they are more provisional and contingent sorts of *meubles mobiliers*. They operate within the fluid realm of possibility, and invite the discernment of mercers and their clients as important interlocutors in the staging of the scene and the final refinements of the interior. Much like the interior of the *Hôtel Guimard*, these drawings suggest a staged sort of intimacy—one that is neither overtly displayed nor hidden in secret, but rather gently observed, unfolding along the spatial and decorative arrangement of the *salon*. As such, Lalonde's prints and drawings give visual shape to the fluid progression through space elaborated by Le Camus, much like the staging of scenes that compose themselves according to unfolding patterns of sensation.

Conclusion

A final comparison between the work of these *ornemanistes* reveals the degree to which ornament emerged from the bewildering grand tour journeys of Delafosse to be reshaped into subtler sensations by the time of Lalonde's prints. In 1770, *menuisier* Louis Delanois was engaged by Ledoux to oversee the fabrication of chairs and sofas during the renovation of the Pavillon de Louveciennes for Madame du Barry. While Ledoux supplied drawings for the decorations, scholars have suggested that he allowed Delanois to choose his own patterns, and it has been proposed that for this he turned to the work of Delafosse, who produced drawings that have been linked to *canapés* at Louveciennes and Du Barry's furnishings at Versailles (figure 4.45).⁵⁴⁴ In Delafosse's *Recueil de planches d'ameublement et d'architecture*, published by

⁵⁴⁴ Yves Carlier has noted that Delafosse's drawings have been associated with these furnishings due to the formal resonance of their lower garlands, though more research needs to be done to determine a more definitive link to Delanois. See object record for Louis Delanois, Jean-Charles Delafosse, *Canapé*, 1768-1775, Carved and gilded walnut (modern upholstery). Château de Versailles. VMB 14372. See also Marie-Amynthe Denis, *Madame du*

Daumont c.1771-1773, he offered a range of *canapés* in multiple variations, showing garlands of flowers draped along the lower base (figure 4.46).⁵⁴⁵ Placed against mirrors in the oval *salon* of Louveciennes, the four *canapés* for Du Barry were richly upholstered with silk Gros de Tours with gilt walnut frames carved in the shape of draped flowers and ribbons, inside which was nested a tiny vase.⁵⁴⁶ Though a definitive link to Delafosse is difficult to determine, Ledoux seems to have allowed for some flexibility in how the painters and sculptors that he worked with chose their patterns; just a few years later, as we have seen, J.-N. Boucher's prints were likely employed for the painted *lambris* of the *Hôtel Guimard*.⁵⁴⁷ The final effect of the *canapés* before the mirrors would have reflected both its inhabitants and the undulating curves of gilt ornament. Like the oval *boudoir* of Delafosse's own design for the *Hôtel Titon*, this ornament does not so much constrain and impede as much as it facilitates heightened sensory engagement, even disorientation with multiple surfaces and reflections. The *Recueil de planches d'ameublement et d'architecture* also contained sets of chairs and screens by Delafosse that were titled "Fauteuil dans le goût pittoresque" and "Chaise dans le goût antique" with an armchair sprouting leaves and flowers alongside other chairs with masks, vases, and incense burners (figure 4.47). Sets of fire screens similarly staged an encounter with patterns for determining one's preference (figure 4.48). While Delafosse's earlier *cahiers* in the *Nouvelle Iconologie Historique* were replete with

Barry: De Versailles à Louveciennes, Musée-promenade de Marly-le-Roi-Louveciennes (Paris: Flammarion, 1992), 32-33, 58, and 66. One of the team of decorators and artisans that Ledoux hired for the 1770 renovation of Louveciennes, Louis Delanois was asked to choose the designs himself. Delafosse has been suggested as a source or inspiration for the *canapés* due to several related drawings he produced for a *canapé* and an armchair. Similarly to the involvement of J.-N. Boucher with the *Hôtel Guimard* just a few years later, Delafosse's prints and drawings may suggest a closer relationship between *ornemanistes* and architects than has previously been considered.

⁵⁴⁵ Jean-Charles Delafosse, *Recueil de planches d'ameublement et d'architecture* (Paris, Daumont, 1770), INHA Paris FOL RES 107.

⁵⁴⁶ Sculptors Feuillet and Métivier were paid for this work on March 14, 1774. Marie-Amynthe, *Madame du Barry*, 69 and 81. The same sculptors were engaged by Ledoux for the *Hôtel Guimard*.

⁵⁴⁷ In addition to the formal resonance between the print and Taraval's painted panel, a connection between ornament prints and other interiors has been suggested by Lebeurre. On their use as patterns for the *hôtel particulier* by designers who recycled these images across multiple interiors, see Lebeurre, "Le 'genre arabesques': nature et diffusion des modèles dans le décor intérieur à Paris 1760-1790," 91.

details for sculptors and varnishers for portions of decoration across a range of interior decorative schemes and furnishings, his later work published in small booklets by Chéreau and Daumont signals a shift to patterns for specific *meubles mobiliers* that more directly called to viewer agency and choice.

If the ornament prints and architectural projects conceived by Delafosse anticipated Le Camus's theories of sensual expression through their embrace of bewilderment, delight, and visual complexity, Lalonde's work suggests the way that prints in turn responded to and gave visual shape to these sentiments. Unlike Delafosse's overabundant ornament, the entire process of assembling a table or chair and engaging with it socially is already suggested in Lalonde's prints, which offer a more holistic and integrated sense of furnishings and their place in the interior. And it is the visual details of Lalonde's prints themselves that register the function, placement, social use, and sensory encounter with ornament. While Delafosse's prints dealt in the endless abundance of possibility, Lalonde's beckoned to viewers through a staged and imagined encounter with the interior itself. These details refined the distinctions between individual *appartements*, signaling their respective accoutrements as well as the register of ornament within the harmony of the interior as a viscerally experienced inner territory. While Delafosse's work wrestles with navigating the unruly terrain of ornament and archaeological fragments, Lalonde's prints offer ornament itself as a sort of living and breathing, if ephemeral encounter. If the viewer's former role as an observer of *convenance* in architectural manuals such as Blondel's began to be redefined through ornament booklets—and he or she was transformed into an active consumer and experiencer of taste, —then the role of the viewer also affected the creation of ornament, which resulted in an especially sensual and evocative antique in the final years of the *ancien régime*.

CONCLUSION

Ephemeral Prints at the Twilight of the *Ancien Régime*

In the year after Jean-Baptiste Maréchal composed his watercolor of the ephemeral Temple of Terpsichore, the publisher Campion frères et fils began producing *Vues pittoresques des principaux édifices de Paris* (1787-1790), a series of aquatints showing multiple views of *hôtels particuliers*, monuments, public squares, and other buildings including *Vue de la Maison de Mlle Guimard* (figure 3.39, right). These prints traced journeys through the urban landscape of Paris with successive views across the city, shown as small circular prints or roundels. While Lalonde and others produced prints in the 1780s that increasingly revealed the intimate inner terrain of the *hôtel particulier*, Le Campion took viewers on a journey across its outer landscape through the highly evocative medium of aquatint, chromatically tracing each detail.⁵⁴⁸ If the fragmented ornament of Huquier in the 1730s assembled itself into a more holistic and integrated inner topography of the interior by 1780s, views of the Parisian landscape correspondingly shifted to depict successive iterations of Parisian residences configured together as an urban journey to be quietly beheld and observed.

In the 1780s, another curious group of prints appeared on the print market that merged the inner journeys of Lalonde and Delafosse with the Parisian terrain of Campion frères, composed by many of the same individuals who contributed to *Vues pittoresques*. Embracing complicated new tonal technologies, these wash- and pastel-manner aquatints by Jean-François Janinet and Laurent Guyot (1756-1806) were published several to a sheet and reproduced the

⁵⁴⁸ Ad Stijnman and Elizabeth Savage, *Printing Colour 1400-1700: History, Techniques, Functions, and Receptions* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2015).

effects of pastels, watercolors, and gouache.⁵⁴⁹ In the work of Guyot, twelve picturesque landscape views after the watercolors of painter Alexandre Pernet were printed upon a sheet designed to look like soft blue velvet (figure 5.1). In other prints, sets of antique *vedute* were printed upon sheets with blue tracings that imitated flecks of polished marble (figures 5.2-5.3). In these prints, the antique was approached through the touch of velvet or the glisten of marble, which assisted the viewer in coming to know and apprehend the faraway ruins scattered upon the page. The effect was one of glimmering stones that viewers encountered as if placed in a velvet-lined jewelry box, inviting visual—and increasingly tactile—engagement with its sensory play of materials. Scholars have suggested that these roundels were meant to be cut out and placed within buttons, snuffboxes, and miniatures, or set within picture frames and displayed in residential interiors.⁵⁵⁰ Janinet’s roundels for instance have been linked to a 1780s fashion for large men’s buttons, which displayed images of gallant amorous scenes such as *Les heures du jour* after painter Nicolas Lavreince (figure 5.4).⁵⁵¹ Engraver Louis-Marin Bonnet advertised a pastel-manner double-portrait as a print that could be cut out and pasted inside of jewelry.”⁵⁵²

Evidence for this use is confirmed by a rare and not yet inventoried collection of buttons in the Musée Carnavelet that suggest just this kind of cutting and pasting, with paper roundels of gallant scenes that were placed inside of buttons (figure 5.5). As imitations of both drawings and watercolors, these prints resembled hand-painted ivory, porcelain, or enamel when set beneath glass and inlaid in a copper frame. In certain buttons, classical figures tend to incense burners

⁵⁴⁹ Judith C. Walsh, “Ink and Inspiration: The Craft of Color Printing,” in *Colorful Impressions: The Printmaking Revolution in Eighteenth-Century France*, ed. Margaret Morgan Grasselli and Judith A. Walsh (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 2003), 23.

⁵⁵⁰ Kristel Smentek, “An Exact Imitation Acquired at Little Expense: Marketing Color Prints in Eighteenth-Century France,” 9-21.

⁵⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 132.

⁵⁵² *Mercure de France* (1770), 19: “This portrait is a pretty miniature that one can place in a box or on a bracelet. This portrait may also be placed in a square frame by retaining the printed border that encloses it,” quoted in Smentek “An Exact Imitation,” 18.

while encircled in floral garlands set into wide frames (figure 5.6). While scholars have approached these prints in light of new color and tonal technologies, I suggest that this work enabled active viewer engagement similarly to the visual devices that had been used in pattern books for decades. In these prints, the *papillotage* of Oppenord and the bimodal asymmetry of Lajoue have their late-century counterparts in prints that engaged in more overt visual play and dissimulation. The complicated patterns of these earlier *ornemanistes* evolved by the end of the century into prints that more expressly mimicked other media, whether the sheen of painted enamel or a swath of plush velvet. Before these prints were cut out and placed within buttons or the lids of snuffboxes, they staged a concerted visual display that invited an intimate encounter with these sheets as if approaching a jewelry box drawer or the polished marble surface of a side table. The candlesticks of Pineau, the *trompe l'œil* prints and drawings of Saint-Aubin, and the incense burners of Lalonde have their final *ancien régime* permutations in these prints, which continued to summon forth viewer attention by revealing an ever more intimate, tactile inner landscape of ornament. Moreover, these prints shaped an increasingly subjective self in the choosing, display, and even embodied wearing of print upon clothing. And before they were cut out and placed inside of glass and copper disks, these prints already invited transient sensory encounters through their lively simulation of other materials.

It would not be long before these prints were swept up in the service of other social currents and revolutionary politics. Prints by Janinet and Guyot form part of a broader collection at the Carnavelet that comprises revolutionary badges and other memorabilia, which have been recently approached as part of a wide and unstable field of temporary works that were produced, circulated, and staged during the revolutionary decade.⁵⁵³ Richard Taws has studied the

⁵⁵³ Richard Taws, *The Politics of the Provisional: Art and Ephemera in Revolutionary France* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2013).

simulation of stone and bronze in print as a means of negotiating revolutionary temporality, which relied on ephemeral paper monuments.⁵⁵⁴ While these prints navigated the tumult of this decade, I suggest that we may locate their forerunners in the work of *ancien régime ornemanistes* who had long navigated questions of fragmentation, sensation, visual discernment, and increasingly, issues of temporality and impermanence. As this dissertation has shown, the unwieldy monuments of Delafosse and the flickering candles of Lalonde were fertile sites of working out questions of physical orientation in the residential interior and visually shaping its expressive capacities. Prints had long invited a grasping, fragmentary way of looking that facilitated the provisional exchange and negotiation of ideas before they were expounded upon in theoretical texts or realized in three-dimensional form.

By the final decade of the century, new *trompe l'œil* prints began to emerge with hidden portraits of Marie-Antoinette and the Dauphin.⁵⁵⁵ In the 1796 etching “Je vois tous et je ne vois rien,” *trompe l'œil* silhouettes are traced along the contours of an antique urn underneath the shade of a weeping willow, a veiled memorial to the departed monarchs (figure 5.7). By the turn of the nineteenth century, these *portraits cachés* evolved into botanical prints showing hidden profiles, such as the sprig of violets etched by Jean-Dominique-Étienne Le Canu who had previously engraved the work of Delafosse (figure 5.8). These botanical silhouettes invited close visual scrutiny, asking viewers to fill in the missing information and engage in careful consideration of their floral and figural contours. They also formed part of an emerging cult of memory to Marie-Antoinette.⁵⁵⁶ Whereas Canu’s engraving of the colossal vase after Delafosse

⁵⁵⁴ Richard Taws, “Material Futures: Reproducing Revolution in P.-L. Debucourt’s ‘Almanach National’” *The Art Bulletin* 92, no. 3 (September 2010): 170.

⁵⁵⁵ Rosine Trogan, “La naissance de la Légende,” in *Marie-Antoinette* (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux), 376-377.

⁵⁵⁶ Ibid.

had invited viewers on a *grand tour* journey through the interior, his later etchings of violets summoned viewers into the game of discerning hidden profiles, not unlike the furtive *trompe l'œil* drawings and veiled satire of Saint-Aubin. By this time, the heightened sensations, sense of discovery, and even delight evoked in the prints of Meissonnier and others had evolved to assist in negotiating an expanding emotional terrain of anticipation and anxiety, memory and mourning. These late-century provisional prints have their roots in the *ancien régime* ornament print, which shaped the expressive contours of the residential interior and an increasingly subjective and intimate social self over the course of the eighteenth century.

While scholars have largely focused on intermedial transmission and replication in print, too little attention has been paid to the generative potential of print itself, and to the fragmentary, grasping ways of looking that ornament prints elicited over the course of the eighteenth century. Their earliest stirrings can be found in the work of Oppenord that playfully dislodged from the ritualized time and space of court through *bouts-rimés* and visual games. So too, the ornament prints of Huquier dislodged themselves from the structured *distribution* and *convenance* of architectural treatises. In the 1730s, these prints sensually approached the emerging antique not through a process of standardization or systematization, but rather as a disjointed series of individual fragments or morsels whose forms were known and apprehended through the *papillotage* of the *rocaille*. In the work of Saint-Aubin, these prints took more overt license in their needling of the marquise de Pompadour and their subversion of antiquarian geometries, turning structured fretwork into melting ribbons that merged with the sinuous forms of *rocaille* prints. By the time of the *Hôtel* Guimard, prints were summoned in the service of an increasingly expressive architectural interior, spatially navigating heightened sensations seven years before Le Camus published his theories of sensual expression. As the 1770s unfolded, Delafosse's

ornament negotiated the problem of how to orient oneself in the vertiginous terrain of the decorated residential interior. His experimentations in scale and perspective carried over to architectural projects that employed *trompe l'œil* views that dissolved spatial boundaries similarly to the spatial inversions of the *Hôtel* Guimard. In Lalonde's prints, ornament evoked the sociability of choice and the commercial possibilities of multiple and varied configurations. His prints also quietly refined the decorative and sensory distinctions between individual *appartements*, revealing the *hôtel particulier* as a holistic inner territory of fleeting sensation.

As this dissertation has demonstrated, attending to print as *potential* allows us to reanimate the Parisian print trade as just as generative of ideas about making and engaging with decorative objects as it was reproductive. The prints at the heart of my study were not replicatory or derivative; rather, they framed and negotiated ideas about decoration, and allowed for its expression as decidedly tactile and fragmentary. While scholars have tended to study print's capacity to replicate other media or to represent fully conceived decoration, recentering upon print *recueils* by eighteenth-century *ornemanistes* requires that we more closely consider the indeterminacy of ornament prints themselves. Ornament resides in the sensuous spaces of possibility between the realm of ideas and the integrated three-dimensional terrain of objects in the *hôtel particulier*. This realm of potential reveals ornament to be a richly imaginative site of encounter between intaglio impressions and ideas about decoration in the eighteenth century. Centering on the *rocaille* in print as experienced and beheld revitalizes our understanding of the decorated interior as a sensual, porous topography in dialogue with the fragmentation, fleetingness, and tactility of ornament prints. Conditioning taste across Parisian commercial exchange and shaping the expressive capacities of the interior, these prints made visible the ever-expanding terrain of intimacy they negotiated through the end of the *ancien régime*.

FIGURES

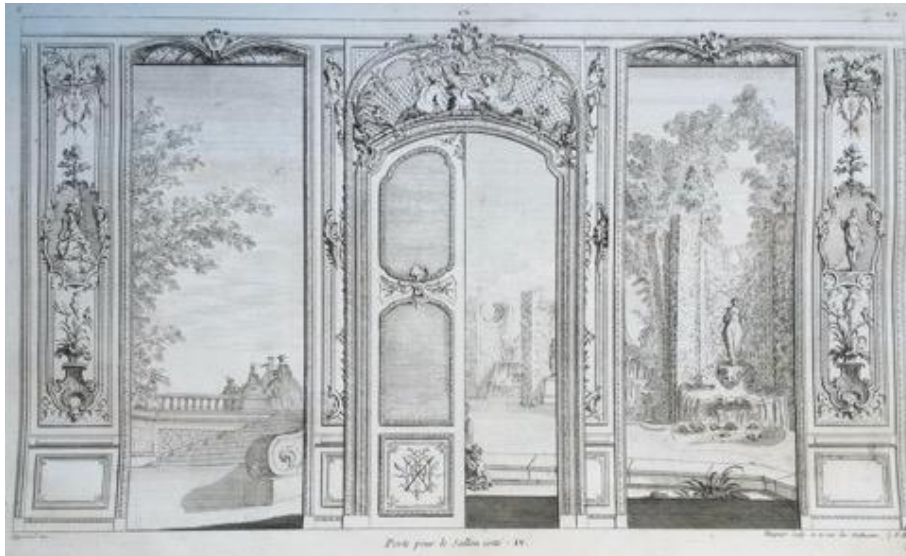
INTRODUCTION

Figure 0.1



Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin, *Deuxième Recueil de Chiffres*
Etched by Clément-Pierre Marillier, c.1766, Plate 12
Oak Spring Garden Foundation (OSG) Upperville, VA RB1328

Figure 0.2



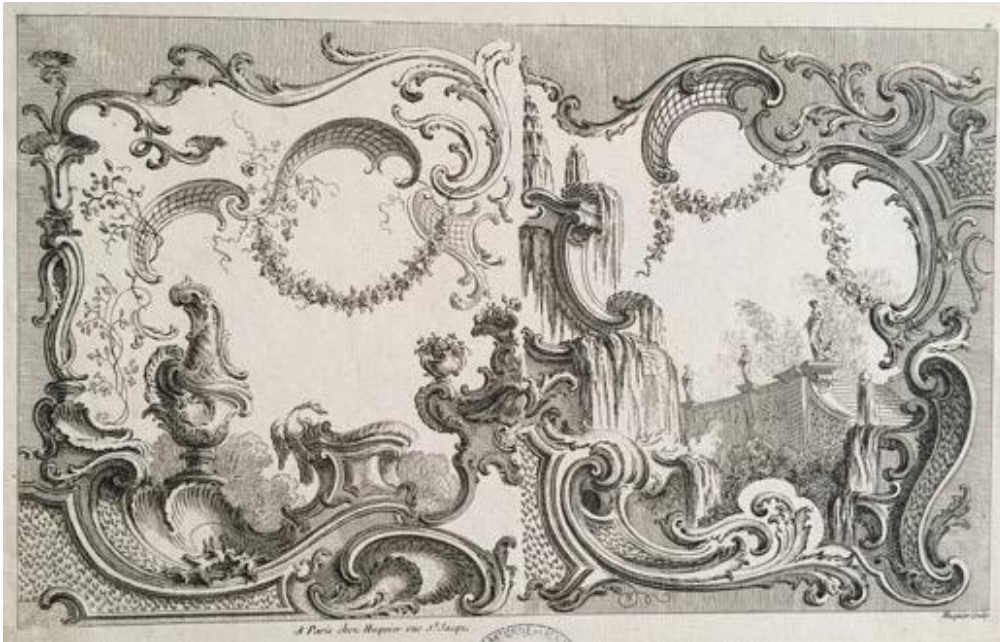
Gilles-Marie Oppenord, *Porte pour le Sallon côté*,
Plate IV from the "Grand Oppenord,"
Published by Huquier c.1748
Centre Canadien d'Architecture (CCA) Montréal 87-B6065

Figure 0.3



Alexis Peyrotte, *Seconde Partie de Divers Ornaments par Peyrotte*
Engraved and published by Gabriel Huquier, 1734
École des Beaux-Arts (EBA) Paris Est 1221

Figure 0.4



Jacques de Lajoue, *Second Livre de vases*, Plate 11
Engraved and published by Huquier, c.1740
EBA Paris Est les 30

Figure 0.5



Jean Mondon, “Jeune dessinateur dans un décor de rocailles dessinant l’Hercule Farnèse”

Plate 2, *Livre de formes Cartels et Rocailles*

Engraved and published by Antoine Aveline, 1736

Institut national d’histoire de l’art (INHA) Paris 4 RES 23

Figure 0.6



Claude-Nicolas Ledoux, “Maison de Mlle Guimard située à la Chaussée d’Antin”

Plate 176, *L'Architecture considérée sous le rapport de l'art, des mœurs et de la législation, Second Volume*, by Daniel Ramée, Published by Lenoir, Paris, 1847

Engraved by Claude-Mathieu Delagardette

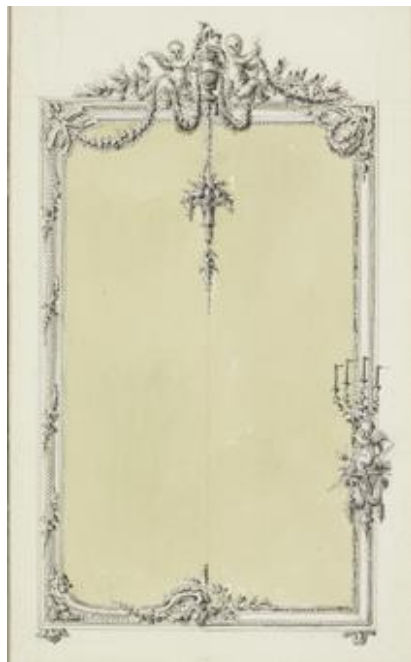
Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF) Paris HA-71-A-FOL

Figure 0.7



Jean-Charles Delafosse, Plate 2, "L'Air et l'Eau,"
Nouvelle Iconologie historique, 1768-1771
BnF Paris FOL-TD-3

Figure 0.8



Richard de Lalonde, *Design for a Mirror Frame, with Alternate Suggestions*, c.1780
Pen and black ink, brush and wash, light olive watercolor, graphite on white laid paper
Cooper-Hewitt, Smithsonian Design Museum (CH) New York 1911-28-193

CHAPTER ONE

Figure 1.1



Juste-Aurèle Meissonnier, Engraved by Laureolli

Livre d'ornemens Inventés et Dessinés par J.O. Meissonnier, Architecte, Dessinateur de la Chambre & Cabinet du Roi, plate 10, Published by Chéreau, 1734
Metropolitan Museum of Art (MMA) 30.58.2(136-140)

Figure 1.2



Juste-Aurèle Meissonnier, Engraved by Laureolli

Livre d'ornemens Inventés et Dessinés par J.O. Meissonnier, Architecte, Dessinateur de la Chambre & Cabinet du Roi, plate 21, Published by Chéreau, 1734
EBA Rec Les 86

Figure 1.3



Juste-Aurèle Meissonnier, Engraved by Laureolli, *Livre d'ornemens Inventés et Dessinés par J.O. Meissonnier, Architecte, Dessinateur de la Chambre & Cabinet du Roi*, plate 32, Published by Chéreau, 1734, EBA Rec Les 86

Figure 1.4



Gabriel Huquier, *Premier Livre de nouveaux Caprices d'Ornements meslés de fleurs et de fruits*, 1740
Bibliothèque du Musée des Arts Décoratifs (MAD) Paris

Figure 1.5



Antoine Watteau, *La perspective (View through the Trees of the Park of Pierre Crozat)*, c. 1715
Oil on canvas
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 1.6



Nicolas Lancret, *Concert in the Oval Salon of Pierre Crozat's Château de Montmorency*
c. 1720–1724, Oil on canvas
Dallas Museum of Art



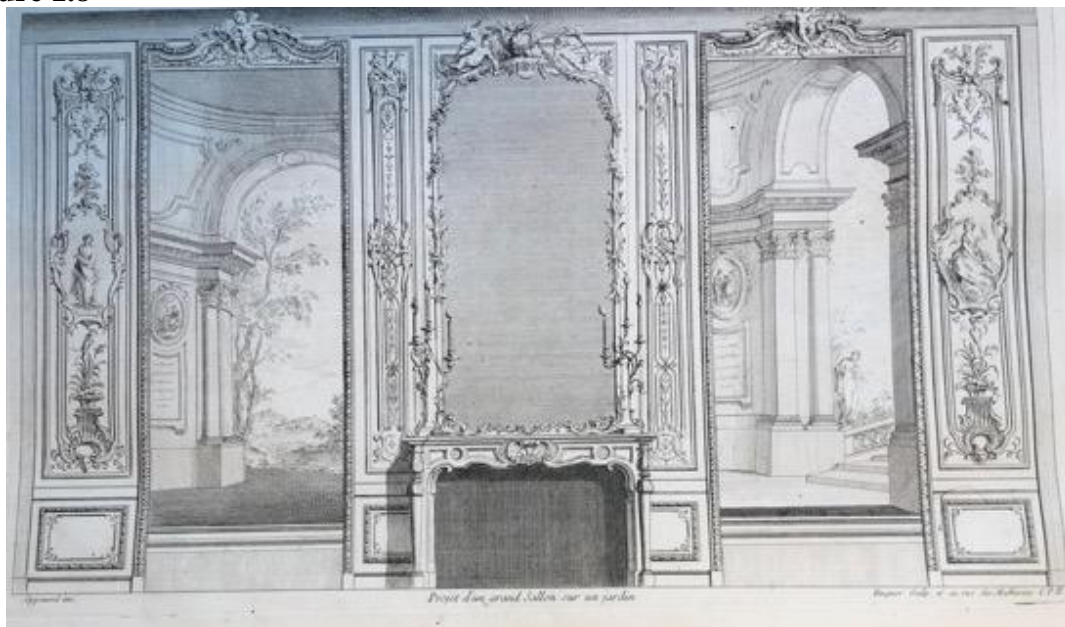
Nicolas Lancret, *Concert in the Hôtel Crozat*,
c. 1720, Oil on canvas
Alte Pinakotek, Munich

Figure 1.7



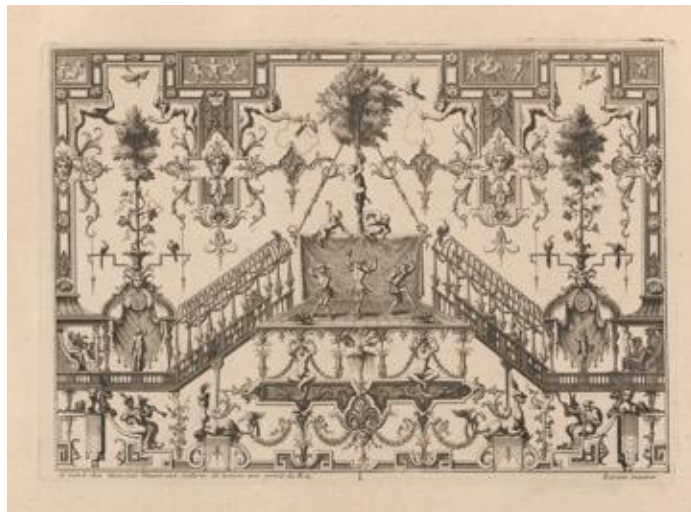
Gilles-Marie Oppenord, *Projet pour la décoration d'un grand Sallon*
Plate V from the "Grand Oppenord"
Published by Huquier c.1748
CCA Montréal 87-B6065

Figure 1.8



Gilles-Marie Oppenord, *Projet d'un grand Sallon sur un jardin*
Plate III from the "Grand Oppenord"
Published by Huquier c.1748
CCA Montréal 87-B6065

Figure 1.9



Ornament Designs Invented by Jean Bérain
Engraved by François Le Moyne, c.1711
MMA 21.36.141

Figure 1.10



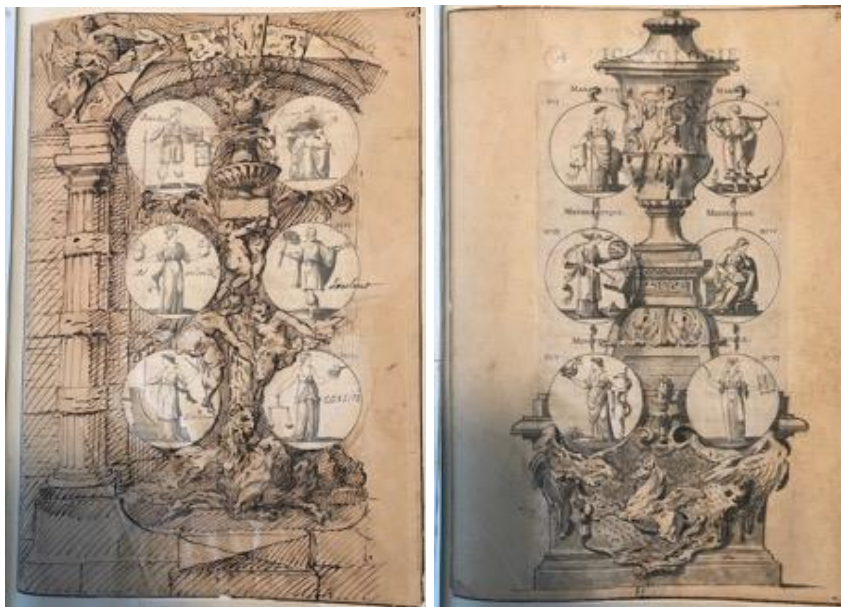
Gabriel Huquier
Engraving after Antoine Watteau
Le Berger Empressé (The Hurried Shepherd)
BnF Paris EST 42607

Figure 1.11



Gilles-Marie Oppenord, Folios 22 and 25 recto of an ornated
Copy of Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia* by
Jean Baudoin, illustrated by Jacques de Bié, after 1713
CCA Montréal Inv. CCA DR1991:007

Figure 1.12



Gilles-Marie Oppenord, Folios 28 and 43 recto of an ornated
Copy of Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia* by
Jean Baudoin, illustrated by Jacques de Bié, after 1713
CCA Montréal Inv. CCA DR1991:007

Figure 1.13



*Recueil de danses composés par M. Feuillet, Maître de Dance, 1700
BnF Paris RES M-V-303 (2)*



Gabriel Huquier, Engraving after Antoine Watteau, La danse bachique (Bacchanalian Dance) BnF Paris EST 42607

Figure 1.14



*Anne-Claude de Tubières, comte de Caylus
Suite de figures inventées par Watteau
gravées par son ami C., c.1726-27
Etching BnF Paris EST 42507*



*Anne-Claude de Tubières, comte de Caylus
Recueil de tout ce que j'ai gravé à l'eau forte ou
en bois, c.1726-27, Etching
BnF Paris ED-98-FOL*

Figure 1.15



Anne-Claude de Tubières, comte de Caylus
Le Dénicheur de Moineaux (The Sparrow Collector)
Etching and engraving after Antoine Watteau
BnF Paris EST 42607

Figure 1.16



Anne-Claude de Tubières, comte de Caylus
Dessus de clavecin gravé d'après le dessin original Inventé par Watteau
Etching and engraving Antoine Watteau
INHA Paris Pl Est 101

Figure 1.17



Anne-Claude de Tubières, comte de Caylus
Suite de figures inventées par Watteau gravées par son ami C., c.1726-27
Etching, BnF Paris EST 42739-40

Figure 1.18



Anne-Claude de Tubières, Comte de Caylus, *Maison de M. Le Brun*
c.1726-27, Etching
BnF Paris EST 42739-40



Antoine Watteau, *La perspective (View through the Trees of the Park of Pierre Crozat)*, c. 1715
Oil on canvas, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 1.19



Anne-Claude de Tubières, comte de Caylus
Title page, *Recueil d'antiquités égyptiennes, étrusques, grecques et romaines*
Tome 1, 1752 INHA Paris 4 RES 1847 (1)

Figure 1.20



Juste-Aurèle Meissonnier, engraved by Pierre-Quentin Chedel,
Livre de Légumes, inventés et dessinés par J. Me.r, plate 14,
Published by Chéreau, 1734
First state in National Museum of Sweden NMG Orn 1022

Figure 1.21



Juste-Aurèle Meissonnier
Œuvre de Juste-Aurèle Meissonnier, Plate C18, Published by Huquier, 1748
CH New York 1921-6-212-9-c

Figure 1.22



Jacques de Lajoue, Engraved by Cochin and Huquier
Recueil Nouveau de différents Cartouches, 1734
Published by Huquier
EBA Paris EST 9466

Figure 1.23



Jacques de Lajoue, *Paravant*, Painting on marouflé paper, c.1735
Petit Palais, musée des Beaux-arts de la Ville de Paris Inv. PDUT874 © RMN-Grand Palais / Agence Bulloz, Photo at right by author, 2017

Figure 1.24



Alexis Peyrotte, Engraved by Jean-Charles François
Vase rocaille, Published by Huquier, 1740
EBA Paris EST 1209

Figure 1.25



Alexis Peyrotte, Engraved by Gabriel Huquier
Second Livre d'Ornements, 1734
EBA Paris Est 1214

Figure 1.26



Jean Mondon, Engraved and published by Antoine Aveline
Premier Livre de forme Rocquaille et Cartel, 1736
INHA Paris 4 RES 23

Figure 1.27



Jean Mondon, “Jeune dessinateur dans un décor de rocailles dessinant l’Hercule Farnese,” Plate 2, *Livre de formes Cartels et Rocailles*, Published by Antoine Aveline, 1736, INHA Paris 4 RES 23



Antoine Watteau, *L'indifférent*
1717, Oil on wood
Musée du Louvre © 2010 RMN-Grand Palais
(musée du Louvre) / Stéphane Maréchalle

Figure 1.28



François Boucher, “Rocaille” in *Nouveaux Morceaux pour des paravents*
Engraved by Claude Duflos the Younger
CH New York 1931-94-11

Figure 1.29



Edmé Bouchardon, etched and published by Gabriel Huquier
Premier Livre de Vases Inventés par Edmé Bouchardon, Sculpteur du Roy, 1737
 INHA Paris 4 EST 312

Figure 1.30



Edmé Bouchardon, etched and published by Gabriel Huquier
 Plate 1, *Premier Livre de Vases Inventés par Edmé Bouchardon, Sculpteur du Roy, 1737*;
 Plate 8, *Second Livre de Vases, 1737*, INHA Paris 4 EST 312

Figure 1.31



Edmé Bouchardon, etched and published by Gabriel Huquier
Plates 6 and 12, *Second Livre de Vases Inventés par Edmé Bouchardon, Sculpteur du Roy*, 1737 INHA Paris 4 EST 312

Figure 1.32



Edmé Bouchardon, etched and published by Gabriel Huquier
Plate 4, *Second Livre de Vases Inventés par Edmé Bouchardon, Sculpteur du Roy*, 1737, INHA Paris 4 EST 312



Alexis Peyrotte, engraved by Jean-Charles François, *Vase rocaille*, published by Gabriel Huquier, 1740
EBA Paris Est 1209

Figure 1.33



Jacques de Lajoue, *Second Livre de vases*
 “Vase avec bélier et satyresse” engraved and published by Huquier, c.1740
 EBA Paris EST 9526

Figure 1.34



Edmé Bouchardon, etched and published by Gabriel Huquier, Plates 8 and 9,
Premier Livre de Vases Inventés par Edmé Bouchardon, Sculpteur du Roy, 1737
 INHA Paris 4 EST 312

Figure 1.35



François Boucher, engraved and published by Gabriel Huquier
Livre de vases par François Boucher, peintre du Roy, 1738
INHA Paris 4 EST 215

Figure 1.36



François Boucher, engraved and published by Gabriel Huquier
Plates 11 and 4, *Livre de vases par François Boucher, peintre du Roy, 1738*
INHA Paris 4 EST 215

Figure 1.37



François Boucher, engraved and published by Gabriel Huquier
 Plates 5 and 8, *Livre de vases par François Boucher, peintre du Roy*, 1738
 INHA Paris 4 EST 215

Figure 1.38



Juste-Aurèle Meissonnier
*Silver Sculptural Project for a
 Large Centerpiece and Two Tureens
 Which Have Been Executed for
 His Lordship the Duke of Kingston
 1735-37 (detail)*
 CH New York 1921-6-212



François Boucher, engraved and published by
 Gabriel Huquier, Plate 4, *Livre de vases par
 François Boucher, peintre du Roy*, 1738
 INHA Paris 4 EST 215

Figure 1.39



Edmé Bouchardon, *Rocaille Fountain with Venus, Amorini, and Swans*, c.1735
Red chalk on two joined sheets
National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. (NGA) 1996.13.1

Figure 1.40



Edmé Bouchardon
Un projet de fontaine adossé à un décor architectural, c.1738
Red chalk
Musée du Louvre, Paris Inv. 24275



Edmé Bouchardon
Etched and published by Gabriel Huquier
Premier Livre de Vases Inventés, Plate 1
par Edmé Bouchardon, *Sculpteur du Roy*, 1737
INHA Paris 4 EST 312

Figure 1.41



Edmé Bouchardon
Fontaine aux nymphes
c.1735
Red chalk
Musée du Louvre, Paris
Inv. 24278



Edmé Bouchardon
Fontaine des Grâces
1736-37
Red chalk
Musée du Louvre, Paris
Inv. 24677



Edmé Bouchardon
Etched and published by
Gabriel Huquier
La Fontaine des Trois Graces
c.1737
INHA Paris 4 EST 312

Figure 1.42



Edmé Bouchardon
Fontaine au gnome, 1736-37
Red chalk
Musée du Louvre, Paris
Inv. 24280



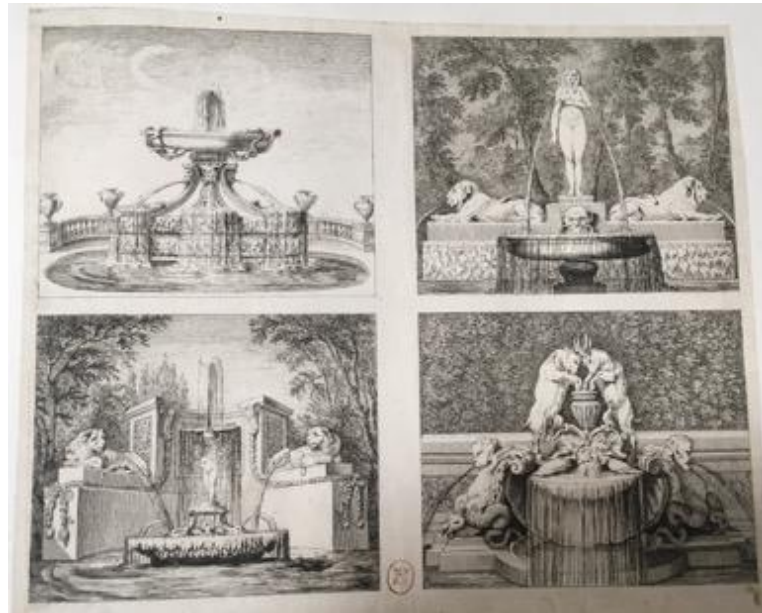
Edmé Bouchardon
Etched and published by Gabriel Huquier,
Plate 12, *Second Livre de Vases Inventés*
par Edmé Bouchardon, Sculpteur du Roy,
1737
INHA Paris 4 EST 312

Figure 1.43



Edmé Bouchardon, *Fontaine Grenelle*, 1739-1745
rue Grenelle, Paris
Photo by author, 2018

Figure 1.44



Edmé Bouchardon, *Fontaines*, 1747
Illustration in Antoine-Joseph Dezallier d'Argenville, *La théorie et la pratique du
jardinage*, published by Mariette
BnF Paris S4658

Figure 1.45



François Boucher, engraved and published by Gabriel Huquier
Recueil de fontaines Inventées par F. Boucher, Peintre du Roy, 1736 and 1738
 Plates 1-3 of 14
 INHA Paris FOL RES 9

Figure 1.46



François Boucher
Rocaille, in *Nouveaux Morceaux pour des paravents*, Engraved by Claude Augustin Duflos le Jeune, 1736-38
 CH New York 1931-94-11



Edmé Bouchardon
Rocaille Fountain with Venus, Amorini, and Swans, c.1735
 Red chalk on two joined sheets
 NGA 1996.13.1

Figure 1.47



Jacques de Lajoue
Nouveaux Tableaux d'Ornements et Rocailles Par J. de la Joue, Peintre du Roy
Engraved and published by Gabriel Huquier, c. 1740
EBA Paris Est 9534



Edmé Bouchardon
Fontaine aux nymphes
c.1735
Red chalk
Musée du Louvre, Paris
Inv. 24278

Figure 1.48

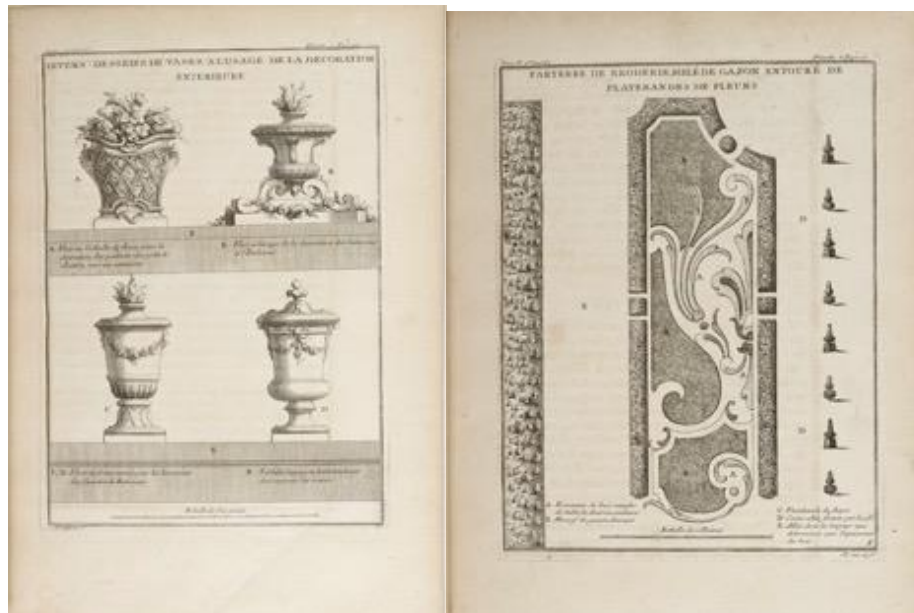


François Boucher, engraved by Huquier
Plate 11, *Livre de vases par François Boucher, peintre du Roy*, 1738
INHA Paris 4 EST 215



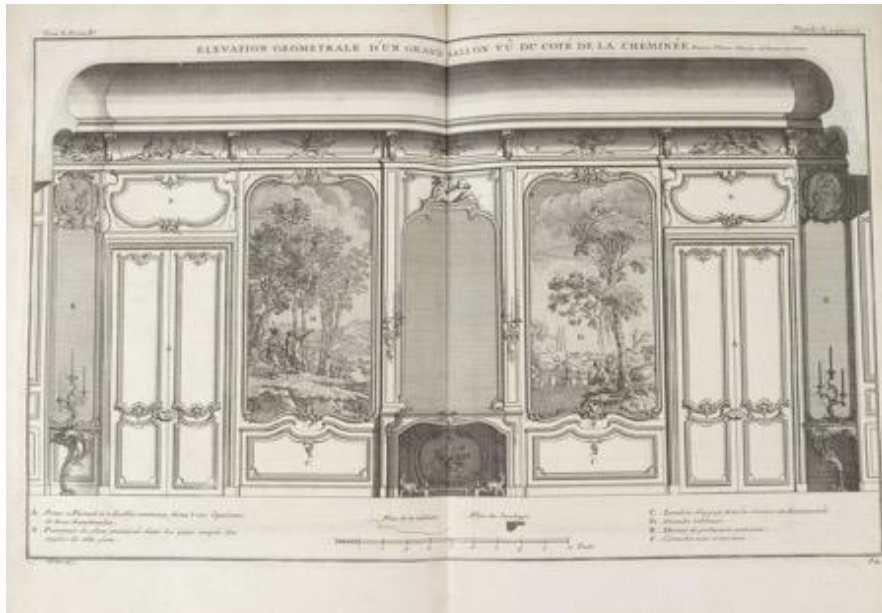
Jacques-François Joseph Saly
Plate 30
Design for a Vase
INHA Paris 8 EST 69

Figure 1.49



Jacques-François Blondel, *De la Distribution des Maisons de Plaisance*, t.II, 1737-38
 Plates 2 and 8, “Diverses vases and Parterres de broderie”
 BnF Paris 4-S-4144 (2)

Figure 1.50



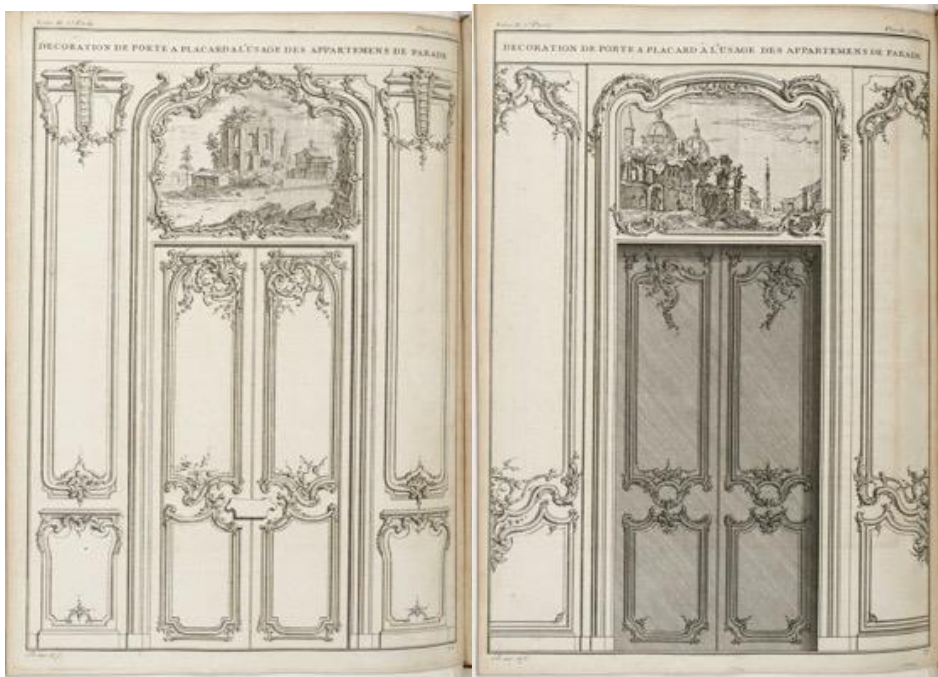
Jacques-François Blondel, *De la Distribution des Maisons de Plaisance*, t.II, 1737-38
 Plate 84, “Élévation géométrale d’un Grand Salon”
 BnF Paris 4-S-4144 (2)

Figure 1.51



Nicolas Pineau, *Appliqué à trois branches ornée de rocailles*
Red chalk
Musée des arts décoratifs (MAD) Paris CD 1737

Figure 1.52



Jacques-François Blondel, *De la Distribution des Maisons de Plaisance*, t.II, 1737-38
Plates 34 and 24 “Décoration de la Porte a Placard”
BnF Paris 4-S-4144 (2)

Figure 1.53



Jacques de Lajoue, *Second Livre de Cartouches inventées par de Lajoue, 1734*
Plate 2, engraved by Charles-Nicolas Cochin, published by Gabriel Huquier
EBA Paris Est 9477

Figure 1.54



Gabriel Huquier, *Projet pour la carte d'adresse de la boutique de Gabriel Huquier, 1749*
Pen and ink
EBA Paris O.1750-02

Figure 1.55



Gabriel Huquier, *Le Berceau*, after Antoine Watteau
*Nouveau Livre de Principes d'Ornements particulièrement pour trouver un nombre infini
 de formes qui en dépendent*, c.1749-61
 INHA Paris Res 16

Figure 1.56



Gabriel Huquier, "Avis au Lecteur"
*Nouveau Livre de Principes d'Ornements particulièrement pour trouver
 un nombre infini de formes qui en dépendent*, c.1749-61
 INHA Paris Res 16

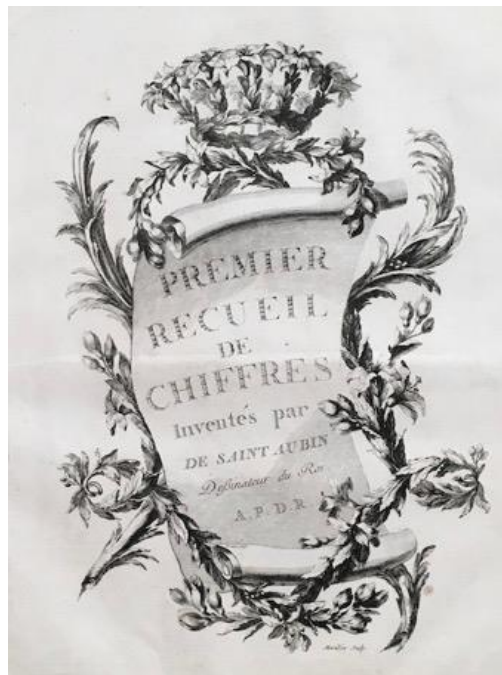
Figure 1.57



Anonymous (possibly the comte de Caylus)
L'Architecte à la Grecque, c.1763, etching, illustrated in
Sven Eriksen, *Early Neoclassicism in France*, plate 357

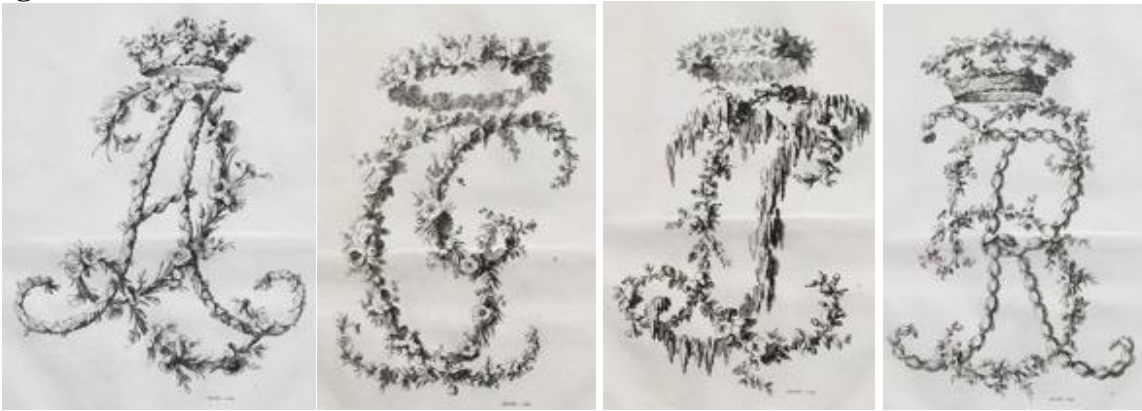
CHAPTER TWO

Figure 2.1



Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin, *Premier Recueil de Chiffres*
Plate 1, Etched by Clément-Pierre Marillier, c.1766
Oak Spring Garden Foundation Library (OSG) RB1328

Figure 2.2



Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin, *Premier and Deuxième Recueil de Chiffres*
Etched by Clément-Pierre Marillier, c.1766, Plates 2-5
OSG RB1328

Figure 2.3



Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin, *L'Art du brodeur*. c.1770
Paris: Delatour, Plates 9 and 10
OSG RB391

Figure 2.4



François Boucher, Frontispiece
from Jeanne Le Normant d'Étiolles Poisson, marquise de Pompadour, *Suite d'estampes gravées par madame la marquise de Pompadour*, 1753

Etching and engraving
Walters Art Museum, Baltimore 92.548.2

Figure 2.5



François Gersault, *Art du tailleur*
Plate 16, *Boutique de la marchande de modes*, 1769
BnF V-3934 (2)

Figure 2.6



Charles-Germain de Saint Aubin, *Recueil de plantes*
 Trade cards and bookplates
 Etchings pasted onto pages 231 (verso) and 232, 1760
 OSG MS0148

Figure 2.7



Frontispice formé d'un rideau suspendu
 avec titre, in *Le Livre des Saint-Aubin*
 Fonds des dessins et miniatures, Petit
 format
 Musée du Louvre, Paris RF 52200, Recto



Trade card of Gabriel Huquier *Aux armes*
d'Angleterre, c.1729-37
 Etching
 British Museum, 2004,1031.3

Figure 2.8



Gabriel de Saint-Aubin, *Trade Card for Périér, Ironmonger*, 1767
Etching and drypoint (detail at right)
Private Collection, on loan at MMA

Figure 2.9



Louis Tessier, *Livre de fleurs*, c.1751-76
INHA Paris FOL EST 609

Figure 2.10



Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin
La Coste est mort, 1762
Livre de caricatures, c.1740-1775
 WM 675.361 © Waddesdon Manor



Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin
Passe-partout le Bastille, after 1745
Livre de caricatures, c.1740-1775
 WM 675.316 © Waddesdon Manor

Figure 2.11



Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin, *Essay de Papillons Humaines*, 1748
 MMA 1982.1101.3

Figure 2.12



Antoine Watteau
The Acrobat, c.1710
Davis Museum, Wellesley
College

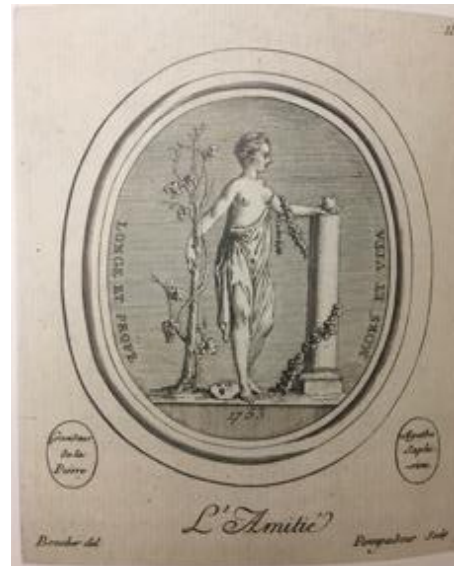


Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin, *Essay de Papillons Humaines*, 1748
MMA 1982.1101.3

Figure 2.13



Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin
Offrande à l'amitié, 1756
Etching
Collection Paul Prouté, S.A., Paris
Illustrated in Carlson,
Regency to Empire, 126



Jeanne Le Normant d'Étiolles Poisson, marquise
de Pompadour, "Friendship," from *Suite
d'estampes gravées par madame la marquise de
Pompadour*, 1753
Etching and engraving
Walters Art Museum 92.548.2

Figure 2.14



Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin, *Premier Recueil de Chiffres*, Etched by Clément-Pierre Marillier
c. 1766, Plate 6
OSG RB1328



Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin, *Premier Recueil de Chiffres*, Etched by Clément-Pierre Marillier
c. 1766, Plate 7
OSG RB1328



Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin, *Deuxième Recueil de Chiffres*, Etched by Clément-Pierre Marillier
c. 1766, Plate 9
OSG RB1328

Figure 2.15



Gilles-Marie Oppenord, *Decorated copy of the Ripa-Baudoin Iconologie* (1636)
After 1713, Pages 1 and 7
CCA Montréal DR1991:0007

Figure 2.16



Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin, *Design for a decorative monogram composed of flowers*, c.1766
Lodewijk Houthakker Collection



Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin
Premier Recueil de Chiffres, Etched by Clément-Pierre Marillier, c.1766
Plate 2
OSG RB1328



Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin, *Branches de lierre, de chêne, et aubépine formant le chiffre A.S.*, 1766
Livre des Saint-Aubin
Folio 7, page 10
Musée du Louvre RF 52186, Recto



Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin,
Deuxième Recueil de Chiffres, Etched by Clément-Pierre Marillier, c.1766
Plate 8
OSG RB1328

Figure 2.17



Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin, "Aube Épine blanche," 1757, Page 49
Recueil de plantes
OSG MS0148



Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin, Etched by Clément-Pierre Marillier, *Deuxième Recueil de Chiffres*, c.1766
Plate 8
OSG RB1328



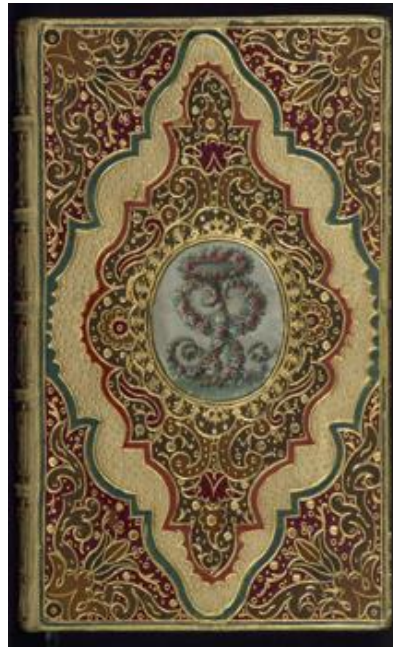
Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin, "Aube Épine," *Mes petites fleurettes*
In *Recueil de plantes*
OSG MS0148

Figure 2.18



François Boucher, *Madame de Pompadour at a clavichord*, 1750
Oil on paper mounted on canvas
Musée du Louvre RF2142
© 2005 RMN-Grand Palais (musée du Louvre) / Thierry Le Mage

Figure 2.19



Heures Nouvelles à l'usage des laïcs, suivant le Nouveau Breviaire, 1743
Published by G. Simon
Calfskin with colored leather onlays, gilding, gouache under mica
Walters Art Museum 92.90

Figure 2.20



Charles-Nicolas Cochin
Projet d'ex-libris aux armes de madame de Pompadour
Private collection
Illustrated in Salmon,
Pompadour et les Arts, 171



Gabriel de Saint-Aubin
Projet d'ex-libris aux armes du marquis de Marigny, Private collection, Illustrated in Salmon, *Pompadour et les Arts*, 171



Gabriel de Saint-Aubin
Projet d'ex-libris aux armes du comte de Vence
Private collection
Illustrated in Salmon,
Pompadour et les Arts, 171

Figure 2.21



Gabriel de Saint-Aubin
Madame de Pompadour displayed in the Salon of 1757
Pen, brown ink, brown wash



William Ryland, after François Boucher, *Cartouche aux armes de Madame de Pompadour*, Before 1759
Etching and engraving
Musée du Louvre
Inv. 5996 L.R. ©RMN-Grand Palais (Musée du Louvre) - Michel Urtado



François Boucher
Madame de Pompadour, 1754
Pastel over sanguine and light grey-blue washes
Melbourne, National Gallery of Victoria 1482-5

Figure 2.22



Jean-Baptiste Pigalle
L'Amitié sous les traits de madame de Pompadour
(1721-1764), 1753
Marble, Musée du Louvre
Inv. RF3026 © RMN-Grand Palais (musée du Louvre) / Hervé Lewandowski



Jean-Baptiste Pigalle, *L'Amour embrassant l'Amitié*, 1753
Marble
Musée du Louvre Inv. RF 297
© RMN-Grand Palais (musée du Louvre) / Michel Urtado



Étienne-Maurice Falconet
Figure of Madame de Pompadour as "Friendship"
1755
Soft-paste porcelain
The Bowes Museum
Cer.1997.54

Figure 2.23



François Boucher
The Altar of Friendship
[*l'Autel de l'Amitié*]
Late 1750s, Black Chalk and grey wash on paper, laid down, V&A, DYCE.595 © Victoria and Albert Museum, London



Ange-Laurent de La Live de Jully, after François Boucher
Jeune fille sacrifiant sur l'autel de l'amitié, 18th century
Etching
Yale University Art Gallery
2008.96.3



Gilles Demarteau, after François Boucher
Jeune fille sacrifiant sur l'autel de l'amitié
Crayon-manner engraving, Musée du Louvre Inv. RF 19185LR © RMN-Grand Palais (musée du Louvre) / Tony Querrec

Figure 2.24



Jeanne Le Normant d'Étiolles Poisson,
marquise de Pompadour
"Friendship" and "Love and Friendship"
from *Suite d'estampes gravées par madame
la marquise de Pompadour*, 1753
Etching and engraving
Walters Art Museum 92.548.2, 49



Boucher drawing etched by Pompadour (lower
left), 1766
Fonds des dessins et miniatures
Réserve des grands albums
Le Livre de Saint-Aubin
Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts
Graphiques RF 52186 © RMN-Grand-Palais
(musée du Louvre) / Thierry Le Mage

Figure 2.25



Jeanne Le Normant d'Étiolles Poisson, marquise de Pompadour, Temple de l'Amitié
(Temple of Friendship), from *Suite d'estampes gravées par madame la marquise de
Pompadour d'après les pierres gravées de Guay*, graveur du Roi
MMA 24.33(34)

Figure 2.26



Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin, *Lichen et branches de fleurs formant le chiffre N. C., couronné de feuillage*, Folio 25
Livre des Saint-Aubin, Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques RF 52216, Recto, 1775
© RMN-Grand-Palais (musée du Louvre) / Thierry Le Mage



Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin
Initiales entrelacées
Pen, brown ink, brown wash
MAD Paris Inv. 6379

Figure 2.27



Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin, *Premier Recueil de Chiffres*
Etched by Clément-Pierre Marillier, c.1766
Plate 1
OSG RB1328



Title page from *Suite d'estampes gravées par madame la marquise de Pompadour*, 1753
Etching and engraving
Walters Art Museum 92.548.2



Gilles Demarteau, after François Boucher
L'éducation de l'amour
18th century
Musée du Louvre
Inv. RF 19147LR © RMN-Grand-Palais (musée du Louvre) / Tony Querrec

Figure 2.28

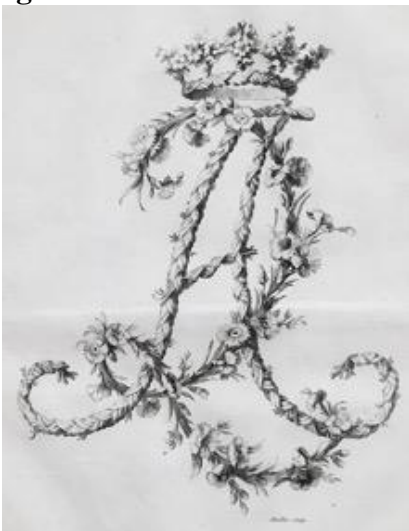


François Boucher, *Portrait of Madame de Pompadour*, 1756 (detail)
Alte Pinakothek, Munich
Inv. Nr. HUW 18



Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin
Hyacinthe, 1763, Page 57
Recueil de plantes
OSG MS0148

Figure 2.29



Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin
Premier Recueil de Chiffres, c. 1766
Etched by Clément-Pierre Marillier
Plate 2 OSG RB1328



Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin
"Œillet de Poitou" (Garden Pink)
1754, Page 40
Recueil de plantes
OSG MS0148

Figure 2.30



Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin
Premier Recueil de Chiffres, c. 1766
Plate 2, Etched by Clément-Pierre Marillier
OSG RB1328



Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin
La plaisanterie n'est pas sans fondement
(This Joke is not without fundament [or
foundation]), c.1745-1775
WM 675.281 © Waddesdon Manor

Figure 2.31



Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin, *Les Talens du jour*, c. 1745-1775
In *Livre de caricatures*, c. 1740-1775
WM 675.259 © Waddesdon Manor

Figure 2.32



Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin
Premier Recueil de Chiffres, c.1766
Plate 4, Etched by Clément-Pierre Marillier
OSG RB1328



Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin, La Charité ou l'autel de Trophonius, (Charity or the lair of Trophonius), in *Livre de caricature* c.1740-1775, WM 675.274
© Waddesdon Manor

Figure 2.33



Carl Van Loo, *The Arts Begging Destiny to Spare the Life Madame de Pompadour* 1764
Pittsburgh, The Frick Art Museum 1970.32



Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin
Premier Recueil de Chiffres, c.1766
Plate 4, Etched by Clément-Pierre Marillier
OSG RB1328

Figure 2.34



*Branches de fleurs formant le chiffre
H. R. couronné de feuillage, 1766
Livre des Saint-Aubin
Folio 8, page 11, Musée du Louvre,
Département des Arts Graphiques RF
52187, Recto © RMN-Grand-Palais
(musée du Louvre) / Thierry Le Mage*



Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin, *Premier
Recueil de Chiffres*, c.1766
Plate 5, Etched by Clément-Pierre Marillier
OSG RB1328

Figure 2.35



Charles-Germain de Saint-
Aubin, "Bruyère du Cap"
Recueil de plantes, page
108, 1770
OSG MS0148



Charles-Germain de Saint-
Aubin, *Des gens qui font les
connaisseurs trouveront
ce bouquet passable (People
who pretend to be
connoisseurs will find this
bouquet tolerable)*
c.1740-1775, WM 675.252
© Waddesdon Manor



Charles-Germain de Saint-
Aubin, *Mes Petits Bouquets
dédiés à Madame La Duchesse
de Chevreuse*, c.1740-1755
MMA 2013.984, 1-6

Figure 2.36



François-Hubert Drouais, *Madame de Pompadour at her Tambour Frame*, 1763-64 (detail)
National Gallery, London



Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin, *Premier Recueil de Chiffres*, c.1766
Plate 5, Etched by Clément-Pierre Marillier
OSG RB1328

Figure 2.37



Charles-Antoine Coypel, *Pleasures of childhood or child's play during the morning toilette*, 1772, Oil on canvas
Malibu, Dr. Martin L. Cohen M.D. and Sharleen Cooper Cohen

Figure 2.38



Madame la Marquise de Pompadour
Plate 34, “Temple de l’Amitié” (Temple of Friendship) from *Suite d’estampes*
MMA 24.33(34)



Jacques Guay
Cachet de Madame de Pompadour, 1753
BnF, Cabinet des médailles 2504



Chiffre L. L., formé d’un ruban à motif de grecque et d’une branche, 1766
Livre des Saint-Aubin, Folio 9, page
Musée du Louvre
12 RF 52188, Recto
© RMN-Grand-Palais (musée du Louvre) / Thierry Le Mage



Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin
Deuxième Recueil de Chiffres, Plate 12,
Etched by Clément-Pierre Marillier
c.1766
OSG RB1328

Figure 2.39



Madame la Marquise de Pompadour
Temple de l’Amitié (Temple of Friendship)
Plate 34 from *Suite d’estampes gravées par madame la marquise de Pompadour*
(detail)
MMA 24.33(34)



Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin
Deuxième Recueil de Chiffres
Plate 12, Etched by Clément-Pierre Marillier
c.1766
OSG RB1328

Figure 2.40



Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin, *Deuxième Recueil de Chiffres*
Plate 12, Etched by Clément-Pierre Marillier
c.1766
OSG RB1328

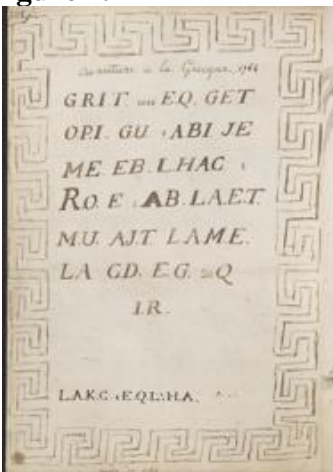


Carl Van Loo
La Marquise de Pompadour en jardinière
Oil on canvas, c. 1754-55
Musée national des Châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon, inv.
MV 8616 (C) RMN-Grand Palais (Château de Versailles) / Gérard Blot



Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin, "Lilac, rose, jasmin," 1772
Page 62, *Recueil de plantes*
OSG MS0148

Figure 2.41



Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin, "Avanture à la Grecque" (Greek adventure), 1764
Livre de caricatures
WM 675.364 © Waddesdon Manor



Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin, "Cy Gist dessous, qui but Dessus" (Here lies below he who drank above)
Livre de caricatures
WM 675.329 © Waddesdon Manor



Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin, *Deuxième Recueil de Chiffres*
Plate 12, Etched by Clément-Pierre Marillier
c.1766
OSG RB1328

Figure 2.42



Benigno Bossi, after Ennemond-Alexandre Petitot, “La Mariée à la grecque”
Mascarade à la grecque, 1764
INHA Paris Fol Res 113



Jean-Charles Delafosse
Figure emblématique: L'ornemaniste, c.1768
MAD Paris 994.27.2

Figure 2.43



Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin, *Deuxième Recueil de Chiffres*
c.1766
Plate 13, Etched by
Clément-Pierre Marillier
OSG RB1328



Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin, *Barbeaux, ou aubifoire. Bluet*
Criticum, froment cultivé, blé
1743
Page 7, *Recueil de plantes*
OSG MS0148



Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin, *Cy gist d'Etiolle Pompadour* (Here lies Etiolles Pompadour), 1764
Livre de caricatures
WM 675.366 © Waddesdon Manor

Figure 2.44



Charles-Germain de Saint Aubin, *Recueil de plantes*, page 2, 1740
OSG MS0148

Figure 2.45



Charles-Germain de Saint Aubin, *Recueil de plantes*, page 1, 1740
Morgan Library & Museum (MLM)
1956.13



Charles-Germain de Saint Aubin, *Essay de Papillons humaines*, 1748
MMA 1982.1101.1

Figure 2.46



Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin
Frontispice du Livre des Saint-Aubin
 Fonds des dessins et miniatures
 Livre des Saint-Aubin, Folio 1
 Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts
 Graphiques RF 52178, Recto © RMN-
 Grand-Palais (musée du Louvre) / Thierry
 Le Mage



Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin
Livre de Caricatures tant Bonnes que mauvaises
 Title page, c. 1775
 WM 675.1 © Waddesdon Manor

Figure 2.47



Charles-Germain de Saint Aubin, *Recueil de plantes*, pages 8 and 46, 1742 and 1756
 OSG MS0148

Figure 2.48



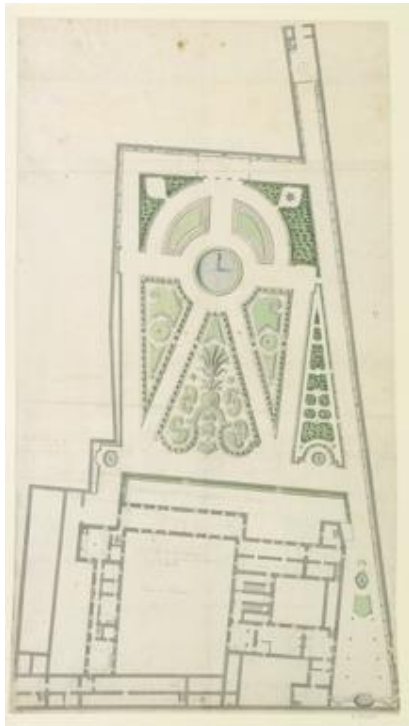
Charles-Germain de Saint Aubin, *Recueil de plantes*, page 30, 1750
OGG MS0148

Figure 2.49



Charles-Germain de Saint Aubin, *Recueil de plantes*, page 56, 1761
OSG MS0148

Figure 2.50



Plan de l'hôtel de l'EsdiGUIères avec le jardin, près de l'Arcenal, 1717
BnF Paris RES HA-18 (C, 7)-FT 6

Figure 2.51



Charles-Germain de Saint Aubin, *Recueil de plantes*, page 55, 1761
OSG MS0148



Charles-Germain de Saint Aubin, "Ny Germain, ny messonier, ny gerard, ny Babel, ny moy"
(Neither Germain, nor Messonier, nor Gerard, nor Babel or me), 1740-1775
WM 675.210 © Waddesdon Manor

Figure 2.52



Charles-Germain de Saint Aubin, *Recueil de plantes*, pages 67 and 68, 1757
OSG MS0148

Figure 2.53



Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin, *Bouquets Champêtres, dédiés à Madame La Marquise de Pompadour*, c.1755-1768
INHA Paris 4 RES 125 (2)

Figure 2.54



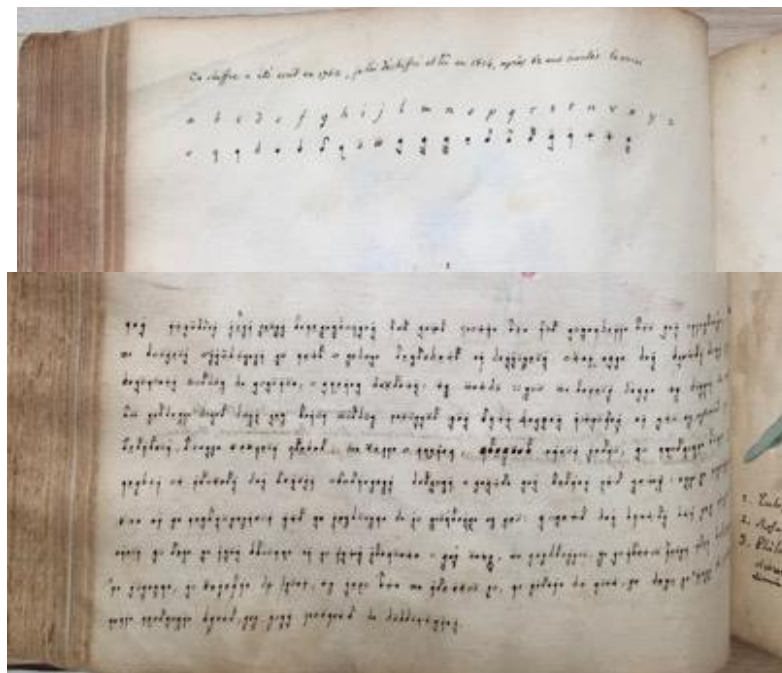
46e Vue d'Optique représentant le Jardin et l'Hôtel d'Évreux appartenant à Madame la Marquise de Pompadour. A Paris chez Daumont rue St Martin, c.1753
Aquatint, BnF Paris LI-72 (1)-FOL)

Figure 2.55



Charles-Germain de Saint Aubin, *Recueil de plantes*, page 79 verso and 80, 1762
OSG MS0148

Figure 2.56



Charles-Germain de Saint Aubin, *Recueil de plantes*, page 79 verso and 80, 1762
OSG MS0148 (details)

Figure 2.57



Charles-Germain de Saint Aubin, *Recueil de plantes*, page 46, 1756
OSG MS0148



Charles-Germain de Saint Aubin
Essay de Papillons humaines, 1748
MMA 1982.1101.1

Figure 2.58



Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin, *Bouquets Champêtres dédiés à Madame La Maréchale de Biron*, c.1755-1768
MMA 32.130.14

Figure 2.59



Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin
“Renoncules ou Semi doubles,” 1756
Page 45, *Recueil de plantes*
OSG MS0148 (detail)



Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin
“Aube Épine blanche,” 1757
Page 49, *Recueil de plantes*
OSG MS0148

Figure 2.60



Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin, *Mes Petits Bouquets dédiés à Madame La Duchesse de Chevreuse*, c.1755-1768
MMA 2013.984, 1-6



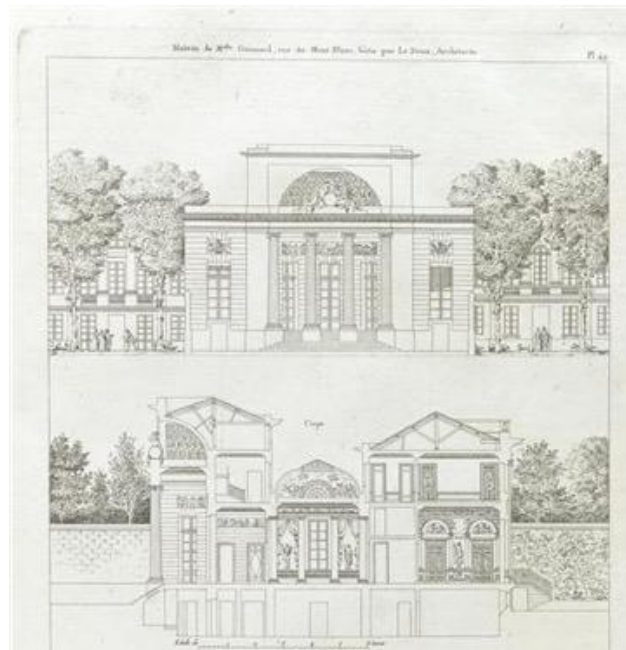
Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin, "Renoncules ou Semi doubles," 1756
Page 45, *Recueil de plantes*
OSG MS0148



Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin, *Des gens qui font les connoisseurs trouveront ce bouquet passable*
(People who pretend to be connoisseurs will find this bouquet tolerable)
c.1740-1775, WM 675.252 ©
Waddesdon Manor

CHAPTER THREE

Figure 3.1



Jean-Charles Krafft and Nicolas Ransonette
Plans, Coupes, Élévations des plus belles maisons et hôtels construits à Paris, plate 49, 1801-1803
University of Virginia, Special Collections NA7348.P2 K8 1803

Figure 3.2



Pantin Folie

Service photographique des archives de Seine, No. Inventaire 62/1,2,3
Centre de Documentation, Château de Sceaux

Figure 3.3



Décoration peinte du XVIII^e siècle, *Petit salon de Mlle Guimard*
Vente après décès, Boiseries anciennes... ...100, rue de Pantin (Seine), 1913, no. 6
Centre de documentation, Centre national de la danse, Pantin (CND)

Figure 3.4



Alexis Peyrotte, *Paneling for Grand Salon of Guimard's house in Pantin* (detail at right)
Installation in the Château de Sceaux

Figure 3.5



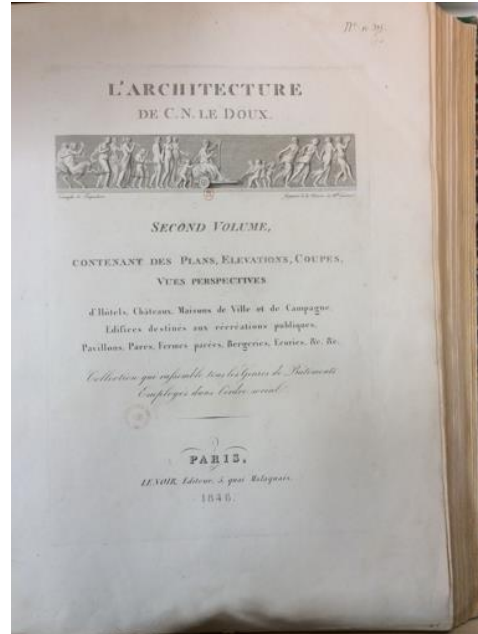
Alexis Peyrotte, *Paneling for Grand Salon of Guimard's house in Pantin*
Installation in the Château de Sceaux

Figure 3.6



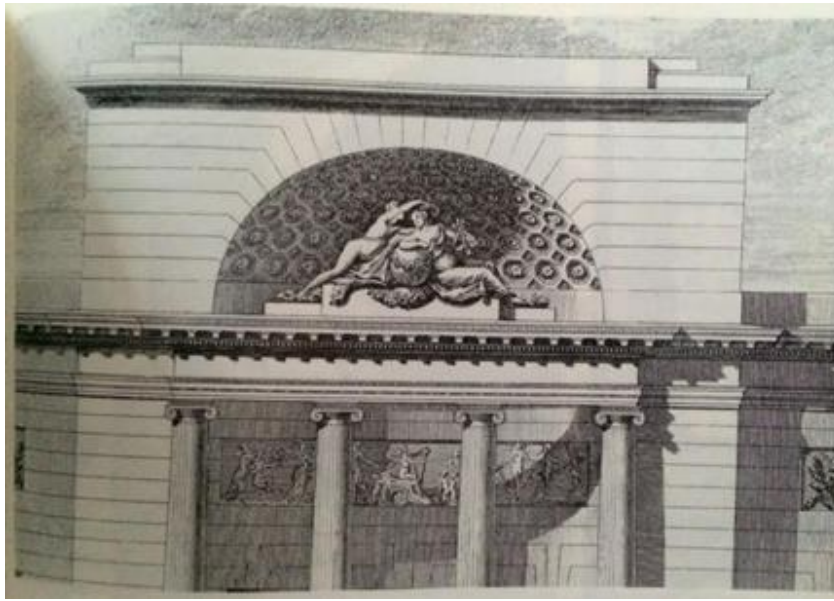
Console du temps de Louis XVI, en bois sculpté peint
Vente après décès, Boiseries anciennes... 100, rue de Pantin (Seine), 1913, no. 2
Centre de documentation, Centre national de la danse, Pantin (CND)

Figure 3.7



Claude-Nicolas Ledoux, Detail of Félix Lecomte, *The Triumph of Terpsichore*,
"Fragment de la Maison de Mlle Guimard"
Title page of *L'Architecture considérée sous le rapport de l'art, des mœurs et de la législation, Second Volume*, by Daniel Ramée, Published by Lenoir, Paris, 1847
BnF Paris HA-71-A-FOL

Figure 3.8



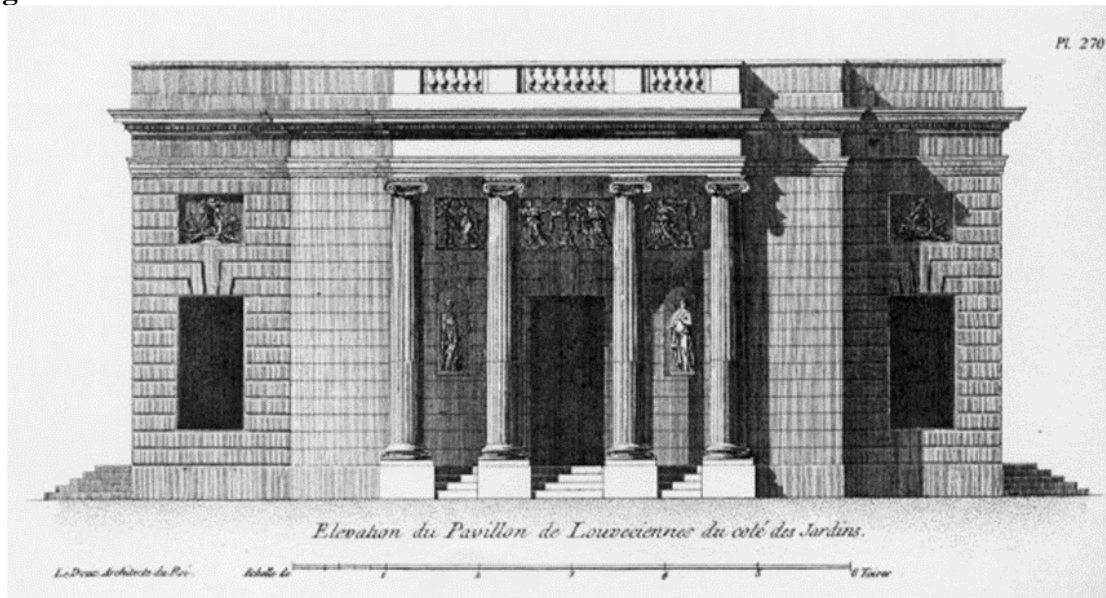
Claude-Nicolas Ledoux, “Maison de Mlle Guimard suivée à la Chaussée d’Antin”
Plate 176, *L'Architecture considérée sous le rapport de l'art, des mœurs et de la législation, Second Volume*, by Daniel Ramée, Published by Lenoir, Paris, 1847,
engraved by Claude-Mathieu Delagardette (detail)
BnF Paris HA-71-A-FOL

Figure 3.9



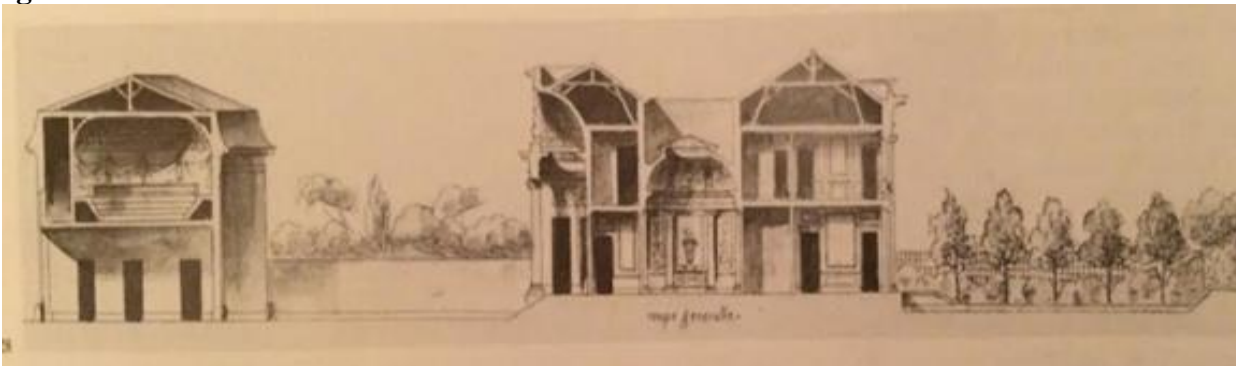
Claude-Nicolas Ledoux, “Porte de l’Hôtel d’Uzès”
Plate 152, *L'Architecture considérée sous le rapport de l'art, des mœurs et de la législation, Second Volume*, by Daniel Ramée, Published by Lenoir, Paris, 1847
BnF Paris HA-71-A-FOL

Figure 3.10



Claude-Nicolas Ledoux, “Pavillon de Louveciennes”
Plate 270, *L'Architecture considérée sous le rapport de l'art, des mœurs et de la législation, Second Volume*, by Daniel Ramée, Published by Lenoir, Paris, 1847
BnF Paris HA-71-A-FOL

Figure 3.11



Pierre-Louis Van Cléemputte, Engraving after Amant-Parfait Prieur
“Cross section of the Hôtel Guimard and theater,” *Recueil des plans, coupes et vues des plus jolies maisons de Paris, suivi de divers projets d'architecture*, Published by Joubert, 1789-91,
fol. 23, BnF Paris RES ZF-425-FOL

Figure 3.12



Félix Lecomte, *The Triumph of Terpsichore*, 1770

Terracotta

© Saint-Jean-Cap-Ferrat, Villa Éphrussi de Rothschild, photo by G. Veran

Figure 3.13



Félix Lecomte, *The Triumph of Terpsichore*, “Fragment de la Maison de Mlle Guimard” 1770, Title page for *L'Architecture considérée sous le rapport de l'art, des mœurs et de la législation, Second Volume* by Daniel Ramée, Published by Lenoir, Paris, 1847

BnF Paris HA-71-A-FOL (detail)

Figure 3.14



Pierre-Louis Van Cléemputte, Engraving after Amant-Parfait Prieur
“Coupe générale; Antichambre. Salle à manger,” *Recueil des plans, coupes et vues des plus jolies maisons de Paris, suivi de divers projets d'architecture*, Published by Joubert, 1789-91, fol. 23, BnF Paris RES ZF-425-FOL

Figure 3.15



Claude-Nicolas Ledoux
Floorplan of the Rez-de Chaussée of the Hôtel Guimard
Plate 175, *L'Architecture considérée sous le rapport de l'art, des mœurs et de la législation, Second Volume*, by Daniel Ramée, Published by Lenoir, Paris, 1847
BnF Paris HA-71-A-FOL



After Claude-Nicolas Ledoux
Anteroom of the Hôtel Guimard, Interior decoration scheme for the dining room of the house of Mademoiselle Guimard, Rue de la Chaussée d'Antin, Paris: perspective showing barrel-vaulted ceiling decoration
Drawing, 1795
Royal Institute of British Architects
SD10/8(3) RIBA31690

Figure 3.16



Hugues Taraval, *Boiseries and lambris for the Hôtel Guimard*, c.1770-1775
Musée du Louvre 2011. OA 12375, Photo by author, 2018

Figure 3.17



Hugues Taraval, *Painted lambris for the Hôtel Guimard*, c. 1770-1775

Musée du Louvre 2011. OA 12375

Lambris (left); Lambris with overdoor sculpture (right)

© 2011 Musée du Louvre / Harry Bréjat

Figure 3.18



After Claude-Michel Clodion, *Satyresse and Child*, Terracotta, c.1770-1775

Musée du Louvre 2011. OA 12375 (detail)

© 2011 Musée du Louvre / Harry Bréjat

Figure 3.19



Hugues Taraval
*Detail of Lambris for the
Hôtel Guimard*
c.1770-1775
Musée du Louvre
2011. OA 12375
© 2011 Musée du Louvre /
Harry Bréjat



Juste-Nathan Boucher
Premier cahier d'arabesques,
1767
Published by Chéreau
Etching and engraving, INHA
8 RES 128



Juste-Nathan Boucher
*Six Tombeaux dessinés et
gravés par F. Bo. fils*, 1767
Published by Chéreau
Etching and engraving, INHA
8 RES 128

Figure 3.20



Juste-Nathan Boucher, *Premier cahier d'arabesques*, 1767
Published by Chéreau, Etching engraving, INHA 8 RES 128

Figure 3.21



Hugues Taraval, *Detail of Painted Lambris for the Hôtel Guimard (left)*, c.1770-1775
Musée du Louvre 2011. OA 12375 © 2011 Musée du Louvre / Harry Bréjat

Figure 3.22



Hugues Taraval, *Detail of Painted Lambris for the Hôtel Guimard (right)*, c. 1770-1775
Musée du Louvre 2011. OA 12375 © 2011 Musée du Louvre / Harry Bréjat

Figure 3.23



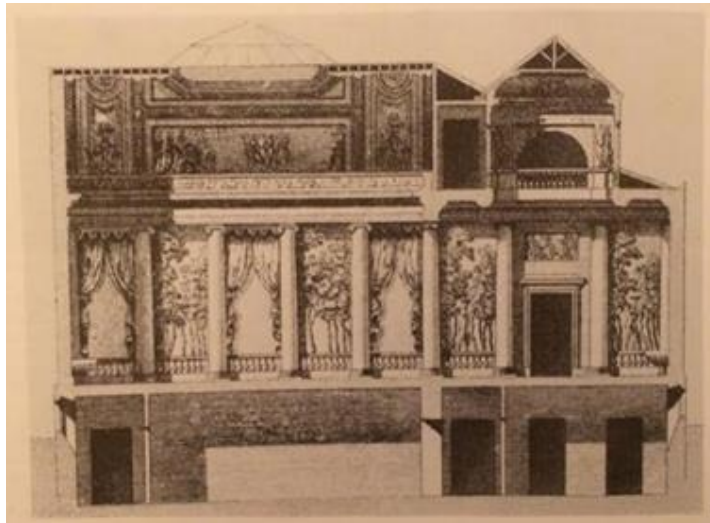
Pierre-Antoine Baudouin, *Concert de chambre*, c.1769
Gouache on vellum
Musée du Louvre RF30662, Photo by author, 2018

Figure 3.24



Attributed to Francois-Andre Vincent, *Musical Quartet*, c.1769-70
Oil on canvas
Musée de Picardie, Amiens 1894-197

Figure 3.25



Claude-Nicolas Ledoux, “Second antechamber and dining room of the Hôtel Guimard”
 Plate 175, *L'Architecture considérée sous le rapport de l'art, des mœurs et de la législation, Second Volume*, by Daniel Ramée, Published by Lenoir, Paris, 1847
 BnF Paris HA-71-A-FOL

Figure 3.26

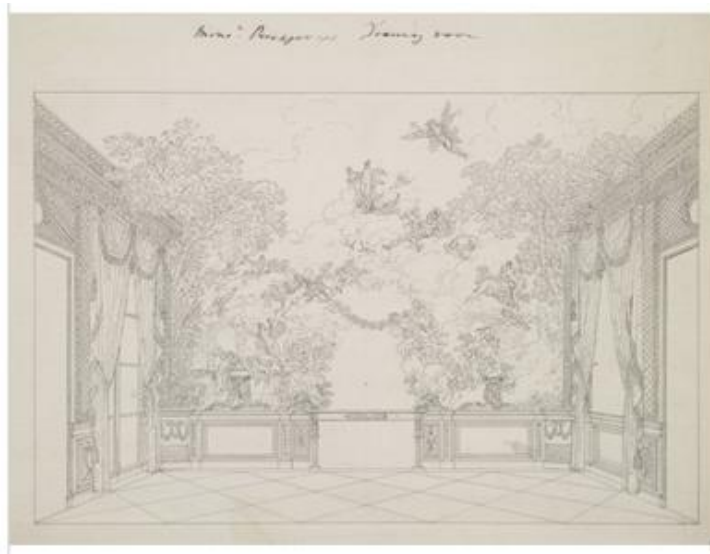


After Claude-Nicolas Ledoux
Second antechamber and dining room of the Hôtel Guimard; section showing ceiling and wall decoration with domed skylight
 Drawing, 1795
 Royal Institute of British Architects
 SD10/8(2) RIBA31693



After Claude-Nicolas Ledoux
Detail of a latticed window from the dining room of the house of Mademoiselle Guimard, Rue de la Chaussée d'Antin, Paris
 Drawing, 1795
 Royal Institute of British Architects
 SD108(4) RIBA22467

Figure 3.27



After Claude-Nicolas Ledoux, *Interior decoration scheme for the drawing room of the house of Mademoiselle Guimard, rue de la Chaussée d'Antin, Paris*
Drawing, 1795

Royal Institute of British Architects SD10/8(1) RIBA22472

Figure 3.28



Jacques-Louis David, *L'accord de la poésie et de la musique*
Black chalk

EBA Paris Inv. 728, Photo by author, 2018

Figure 3.29



Jean-Honoré Fragonard
La Muse de la Poésie lyrique
Musée des Beaux-Arts de Besançon
D.2853
© Besançon, musée des beaux-arts et d'archéologie, 2009



Jean-Honoré Fragonard
Danseuse au tambourin, dite Terpsichore
Musée des Beaux-Arts de Besançon
D.2852
© Besançon, musée des beaux-arts et d'archéologie, 2009



Jean-Honoré Fragonard
Danseuse
Musée des Beaux-Arts de Besançon
D.2943
© Besançon, musée des beaux-arts et d'archéologie, 2009



Jean-Honoré Fragonard
A Muse
Bibliothèque municipale de la ville de Besançon
Vol. 453, no. 318,
photo by author, 2018

Figure 3.30



Pierre-Adrien Pâris, *Bordure pour une tapisserie représentant l'enfance de Bacchus*
Watercolor and pen
Bibliothèque municipale de la ville de Besançon Vol. 453, n° 114
© Besançon, bibliothèque municipale

Figure 3.31



Jacques-Louis David, *Portrait of Mademoiselle Guimard as Terpsichore*, c. 1773-1775

Oil on canvas

Private Collection

Figure 3.32



Gaetano Merchi, *Bust of Madeleine Guimard*, 1779, Marble

BnF Paris, Bibliothèque-musée de l'Opéra

Photo by author, 2017

Figure 3.33



Louis-René Boquet, Maquettes for costume design for
Diane, Folie, and Azollan 1762-1774
Watercolor, wash, and ink
BnF Paris, Bibliothèque-musée de l'Opéra D216 IX-5

Figure 3.34



Sebastien Coeuré, engraved by Jean Prud'hon
Mlle. Guimard as la Chercheuse d'esprit, ballet pantomime, 1812
As she appeared in the ballet performed in 1778
New York Public Library, Cia Fornaroli Collection, Ballets and Theatrical Dances

Figure 3.35

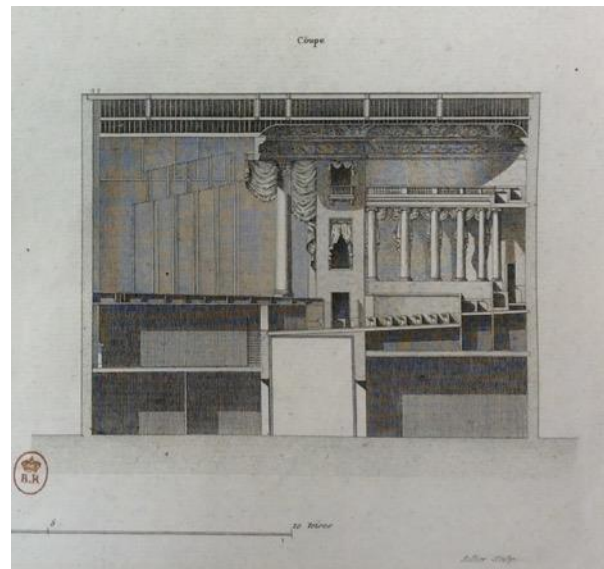


André Dutertre, engraved by Jean-François Janinet
Mlle. Guimard dans le ballet du Navigateur ou Le pouvoir de l'amour,
 Planches pour: *Le Vacher de Charnois* (Jean-Charles), *Costumes et Annales des Grands*
 Theatres de Paris, 1785
 BnF Paris RES EF-105(4)-FOL

Figure 3.36

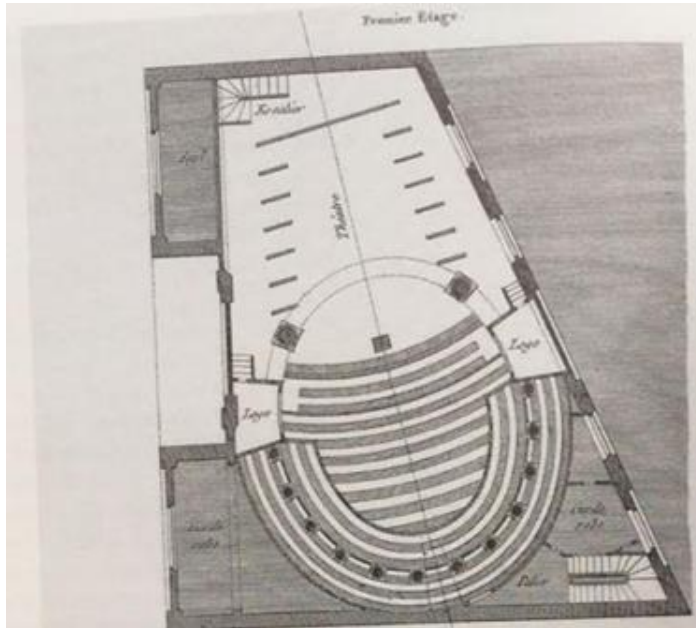


M. J. Lomont, Reconstruction of Mlle Guimard's theater
 Centre de documentation, Château de Sceaux, Extrait de *Théâtre, Éclairage*, p. 17, Bulthec 3, Librairie théâtrale, 3, rue des Marivaux, Paris 2^e



Claude-Nicolas Ledoux, "Théâtre de Mlle Guimard, Coupe"
 Plate 177, *L'Architecture considérée sous le rapport de l'art, des mœurs et de la législation, Second Volume*, by Daniel Ramée, Published by Lenoir, Paris, 1847
 BnF Paris HA-71-A-FOL

3.37



Claude-Nicolas Ledoux, “Théâtre de Mlle Guimard, Premier Étage”
Plate 177, *L'Architecture considérée sous le rapport de l'art, des mœurs et de la législation, Second Volume*, by Daniel Ramée, Published by Lenoir, Paris, 1847
BnF Paris HA-71-A-FOL

3.38



Jean-Michel Moreau, *View of the Versailles royal Opéra during a performance of Athalie de Racine for the celebration of marriage of the Dauphin and Marie-Antoinette*
May 23, 1770
Château de Versailles © RMN-Grand Palais (Château de Versailles) / Gérard Blot

Figure 3.39



The Hôtel Guimard, Paris
Pen and black ink with watercolor, c.1780-1790
Maps and Views of King George III, British Library
Maps K.Top.124 Supp.fol.17.



Jean-Francois Janinet, *Vue de la Maison de Mlle Guimard, rue de la Chaussée d'Antin*
Aquatint, c.1787-89
Plate 17, *Vues pittoresques des principaux édifices de Paris* (1787-1790), Published by Champion frères
Musée Carnavalet – Histoire de Paris
G.3634

Figure 3.40



Pavillon de Louveciennes
Pen and black ink with watercolor, c.1780-1790
Maps and Views of King George III, British Library
Maps K.Top.124 Supp.fol.3.

Figure 3.41



Pierre-Louis Van Cléemputte, etched by Amant-Parfait Prieur
Maison de Mlle Guimard bâtie par M. Le Doux, Coupe générale
 2^e cahier, Plate. 14, Wash-manner etching, *Recueil des prix proposés et couronnés par l'Académie d'architecture, enrichi des plans, coupes et vues des plus jolies maisons de Paris*, Published by Joubert, 1791
 Musée Carnavalet – Histoire de Paris G.18056; INHA Paris FOL EST 441



Pierre-Louis Van Cléemputte, etched by Amant-Parfait Prieur
Maison de Mlle Guimard bâtie par M. Le Doux, Coupe générale (detail)

Figure 3.42



Giovanni Battista Piranesi, *View of the Roman Forum with the Temple of Venus and Rome*, 1759
 Etching from *Vedute di Roma*, MMA 37.45.3(61)

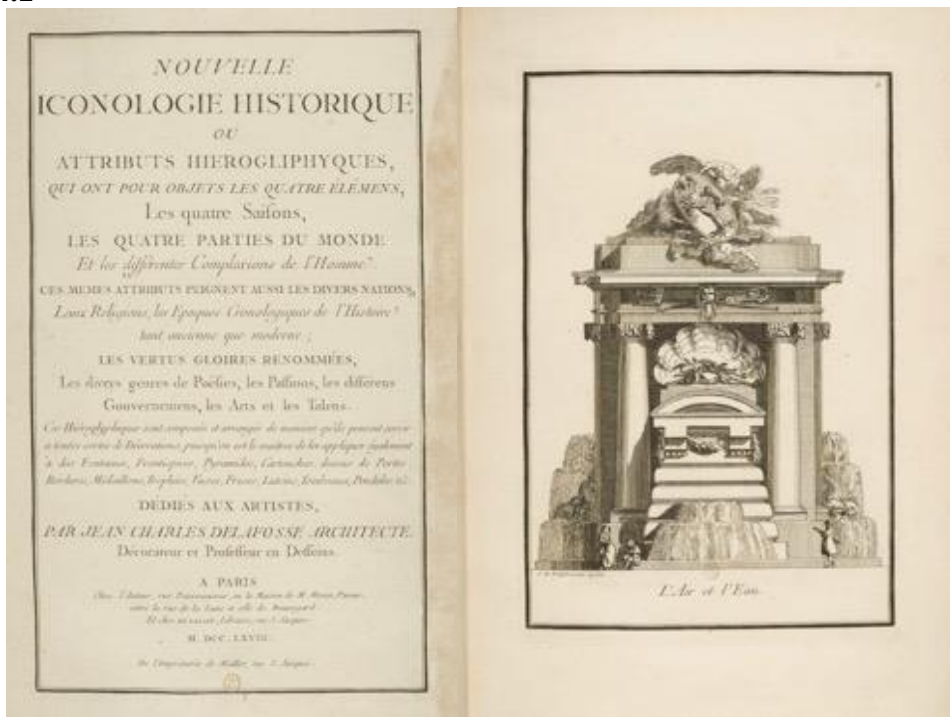
Figure 3.43



Jean-Baptiste Maréchal, *Maison de Mlle Guimard, rue de la Chaussée-d'Antin*, 1786
Pen and ink wash
BnF Paris FOL-VE-53 (F)

CHAPTER FOUR

Figure 4.1



Jean-Charles Delafosse, Title page and Plate 2, "L'Air et l'Eau,"
Nouvelle Iconologie historique, 1768-1771
BnF Paris FOL-TD-3

Figure 4.2



Richard de Lalonde, *Œuvres diverses de Lalonde*, 1776-1788, Published by Chéreau
INHA Paris FOL RES 117 (1-2)

Figure 4.3



Jean-Charles Delafosse, Etched and engraved by Mlle Thouvenin, *Diverses Frises Inventées et Gravées par Delafosse*, plate 1 in 19^e Cahier, *Frises*, T, in II^e Volume de l'*Œuvre de J. Ch. Delafosse*, Published by Chéreau, c.1771-1773
INHA Paris FOL RES 107 (02)

Figure 4.4



Jean-Charles Delafosse, *La Charité et L'Humilité*
Plate 82, *Nouvelle Iconologie Historique*, 1768-1771
BnF Paris FOL-TD-3

Figure 4.5



Jean-Charles Delafosse, *Fontaine – Le Chaos and L'Air et l'Eau*
Plates 1 and 2, *Nouvelle Iconologie Historique*, 1768-1771
BnF Paris FOL-TD-3

Figure 4.6



Jean-Charles Delafosse
Plate 2, *L'Air et l'Eau*
Nouvelle Iconologie Historique, 1768-1771
BnF Paris FOL-TD-3



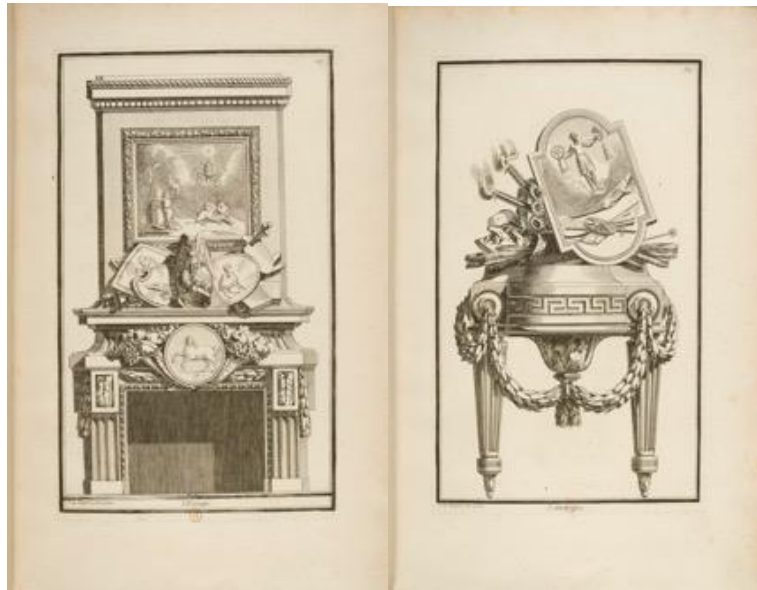
Jean Mondon
“Jeune dessinateur dans un décor de rocailles
dessinant l'Hercule Farnese”
Plate 2, *Livre de formes Cartels et Rocailles*
Engraved and published by Antoine Aveline,
1736, INHA Paris 4 RES 23

Figure 4.7



Jean-Charles Delafosse, *1ère et 2ème Remarque
depuis Apollon jusqu'à Bacchus*
Plate 14, *Nouvelle Iconologie Historique*, 1768-1771
BnF Paris FOL-TD-3

Figure 4.8



Jean-Charles Delafosse,
Plates 27 and 30, "Europe" and "America,"
Nouvelle Iconologie Historique, 1768-1771
BnF Paris FOL-TD-3

Figure 4.9



Jean-Jean-Charles Delafosse, *Cinquième livre de Trophées contenant divers attributs de chasse et de la pêche*, plate 1 in 41^e Cahier, RR, in II^e Volume de l'Œuvre de J. Ch.
Delafosse, Etched and engraved by Jean-Dominique-Étienne Le Canu,
Published by Chéreau, c.1771-1773
INHA Paris FOL RES 107 (02)

Figure 4.10



Jean-Charles Delafosse, *Cahier de Six Grilles de Chenets et de Feux de Cheminées*, plate 2, “Chenet,” in 25^e Cahier, AA, *Cahier de Feux et Chenets*, in II^e Volume de l’*Œuvre de J. Ch. Delafosse*, Etched and engraved by Nicolas Berthault, published by Chéreau, c.1771-1773
INHA Paris FOL RES 107 (02)

Figure 4.11



Gabriel Huquier, *Iconologies où sont représentés les vertus, les vices, les sciences, les arts, et les divinités de la fable, en deux cent seize estampes, inventées et gravées par Huquier*, plates E12, H10, and I1, “L’Amour,” “L’Éloquence,” and “La Concorde,” 1768, Etching and engraving
INHA Paris 8 RES 54

Figure 4.12



Jacques de Lajoue, *Paravent*, c.1735
Petit Palais, musée des Beaux-arts de la
Ville de Paris
Inv. PDUT874 © RMN-Grand Palais /
Agence Bulloz



Jean-Charles Delafosse,
Plate 2, "L'Air et l'Eau"
Nouvelle Iconologie Historique, 1768-1771
BnF Paris FOL-TD-3

Figure 4.13



Jean-Charles Delafosse,
Design for a Ewer, c.1768
Pen, black ink, brush, and gray wash
MMA 80.3.663



Jacques de Lajoue, *Livre de Vases inventés par
J. de la Joüe Peintre du Roy*, c.1735
Engraved and published by Huquier
EBA Paris Est 9516

Figure 4.14



Jean-Charles Delafosse
Fontaine publique, c.1768
Pen and ink, gray wash
MAD Paris RES 21557 B



Jacques de Lajoue
*Livre de Cartouches Inventés
par le Sr de la Joüe*, c.1735
Engraved and published by Huquier
EBA Paris Est 9520

Figure 4.15



Jean-Charles Delafosse
*Livre de Cartouches,
Motif avec vase et écu*, 1768
Black chalk
EBA Paris O.461



Jacques de Lajoue
Livre de Cartouches, c.1735
Engraved and published by Huquier
EBA Paris Est 9633

Figure 4.16



Jean-Charles Delafosse
5 Projets de Cartouches, c.1768
 MAD Paris 21614 A-E
 ©Paris, MAD / Jean Tholance



Jacques de Lajoue, *Livre de diverses esquisses et griffonnements par J. de la Joüe*, c.1735
 Engraved and published by Huquier
 EBA Paris Est 9567

Figure 4.17



Jean-Charles Delafosse, *Drawing, Project for the Entrance Wall of a Salon with Alternative Suggestions*, c.1760-1770
 Pen and black ink, brush and rose and brown washes, graphite on white paper
 Cooper-Hewitt, Smithsonian Design Museum 1911-28-44

Figure 4.18



Jean-Jean-Charles Delafosse, *Cinquième livre de Trophées contenant divers attributs de chasse et de la pêche*, plate 1 in 41^e Cahier, RR, in *II^e Volume de l'Œuvre de J. Ch. Delafosse*, Etched and engraved by Jean-Dominique-Étienne Le Canu, Published by Chéreau, c.1771-1773
INHA Paris FOL RES 107 (02)



Eugène Atget, Photographic negative of the Hotel Titon, 1913
58, rue du Faubourg-Poissonnière, Façade sur rue, portail, Photographies (Mémoire)
© Ministère de la Culture (France), Médiathèque du patrimoine et de la photographie, diffusion RMN-GP

Figure 4.19



Jean-Jean-Charles Delafosse, *Cinquième livre de Trophées contenant divers attributs de chasse et de la pêche*, plate 1 in 41^e Cahier, RR, in *II^e Volume de l'Œuvre de J. Ch. Delafosse*, Etched and engraved by Jean-Dominique-Étienne Le Canu, Published by Chéreau, c.1771-1773
INHA Paris FOL RES 107 (02) (detail)



Hôtel Titon, 58 rue du Faubourg Poissonnière 1776-1783
Photograph, *Paris Promeneurs*, 2012 © JPD

Figure 4.20



Jean-Jean-Charles Delafosse, *Cinquième livre de Trophées contenant divers attributs de chasse et de la pêche*, plate 1 in 41^e Cahier, RR, in II^e Volume de l'Œuvre de J. Ch. Delafosse, Etched and engraved by Jean-Dominique-Étienne Le Canu, Published by Chéreau, c.1771-1773
INHA Paris FOL RES 107 (02)



Hélio Ch. Rouget
Vase ornant la niche Hôtel Titon
58 rue du Faubourg Poissonnière
Photograph, plate 2
Paris: P. Content, 1922
BnF Paris FOL-NF-11066 (14)

Figure 4.21



Jean-Charles Delafosse, plate 5, in 33^e Cahier, II, *Poêles, Piédestaux, et Frises*, II^e Volume de l'Œuvre de J. Ch. Delafosse, Published by Chéreau, c.1771-1773, INHA Paris FOL RES 107 (02)



Hôtel Titon, 58 rue du Faubourg Poissonnière
1776-1783
Photograph, *Paris Promeneurs*, 2012 © JPD

Figure 4.22



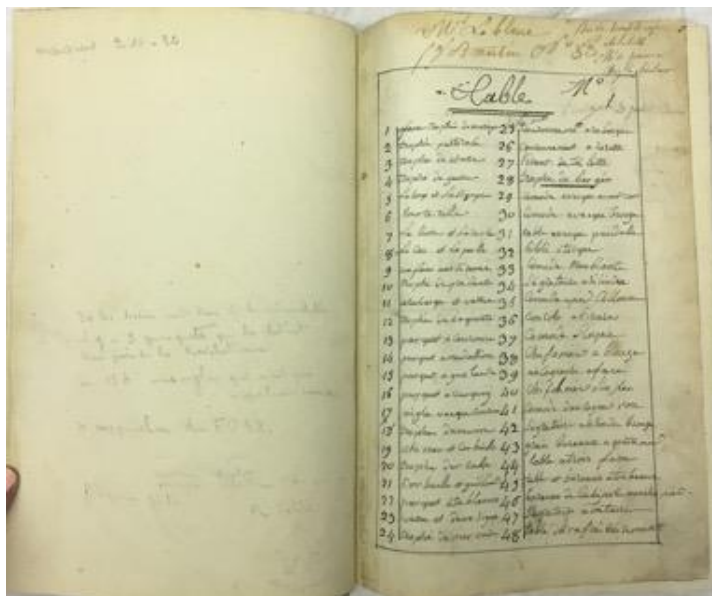
Jean-Charles Delafosse, *Deux projets de décoration pour un plafond*
Drawing
MAD Paris 21612 BC

Figure 4.23



Jean-Charles Delafosse, *Projet de décoration pour un plafond*
Drawing
MAD Paris 21612 BC

Figure 4.24



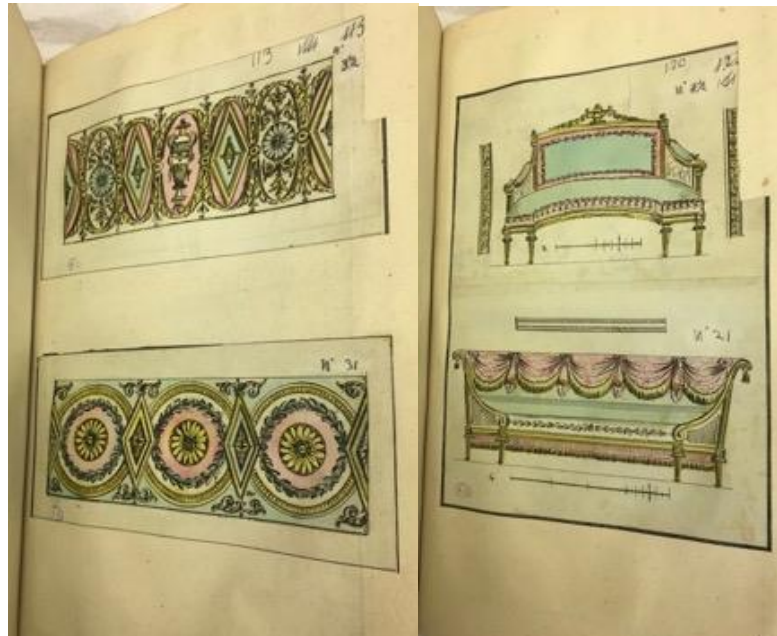
Richard de Lalonde, *Album of Drawings for a Marchand-Mercier*,
Table no. 1, c.1785-1800
Pen and black ink, wash, over chalk, MAD Inv CD 189

Figure 4.25



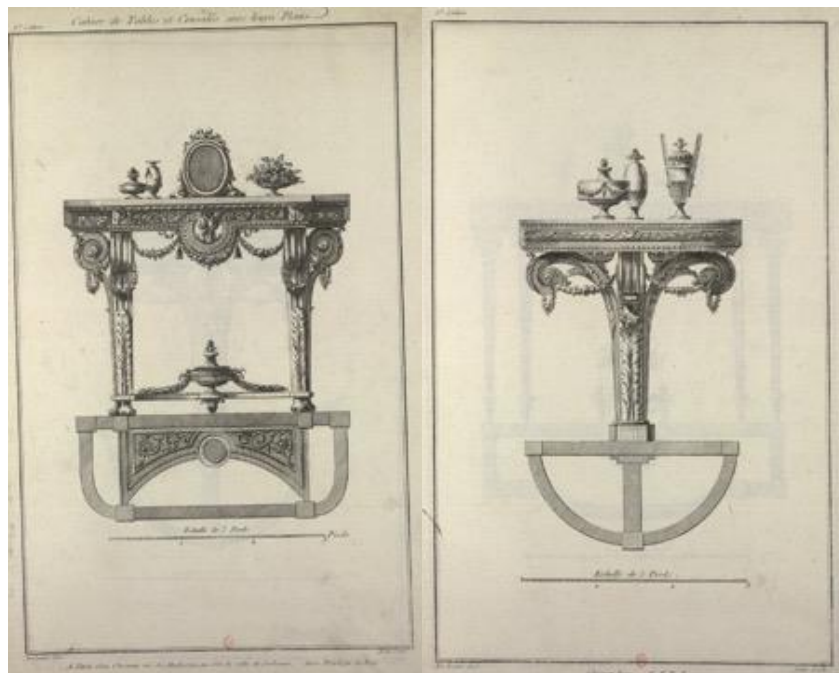
Richard de Lalonde, *Album of Drawings for a Marchand-Mercier*, page 3, c.1785-1800
Pen and black ink, wash, over chalk MAD Inv CD 189

Figure 4.26



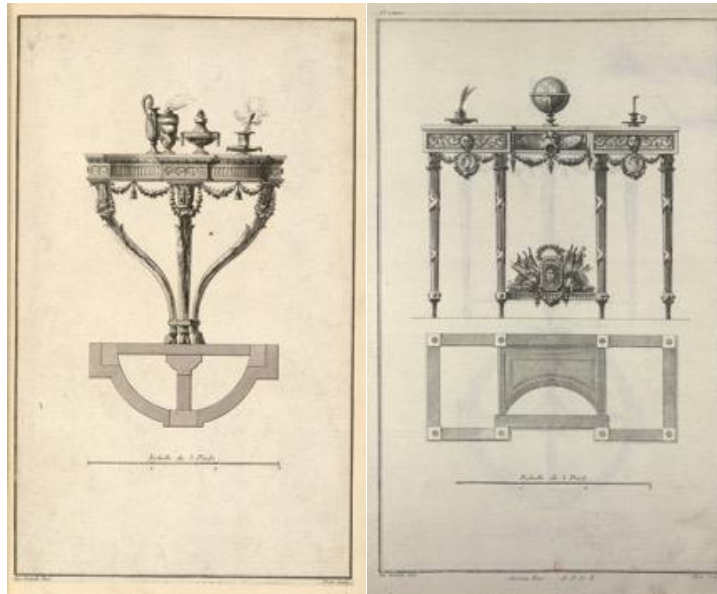
Richard de Lalonde, *Album of Drawings for a Marchand-Mercier*,
pages 113 and 120, with prints pasted inside, c.1785-1800
Pen and black ink, wash, over chalk MAD Inv CD 189

Figure 4.27



Richard de Lalonde, *Œuvres diverses de Lalonde*, 1776-1788, *Cahiers de Tables et Consoles avec leurs Plans*, 5^e cahier, E, plates 25 and 26,
Engraved by Augustin Nicolas Foin, Published by Chéreau
INHA Paris Fol Res 117 (01)

Figure 4.28



Richard de Lalonde, *Œuvres diverses de Lalonde*, 1776-1788, *Cahiers de Tables et Consoles avec leurs Plans*, 5^e cahier, E, plates 28 and 29, Engraved by Augustin Nicolas Foin, Published by Chéreau
INHA Paris Fol Res 117 (01)

Figure 4.29



Adrien Delorme, *Writing table*, 1776-1780
Oak, with veneers and marquetry of purplewood, tulipwood, sycamore and other woods; mahogany with gilt brass mounts, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, Jones Collection, Museum No. 1020-1882 (1980) ©Victoria and Albert Museum, London



Jean-Charles Delafosse, Engraved by Jean-Dominique-Étienne Le Canu, *Quatrième Livre de trophées contenant divers attributs pastorales*, plate 126, Published by Daumont and Chéreau, c.1771-1773
BnF Paris HD-14 (A)-PET FOL
INHA Paris FOL RES 107 (02)

Figure 4.30



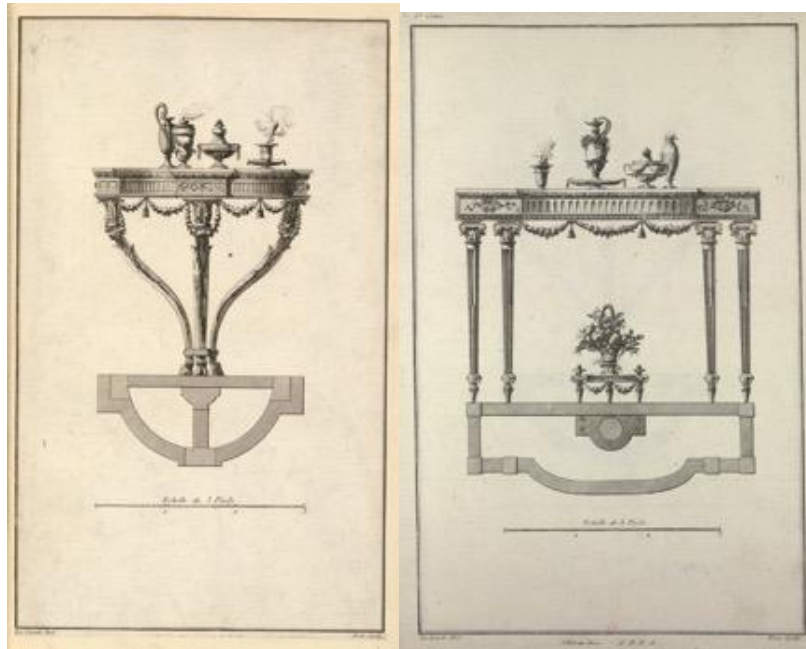
A.L. Gilbert, *Lady's Writing Desk*, 1776-1780, Oak veneered with stained sycamore and tulipwood, holly, purplewood, ebony, hornbeam, pearwood, and boxwood in parts stained and inked; mounted with ormolu and gilt bronze, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, Jones Collection, Museum No. 1020-1882 (1980)
©Victoria and Albert Museum, London

Figure 4.31



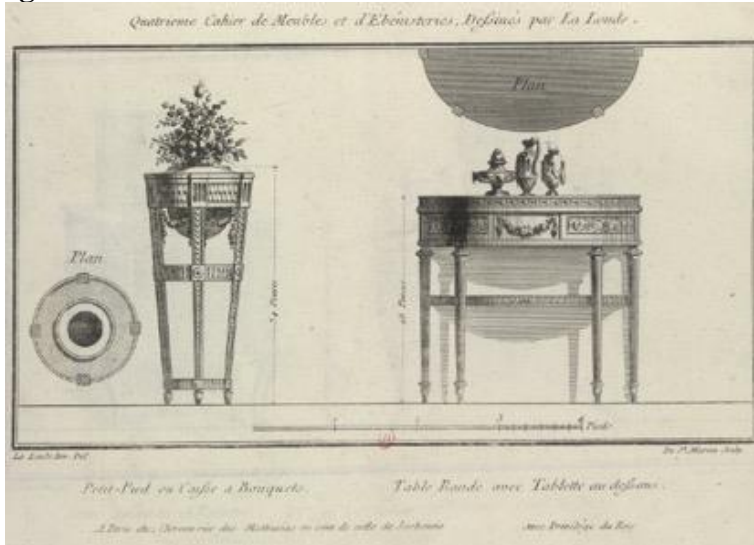
A.L. Gilbert, *Lady's Writing Desk*, 1776-1780, Oak veneered with stained sycamore and tulipwood, holly, purplewood, ebony, hornbeam, pearwood, and boxwood in parts stained and inked; mounted with ormolu and gilt bronze, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, Jones Collection, Museum No. 1020-1882 (1980)
©Victoria and Albert Museum, London

Figure 4.32



Richard de Lalonde, *Œuvres diverses de Lalonde*, 1776-1788, *Cahiers de Tables et Consoles avec leurs Plans*, 5^e cahier, E, plates 27 and 28, Published by Chéreau
Engraved by Augustin Nicolas Foin, INHA Paris Fol Res 117 (01)

Figure 4.33



Richard de Lalonde, *Quatrième Cahier de Meubles et d'Ébénisterie, Dessinés par Lalonde*, D, plate 1,
Engraved by De Saint-Morien, Published by Chéreau, 1776-1788, INHA Paris Fol Res 117 (02)



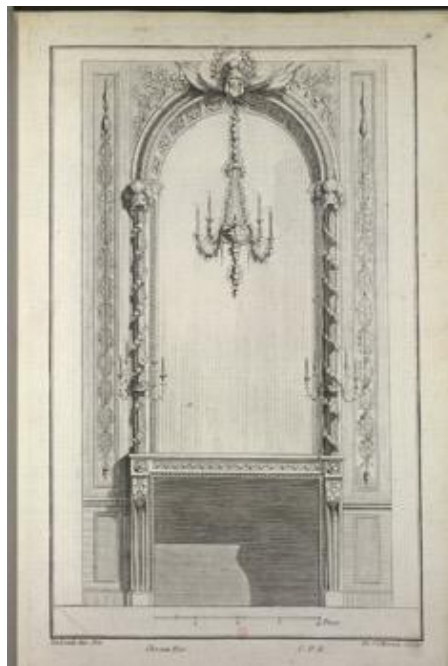
Richard de Lalonde, *Album of Drawings for a Marchand-Mercier*, page 53, c.1785-1800
Pen and black ink, wash, over black chalk
MAD Inv CD 189

Figure 4.34



Richard de Lalonde, *Drawing, Elevation, and Plan for a Side Table with Covered Dishes, Urns, and a Cup*, c.1780, Pen and black ink, brush and wash on cream paper
CH New York 1911-28-206

Figure 4.35



Richard de Lalonde, *Œuvres diverses de Lalonde*, 1776-1788, *XII^e Cahier de Lalonde*, *Cheminées avec leurs Trumeaux*, M, plate 2, Engraved by De Saint-Morien, Published by Chéreau, INHA Paris Fol Res 117 (01)

Figure 4.36



Richard de Lalonde, *Projet de cheminée et son trumeau*, MAD Paris inv. 7610 B
© Paris, MAD / Jean Tholance

Figure 4.37



Nicolas Pineau
Applique à trois branches ornées de rocailles
MAD Paris CD 1737, photo by author, 2018



Richard de Lalonde
Encadrements de glaces
MAD Paris inv. 7610 DEF
© Paris, MAD / Jean Tholance
(detail)

Figure 4.38



Richard de Lalonde, *Design for a Mirror Frame, with Alternate Suggestions*, c.1780
Pen and ink, brush and watercolor, graphite on paper, CH New York 1911-28-208

Figure 4.39

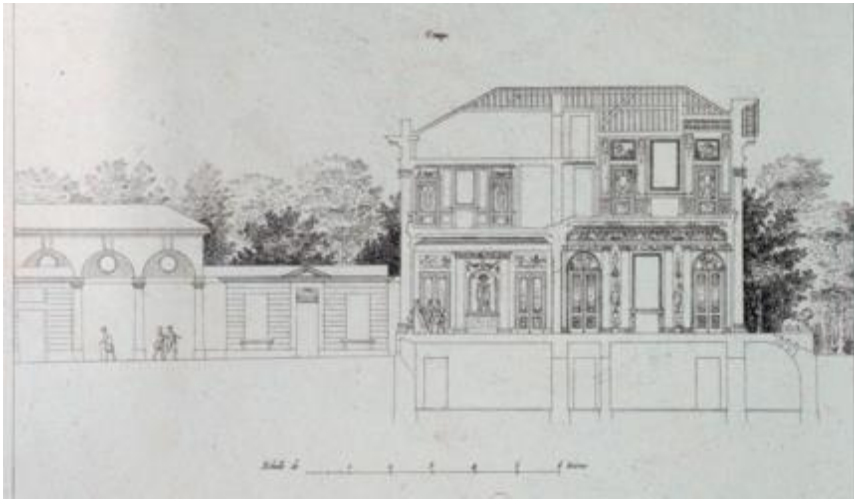


Richard de Lalonde, 1776-1788, *Cahiers de Tables et Consoles avec leurs Plans*, 5^e cahier, E, plate 26, Engraved by Augustin Nicolas Foin, Published by Chéreau
INHA Paris Fol Res 117 (01)



Console table after a design by Richard de Lalonde, 1780–90
Carved and painted oak; white marble top
MMA 07.225.479

Figure 4.40

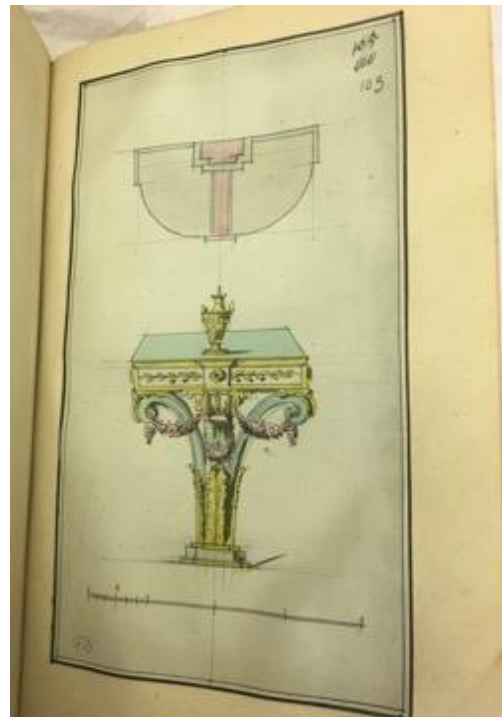


Jean-Charles Krafft and Nicolas Ransonette, "Maison Jarnac," plate 31, *Plans, Coupes, Élévations des plus belles maisons et hôtels construits à Paris*, 1801-1803
UVA, Special Collections NA7348.P2 K8 1803

Figure 4.41

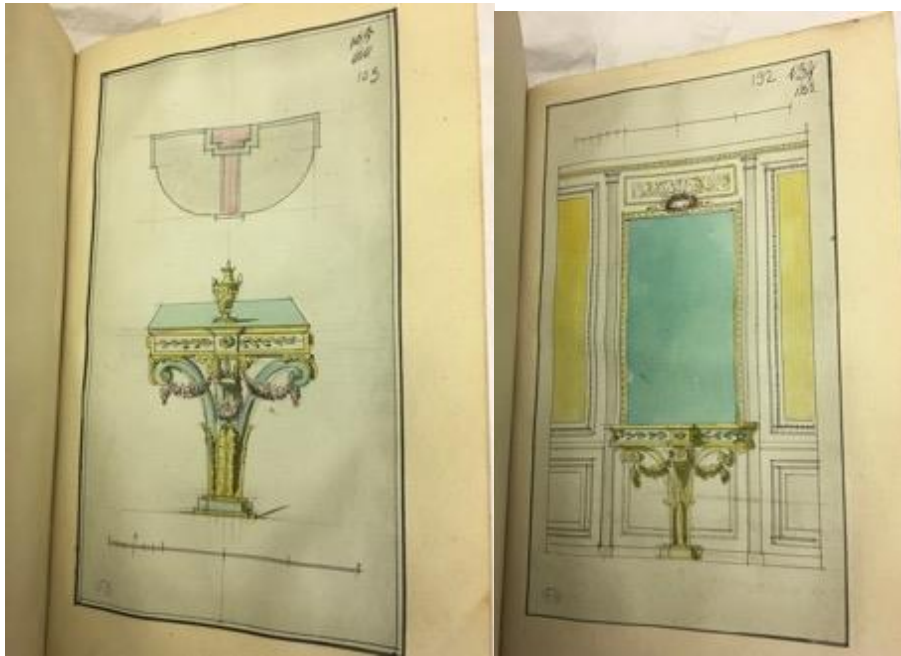


Richard de Lalonde, 1776-1788, *Cahiers de Tables et Consoles avec leurs Plans*, 5^e cahier, E, plate 26, Engraved by Augustin Nicolas Foin, Published by Chéreau
INHA Paris Fol Res 117 (01)



Richard de Lalonde, *Album of Drawings for a Marchand-Mercier*, page 103, c.1785-1800
Pen and black ink, wash, over black chalk
MAD Inv CD 189

Figure 4.42



Richard de Lalonde, *Album of Drawings for a Marchand-Mercier*, pages 103 and 132, c.1785-1800 Pen and black ink, wash, over black chalk MAD Inv CD 189

Figure 4.43

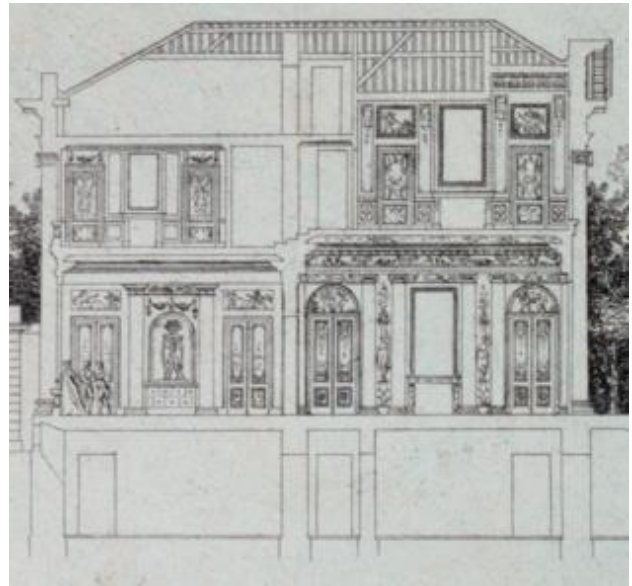


Richard de Lalonde, *Album of Drawings for a Marchand-Mercier*, c.1785-1800, page 141, Pen and black ink, wash, over black chalk MAD Inv CD 189

Figure 4.44



Richard de Lalonde, *Album of Drawings for a Marchand-Mercier*, c.1785-1800, page 141, Pen and black ink, wash, over black chalk, MAD Inv CD 189



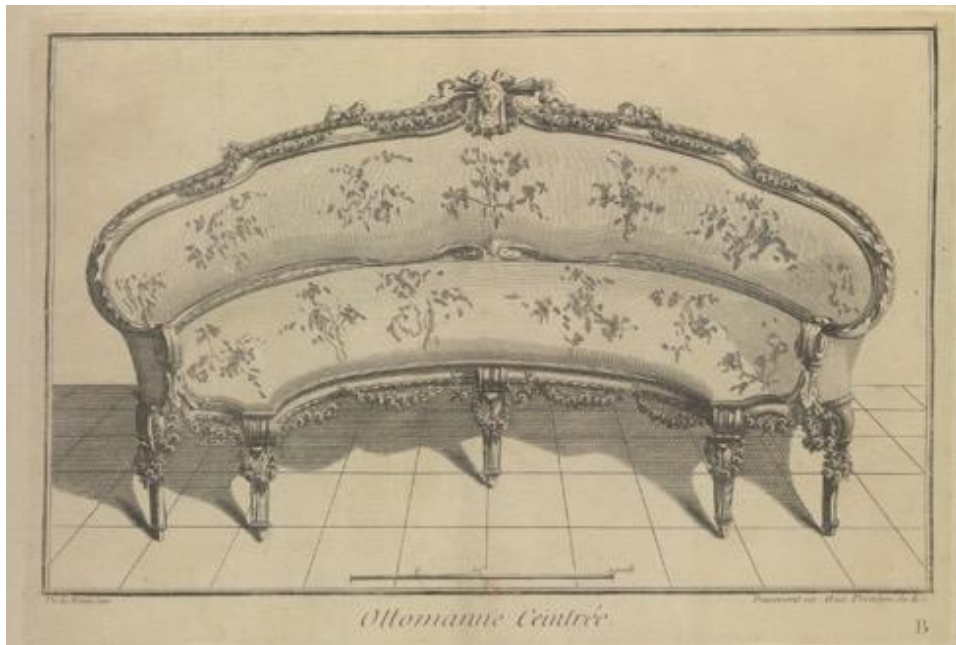
Jean-Charles Krafft and Nicolas Ransonette
“Maison Jarnac,” *Plans, Coupes, Élévations des plus belles maisons et hôtels construits à Paris*, 1801-1803, Line engraving, plate 31
UVA, Special Collections
NA7348.P2 K8 1803

Figure 4.45



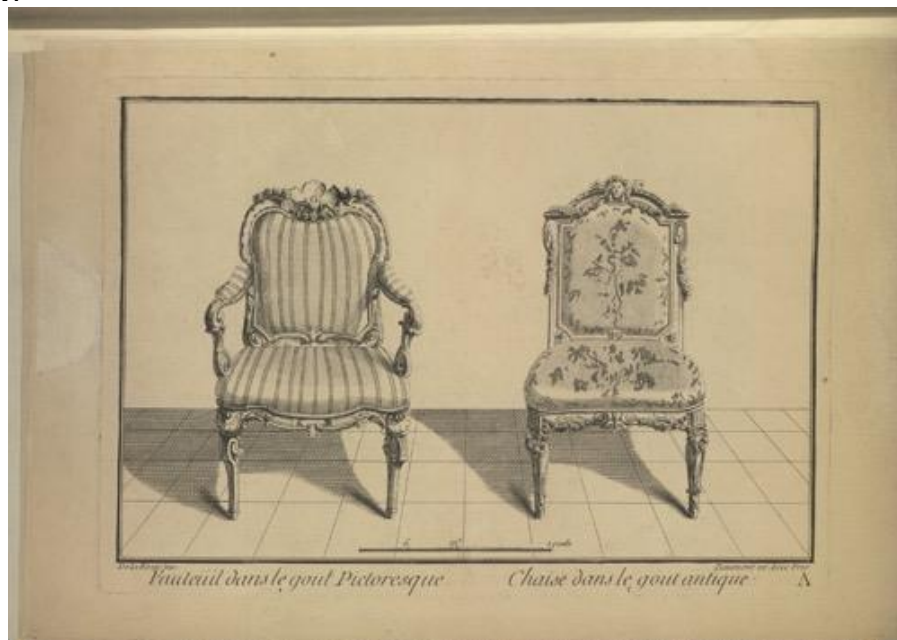
Louis Delanois, after Jean-Charles Delafosse, *Canapé*, 1768-1775, Carved and gilded walnut (modern upholstery), Château de Versailles, VMB 14372 Versailles © RMN-Grand Palais (Château de Versailles) / Gérard Blot

Figure 4.46



Jean-Charles Delafosse, *III^e Volume de l'Œuvre de J. Ch. Delafosse, Cahier B*, plate 3, *Ottoman ceintrée, Turquoise, Veilleuse, Paphose en gondole*, Engraved and published by Daumont, c.1771-1773, INHA Paris FOL RES 107 (3)

Figure 4.47



Jean-Charles Delafosse, *III^e Volume de l'Œuvre de J. Ch. Delafosse, Cahier A*, plate 2, *Fauteuils et chaises dans le gout pittoresque et dans le gout antique*, Engraved and published by Daumont, c.1771-1773, INHA Paris FOL RES 107 (3)

Figure 4.48



Jean-Charles Delafosse, *III^e Volume de l'Œuvre de J. Ch. Delafosse, Cahier E*, plate 2, *Écrans dans le goût antique et dans le goût pittoresque Veilleuse*, Engraved and published by Daumont, c.1771-1773, INHA Paris FOL RES 107 (3)

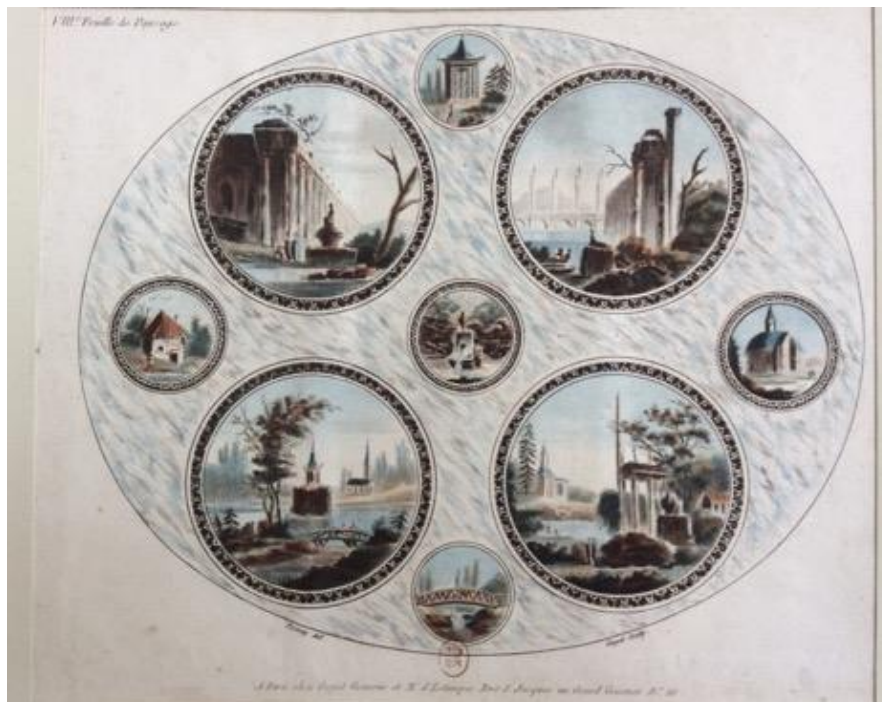
CONCLUSION

Figure 5.1



Jean Henry Alexandre Pernet, engraved by Laurent Guyot, *Twelve Roundels with Landscapes*, c.1788, Etching, aquatint, and tool work printed in blue, red, yellow, and black inks, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. 2003.72.1

Figure 5.2



Jean Henry Alexandre Pernet, engraved and published by Laurent Guyot, *VIII^e Feuille de paysage*, c.1788, Etching and aquatint
BnF Paris RES-EF-112 (4)-FOL

Figure 5.3



Jean Henry Alexandre Pernet, engraved and published by Laurent Guyot, *XIV^e Feuille de paysage*, c.1788, Etching and aquatint
BnF Paris RES-EF-112 (4)-FOL

Figure 5.4



Jean-François Janinet, after Nicolas Lavreince, *Les heures du jour*, color aquatint and etching, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. 1942.9.2386

Figure 5.5



Buttons with etching and aquatint placed under glass, c.1788
Musée Carnavalet - Histoire de Paris (not yet inventoried)

Figure 5.6



Buttons with etching and aquatint placed under glass, c.1788
Musée Carnavalet - Histoire de Paris (not yet inventoried)

Figure 5.7



I see everything and I see nothing (Je vois tous et je ne vois rien), with hidden silhouettes
of the French royal family, Published by D. Martin, 1796
MMA 26.28.632

Figure 5.8



Jean-Dominique-Étienne Canu, *Violettes*, after 1815, etching with color, Musée Carnavalet, Histoire de Paris G.34080, © Paris Musées / Musée Carnavalet - Histoire de Paris

PRINTS AND DRAWINGS CONSULTED

Bibliothèque municipale de la ville de Besançon

Jean-Honoré Fragonard, *A Muse*, vol. 453, no. 318

Pierre-Adrien Pâris, *Bordure pour une tapisserie représentant l'enfance de Bacchus*,
Watercolor and pen vol. 453, no. 114

Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF)

Jacques-François Blondel, *De la Distribution des Maisons de Plaisance*, 1737-38, 4-S-4144 (1-2)

Edmé Bouchardon, *Fontaines*, 1747, Illustration in Antoine-Joseph Dezallier d'Argenville, *La théorie et la pratique du jardinage*, published by Mariette, S4658

Louis-René Boquet, Maquettes for costume design for *Diane, Folie, and Azollan* 1762-1774
Watercolor, wash, and ink Bibliothèque-musée de l'Opéra, D216 IX-5

Anne-Claude de Tubières, comte de Caylus, *Suite de figures inventées par Watteau gravées par son ami C.*, c.1726-27, Etching, EST 42507 and EST 42739-40

_____, *Recueil de tout ce que j'ai gravé à l'eau forte ou en bois*, c.1726-27, Etching ED-98-FOL

_____, *Le Dénicheur de Moineaux (The Sparrow Collector)*, Etching and engraving after
Antoine Watteau, EST 42607

Pierre-Louis Van Cléemputte, Engraving after Amant-Parfait Prieur, *Recueil des plans, coupes et vues des plus jolies maisons de Paris, suivi de divers projets d'architecture*, Published by Joubert, 1789-91, Fol 23 RES ZF-425-FOL

Daumont, 46e Vue d'Optique représentant le Jardin et l'Hôtel d'Évreux appartenant à Madame la Marquise de Pompadour. A Paris chez Daumont rue St Martin, c.1753, Aquatint, LI-72 (1)-FOL)

Jean-Charles Delafosse, *Nouvelle Iconologie historique*, 1768-1771, FOL-TD-3

Feuillet, *Recueil de dances composés par M. Feuillet, Maître de Dance*, 1700 RES M-V-303 (2)

François Gersault, *Art du tailleur*, 1769 BnF V-3934 (2)

Gabriel Huquier, Engraving after Antoine Watteau, *Le Berger Empressé (The Hurried Shepherd)*, EST 42607

_____, Engraving after Antoine Watteau, *La danse bachique (Bacchanalian Dance)*, EST 42607

_____, *Recueil de plus de six cent Vases, nouvellement mis au jour, composés et gravés en partie par Huquier*, c.1745-72, BnF Paris, HD-101 (B)-PET FOL

Claude-Nicolas Ledoux, *L'Architecture considérée sous le rapport de l'art, des mœurs et de la législation*, 1804 RES-V-25

_____. *L'Architecture considérée sous le rapport de l'art, des mœurs et de la législation, Second Volume*, by Daniel Ramée, Published by Lenoir, Paris, 1847 Engraved by Claude-Mathieu Delagardette, HA-71-A-FOL

Jean-Baptiste Maréchal, *Maison de Mlle Guimard, rue de la Chaussée-d'Antin*, 1786, Pen and ink wash FOL-VE-53 (F)

Jean Henry Alexandre Pernet, engraved and published by Laurent Guyot, *VIIIe Feuille de paysage*, c.1788, Etching and aquatint, RES-EF-112 (4)-FOL

Hélio Ch. Rouget, *Vase ornant la niche Hôtel Titon*, 58 rue du Faubourg Poissonnière, Photograph, plate 2, Paris: P. Content, 1922, FOL-NF-11066 (14)

Centre Canadien d'Architecture (CCA)

Gabriel Huquier, *Premier [-onzieme] Livre de différents morceaux à l'usage de tout ce qui s'appliquent aux beaux-arts, inventé par G.M. Oppenord, Architecte du Roi*, PO3982

_____, "Grand Oppenord," Engraved and published by Huquier, c.1748 87-B6065

_____, *Œuvres de Gilles-Marie Oppenord*, 4896

Gilles-Marie Oppenord, Copy of Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia* by Jean Baudoin, illustrated by Jacques de Bié, after 1713 DR1991:007

Cooper-Hewitt, Smithsonian Design Museum (CH)

François Boucher, "Rocaille" in *Nouveaux Morceaux pour des paravents*, Engraved by Claude Duflos the Younger, 1931-94-11

Jean-Charles Delafosse, *Drawing, Project for the Entrance Wall of a Salon with Alternative Suggestions*, c.1760-1770, Pen and black ink, brush and rose and brown washes, graphite on white paper 1911-28-44

Richard de Lalonde, *Design for a Mirror Frame, with Alternate Suggestions*, c.1780 Pen and black ink, brush and wash, light olive watercolor, graphite on white laid paper 1911-28-193

Richard de Lalonde, *Drawing, Elevation, and Plan for a Side Table with Covered Dishes, Urns and a Cup*, c.1780, Pen and black ink, brush and wash on cream paper, 1911-28-206

Juste-Aurèle Meissonnier, *Œuvre de Juste-Aurèle Meissonnier*, Published by Huquier, 1748, 1921-6-212-9-c

_____, *Silver Sculptural Project for a Large Centerpiece and Two Tureens Which Have Been Executed for His Lordship the Duke of Kingston 1735-37*, 1921-6-212

École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts (EBA)

Jacques-Louis David, *L'accord de la poésie et de la musique*, Black chalk Inv. 728

Jean-Charles Delafosse, *Cinquième livre de Trophées contenant divers attributs de chasse et de la pêche*, Engraved by Jean-Dominique-Étienne Canu, Published by Chéreau, c.1770

_____, *Livre de Cartouches, Motif avec vase et écu*, 1768, Black chalk, EBA Paris O.461

Gabriel Huquier, *Projet pour la carte d'adresse de la boutique de Gabriel Huquier*, 1749 PO.1750-02

Alexis Peyrotte, Engraved by Gabriel Huquier, *Second Livre d'Ornements*, 1734, Est 1221

_____, Engraved by Jean-Charles François, *Vase rocaille*, 1740 Est 1209

_____, Engraved and published by Gabriel Huquier, *Seconde Partie de Divers Ornaments par Peyrotte*, 1734, Est 1221

Jacques de Lajoue, *Livre de Vases inventés par J. de la Joüe Peintre du Roy*, c.1735, Engraved and published by Huquier, Est 9516

_____, *Second Livre de vases*, Engraved and published by Huquier, c. 1740 Est Les 30 and EST 9526

_____, Engraved by Cochin and Huquier, *Recueil Nouveau de différens Cartouches*, 1734, Published by Huquier EBA Paris 9466

_____, Lajoue, *Nouveaux Tableaux d'Ornements et Rocailles*, Par J. de la Joue, Peintre du Roy, Engraved and published by Gabriel Huquier, c. 1740 Est 9534

_____, *Second Livre de Cartouches inventées par de Lajoue*, 1734, engraved by Charles-Nicolas Cochin, published by Gabriel Huquier Est 9477

_____, *Livre de diverses esquisses et griffonnements*, c.1735

Juste-Aurèle Meissonnier, Engraved by Laureolli, *Livre d'ornemens Inventés et Dessinés par J.O. Meissonnier, Architecte, Dessinateur de la Chambre & Cabinet du Roi*, Published by Chéreau, 1734, Rec Les 86

Bibliothèque de Institut national d'histoire de l'art (INHA)

Anne-Claude de Tubières, comte de Caylus, *Recueil d'antiquités égyptiennes, étrusques, grecques et romaines*, Tome 1, 1752, 4 RES 1847 (1)

_____, *Dessus de clavecin gravé d'après le dessin original Inventé par Watteau*, Etching and engraving Antoine Watteau, Pl Est 101

Benigno Bossi, after Ennemond-Alexandre Petitot, *Mascarade à la grecque*, 1764, Fol Res 113

Edmé Bouchardon, etched and published by Gabriel Huquier, *Premier et Second Livre de Vases Inventés par Edmé Bouchardon, Sculpteur du Roy*, 1737, 4 EST 312

François Boucher, engraved and published by Gabriel Huquier, *Livre de vases par François Boucher, peintre du Roy*, 1738, 4 EST 215

_____, engraved and published by Gabriel Huquier, *Recueil de fontaines Inventées par F. Boucher, Peintre du Roy*, 1736 and 1738, FOL RES 9

Juste-Nathan Boucher, *Premier cahier d'arabesques* and *Six Tombeaux dessinés et gravés par F. Bo. fils*, 1767, Etching, Published by Chéreau, 1767, 8 RES 128

Jean-Charles Delafosse, *Nouvelle Iconologie historique*, 1768 FOL RES 107 and FOL-TD-3

_____, Engraved by Thouvenin, *I et II^e Volume de l'Œuvre de J. Ch. Delafosse*, Published by Chéreau, c.1771-1773, FOL RES 107 (1-2)

Gabriel Huquier, *Iconologies où sont représentés les vertus, les vices, les sciences, les arts, et les divinités de la fable, en deux cent seize estampes, inventées et gravées par Huquier*, 1768 8 RES 54

_____, *Nouveau Livre de Principes d'Ornements particulièrement pour trouver un nombre infini de formes qui en dépendent*, c.1749-61, Res 16

Jacques de Lajoue, *Nouveaux Tableaux d'ornements et rocailles* and *Second Livre de tableaux et de rocailles*, c.1740, INHA, 4 EST 287

Richard de Lalonde, *Œuvres diverses de Lalonde*, 1780-90, Published by Chéreau Fol Res 117 (1-2)

Jean Pillement, *Recueil de différents bouquets de fleurs, inventé et dessiné par Jean Pillement et gravé par P.C. Canot*, Fol L 299

Jean Mondon, *Livre de formes Cartels et Rocailles*, Engraved and published by Antoine Aveline, 1736, 4 RES 23

Nicolas Pineau, *Nouveaux desseins de Pieds de Tables et de Vases et Consoles de sculpture en bois Inventés par le Sieur Pineau Sculpteur*, 4 EST 696

Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin, *Bouquets Champêtres, dédiés à Madame La Marquise de Pompadour*, c.1755-1768, 4 RES 125 (2)

Jacques-François Joseph Saly, *Design for a Vase*, 8 EST 69

Louis Tessier, *Livre de fleurs*, c. 1751-76, FOL EST 609

Oak Spring Garden Foundation Library (OSG)

Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin, *Premier et Deuxième Recueil de Chiffres*, 1766, RB1328

_____, *Recueil de plantes*, 1736-1785, MS0148

_____, *Mes petites fleurettes*, pasted into *Recueil de plantes*, MS0148

_____, Trade cards and bookplates, pasted into *Recueil de plantes*, MS0148

_____, *L'Art du brodeur* (Paris: Delatour, 1770), RB391

Metropolitan Museum of Art (MMA)

Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin, *Essay de Papillons Humaines*, 1748, 1982.1101

_____, *Bouquets Champêtres dédiés à Madame La Maréchale de Biron*, c.1755-1768, 32.130.14

Gabriel de Saint-Aubin, *Trade Card for Périer, Ironmonger*, 1767 Etching and drypoint, Private Collection, on loan at MMA

Jean Bérain, *Ornament Designs*, Engraved by François Le Moyne, c.1711, 21.36.141

Jeanne Le Normant d'Étiolles Poisson, marquise de Pompadour, *Suite d'estampes gravées par madame la marquise de Pompadour d'après les pierres gravées de Guay, graveur du Roi* MMA 24.33(34)

Jean-Charles Delafosse, *Design for a Ewer*, c.1768, Pen, black ink, brush, and gray wash, 80.3.663

D. Martin, *I see everything and I see nothing (Je vois tout et je ne vois rien)*, with hidden silhouettes of the French royal family, D. Martin, 1796, 26.28.632

Juste-Aurèle Meissonnier, Engraved by Laureolli, *Livre d'ornemens Inventés et Dessinés par J.O. Meissonnier, Architecte, Dessinateur de la Chambre & Cabinet du Roi*, Published by Chéreau, 1734, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 30.58.2(136-140)

Giovanni Battista Piranesi, *View of the Roman Forum with the Temple of Venus and Rome*, 1759, Etching from Vedute di Roma, 37.45.3(61)

Morgan Library & Museum (MLM)

Charles-Germain de Saint Aubin, Title page, *Recueil de plantes*, 1740, 1956.13

Musée des Beaux-Arts de Besançon

Jean-Honoré Fragonard, *La Muse de la Poésie lyrique*, red chalk, D.2853

_____, *Danseuse au tambourin, dite Terpsichore*, red chalk, D.2852

_____, *Danseuse*, red chalk, D.2943

Musée Carnavalet – Histoire de Paris

Buttons with etching and aquatint placed under glass, c.1788 (not yet inventoried)

Campion frères et fils, *Vues pittoresques des principaux édifices de Paris* (1787-1790), Etching and aquatint

Jean-Dominique-Étienne Canu, *Violettes*, after 1815, etching with color, G.34080

Pierre-Louis Van Cléemputte, etched by Amant-Parfait Prieur, *Maison de Mlle Guimard bâtie par M. Le Doux, Coupe générale*, 2^e cahier, Plate. 14, Wash-manner etching, *Recueil des prix proposés et couronnés par l'Académie d'architecture, enrichi des plans, coupes et vues des plus jolies maisons de Paris*, Published by Joubert, 1791, G.18056

Jean-Francois Janinet, *Vue de la Maison de Mlle Guimard, rue de la Chaussée d'Antin*, Aquatint, c.1787-89, Plate 17, *Vues pittoresques des principaux édifices de Paris* (1787-1790), Published by Campion frères, G.3634

Musée des Arts Décoratifs (MAD)

Jean-Charles Delafosse, *Fontaine publique*, c.1768, RES 21557 B

_____, *Cinq Projets de Cartouches*, c.1768, 21614 A-E

Jean-Charles Delafosse, *Deux projets de décoration pour un plafond*, Inv. 21612 BC

Jean-Charles Delafosse, *Figure emblématique: L'ornemaniste*, c.1768, 994.27.2

Gabriel Huquier, *Premier Livre de nouveaux Caprices d'Ornements meslés de fleurs et de fruits*, 1740 (Bibliothèque du MAD)

Richard de Lalonde, *Encadrements de glaces*, Inv. 7610 B

_____, *Projet de cheminée et son trumeau*, Inv. 7610 B

_____, *Album of Drawings for a Marchand-Mercier*, c.1785-1800, pen and black ink, wash, over chalk Inv CD 189

Nicolas Pineau, *Applique à trois branches ornée de rocailles*, red chalk, CD 1737

Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin, *Initiales entrelacées*, Pen, brown ink, brown wash, Inv. 6379

Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Arts Graphiques

Pierre-Antoine Baudouin, *Concert de chambre*, c.1769, Gouache on vellum, Inv. RF30662

Edmé Bouchardon, *Fontaine au gnome*, 1736-37, Red chalk, Inv. 24280

_____, *Fontaine des Grâces*, 1736-37, Red chalk, Inv. 24677

_____, *Fontaine aux nymphes*, c.1735, Red chalk, Inv. 24278

_____, *Un projet de fontaine adossé à un décor architectural*, c.1738, Red chalk, Inv. 24275

Gilles Demarteau, after François Boucher, *L'éducation de l'amour*, Inv. RF19147 LR
William Ryland, after François Boucher, *Cartouche aux armes de Madame de Pompadour*,
before 1759, Etching and engraving, Inv. RF5996 LR
Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin, *Le Livre des Saint-Aubin*, Inv. RF 52178
Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin, *Frontispice formé d'un rideau suspend avec titre*, Inv. RF
52200

National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. (NGA)

Edmé Bouchardon, Rocaille Fountain with Venus, Amorini, and Swans, c.1735, Red chalk on
two joined sheets, 1996.13.1
Jean-François Janinet, after Nicolas Lavreince, *Les heures du jour*, color aquatint and etching
1942.9.2386
Jean Henry Alexandre Pernet, engraved by Laurent Guyot, *Twelve Roundels with Landscapes*,
c.1788, Etching, aquatint, and tool work printed in blue, red, yellow, and black inks
2003.72.1

Petit Palais, musée des Beaux-arts de la Ville de Paris

Jacques de Lajoue, *Paravant*, Painting on marouflé paper, c.1735 Inv. PDUT874

University of Virginia, Special Collections (UVA)

Charles Krafft and Nicolas Ransonette, *Plans, Coupes, Élévations des plus belles maisons et
hôtels construits à Paris*, 1801-1803, NA7348.P2 K8 1803

Waddesdon Manor

Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin, *Livre de caricatures*, c.1740-1775, Accession no: 675
<https://waddesdon.org.uk/the-collection/item/?id=4222> (Accessed October 7, 2021).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Archival Sources

AN MC/ET/XXXVIII/362. 10 novembre 1747
AN MC/ET/C/621. 23 avril 1755
AN MC/ET/VI/746. 25 septembre 1761
AN MC/ET/XXVIII/636
AN MC/ET/LXXVI/446
AN MC/ET/LXXVI/350
AN MC/ET/LXXVI/410. 31 mars 1768
AN ET/XXXVIII/509. 7 septembre 1766
AN ET/LXII/559. 21 mars 1775
AN Z/1f/498. 2 octobre 1776
AN Z/1f/499. 28 mai 1777

Manuscript Sources

Saint-Aubin, Charles-Germain de. "Histoire de Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin, dessinateur du roi, auteur de ce livre, in *Recueil de plantes*, c.1736-1785, n.p.

Primary Sources

Bachaumont, Louis Petit de. *Mémoires secrets de Bachaumont de 1767 à 1787*, t. 3, 1769-1772, ed. Jules Amédée Desiré Ravenel. Paris: Garnier, 1830.

_____. *Mémoires secrets de Bachaumont, revus et publiés avec des notes et une préface par P. L. Jacob, bibliophile (Paul Lacroix)*. Paris: Garnier, 1874.

Blondel, Jacques-François. *De la distribution des maisons de plaisance*. t.1-II, Paris: Charles-Antoine Jombert, 1737-38.

_____. *Cours d'architecture, ou Traité de la décoration, distribution et construction des bâtiments: contenant les leçons données en 1750 et les années suivantes*, t.1. Paris: Desaint, 1771.

_____. *Cours d'architecture*, t. III. Paris: Desaint, 1772.

_____. *Cours d'architecture*, t. V. Paris: Desaint, 1775.

_____. *Cours d'architecture*, t. VII, Paris: Desaint, 1777.

_____. *Les amours rivaux, ou L'homme du monde éclairé par les arts*. Paris: Jean-François de Bastide, 1774.

Boffrand, Germain. *Livre d'architecture contenant les Principes Généraux de cet Art*. Paris: Guillaume Cavelier père, 1745.

Capon, Gaston. *Les petites maisons galantes de Paris aux XVIIIe siècle: folies, maisons de plaisance et vides bouteilles, d'après les documents inédits et des rapports de police*. Paris: H. Daragon, 1882.

Chaussard, Pierre-Jean-Baptiste. *Le Pausanias français; état des arts du dessin en France, à l'ouverture du XIXe siècle: Salon de 1806*. Paris: F. Buisson, 1806.

- Chéreau, Jacques-François. *Catalogues des estampes provenant des fonds de planches des sieurs Gerard Audran, François Chéreau, Fr. Poilly, Bernard Lépicier et J. Moyreau, graveurs*. chez Jacques-François Chéreau, Graveur, marchand d'estampes, rue Saint-Jacques, près celle des Mathurins, aux deux Piliers d'Or. Paris: Desprez, 1770.
- Christ, Johan Friedrich. *Dictionnaire des monogrammes*. Paris: S. Jorry, 1750.
- Cochin, Charles-Nicolas. *Mémoires inédits*. Paris: Baur, 1880.
- _____. "Lettre à M. l'abbé R***, sur une très mauvaise plaisanterie qu'il a laissé imprimer dans le *Mercure* du mois du Décembre 1754, par une société d'Architectes, qui pourrait bien aussi prétendre être du premier mérite et de la première réputation, quoiqu'ils ne soient pas de l'Académie," *Mercure de France*, February 1755, pp. 148-174.
- _____. "Supplication aux Orfèvres, Ciseleurs, Sculpteurs en bois, pour les appartements aux autres, par une Société d'Artistes" *Mercure de France*, December 1754.
- Corneille, Thomas. *Le dictionnaire des arts et des sciences, de M. D. C. de l'Académie française. Nouvelle édition revue, corrigée et augmentée par M****, de l'Académie royale des sciences.... T. 2, M-Z, P.* vol. II. Paris: P. G. Le Mercier fils, 1732.
- Delafosse, Jean-Charles. *Nouvelle Iconologie Historique, ou Attributs Hiéroglyphiques qui ont pour objet les quatre éléments, les quatre parties du monde, les quatre saisons et les différentes complexions de l'homme*. Paris: chez l'auteur, et chez De Lalain, libraire, De l'imprimerie de Maillet, 1768-1771.
- D'Argenville, Antoine-Joseph Dezallier. *Abrégé de la vie des plus fameux peintres*. Paris: De Bure, 1745-52.
- _____. Entry for "Parterre" in *Encyclopédie, ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers*, eds. Denis Diderot and Jean Le Rond d'Alembert. Neufchastel: Chez Samuel Faulche & Compagnie, vol. 12 (1765), 87.
- _____. *La théorie et la pratique du jardinage*. Paris: Mariette, 1747.
- De La Tour, Charlotte. *Le langage des fleurs*. Paris: Garnier, 1858.
- Deloynes, Jean-Charles. *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... dans le grand sallon du Louvre*. Paris: Hérissant, 1771.
- Diderot, Denis, Jean Seznec and Jean Adhemar. "Salon de 1771," *Œuvres complètes de Diderot*, vol. 11, Paris: Garnier, 1875.
- _____. "Salon de 1765," *Salons de Diderot*, Oxford: Clarendon, 1960, vol. II.
- Fuzelier, Jean-Louis. *Prologue des Fêtes grecques et romaines*. Paris: De Lormel, 1741.
- Gersault, François. *L'art du tailleur*. Paris: Delatour, 1769.
- Gaudrau, Michel after Louis Pécour, *Nouveau recueil de dance de bal et celle de ballet, Par Mr Gaudrau m.e. de dance et de l'académie royalle de musique*. Paris: Gaudrau, 1713.
- Goncourt, Edmond de. *La Guimard, D'après les Registres des Menus-Plaisirs, de la Bibliothèque de L'opéra*. Paris: Bibliothèque-Charpentier, 1893.
- _____. *L'art du dix-huitième siècle*, Paris: A. Quantin, 1882.

- Huquier, Gabriel. *Nouveau Livre de Principes d'Ornements Particulièrement pour trouver un nombre infini de formes qui en dépendent*. Paris: Huquier, 1749-1772.
- Jarry, Paul. *Les vieux hôtels de Paris*, t. XIV, "La Nouvelle France." Paris: P. Contet, 1922.
- Krafft, Jean-Charles and Nicolas Ransonnette, *Plans, coupes, élévations des plus belles maisons et des hôtels construits à Paris et dans les environs*. Paris: Clouier, 1801-1803.
- Lair-Dubreuil, *Catalogue des Boiseries anciennes...* 100, rue de Pantin (Seine), commissaire-priseur Lair-Dubreuil and experts Paulme & Lasquin, 29 June 1913.
- La Motte, Antoine de. *Pigmalion, d'après le livret d'Antoine Houdar de la Motte, "La Sculpture"*, in *Le Triomphe des Arts*. Paris: C. Ballard, 1700.
- Laugier, Marc-Antoine. *Essai sur l'architecture*. Paris: N.-B. Duchesne, 1755.
- Le Blanc, L'Abbé Jean-Bernard. *Letter XXXVI. Letters on the English and French nations*. The Hague: Jean Naulme, 1748.
- Ledoux, Claude Nicolas. *L'Architecture considérée sous le rapport de l'art, des mœurs et de la Législation*. Paris: H. L. Peronneau, 1804.
- _____. *L'Architecture considérée sous le rapport de l'art, des mœurs et de la législation, Second Volume*, by Daniel Ramée, Paris: Lenoir, 1847.
- L'Avant-Coureur*, no. 1, January 6, 1766.
- L'Avant-Coureur*, no. 40, October 6, 1766.
- L'Avant-Coureur*, no. 27, July 6, 1767.
- Mercure de France*, March 1734.
- Mercure de France*, June 1734.
- Mercure de France*, September 1734.
- Mercure de France*, April 1736.
- Mercure de France*, May 1737.
- Mercure de France*, December 1754.
- Mercure de France*, February 1755.
- Melchior, Friedrich. Baron von Grimm, *Correspondance littéraire, philosophique et critique de Grimm et de Diderot, depuis 1752 jusqu'en 1790*, t. VII, 1764. Paris: Furne, 1829-31
- _____. Baron von Grimm, *Correspondance littéraire, philosophique et critique de Grimm et de Diderot, depuis 1752 jusqu'en 1790*, t. VIII, 1773. Paris: Furne, 1829-31.
- Mercier, Louis-Sebastian. *Tableau de Paris*, t. 7. Amsterdam, 1782-83.
- Mézières, Nicolas Le Camus de. *Le génie de l'architecture, ou l'analogie de cet art avec nos sensations*. Paris: Benoît-Morin, 1780.
- Renou, Antoine. Dialogue IX, *Dialogues sur la peinture*. Paris: Tartouillis, 1773.
- Ridel and Simonet. *Catalogue d'une belle collection de tableaux des meilleurs maîtres*, 21-22. Vente Beurdelet. December, 1846. Paris: Guiraudet and Jouaust, 1846.
- Saint-Aubin, Charles-Germain de. *L'Art du Brodeur*. Paris: Delatour, 1770.

- Saint-Yenne, Étienne La Font de. "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." The Hague: Jean Neaulme, 1747.
- Thiéry, Luc-Vincent. *Guide des amateur et étrangers*, t. 1. Paris: Hardouin & Gattey, 1787.
- Tubières, Anne-Claude de, comte de Caylus. *Recueil d'antiquités égyptiennes, étrusques, grecques, romaines, et gauloises*, t. I. Paris: Desaint et Saillant, 1752.
- Watelet, Claude-Henri. *Essai sur les jardins*. Paris: Prault, 1774.
- Watin, Jean-Félix. *L'art du peintre, doreur, vernisseur, ouvrage utile aux artistes et aux amateurs qui veulent entreprendre de peindre, dorer et vernir toutes sortes de sujets en bâtiments, meubles, bijoux, équipages, etc. par le sieur Watin*. Paris: Prévost de Saint-Lucien, Roch-Henri, 1773.
- _____. *Prospectus. L'art du peintre, doreur, vernisseur, ouvrage utile aux artistes et aux amateurs qui veulent entreprendre de peindre, dorer et vernir toutes sortes de sujets en bâtiments, meubles, bijoux, équipages, etc. par le sieur Watin*. Paris: De l'imprimerie de B. Morin, rue Saint-Jacques, 1781.
- Wille, Johan Georg. *Mémoires et journal de J. G. Wille, graveur du roi*. Publiés d'après les manuscrits autographes de la Bibliothèque impériale par Georges Duplessis; avec une préface par Edmond et Jules de Goncourt, t. 1., Paris, 1857.

Secondary Sources

- Armstrong, Christopher Drew. *Julien-David Leroy and the Making of Architectural History*. London; New York: Routledge, 2012.
- Advieille, Victor. *Renseignements intimes sur les Saint-Aubin, dessinateurs et graveurs: d'après les papiers de leur famille*. Paris: L. Soulié, 1896.
- Bailey, Colin. "Was there such a thing as rococo painting?" in *Rococo Echo: Art, History and Historiography from Cochin to Coppola*, eds. Melissa Hyde and Katie Scott. Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2014, pp. 169-189.
- _____. *Fragonard's Progress of Love at the Frick Collection*, New York: Frick Collection, 2011.
- Bann, Stephen. *Parallel Lines: Printmakers, Painters, and Photographers in Nineteenth-Century France*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001.
- Beaumont, Cyril W. *Three French Dancers of the Eighteenth Century*. London: C.W. Beaumont, 1934.
- Bédard, Jean-François. "Prints by Gabriel Huquier after Oppenord's Decorated Ripa," *Print Quarterly*, XXIX, no.1 (2012): 37-43.
- _____. *Decorative Games: Ornament, Rhetoric, and Noble Culture in the Work of Gilles-Marie Oppenord*. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2011.
- _____. "Gabriel Huquier, Bricoleur d'ornements: de la rocaille au gout à l'antique," in *Ornements, XVe-XIXe siècles: chefs-d'œuvre de la Bibliothèque de l'INHA, collections Jacques Doucet*, eds. Michaël Decrossas et Lucie Fléjou. Paris: Institut national d'histoire de l'art, 2014, pp. 228-239.

- Blum, André. *L'estampe satirique au XVIIIe siècle*. Paris: Gazette des Beaux-Arts, 1910.
- Boch, Julie. "L'esthétique du comte de Caylus: un nouveau classicisme expressive," *Littératures* 36 (Spring 1997): 49-69.
- Braham, Allan. *The Architecture of the French Enlightenment*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980.
- Bryson, Norman. *Vision and Painting: The Logic of the Gaze*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986.
- Campardon, Émile. *Les comédiens du roi de la troupe française*. Paris: Champion, 1879.
- Capon, Gaston. *Les petites maisons galantes de Paris aux XVIIIe siècle: folies, maisons de plaisance et vides bouteilles, d'après les documents inédits et des rapports de police*. Paris: H. Daragon, 1882.
- Carey, Juliet. "The King and his Embroider," in *Seeing Satire in the Eighteenth Century*, eds. Elizabeth C. Mansfield and Kelly Malone. Oxford: Voltaire, 2013, pp. 261-282.
- Casid, Jil. "Commerce in the Boudoir," in *Women, Art, and the Politics of Identity in Eighteenth-Century Europe*, eds. Melissa Hyde and Jennifer Milam. London: Ashgate, 2003, pp. 91-114.
- Chastang, Yannick. "Louis Tessiers' 'Livre de principes de fleurs' and the eighteenth-century marqueteur," *Furniture History* 43 (2007): 115-126.
- Chazin-Bennahum, Judith. *The Lure of Perfection: Fashion and Ballet*, New York: Routledge, 2005.
- Cleary, Richard. "Romancing the Tome: Or an Academician's Pursuit of a Popular Audience in 18th-century France," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 48, no. 2 (June 1989): 139-149.
- Coffin, Sarah, ed. *Rococo: The Continuing Curve, 1730-2008*. New York, NY: Cooper-Hewitt, National Design Museum: Distributed by Assouline, 2008.
- Cohen, Sarah. *Art, Dance, and Body in the Visual Culture of the Ancien Régime*. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Coltman, Vicky. *Fabricating the Antique: Neoclassicism in Britain, 1760-1800*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006.
- Crow, Thomas. *Painters and Public Life in Eighteenth-Century Paris*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985.
- D'Alméras Henri, and Paul d'Estrée, *Les théâtres libertins au XVIIIe siècle*. Paris: H. Daragon, 1905.
- Dacier, Emile. *L'œuvre Gravé de Gabriel de Saint-Aubin: Notice Historique et Catalogue Raisonné*. Paris, Imprimerie nationale, 1914.
- Darnton, Robert. *The Forbidden Best-Sellers of Pre-Revolutionary France*, New York and London: W.W. Norton, 1996.
- Darnton, Robert and Daniel Roche, eds. *Revolution in Print: The Press in France 1775-1800*. Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1988.

- Davidson, Gail. "Ornament of Bizarre Imagination: Rococo Prints and Drawings from the Cooper-Hewitt's Léon Decloux Collection," in *Rococo: The Continuing Curve, 1730-2008*, ed. Sarah Coffin. New York, NY: Cooper-Hewitt, National Design Museum: Distributed by Assouline, 2008, pp. 42-71.
- De Bellaigue, Geoffrey. "Engravings and the French Eighteenth-Century Marqueter-I," *The Burlington Magazine* 107, no. 746 (May 1965): 240-250.
- . "Engravings and the French Eighteenth-Century Marqueter-II," *The Burlington Magazine* 107, no. 748 (July 1965): 356-363.
- Decrossas, Michaël and Lucie Fléjou. *Ornements, XV^e-XIX^e siècles: chefs-d'œuvre de la Bibliothèque de l'INHA, collections Jacques Doucet*. Paris: Institut national d'histoire de l'art, 2014.
- Delécluze, Étienne. *Jacques Louis David: son école et son temps: souvenirs*, Paris: Didier, 1855.
- Delpeuch, Emma. "Les marchands et artisans suivant la cour," *Revue historique de droit français et étranger* 52, no. 3. (July-September 1974): 379-413.
- Denis, Marie-Amynthe, *Madame du Barry: De Versailles à Louveciennes*. Musée-promenade de Marly-le-Roi-Louveciennes. Paris: Flammarion, 1992.
- Disponzio, Joseph. "Introduction," in *Essay on Gardens: A Chapter in the French Picturesque Translated Into English for the First Time*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003, pp. 1-16.
- Droth, Martina, ed. *Taking Shape: Finding Sculpture in the Decorative Arts*. Henry Moore Institute, Leeds and J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, 2009.
- . "Truth and Artifice: Transforming the Real with Sculptural Form," in *Taking Shape: Finding Sculpture in the Decorative Arts*, ed. Martina Droth. Henry Moore Institute, Leeds and J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, 2009, pp. 10-17.
- Draper, David, James Guilhem Scherf, with Olausson, Magnus, et al. *Playing with Fire: European Terracotta Models, 1740-1840*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art; Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003.
- Dubin, Nina. *Futures and Ruins: Eighteenth-Century Paris and the Art of Hubert Robert*. Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2010.
- Durand, Jannic, Bimbenet-Privat, Michèle, and Dassas, Frédéric, eds. *Décors, Mobilier et Objets D'art du Musée du Louvre: De Louis XIV à Marie-Antoinette*. Paris: Somogy éditions d'art: Louvre éditions, 2014.
- Eidelberg, Martin. "Gabriel Huquier—Friend or Foe of Watteau?" *The Print Collector's Newsletter* 15, no. 5 (1984): 157-64.
- El-Khoury, Rodolphe. "Introduction," in Jean-François Bastide, *The Little House*, trans. Rodolphe El-Khoury. Princeton: Princeton Architectural Press, 1996, pp. 20-21.
- Eriksen, Svend. *Early Neoclassicism in France*. London: Faber and Faber, 1974.
- Fairchild, Cissie. "The Production and Marketing of Populuxe Goods in Eighteenth-Century Paris" in *Consumption and the Worlds of Goods*, eds. John Brewer and Roy Porter. London, 1993.

- Fraser, Ian, technical note for catalogue entry 24, in "Seeing Things Fall Apart," in *Taking Shape: Finding Sculpture in the Decorative Arts*, Martina Droth, ed., Henry Moore Institute, Leeds and J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, 2009, pp. 97-98.
- Fuhring, Peter. *Design into Art: Drawings for Architecture and Ornament*. The Lodewijk Houthakker Collection. London: Philip Wilson Publishers Limited, 1989.
- _____. *Designing the Décor: French Drawings from the Eighteenth Century* (Lisbon: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, 2005).
- _____. *Juste-Aurèle Meissonnier: Un génie du rococo, 1695-1750*, vols. 1-2. Turin: Umberto Allemandi 1999.
- _____. "The Print Privilege in Eighteenth-Century France," *Print Quarterly* 2, no. 3 (September 1985): 175-193.
- Fumaroli, Marc, Guillaume Faroult, Christophe Lérubault, and Guilhem Scherf, eds. *L'Antiquité rêvée: Innovations et résistances au XVIII^e siècle*. Paris: Réunion des Musées nationaux, 2010.
- _____. "Retour à l'antique: la guerre des goûts dans l'Europe des Lumières," in Marc Fumaroli and Guillaume Faroult, Christophe Lérubault, and Guilhem Scherf, eds., *L'Antiquité rêvée: Innovations et résistances au XVIII^e siècle*. Paris: Réunion des Musées nationaux, 2010, pp. 23-55.
- _____. "Le comte de Caylus et les origines françaises du néo-classicisme," in *De Rome à Paris: Peinture et Pouvoirs aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles*. Dijon: Faton, 2007.
- _____. *Le comte de Caylus et Edmé Bouchardon: Deux réformateurs du goût sous Louis XV*. Paris: Somogy éditions d'art: Louvre éditions, 2016.
- _____. "Une amitié paradoxale: Antoine Watteau et le comte de Caylus (1712-1719), *Revue de l'Art*, no. 114 (1996): 34-47.
- Foster, Susan Leigh. *Choreography and Narrative: Ballet's Staging of Story and Desire*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996.
- Gady, Alexandre. "Rue Saint-Jacques, aux Colonnes d'Hercule: la maison de Jean Mariette retrouvée," *Commission du Vieux-Paris, Procès-verbaux*, 1995, pp. 5-20.
- Gallet, Michel. *Paris Domestic Architecture of the Eighteenth Century*. London: Barry & Jenkins, 1972.
- _____. *Stately Mansions: Eighteenth-Century Paris Architecture*. New York: Praeger, 1972.
- _____. *Claude-Nicolas Ledoux*. Paris: Picard, 1980.
- _____. "Jean-Charles Delafosse, Architecte," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (1963): 157-164.
- Grivel, Marianne. *Le Commerce de L'estampe à Paris Au XVII^e Siècle, Histoire et civilisation du livre*. Paris: Publications de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études, V^e Section, Sciences historiques et philologiques, 1986.
- Goldstein, Robert Justin. *Censorship of political caricature in nineteenth-century France*. Kent, OH, and London, 1989.

- Goodman, Dena. "The *Secrétaire* and the Integration of the Eighteenth-Century Self," in *Furnishing the Eighteenth Century: What Furniture Can Tell Us about the European and American Past*, eds. Dena Goodman and Kathryn Norberg. New York: Routledge, 2011, pp. 183-203.
- Goodman, Elisa. *The Portraits of Madame de Pompadour*. Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2000.
- Gordon, Katherine. "Madame de Pompadour, Pigalle, and the Iconography of Friendship," *The Art Bulletin* 50, no. 3 (September 1968): 242-269.
- Guilmard, Désiré. *Les Maîtres Ornemanistes*. Paris: E. Plom, 1880.
- Hellman, Mimi. "Furniture, Sociability, and the Work of Leisure in Eighteenth Century France," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 32, 4 (1999): 415-445.
- Herrmann, Wolfgang. *Laugier and Eighteenth-Century French Theory*. London: A. Zwemmer Limited, 1962.
- Hibberd, Sarah and Wrigley, Richard. eds. *Art, Theatre, and Opera in Paris, 1750-1850: Exchanges and Tensions*. Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2014.
- Hinchcliffe, Tanis. "Gender and the Architect: Women Clients of French Architects during the Enlightenment," *Gender and Architecture*, eds. Louise Durning and Richard Wrigley. New York: Wiley, 2000, pp. 113-134
- Hobson, Marian. *The Object of Art: The Theory of Illusion in Eighteenth-Century France*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982.
- Hoisington, Rena. "Etching as a Vehicle for Innovation: Four Exceptional Peintres-Graveurs," in *Artists and Amateurs: Etching in Eighteenth-Century France*, ed. Perrin Stein, New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2013, pp. 69-101.
- Honour, Hugh. *Neoclassicism*. Harmondsworth, England: Penguin, 1968.
- Hyde, Elizabeth. *Cultivated Power: Flowers, Culture, and Politics in the Reign of Louis XIV*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005.
- Hyde, Melissa. *Making Up the Rococo: François Boucher and His Critics*. Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2006.
- . "The 'Makeup' of the Marquise: Boucher's Portrait of Pompadour at her Toilette," *The Art Bulletin* 82, no. 3 (September 2000): 453-475.
- Hyde, Melissa. "Needling: Embroidery and Satire in the Hands of Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin," in *Seeing Satire in the Eighteenth Century*, Elizabeth C. Mansfield and Kelly Malone, eds. Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2013, pp. 107-126.
- Hyde, Melissa and Katie Scott, eds. *Rococo Echo: Art, History and Historiography from Cochin to Coppola*. Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2014.
- Hyde, Melissa and Mark Ledbury, eds. *Rethinking Boucher*. Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2006.
- Ismene Lada-Richards, "'Mobile Statuary': Refractions of Pantomime Dancing from Callistrus to Emma Hamilton and Andrew Ducrow," *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 10, no. 1 (Summer 2003) 3-37.

- Jervis, Simon. "Huquier's 'Second Livre,'" *J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 14 (1986): 113-120.
- Jones, Colin. *Madame de Pompadour*. London: National Gallery, 2002.
- . "French Crossings. II: Laughing over Boundaries," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, vol. 21, 2011, pp. 1-38, read 26 November 2010.
- Jones, Colin, Juliet Carey, and Emily Richardson, eds. *The Saint-Aubin Livre de Caricatures: Drawing Satire in Eighteenth-Century Paris*. Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2012.
- Jones, Colin and Juliet Carey. "Introduction," in *The Saint-Aubin Livre de Caricatures: Drawing Satire in Eighteenth-Century Paris*, eds. Colin Jones, Juliet Carey, and Emily Richardson (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2012), 6-13.
- Kauffman, Emil. "Three Revolutionary Architects: Boullée, Ledoux, and Lequeu," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 42, no. 3 (1952): 431-564.
- Kimball, Fiske. *The Creation of the Rococo Decorative Style*. Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1943.
- Kopp, Édouard. "Compositions profanes," in *Edmé Bouchardon, Une Idée de Beau*, eds. Anne-Lise Desmas, Édouard Kopp, Guilhem Scherf et Juliette Trey, Paris: Somogy éditions d'art, Louvre éditions, 2016, pp. 262-316.
- Laing, Alastair. "French Ornamental Engravings and the diffusion of the Rococo," 1979, in *Le stampe e la diffusione delle immagini e degli stili*, ed. Henry Zerner, Bologna: 1983, pp. 109-127.
- Lajer-Burcharth, Ewa. "Pompadour's Touch: Difference in Representation," *Representations* 73, no. 1 (Winter 2001): 54-88.
- Leben, Ulrich. *Object Design in the Age of Enlightenment: The History of the Royal Free Drawing School in Paris*. Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2004.
- Lebeurre, Alexia. "Le 'genre arabesques': nature et diffusion des modèles dans le décor intérieur à Paris 1760-1790," *Histoire de l'Art*, no. 42/43 (Oct 1998): 83-98.
- Leca, Benedict. "An Art Book and its Viewers: The *Recueil Crozat* and the Uses of Reproductive Engraving," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 38 (2005): 623-50.
- Le Bizouté, Corinne. "Le Commerce de l'estampe à Paris dans la première moitié du XVIII^e siècle," Thèse de l'École Nationale de Chartres, 1986.
- Léribault, Christopher. "Reviving the Antique Décor," in *L'Antiquité rêvée: Innovations et résistances au XVIII^e siècle*, eds. Fumaroli et. al. Paris: Réunion des Musées nationaux, 2010, pp. 39-41.
- Lewallen, Nina. "Architecture and Performance at the Hôtel du Maine in Eighteenth-Century Paris," *Studies in the Decorative Arts* 17, no. 1, The Bard Graduate Center for Studies in the Decorative Arts, Design, and Culture (Fall-Winter 2009-2010): 2-32.
- Magnusson, Carl. "Le renouveau dans le décor et le mobilier," in *De l'Alcôve aux barricades, De Fragonard à David: Dessins de l'École des Beaux-Arts*, ed. Emmanuel Brugerolles. Paris: Beaux-Arts de Paris éditions, 2016, pp. 257-261.

- Mansfield, Elizabeth C., and Kelly Malone, eds. *Seeing Satire in the Eighteenth Century*. Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2013.
- Martin, Marie-Pauline. "L'ornement rocaille vs. l'imaginaire à l'antique?" *Ornements, XV^e-XIX^e siècles: chefs-d'œuvre de la Bibliothèque de l'INHA, collections Jacques Doucet*, eds. Michaël Decrossas et Lucie Fléjou. Paris: Institut national d'histoire de l'art, 2014, pp. 240-49.
- Martin, Meredith. "The Ascendancy of the Interior in Eighteenth-Century French Architectural Theory" in *Architectural Space in Eighteenth-Century Europe: Constructing Identities and Interiors*, eds. Denise Amy Baxter and Meredith Martin. Burlington: Ashgate, 2010, pp. 15-34.
- . *Dairy Queens: The Politics of Pastoral Architecture from Catherine de' Medici to Marie Antoinette*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2011.
- Maurières, Patrick. *Sur les papillonneries humaines*. Paris: Gallimard, 1996.
- Michel, Régis. *David contre David*. Paris: La documentation française, 1993.
- Middleton, Robin. "Introduction," in Nicolas Le Camus de Mézières, *The Genius of Architecture; or Analogy of that Art with our Sensations* (1780), trans. David Britt. Santa Monica: Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1992, pp. 17-64.
- . "Introduction," in Julien-David Le Roy, *The Ruins of the Most Beautiful Monuments of Greece*, trans. David Britt. Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2004.
- Milam, Jennifer. "Playful Constructions and Fragonard's Swinging Scenes," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 33, no. 4 (Summer 2000): 543-559.
- Milliot, Sylvette. "Marie-Anne Castagneri. Marchande de musique au XVIII^e siècle (1722-1787)." *Revue de Musicologie* 52, no. 2 (1966): 185-195.
- Minor, Heather Hyde. *Piranesi's Lost Words*. University Park, Pa.: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2015.
- Moser, Monique. *Fragments Énigmatiques: Allégories de J.-C. Delafosse*. Paris: Musée des Arts Décoratifs, 1994.
- Myers, Mary. "Designs for Ornament and Architecture: Rococo to Neoclassicism," in *Regency to Empire: French Printmaking 1715-1814*, eds. Victor Carlson and John Ittman. Minneapolis: Minneapolis Institute of Arts, 1984, pp. 39-41.
- . *French Architectural and Ornament Drawings of the Eighteenth Century*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art: Distributed by H.N. Abrams, 1991.
- Norberg, Kathryn. "Goddesses of Taste: Courtesans and Their Furniture in Late Eighteenth-Century Paris," in *Furnishing the Eighteenth Century: What Furniture Can Tell us about the European and American Past*, eds. Dena Goodman and Kathryn Norberg. New York: Routledge, 2011, pp. 97-114.
- . "Salon as Stage: Actress/Courtesans and their Homes in Late Eighteenth-Century Paris," in *Architectural Space in Eighteenth-Century Europe: Constructing Identities and Interiors*, eds. Denise Amy Baxter and Meredith Martin. Burlington: Ashgate, 2010, pp. 105-128.

- Padiyar, Sadish. "Out of time: Fragonard, with David," in *Rococo Echo: Art, History and Historiography from Cochin to Coppola*, eds. Melissa Hyde and Katie Scott. Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2014, pp. 213-231.
- Pardailhé-Galabrun, Annik. *La naissance de l'intime: 3000 foyers parisiens XVII^e-XVIII^e siècles*. Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1988.
- Parker, Rozsika. *The Subversive Stitch: Embroidery and the Making of the Feminine*. London: Women's Press, 1996.
- Pelletier, Louise. *Architecture in Words: Theatre, Language and the Sensuous Spaces of Architecture*. London: Routledge, 2006.
- Pinette, Matthieu. *Painting in Eighteenth-Century France from the Musée de Picardie*. Amiens: Musée de Picardie, 2001.
- Plax, Julie Anne. *Watteau and the Cultural Politics of Eighteenth-Century France*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Pons, Bruno. "Arabesques, or New Grotesques," in *The History of Decorative Arts: Classicism and the Baroque in Europe*, ed. Alain Gruber. New York: Abbeville, 1996. pp. 157-333.
- _____. *Grands décors français 1650-1800*. Dijon: Faton, 1995.
- Posner, Donald. "Madame de Pompadour as a Patron of the Visual Arts," *The Art Bulletin* 72, no. 1 (March 1990): 74-105.
- Poulet, Anne and Guilhem Scherf, eds. *Clodion, 1738-1814*. Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 1992.
- Portalis, le baron Roger and Henri Béraldi, *Les Graveurs Du Dix-Huitième Siècle*. Paris: D. Morgand et C. Fatout, 1880-82.
- Pradère, Alexandre. *Les ébénistes français: De Louis XIV à la Révolution*. Paris: Chêne, 1989.
- Préaud, Maxime, ed. *Dictionnaire des éditeurs d'estampes à Paris sous l'ancien régime*. Paris: Promodis, Editions du Cercle de la Librairie, 1987.
- Priore, Alicia M. "Boucher's Designs for Vases and Mounts," *Studies in the Decorative Arts* 3, no. 2 (Spring-Summer 1996): 2-51.
- Pullins, David. "Images as Objects: The Problem of Figural Ornament in Eighteenth-Century France," in Alina Payne, *Histories of Ornament: From Global to Local*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016, pp. 113-120.
- Reyes, Hector. "Drawing History in the Comte de Caylus' Recueil d'antiquités," *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture* 42 (2013): 171-189.
- Richard, Hélène. "Une Folie à Pantin," *Sites et Monuments*, no. 177 (April/May/June 2002): 19-20.
- Roberts, Jennifer. *Contact: Art and the Pull of Print*, Part I: "Pressure," *The 70th A.W. Mellon Lectures in the Fine Arts*, National Gallery, Washington, D.C., April 25, 2021. <https://www.nga.gov/research/casva/meetings/mellon-lectures-in-the-fine-arts/roberts-2021.html> (Accessed May 8, 2023).
- Roland-Michel, Marianne. *Lajoüe et l'Art rocaille*. Neuilly-sur-Seine: Arthena, 1984.
- _____. *Watteau: Un artiste au XVIII^e siècle*. London: Trefoil Books, 1984.

- Rosenberg, Pierre. "In defense of mythological painting," in *The Loves of the Gods: Mythological Painting from Watteau to David*, Colin Bailey and Carrie Hamilton (Fort Worth: Kimbell Art Museum, 1992).
- _____. *Fragonard*. New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1988.
- _____. *Le livre des Saint-Aubin*. Paris: Musée du Louvre, 2002.
- _____. *Les Fragonards de Besançon*. Milan: Cinq Continents, 2006.
- _____. *Vies anciennes de Watteau*, Paris: Hermann, 1984.
- Rosenberg, Pierre and Louis-Antoine Prat. *Jacques-Louis David, 1748-1825: Catalogue raisonné des dessins*. Milan: Leonardo arte, 2002.
- Rosenblum, Robert. *Transformations in Late-Eighteenth-Century Art*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967.
- Rudy, Elizabeth M. "On the Market: Selling Etchings in Eighteenth-Century France," in *Artists and Amateurs: Etching in Eighteenth-Century France*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2013, pp. 41-67.
- Sainte-Marie, Alain Barbier. *Cahiers Edmond & Jules Goncourt*, no. 5. Paris: Société des amies des frères Goncourt (1997): 225-26.
- Salmon, Xavier. *Madame de Pompadour et les arts*. Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 2002.
- Salvèrte, Comte de. *Les Ébénistes du XVIIIe Siècle*. Paris: G. Van Oest, 1923.
- Sargentson, Carolyn. *Merchants and Luxury Markets: The Marchands-Merciers of Eighteenth Century Paris*. Malibu: Victoria and Albert Museum in association with the J. Paul Getty Museum, 1996.
- _____. "The Manufacture and Marketing of Luxury Goods: The *Marchands-Merciers* of late 17th- and early 18th-Century Paris," in *Luxury Trades and Consumerism in Ancien Régime Paris. Studies in the History of the Skilled Workforce*, eds. Robert Fox and A.J. Turner Brookfield. New York: Routledge, 1998, pp. 99-137.
- _____. "Looking at Furniture Inside Out: Strategies of Secrecy and Security in Eighteenth-Century French Furniture" in *Furnishing the Eighteenth Century: What Furniture Can Tell us about the European and American Past*. New York: Routledge, 2011, pp. 205-236.
- Scherf, Guilhem. "La fontaine de Grenelle," in *Edmé Bouchardon, Une Idée de Beau*, eds. Anne-Lise Desmas, Édouard Kopp, Guilhem Scherf et Juliette Trey. Paris: Somogy Éditions d'art, Louvre éditions, 2016, pp. 230-260.
- Schmidt, Suzanne Karr, and Edward H. Wouk. *Prints in Translation*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2016.
- Schnapper, Antoine and Arlette Sérullez. *Jacques-Louis David: 1748-1825*. Paris: Réunion des Musées nationaux, 1989.
- Scott, Katie. "Framing Ambition: The Interior Politics of Mme de Pompadour," in *Between Luxury and the Everyday: Decorative Arts in Eighteenth-Century France*, eds. Katie Scott and Deborah Cherry. Oxford: Blackwell, 2005, pp. 110-152.
- _____. "Persuasion: Nicolas Pineau's Designs on the Social." *RIHA Journal* 86, Special Issue "When Art History Meets Design History" (March 2014): URN.

- _____. "Screen Wise, Screen Play: Jacques de Lajoue and the Ruses of Rococo." *Art History-Oxford* 36, no. 3, (2013): 568-607.
- _____. "Reproduction and Reputation: 'François Boucher' and the Formation of Artistic Identities," in *Rethinking Boucher*, eds. Melissa Hyde and Mark Ledbury. Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2006, pp. 91-122.
- _____. "Saint-Aubin's jokes and their relation to..." in *The Saint-Aubin Livre de Caricatures: Drawing Satire in Eighteenth-Century Paris*, eds. Colin Jones and Juliet Carey. Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2013, pp. 349-403.
- _____. *The Rococo Interior: Decoration and Social Spaces in Early Eighteenth-Century Paris*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995.
- Sloboda, Stacy. *Chinoiserie: Commerce and Critical Ornament in Eighteenth-Century Britain*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014.
- Smentek, Kristel. "An Exact Imitation Acquired at Little Expense: Marketing Color Prints in Eighteenth-Century France" in *Colorful Impressions: The Printmaking Revolution in Eighteenth-Century France*, eds. Margaret Morgan Grasselli and Judith A. Walsh. Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 2003, pp. 9-21.
- _____. "Sex, Sentiment, and Speculation: The Market for Genre Prints on the Eve of the French Revolution." *Studies in the History of Art* 72, Symposium Papers XLIX: French Genre Painting in the Eighteenth Century, 2007.
- _____. *Mariette and the Science of the Connoisseur in Eighteenth-Century Europe*. London: Farnham, Surrey and Burlington VT: Ashgate, 2014.
- Stein, Perrin. "Vases and Satire," in *The Saint-Aubin Livre de Caricatures: Drawing Satire in Eighteenth-Century Paris*, eds. Colin Jones, Juliet Carey and Emily Richardson. Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2012, pp. 301-321.
- Stijnman, Ad and Elizabeth Savage. *Printing Colour 1400-1700: History, Techniques, Functions, and Receptions*. Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2015.
- Taws, Richard. "The Precariousness of Things," in *The Saint-Aubin Livre de caricatures: Drawing Satire in Eighteenth-Century Paris*, eds. Colin Jones, Juliet Carey and Emily Richardson. Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2012, pp. 327-347.
- _____. *The Politics of the Provisional: Art and Ephemera in Revolutionary France*. Penn State University Press, 2013.
- _____. "Material Futures: Reproducing Revolution in P.-L. Debucourt's 'Almanach National'" *The Art Bulletin* 92, no. 3 (September 2010): 169-187.
- Tillerot, Isabelle. "Engraving Watteau in the Eighteenth-Century: Order and Display in the *Recueil Jullienne*." *Getty Research Journal*, no. 3, 2011, pp. 33-52.
- Tomasi, Tongiorgi. *An Oak Spring Flora*. Upperville, VA: Oak Spring Garden Library; New Haven: Distributed by Yale University Press, 1997.
- Van Eck, Caroline. "Introduction," in Germain Boffrand, *Book of Architecture: Containing the General Principles of the Art and the Plans, Elevations, and Sections of Some of the Edifices Built in France and in Foreign Countries*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2002, i-xxv.

- Verlet, Pierre. *The Eighteenth Century in France: Society, Decoration, and Furniture*. Rutland: Charles E. Tuttle Co., 1967.
- Vidal, Mary. *Watteau's Painted Conversations: Art, Literature, and Talk in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century France*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992.
- Vidler, Anthony. "Preface," in Jean-François Bastide, *The Little House*, trans. El-Khoury (Princeton: Princeton Architectural Press, 1997), 9-11.
- . *Claude-Nicolas Ledoux: Architecture and Social Reform at the End of the Ancien Régime*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1990.
- Wager, Susan. "Boucher's *Bijoux*: Luxury Reproductions in the Age of Enlightenment," Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 2015.
- Walker, Stephanie, ed. *Vasemania: Neoclassical Form and Ornament in Europe: Selections From the Metropolitan Museum of Art*. Yale University Press, New Haven, 2004.
- Williams, Hannah. "Viewing libertinage in Charles-Antoine Coypel's Children Playing at the Toilette," *Immediations* 1, no. 4 (May 2007): 25-30.
- Wrigley, Richard. "Between the Street and the Salon: Parisian Shop Signs and the Spaces of Professionalism in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries," *Oxford Art Journal* 21, no.1 (1998): 45-67.
- Yonan, Michael. "Knowing the World through Rococo Ornamental Prints," *Knowing the World through Objects in the Eighteenth Century* symposium. Institute for Humanities and Global Cultures, University of Virginia. November 4, 2016.
- . "Knowing the World through Rococo Ornamental Prints," in *Organic Supplements: Bodies and Things of the Natural World, 1580–1790*, eds. Miriam Jacobson and Julie Park. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2020, pp. 177–198.